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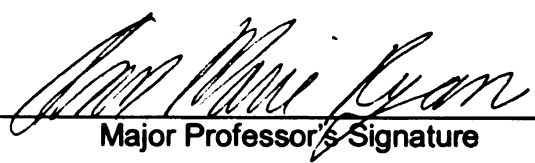
FORMAL AND INTERPERSONAL DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS
HIJABI JOB APPLICANTS

presented by

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Ph.D. degree in Psychology


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**FORMAL AND INTERPERSONAL DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS HIJABI JOB
APPLICANTS**

By

Sonia S. Ghumman

A DISSERTATION

**Submitted to
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ABSTRACT

FORMAL AND INTERPERSONAL DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS HIJABI JOB APPLICANTS

By

Sonia S. Ghumman

This study addresses behaviors related to discrimination that individuals who wear religious attire encounter as applicants for employment in the sales and service-related sectors. Building from previous field studies regarding stigmatized groups in job settings (Hebl, Foster, Mannix, & Dovidio, 2002; Hebl, King, Glick, Singletary, & Kazama, 2007; King, Shapiro, Hebl, Singletary, & Turner, 2006), confederates portrayed Hijabis (Muslim women who wear the headscarf) and applied for jobs at local stores and restaurants. It was hypothesized that Hijabi confederates would experience more behaviors related to formal discrimination (i.e. no callbacks) and interpersonal discrimination (i.e. length of interaction) than non-Hijabi confederates. Also examined were the influences of the amount of social contact associated with the occupation (e.g. sales representative vs. dishwasher), the intergroup contact potential of the location (e.g. Lansing vs. Dearborn), and expectations for discrimination (stigma consciousness) of job applicants on behaviors related to interpersonal and formal discrimination. Evidence for both behaviors related to formal discrimination (call backs, permission to complete application) and interpersonal discrimination (perceived interest, overall negativity) was found for Hijabi confederates. This study presents a unique opportunity to investigate an important topic by going beyond self-report data on attitudes towards Muslims and exploring actual evidence of employment discrimination.

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INTRODUCTION

Certain individuals in various religious groups don religious attire. Religious attire refers to clothing and/ or symbols which members of various religious groups wear for religious reasons that reveal their religious identity. For example, a man who wears a yarmulke can readily be identified as Jewish, and a person who wears a cross can readily be identified as Christian. Religious attire may be worn by members to not only reflect their faith (i.e. Star of David), but also to fulfill religious requirements (i.e. Muslim headscarf). Because religious attire might be mandated by one's faith, it is not uncommon for certain people to ask for religious attire accommodations in the workplace. In a major study of organizations containing 10,000 or more employees conducted by the Society of Human Resource Management (SHRM; 2001), 50% of these organizations received requests for religious attire accommodations when an employee's religious practice conflicted with the dress code.

Current assumption is that religious bias due to religious attire or religious discrimination in itself is not prevalent in the workplace. SHRM (1999; 2001) reported eighty seven percent of HR professionals believed that employers do not stereotype employees on the basis of religion. Additionally, a literature search conducted using the keywords "religious discrimination" and "workplace" on PsychINFO revealed only 5 journal articles, none which were from top tier journals in the field of I/O psychology or management. This indicates that researchers also do not consider this to be a topic of concern.

Counter to the assumption of managers and researchers, data indicates that religious discrimination in the workplace does occur and is of great concern. SHRM (1999; 2001)

reported that two thirds of a sample of 675 employees stated that they were concerned about religious bias in the workplace. Legally, there have been many reports of religious bias in the workplace. In the year 2007, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC; 2007) reported 2,541 such complaints ranging from the failure of the employer to provide leave for religious observances to not allowing a time and place to pray. This statistic represents a 33% increase in the number of religious bias complaints, compared to the decade before. Additionally, in a sample of employees who reported requesting religious accommodations regarding their religious attire in the workplace, only 33% of these employees were offered such accommodations (SHRM, 2001) despite legislation which obligates employers to make accommodations for religious attire (Title VII, 1964).

This disparity between employee requests and employer accommodations concerning religious attire is unfortunate because religious discrimination can have several negative consequences for people who wear religious attire as well as for organizations. Individuals who wear religious attire, as a consequence of their stigmatized status, might not only be denied access to jobs by being differentially treated during the recruitment and selection processes, but also might face a host of other negative outcomes. Individuals who wear religious attire might also be subjected to biases in performance appraisals, low pay, negative treatment from others, and lack of opportunities for advancement as job incumbents (Stone, Stone, & Dipboye, 1992). Additionally, there might be psychological problems such as self-limiting behaviors and lowered self esteem (Ilgen & Youtz, 1986). One major consequence is that the expectation to be stigmatized in the work context can lead individuals who wear religious attire to avoid applying for jobs altogether, leading to systematic group differences in the

level and types of aspirations and accomplishments of individuals who wear religious attire compared to the nonstigmatized individuals within the work domain (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998). This in turn can have negative consequences for organizations as well, forcing them to choose employees from a reduced pool of applicants, missing out on potentially valuable employees. Organizations also risk losing diversity in their workforce, which can also be a source of strength for some organizations (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998), especially when working with international and multicultural clients. Additionally, religious discrimination violates Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and EEOC guidelines, which require employers to reasonably accommodate the religious practices of employees or prospective employees.

In order to further examine this topic, the primary goal of this study is to utilize a field methodology framework to investigate the extent to which individuals who wear religious attire encounter discrimination during the hiring process. More specifically, this research focuses on Muslim women who wear the hijab (head scarf) as an example of one group of people who wear religious attire. In light of the current political context and perceptions of Islam after September 11, 2001, the hijab has become an especially salient form of religious attire that can be used to clearly identify Muslims. Because the legal and social norms today prevent people from showing outright differential treatment of stigmatized individuals, traditional forms of discrimination may be masked by other forms of discrimination and thus, it is important to also examine contemporary subtle forms of discrimination. Accordingly, this study goes beyond measuring traditional overt forms of discrimination against individuals who wear religious attire to more contemporary subtle forms of discrimination.

This study begins with a discussion of how individuals who wear religious attire are subjected to stigmatization, specifically examining the target group of this study, Hijabis (Muslim women who wear the headscarf). This discussion is followed by examining the nature of discrimination in the contemporary workplace today, and highlighting the differences between formal discrimination and interpersonal discrimination and how Hijabis encounter each of these forms in the work place. Finally, this study addresses how certain factors (social contact required by occupation, intergroup contact potential of the location, and an individual's own expectations for discrimination) play a role in the extent to which discrimination occurs against individuals who wear religious attire.

Stigmatization against Individuals who wear Religious Attire

Stigmatized individuals are defined as individuals who are rejected interpersonally, and whose social identity is devalued (Crocker et al., 1998). Certain religious groups have become targets of stigmatization due to the negative stereotypes affiliated with their faith. For example, Christians have been stereotyped as fundamentalists, conservative, pushy, intolerant, untrustworthy, rejecting science, antiabortionists, homophobic, anti-Semitic, and as threats towards civil peace (Bolce & De Maio, 1999; Wilcox and Jelen, 1990). Stereotypes of Muslims include religious fanatics, violent, wild (Kamalipour, 2000), nomadic, backward, and disorganized (Kenny, 1975), people who mistreat or oppress women (Kamalipour, 2000), and menacing (Pipes, 1990). Jewish people have been stereotyped as being disloyal, dishonest, powerful, greedy, and pushy (Wuthnow, 1982). Although stereotypes are distinct from stigmas, stereotypes are central to the stigmatization process as stereotypes are used as markers meant to deal with the negative

affect people feel towards stigmatized individuals and can lead to the stigmatization of certain groups (Jones, Farina, Hastorf, Markus, Miller, & Scott, 1984). Not surprisingly, history also lends various examples of religious stigmatization, such as the scapegoating of Jews in Europe, and hostility towards Bosnian and Kosovar Muslims (Naimark, 2001).

Just as certain religious groups are stigmatized, people donning religious attire are also subjected to stigmatization as these individuals can readily be identified with their religious group. Reactions to individuals who wear religious attire can be based on the rater's previous perception of the religion represented by the religious attire, which might be influenced by historical and cultural stereotypes (Chia & Jih, 1994). For example, Chia and Jih (1994) showed that participants rated photographs of Catholic individuals in a nun's veil and brother's religious robe as being less intelligent and friendly than photographs of individuals in casually dressed attire. Wearing religious attire can also signal that the individuals wearing the religious garb have strong affiliations with their faith or may hold religious extremist views, and perceivers might be turned off by this form of fundamentalism (Chia & Jih, 1994). This can result in even more stigmatization of those individuals who wear religious attire than those members of the religious group who do not wear religious attire. Previous research supports the view that highly identified ethnic minorities experience more prejudice than their weakly identified counterparts (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Major, Gramzow, McCoy, Levin, Schmader, & Sidanius, 2002; Sellers & Shelton, 2003).

Stigmatization of Muslims. One particular religious group which dons religious attire prone to stigmatization is Muslims. Ever since the September 11th attack on the World Trade Center, prejudice and discrimination against Muslims in the United States has

increased dramatically (CNN News, 2001a; EEOC, 2003). For instance, Arab-looking men have been removed from airplanes without just cause, out of fear they might be terrorists. Women in headscarves have been verbally assaulted and insulted, and mosques have been sprayed with graffiti and bullets (CNN News, 2001a). In a study measuring prejudiced attitudes, people showed higher feelings of prejudice toward Arab-Americans than towards other ethnic groups, such as African-Americans, Asian-Americans, and Hispanic-Americans (Bushman & Bonacci, 2004). Additionally, Muslims are often stereotyped as being aggressive, belligerent, hostile, evil, barbaric, backwards, terrorists, religious fanatics, and uncivilized (Asani, 2003; Shaheen, 2003; Srivastava, 1987).

Discrimination against Muslims can also be observed in the work setting. Workplace discrimination against Muslims in the U.S. is evident in the reports given by the Equal Opportunity Employment Commission (EEOC; 2003), which reports a 153% increase in workplace discrimination claims by Muslims after the September 11 attacks, while numbers for other discrimination claims from other religious groups have remained the same. This number has risen to over a thousand in the past three years, a rather sharp increase from the pre-September 11 era (EEOC, 2004). The EEOC (2004) calls these discriminatory labor practices 'backlash discrimination.' The largest categories of these 'backlash discrimination' complaints pertain to bias acted out against Muslim employees by non-Muslim employers using harassment or discharge (Law.com, 2002). For example, certain organizations have been accused of discriminating against Muslims employees by calling them "terrorist," "Taliban" and "dumb Muslim," and writing "Osama" and "Taliban" instead of the employees' actual names. In other cases, employees have been fired due to their Muslim sounding names and appearance (USA Today, 2005).

Stigmatization of Hijabis. Hijabis are also subjected to stigmatization because their religious attire clearly identifies them as a member of their stigmatized superordinate Muslim group. In fact, it is possible that they are even more vulnerable to stigmatization due to the saliency of their Muslim identity through their attire. Generally, individuals whose stigma is visible (i.e. Hijabis) experience more discrimination than individuals with concealable stigma (Jones et al., 1984). Accordingly, there have been reports of numerous attacks against women who wear the headscarf (CNN, 2001b; USA Today, 2005).

Hijabis, like other Muslims, have also experienced discrimination at work. Examples include a policewoman in Pennsylvania who was barred from wearing a hijab on the job, by a Hijabi applicant who was denied a uniformed airline job, and by an Arizona woman working for a rental car company who was terminated for wearing a hijab to work (Pluralism Project, 2004).

Additionally, a community-based action research project concerning Hijabis applying for work in Canada reported that women who wear the hijab do experience barriers and discrimination when applying for work (WWIW, 2002). Hijabis were often given incorrect information regarding job availability, denied jobs, asked to remove their hijab, harassed in the workplace, and fired from jobs as a result of their attire. Ninety-one percent of the Hijabi participants of the study reported having had employers make references about their hijab while applying for work, out of which forty percent were told that they must take off their hijab if they wanted the job (WWIW, 2002). These Hijabis experienced this discrimination regardless of their age, skin color, accent, mannerisms, and education (WWIW, 2002).

Furthermore, these incidences have been exacerbated by the current international scene, such as the banning of the hijab in public schools in France. There has also been considerable debate regarding banning the veil in other European countries with substantial Muslim minorities. The Netherlands and Belgium have been proposing a veil ban and the UK leader of the House of Commons, Jack Straw, has made comments criticizing the veil, sparking a controversy within the UK regarding the right to wear the veil (BBC News, 2006a; 2006b). In light of the current political climate, discriminatory practices against Hijabis being reported in the news, and the saliency of the headscarf, using Hijabis as an example of individuals who wear religious attire in this study is ideal. Additionally, investigating discrimination against Hijabis is practically as well as theoretically important.

Nature of Discrimination

One means by which stigmatization is manifested is that stigmatized individuals often become targets of discrimination (Goffman, 1963; Jones et al., 1984), which can be defined as “the unfair treatment of others based on their group membership” (Matsumoto, 2000). To be able to measure the extent to which discrimination against individuals who wear religious attire exists in a work domain, it is necessary to have an understanding as to why discrimination might occur against individuals who wear religious attire. Below, using social identity theory (Tajfel, 1981) and self-categorization theory (Turner & Oakes, 1989), I describe why Hijabis will be discriminated against.

In *The Nature of Prejudice*, Allport (1954) argued that humans have a propensity to categorize others into ingroups and outgroups - categories of “us” and “them,” and to use these categories as the means for prejudgment. Building from Allport’s categorization

process, Tajfel (1981) proposed the social identity theory. The social identity theory suggests that prejudice and discrimination occur from the desire to preserve self esteem by contrasting a positive ingroup identity from a devalued outgroup identity. This process serves to maintain a positive social identity by derogating outgroups, so that one's own group can come to feel superior and thus, justify discrimination against outgroups. Hence, by identifying with a favorably evaluated group, prejudice and discrimination serves to enhance self-esteem by fostering positive associations with the ingroup and negative associations with the outgroup.

The social identity theory (Tajfel, 1981) mainly suggests three underlying mechanisms that individuals undergo when confronted with others. The initial part of the process is categorizing. By categorizing people into outgroups and ingroups, individuals can exaggerate their ingroup similarities and outgroup differences. This is followed by comparing one's ingroup to that of the outgroup. Some groups will have more status than others in terms of power and prestige, and through comparisons, one can determine the relative standing of one's ingroup to the outgroup. This comparison is not solely limited to status, but groups can also be differentiated on any valued dimensions, such as beliefs and values. The final process involves using one's group status as a source of positive self-esteem. By comparing one's ingroup to a group of lower status, one can boost one's self esteem while derogating others.

Social identity theory can serve to explain why discrimination occurs against individuals who wear religious attire. For example, when an individual who is not Muslim comes across a Hijabi, one can identify the Hijabi as an out-group member because the Hijabi can easily be identified as a Muslim, an already described stigmatized

group. As a result of this categorization, the individual can start comparing his/ her ingroup to that of the Muslims. After establishing differences between his/ her group from Muslims, that person can choose to use the status (or beliefs) of his/ her group against the status (or beliefs) of the stigmatized Muslim group to inflate positive feelings towards the ingroup and derogate the Muslim outgroup by directing anger towards the Hijabi outgroup members. One way in which this can be manifested is through discrimination. Previous research supports this line of reasoning, as even minimal group studies have shown that the mere categorization of people belonging to ingroups and outgroups can result in ingroup favoritism and outgroup discrimination, even if these groups are divided randomly (Billig & Tajfel, 1973; Tajfel, 1970; Hamilton and Troiler, 1986).

The self-categorization theory (Turner & Oakes, 1989) extends the social identity theory by describing the cognitive details of the social categorization process proposed by social identity theory. The main premise of self-categorization theory is that categorization is largely a function of comparative fit and normative fit (Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994). Comparative fit suggests that people categorize others into groups depending on the degree to which the perceived within group differences are small compared to the perceived between group differences. Because the Hijab is such a salient symbol of religious identity, it distinguishes the perceiver from the Hijabi relatively well. Thus, due to the high comparative fit, the hijab increases the extent to which the perceiver uses the categorization process to differentiate between the Hijabi as an outgroup member from the perceiver, an ingroup member. Normative fit suggests that people categorize others depending on the extent to which others are perceived as

consistent with stereotypical and normative expectations. The normative fit of Hijabis would also be strong because one of the main stereotypes of Muslim females is that they wear a veil (Bullock, 2002). Because Hijabis confirm this stereotype by donning the hijab, the extent to which they are categorized should be high. Overall, the self-categorization theory suggests that Hijabis are very likely to be socially categorized by others, which can eventually lead to discrimination.

Formal vs. Interpersonal Discrimination

To understand the extent to which Hijabis experience discrimination within the hiring process, this study goes beyond measuring discrimination in its traditional overt form to examining how discrimination operates today in the contemporary workplace. Because the legal and social norms today prevent people from showing outright differential treatment of minorities, traditional forms of discrimination may be replaced by other forms of discrimination. For instance, discrimination may occur in subtle forms, making discrimination even more difficult to detect and to remove. Hebl, Foster, Mannix, and Dovidio (2002) categorized two distinct forms of discrimination that exist in today's workplace: 1) formal discrimination and 2) interpersonal discrimination. Below, these two forms of discrimination and the extent to which Hijabis will experience each of these are discussed in greater detail.

Formal Discrimination. Formal discrimination, also known as overt discrimination and old-fashioned discrimination, is marked by explicit negative behaviors towards members of a stigmatized group, such as outright refusal to employ stigmatized individuals (Hebl et al., 2002). Formal discrimination in the hiring process can be marked by distinct behaviors, such as refusal to greet, help, and hire a stigmatized individual.

Formal discrimination has been described as “overt, unambivalent, unconflicted, blatant, and conscious” (Crocker et al., 1998). Although it is believed that traditional overt forms of discriminatory behavior are considered unacceptable in America and have been replaced by more subtle discriminatory behavior (Hebl et al., 2002), they very much still exist (Crocker et al., 1998). Dovidio and Gaertner (1991) estimated that approximately 20 percent of White Americans still follow old-fashion racism, in which they observe overt discrimination, make bigoted comments, and act openly hostile towards stigmatized individuals. This 20% is a significant number, considering the negative impact this form of discrimination can have on stigmatized individuals, and thus, it should not be overlooked. Accordingly, this study argues that Hijabis will experience behaviors related to formal discrimination during the hiring process.

One reason why formal discrimination might still be an actual problem for Hijabis is that their group might not be as protected from conventional social norms as are other groups. Even though certain forms of discrimination are considered taboo in America, such as racial, gender and even religious discrimination, not all groups are considered off-limits from discrimination (Crocker et al., 1998). Discrimination against certain groups might be overlooked, or might not even be categorized as discrimination. For instance, negative attitudes towards obese people are acceptable even among individuals who are concerned with appearing politically correct (Crandall, 1994). Similarly, in a nationwide poll conducted by Cornell University (Media and Society Research Group, 2004), an overwhelmingly 44 percent of Americans believed that some form of restrictions should be placed on the civil liberties of Muslim Americans, suggesting that approximately half of the sample of American citizens in the poll believe that certain

forms of differential treatment against Muslims are acceptable. Furthermore, while the media is cautious to not appear racially stereotypical against certain minorities (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1991), Muslims and Arabs continue to be portrayed negatively as terrorists on TV and films (Madani, 2000; Shaheen, 1984; 2003). Additionally, in the news, politicians have displayed mixed reactions after increased incidences of hostility towards Muslim after the 9/11 events; while some offered empathetic sentiments, others remained silent or even offered negative comments against Muslims (Allen & Nielson, 2002). These negative images of Muslims portrayed in the media, by political officials, and public opinion suggest that negative attitudes and stereotypes towards Muslims are very much prevalent and somewhat permissible in our society, suggesting that negative actions taken against Hijabis might also not be subject to taboo.

Another reason why negative attitudes and behaviors against some groups are considered more acceptable than others is the perceived controllability of one's stigma, or when the stigmatized individual is considered responsible for one's condition and has the capability of eliminating his/ her stigma (Crocker et al., 1998; Weiner, Perry, & Magnusson, 1988). Rejection of individuals with controllable stigma is viewed as more permissible than rejection of individuals with uncontrollable stigma (Rodin, Price, Sanchez, & McElligot, 1989). This is because hostility against someone who isn't responsible for one's stigma might be perceived as unjust, but animosity towards someone who is perceived as a culprit of one's own stigma might be considered allowable. Accordingly, individuals with controllable stigmas are more likely to be disliked, treated harshly, elicit anger, rejected, and less likely to be assisted or pitied than individuals with uncontrollable stigmas (Crocker et al., 1998; Weiner et al., 1988). For

example, negative attitudes towards the stigma of obesity are considered acceptable because many people believe that weight can be controlled and that obese people should be blamed for their own circumstances (Crandall, 1994). Similarly, because most religious attire such as the hijab can be removed, it is also likely to be perceived as a controllable stigma. With this viewpoint, the perceiver can hold the person wearing the Hijab as responsible for her stigma, and justify that discrimination against such an individual is deserved.

Current data on intergroup violence against Muslims shows that Hijabis are in fact subjected to formal discrimination. Research shows that outright expressions of discrimination, such as verbal abuse, harassment, and aggression towards Muslims are prevalent (Sheridan, 2007). Even though there was a rise in curiosity regarding the Islamic religion and culture following the September 11 events, it did not necessarily promote more peace towards Muslims (Allen & Nielson, 2002). Instead, there has been a rise of Islamophobic activities after the September 11th events. In a study assessing religious discrimination against Muslims pre and post September 11, Sheridan (2007) found evidence of overt discrimination (e.g. hateful behavior) against Muslims on the grounds of their religion. The overwhelming majority (76.3%) of Muslim participants in the study reported that there was an increase in formal discrimination, representing a significant increase in formal discrimination post 9/11. A breakdown of formal discrimination revealed that 17.8% of the participants reported experiencing violent or life-threatening situations, 36.1% indicated experiencing hostile behavior directed against them, and 55% reported experiencing religious-tensions within their community.

Overall, considering the fact that the majority of Muslim respondents indicated they experienced formal discrimination (Sheridan, 2007), it is reasonable to expect that there will be behaviors related to formal discrimination against Hijabis. In fact, Hijabis should be especially likely to experience behaviors related to formal discrimination because of the salience of their religious attire. One of the major sources of motivated abuse against Muslims identified is one's visible membership as a Muslim (Allen & Nielson, 2002; Weller, Feldman, & Purdam, 2001). In fact, being visually identifiable as a Muslim was found to be the most powerful antecedent to negative behaviors against Muslims, with the hijab being the most primary visual identifier (Allen & Nielson, 2002). Muslim women were more likely to be targets of discrimination than men (Allen & Nielson, 2002), presumably because their identity as Muslims is easily identified because of their hijab. Accordingly, I hypothesize:

H1: Hijabis will experience more behaviors related to formal discrimination than non-Hijabis.

Interpersonal Discrimination. As U.S. law forbids religious discrimination and requires employers to reasonably accommodate the religious practices of their employees (Title VII, 1964), formal discrimination against stigmatized individuals has become more susceptible to legal concerns, resulting in a decline in the incidences of overt traditional forms of discrimination (Hebl et al., 2002). However, formal discrimination is believed to have been replaced by more covert forms of discriminatory behavior. Even though data show that people have become more accepting and hold positive attitudes towards

minorities over the past few decades, there are indications that people still hold persisting negative feelings and subtle biases towards minorities (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1991). For example, measures of implicit prejudice and subtle forms of discrimination such as the Implicit Associations Test (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwatz, 1999), priming measures (Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997), and non verbal behaviors such as smiling and eye contact (Biernat & Vescio, 2002; Dovidio et al., 1997) reveal that negative attitudes towards stigmatized groups still persist.

Accordingly, it is important to study indirect forms of discrimination along with formal discrimination to measure the true extent to which Hijabis experience discrimination during the job application process. To address this issue, I will measure behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination, which is described as the subtle expression of discrimination through interpersonal nonverbal and sometimes verbal behavior (Hebl et al., 2002). In the organization context, interpersonal discrimination is marked by subtle discriminatory behaviors such as rudeness, and negative nonverbal behaviors such as lack of eye contact and decreased smiling. It is important to note that although this form of discrimination is subtle, it is not free of negative consequences that are associated with formal discrimination (Stone et al., 1992). Subtle forms of discrimination might become overt forms of discrimination during periods of stress and frustration, leading to hostile behavior (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1991).

Interpersonal discrimination has been shown to be manifested more commonly than formal discrimination (Hebl et al., 2002; Hebl, King, Glick, Singletary, & Kazama, 2007; King, Shapiro, Hebl, Singletary, & Turner, 2006). One reason for the prevalence of interpersonal discrimination over formal discrimination is that people's attitudes have

changed over time. Due to the civil rights movement and the ever increasing diversity in our media, views on minorities have shifted (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1991). For example, Crosby, Bromey, and Saxe (1980) reported that between the period ranging from late 1950s to early 1960s, Whites openly held negative attitudes towards Blacks. However, from the period of 1960s to 1980s, Whites were less likely to agree to such racial attitudes. What is interesting to keep in mind is that during these time periods, subtle forms of discrimination towards Blacks remained the same. For example, Whites still displayed negative nonverbal behavior towards Blacks and were less likely to engage in helpful behavior towards Blacks than Whites. Accordingly, interpersonal discrimination can be seen as replacing overt forms of discriminatory behavior for various reasons, such as social norms to not act prejudiced (Sechrist & Stangor, 2001) and the desire to appear politically correct (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002). Thus, our present day social norms have suppressed traditional forms of discrimination into being expressed in alternate ways so as to not challenge the American ideal of egalitarianism directly.

Interpersonal discrimination can best be described by and is derived from the theory of aversive racism (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). The main premise of the theory of aversive racism is that discrimination occurs in a subtle manner and that discriminating individuals are at odds with their subconscious racist beliefs and their self concept of themselves as espousing egalitarian values. According to this theory, people truly hold nonprejudiced ideals and egalitarian values of fairness and justice. However, negative attitudes towards stigmatized individuals still are rooted in their subconscious due to their socialization into a historically prejudiced culture of the U.S and motivational biases such

as ingroup favoritism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1991). Because it is important to people that their egalitarian and non prejudiced values be maintained as part of their self-concept, aversive racists avoid racist beliefs and intentionally act in ways to affirm their self-concept, sometimes even displaying extremely positive attitudes towards stigmatized individuals. However, because their negative attitudes still lie subconsciously towards certain stigmatized individuals, these negative attitudes might leak out as subtle discriminatory behavior.

The coexistence of both negative attitudes towards stigmatized individuals and the desire to be egalitarian leads to ambivalence. This ambivalence can be manifested as endorsing egalitarian values in certain situations, whereas ambivalence in other situations can be manifested as negative feelings towards stigmatized individuals (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). Specifically, depending on the ambiguity and clarity of appropriate norms to follow given a situation, people will discriminate or endorse egalitarian values. When the norms are weak, unclear, or when a person can justify negative feelings towards another on a factor external to stigma, aversive racists will respond negatively to stigmatized individuals. In such ambiguous situations, stigmatized individuals can be treated in a disadvantaged manner, but the aversive racist can be free of any accusation shattering one's egalitarian self-concept. In the end, this serves to maintain the person's self-concept that he/ she is not prejudiced, even if in actuality it was prejudice that motivated one's behavior. However, when appropriate social norms are obvious, aversive racists will not act in a discriminatory manner because it will directly threaten their egalitarian self-concept of themselves. In fact, aversive racists might even act overly positive towards stigmatized individuals in such situations (Crocker et al., 1998). For

example, if aversive racists become aware that they are being influenced by someone's stigmatized status, they will be careful to curb such behavior.

Similarly, in the context of someone applying for a job, certain norms are well established while others remain ambiguous. Certain overt forms of discriminatory actions such as verbal harassment and aggression are prohibited by the law and could lead to job loss, thus managers would avoid such extreme behavior against job applicants. However, there are no norms regarding the interpersonal nature of how managers should act towards applicants. For example, managers are not mandated by law to speak a certain number of words, or smile a certain amount, and stand only a certain distance away from stigmatized individuals (Hebl et al, 2002). Because there are no norms established for such social interactions, managers may be inclined to interpersonal forms of discrimination by being less friendly, less interested, and finish conversations sooner with stigmatized individuals than they would with nonstigmatized individuals.

Previous research supports the idea that interpersonal discrimination exists in the workplace (Hebl et al., 2002; Hebl et al, 2007; King et al., 2006). Hebl et al. (2002) reported that confederate job applicants, who were portrayed as either homosexual (stigmatized) or not (non-stigmatized), faced more behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination when they were in a stigmatized group compared to when they were in a non-stigmatized group. Specifically, managers spent less time interacting and said fewer and more negative words when the confederates were portrayed as homosexual job applicants than when they were portrayed as heterosexual job applicants. Similar results were also found in a study investigating discrimination towards pregnant women in a nontraditional role as job applicants (Hebl et al., 2007). Confederates in a pregnancy

prosthesis were subjected to more hostile interpersonal behavior compared to confederates without a pregnancy prosthesis. Likewise, as Hijabis are also stigmatized individuals, I propose that:

H2: Hijabis will experience more behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination than non-Hijabis.

Microaggressions. This study will also extend the prevailing conceptualization of interpersonal discrimination by building from the theory of racial microaggression. Racial microaggressions are defined as “brief and common place behavior indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, which communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults” (Sue, Capodilupo, Torino, Bucceri, Holder, Nadal, & Esquin, 2007). Similar to interpersonal discrimination, racial microaggressions focus on the subtle and unconscious forms of denigration that are expressed through gestures, looks, and verbal or nonverbal insults (Constantine & Sue, 2007; Pierce, Carew, Pierce-Gonzalez, & Willis, 1978). Because microaggressions are conceptually similar to interpersonal discrimination and because they can also have similar several negative consequences for their victims, resulting in impaired performance, psychological distress and inequities between groups (Constantine & Sue, 2007; Franklin, 2004; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Sue, 2004), it is important to consider microaggressions when studying behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination.

Currently, research on racial microaggression is limited and at its beginning stages. Part of the problem in advancing the theory of microaggression lies in the difficulty in

detecting microaggressions (Sue, 2004). Because perpetrators of racial microaggression are usually unaware that they acting biased or stereotyping outgroup members, it is hard for them to be cognizant of actions that qualify as microaggressions. In fact, most perpetrators of microaggressions remain unaware when they denigrate outgroup members and classify their exchanges with other members from outgroups as innocuous and inoffensive (Constantine & Sue, 2007; Franklin, 1999). As in the case of interpersonal discrimination, this belief serves to maintain the perpetrators' egalitarian views of themselves (Sue, 2004). Furthermore, victims of microaggression themselves are oftentimes unsure whether microaggression actually occurs due to the general ambiguity of microaggressions. Even if victims feel slighted, the perpetrators' behaviors can be interpreted in many ways. Just as interpersonal discrimination is more prevalent in ambiguous situation, microaggression tends to occur most when the prejudicial behavior can be explained through other non-racial factors and not when one's behavior would clearly appear prejudicial, making it difficult for victims to identify the perpetrator's actions as a form of microaggression (Sue et al., 2007).

Even though most microaggressions are hard to "identify, quantify, and rectify" because they tend to be subtle and ambiguous in nature (Sue et al., 2007), various research on aversive racism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1996) and the daily presence of racism (Sellers & Shelton, 2003) support the theory of racial microaggression. Additionally, Sue et al, (2007) recently proposed a taxonomy of racial microaggressions by reviewing the literature on aversive racism and personal narratives from people who encountered everyday racism. Specifically, Sue et al. (2007) conceptualize racial microaggression in three forms: 1) microassault, 2) microinsult, and microinvalidation. Microassault is the

explicit derogation of an out-group member through a verbal or nonverbal attack intentionally meant to hurt someone. Microassault is very similar to Hebl et al.'s (2002) conceptualization of formal discrimination and includes name-calling, avoidant behavior, or intentional discriminatory actions.

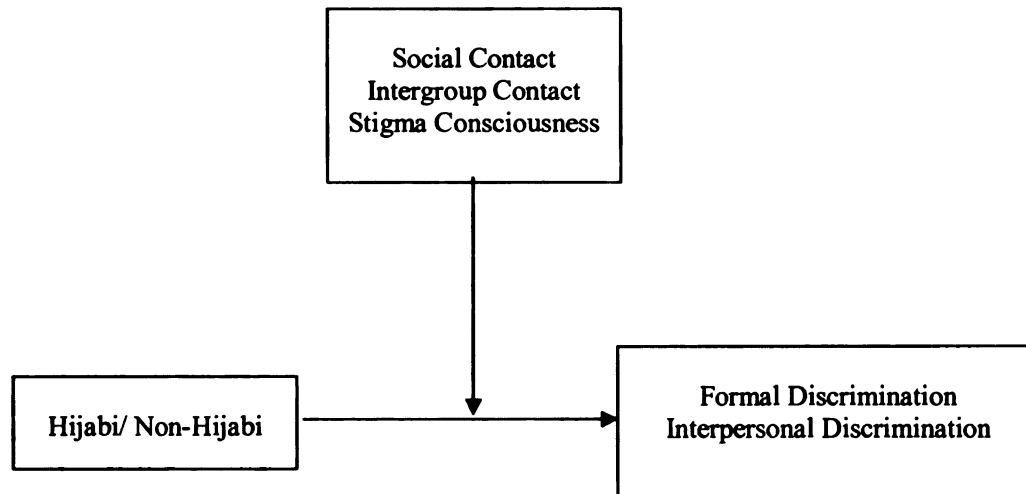
However, what is of most relevance from Sue et al.'s (2007) taxonomy of racial microaggression in improving the conceptualization of interpersonal discrimination are the categories of microinsult and microinvalidation. Microinsult is the subtle communication that conveys insensitivity and rudeness towards the stigmatized individual's identity. This can be in nonverbal or verbal form and the perpetrator is generally unconscious of this form of aggression. Microinvalidation are "verbal comment or behaviors which serve to exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings, or experiential reality" of a minority group member (Sue et al., 2007). Like microinsults, microinvalidation is also a generally unconscious process. Both microinsult and microinvalidation are related to Hebl et al.'s (2002) conceptualization of interpersonal discrimination because they also represent unconscious and subtle forms of discrimination. Also like interpersonal discrimination, microinsult and microinvalidation are empirically supported by the work on aversive racism theory (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1996). Because these two unconscious forms of racial microaggression (microinsult and microinvalidation) are very similar to interpersonal discrimination, they can add value to Hebl et al.'s (2007) conceptualization of interpersonal discrimination by providing another framework for studying the phenomenon. Additionally, these forms of racial microaggressions are very much prevalent in everyday situations involving members from different groups (Sue et al., 2007), and should thus be relevant in understanding

Hijabis' experiences of behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination. Accordingly, this study will also incorporate microaggression in the measurement of behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination.

Moderators of Behaviors Related to Formal Discrimination and Interpersonal Discrimination

Having established that Hijabis will experience more behaviors related to formal discrimination and interpersonal discrimination than non-Hijabis as job applicants, it is important to address conditions that will influence this effect. In the sections that follow, I address personal and contextual moderators that can influence the relationship between wearing religious attire and the extent to which behaviors related to formal discrimination and interpersonal discrimination will occur. Specifically, I propose that three moderators, contextual factors (amount of social contact required by occupation and intergroup contact potential of the location) and the job applicants' own expectations for discrimination (stigma consciousness) will play a role in the extent to which behaviors related to discrimination occurs against individuals who wear religious attire. Figure 1 presents the model based on the hypotheses to follow.

Figure 1. *Model of interpersonal and formal discrimination against Hijabis.*



Social Contact. Formal and interpersonal discrimination against Hijabis may be more prevalent for some types of jobs than for others. More specifically, the contextual factors of the job will influence the extent to which the Hijabi will be discriminated against. Previous research supports this contention that discrimination against stigmatized individuals in the workplace is more prevalent for some types of jobs than for others. For example, Stewart and Perlow (2001) found that people evaluated Blacks less favorably and were less confident in hiring Blacks over Whites for high status jobs. However, the evaluators did not lack confidence in hiring when making a decision of hiring Blacks over Whites for jobs of low status.

Discriminatory practices as a function of job type are not limited to race, but to other stigmas as well, such as gender and physical appearance. Evaluators rate attractive and feminine woman more highly for feminine or neutral jobs than unattractive women, but attractive women are rated less favorably for masculine-type jobs compared to

unattractive women (Cash, Gillen, & Burn, 1977). Similarly, Heilman and Sauwatari (1979) showed that hiring preferences were given to attractive women for clerical and feminine positions over men and unattractive women. Concerning promotions, attractive women were more likely to be promoted for stereotypically feminine positions, but not for masculine positions (Heilman & Stopeck, 1985).

Religious groups have also been subjected to discrimination for certain types of jobs more so than others. Mansouri and Perlow (2005) reported that Muslims job applicants received low rankings and were less likely to receive job interviews for a security guard position than non-Muslim job applicants. However, for non-security positions (shipping, traffic clerk), the difference in rankings between Muslim and non-Muslim job applicants was not as great. This finding suggests that evaluators consider religion and job type simultaneously when evaluating Muslim candidates for job positions. Accordingly, because Muslims are evaluated less favorably for some types of jobs than non-Muslims, it is expected that Hijabis will also face similar issues. Hijabis should be especially susceptible to discrimination under certain job types because of the salience of their Muslim identity. Previous research suggests that individuals with visible stigmas are subjected to more negative interactions and prejudice than individuals with concealable stigmas (Jones et al., 1984). As a consequence, the salience of the hijab is crucial in producing discrimination against Hijabis for certain job types.

Thus, this study proposes that one particular contextual factor of the job that will influence behaviors related to discrimination against Hijabis is the amount of social contact required for an occupation. It is important to consider the amount of social contact required for the job because it affects the frequency of negative social interactions

that will occur between stigmatized and nonstigmatized individuals. Previous research has shown that cross-group interactions can cause people to feel uncomfortable and threatened due to the uncertainty of the interactions, such as how they will be perceived by others and how they should act (Blascovich, Spencer, Quinn, & Steele, 2001; Devine, Evett, & Vasquez-Suson, 1996; Goffman, 1963; Ickes, 1984; Stephan & Stephan, 1985). In turn, this anxiety can motivate people to avoid certain situations, making intergroup interactions less likely to occur (Fiske & Ruscher, 1993, Stephan & Stephan, 1985). The anxiety from these interactions arises from many different sources: (1) attitudinal prejudices, (2) novelty of situation, (3) fear of appearing stereotypical towards the stigmatized individual, and (4) physiological and cognitive changes in the body. Each of these sources of anxiety is described below in detail.

Attitudinal prejudice is one source of anxiety in intergroup interactions. That is, some nonstigmatized individuals inherently hold outright prejudiced beliefs towards members of stigmatized groups. These nonstigmatized individuals might be blatantly racist and unconcerned about acting in appropriate ways during intergroup interactions (Crocker et al, 1998). However, these individuals still might feel uncomfortable in interactions with stigmatized individuals because despite their open hostility, their major goal will be to escape these interactions.

The novelty of the situation is another reason why nonstigmatized individuals might feel uncomfortable when interacting with stigmatized individuals. Because most interactions are usually unstructured, people tend to rely on stereotypes and expectations as a guide for their behavior (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Relying on one's stereotypes can cause the nonstigmatized individual to become overly concerned with whether the

stigmatized interaction partner confirms his/ her negative stereotypes (Crocker et al, 1998). This is regardless of whether the nonstigmatized individual buys into the stereotype or not; the stereotype simply serves as a framework for analyzing the stigmatized individual's behavior. Overall, familiarity helps people with their transactions while differences disrupt these transactions (Fiske & Ruscher, 1993).

Still other nonstigmatized individuals might be concerned about behaving in ways that conform to social norms and adhere to their own internalized egalitarian and nonprejudiced value system (Carver, Glass, & Snyder, Katz, 1977; Devine, Monteith, Zuwerink, & Elliot, 1991). As a result of this, these types of nonstigmatized individuals may feel uncomfortable because they might become overly concerned about the impression they give the stigmatized individual with whom they are interacting with, such as appearing racist or inappropriate. For example, Ickes (1984) found that White students in unstructured dyadic interracial interactions were motivated to appear unprejudiced. Ironically, this motivation lead to self-consciousness and anxiety, which in turn produced nonverbal behavior revealing discomfort, such as hesitant speech, fidgeting, stuttering, decreased eye contact, increased interpersonal distance, and efforts to escape the situation (Devine et al., 1996; Word, Zanna, & Cooper, 1974).

Finally, physiological and cognitive changes are another reason why nonstigmatized individuals might avoid stigmatized individuals. Blascovich et al. (2001) showed physiological evidence that nonstigmatized individuals interacting with stigmatized individuals exhibited cardiovascular patterns associated with threat and performed more poorly on a speech delivery task than did those interacting with nonstigmatized members. These physiological and behavioral effects occurred across all

stigma conditions, including physical, racial, and socially constructed stigmas (Blascovich et al., 2001). Interracial dyadic interactions can also deplete cognitive resources and impair task performance. For example, Richeson and Trawalter (2005) showed that interracial interactions increased self-regulatory demands on nonstigmatized individuals and led to greater stroop test interference.

In summary, intergroup interactions can bring about intense anxiety in nonstigmatized individuals (Schlenker & Leary, 1982). Usually, individuals might be inclined to create a positive impression of themselves when interacting with others. However, since these nonstigmatized individuals may have had limited experiences interacting with outgroup members than with members from their own groups, this may result in uncertainty as to what types of behaviors are appropriate when interacting with outgroup members and whether they will be positively received (Plant & Devine, 2003). This can cause the nonstigmatized individuals to become overly concerned about appearing prejudiced as well as socially incompetent in such interactions. Consequently, because they lack guidelines on how to present themselves in intergroup interactions, nonstigmatized individuals will hold negative outcome expectations for such interactions, which are likely to result in anxiety in intergroup interactions (Devine et al., 1996).

Since interactions between stigmatized and nonstigmatized individuals are frequently described as uncomfortable and stressful for nonstigmatized individuals (Devine et al., 1996; Goffman, 1963; Ickes, 1984; Stephan & Stephan, 1985), it is reasonable to believe that nonstigmatized individuals will try to avoid them. Plant and Devine (2003) support the contention that anxiety concerning upcoming intergroup interactions is related to avoidance of such interactions. Ickes (1984) also found the same

association between anxiety and avoidance of interracial interactions, with White people being more inclined to avoid interactions with Black people, and responding with higher anxiety levels and lower affiliative behaviors towards Blacks. In addition to motivating nonstigmatized individuals to avoid intergroup interactions all together, intergroup anxiety has also been linked to subtle discriminatory avoidance behaviors, such as reduced eye contact and greater distance, similar to that of interpersonal discrimination (e.g., Devine et al., 1996; Word et al., 1974). Consequently, these behaviors influence the quality of future intergroup interactions, by promoting negative expectations for them.

Schlenker and Leary (1982) suggest that the avoidance of intergroup interactions can have a number of negative implications. For one, avoidance prevents the nonstigmatized individuals from developing interpersonal skills necessary for these intergroup interactions, which could also potentially prevent anxiety in the future. Additionally, avoidance inhibits any personal relationships and bonds between groups that intergroup interactions can foster. As a result of these implications, avoiding intergroup interactions because of anxiety can result in a vicious cycle of persistent anxiety towards stigmatized individuals, by never allowing for intergroup interactions to take place, and in turn, fostering more anxiety towards the outgroup (Plant & Devine, 2003).

Related to this study, it is reasonable to expect that in the context of high social contact occupations, employers might perceive that their customers will be required to have a wide number of interactions with Hijabis. Simply because the nature of some occupations requires high social contact, customers will be more in contact with Hijabis. Some of these cross-group interactions might be particularly uncomfortable for the

nonstigmatized individuals, due to the anxiety that is often prevalent in the interactions between stigmatized and nonstigmatized individuals (Plant & Devine, 2003). Therefore, occupations that require a high degree of social contact should be perceived as involving a greater frequency of negative interactions between Hijabis and customers, and employers will be motivated to avoid such interactions by being more inclined to discriminate against stigmatized Hijabi job applicants regarding such types of jobs.

Indirect support for this contention comes from research on another stigmatized group, obese persons, during the applicant process (Puhl & Brownell, 2001). Particularly, obese job applicants are rated as lacking professional appearance for high social contact jobs, but not for low social contact positions (Rothblum, Miller, & Garbutt, 1988). For example, research suggests that employers consider obese persons as unfit for high social contact positions such as sales positions, but not for jobs with little face-to-face contact such as telephone sales positions (Bellizzi & Hasty, 1998; Everett, 1990). Similarly, when confederate job applicants wore an obesity prosthesis, they were more likely to be recommended for system analysts positions (low social contact job) than sales positions (Pingitore, Dugoni, Tindale, & Spring, 1994). Customers have also been shown to hold similar views towards stigmatized individuals (Everett, 1990), stating that they would not prefer to be waited on in a store by obese persons (stigmatized individuals). Employers are aware of this problem that stigmatized individuals will have with customers, and admit avoiding having stigmatized individuals such as overweight persons call on their customers (Everett, 1990).

Furthermore, employers might anticipate that others coworkers will also be uncomfortable with Hijabis. Previous research suggests that not only do employers

negatively judge stigmatized individuals, but coworkers do as well (Jasper & Klassen, 1990; Klassen, Jasper, & Harris, 1993). For example, Jasper and Klassen (1990) found that coworkers found obese applicants (stigmatized individuals) significantly less desirable to work with, even going as far as stating obesity as the direct cause of their low judgments. However, thin applicants were found to be the most desirable to work with (Klassen et al., 1993).

Additionally, companies and employers both acknowledge that appearance is important for high social contact jobs such as sales (Everett, 1990), and they are aware that the presence of a stigmatized individual can adversely affect the store image. Accordingly, it is plausible that an employer will be less likely to hire Hijabis in high social contact jobs because they anticipate future negative social interactions for coworkers and customers interacting with stigmatized individuals (i.e. low sales, less bonding between coworkers). Therefore, occupations that require a high degree of social contact should be perceived as involving a greater frequency of negative interactions with many non-stigmatized individuals, and employers will be motivated to avoid such interactions by being more inclined to discriminatory behaviors against stigmatized job applicants regarding such types of jobs. Thus, I hypothesize:

H3: The relationship between Hijabi/ Non-Hijabi and behaviors related to formal discrimination is moderated by social contact such that:

This relationship is accentuated when there is high social contact and attenuated when there is low social contact.

H4: The relationship between Hijabi/ Non-Hijabi and behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination is moderated by social contact such that:

This relationship is accentuated when there is high social contact and attenuated when there is low social contact.

Intergroup Contact. Intergroup contact, or prolonged contact between different groups, can also influence the amount of formal and interpersonal discrimination a stigmatized individual will experience when applying for a job. Intergroup contact has been well established as one of the key ways to reduce intergroup prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). The construct stems from Allport's (1954) *contact hypothesis*, which suggests that intergroup tensions can be reduced by bringing groups into contact with one another. This contention has received considerable support. For example, Deutsch and Collins (1951) found that there was a significant difference in the amount of intergroup prejudice between a racially desegregated housing project in New York City and a segregated housing project in Newark, with an overwhelming 75% of White individuals from New York favoring interracial housing compared to 25% from Newark. Additionally, in a meta-analysis of 516 studies, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) established that intergroup contact generally reduces intergroup prejudice. 95% of the studies in this meta-analysis revealed a negative relationship between intergroup contact and intergroup prejudice, with a mean effect size between intergroup contact and intergroup prejudice of $r = -.21$.

In addition to the basic premise that intergroup contact reduces prejudice, Allport (1954) also identified four optimal conditions which are essential for intergroup contact

to reduce intergroup prejudice: 1) equal status of the groups in the situation, 2) intergroup cooperation, 3) common goals, and 4) social and institutional support of greater contact. Several longitudinal studies (Eller & Abrams, 2003; Levin, van Laar, & Sidanius, 2003) have shown that these optimal conditions for contact do indeed reduce prejudice over time. However, a recent meta-analysis (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) found that although Allport's (1954) four optimal conditions for intergroup contact facilitate intergroup contact in decreasing prejudice, they are not necessary.

In fact, several studies have shown that just the mere exposure to outgroup members can increase liking of outgroup members (Harmon-Jones & Allen, 2001; Zajonc, 1968). This general liking of outgroup members can also enhance liking towards member from different outgroups (Rhodes, Halberstadt, & Brajkovich, 2001), suggesting that greater contact with an outgroup member should enhance liking for that member, that member's outgroup, as well as different outgroups. For example, intergroup contact has been shown to not only increase positive affect and reduce discrimination towards the outgroup member one is in contact with, but has also been shown to produce positive affect towards the whole outgroup (Herek & Capitano, 1996), as well as other outgroups (Pettigrew, 1997).

Additionally, the effect of intergroup contact on intergroup prejudice is not just limited to direct contact but it also extends to indirect contact. Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, and Ropp (1997) found that indirect intergroup contact, such as having an ingroup friend who has outgroup friends, is related to reduced prejudice. In fact, compared to direct intergroup contact, this form of vicarious indirect intergroup contact is just as effective in reducing intergroup prejudice. Liebkind, Nyström,

Honkanummi, and Lange (2004) showed similar findings in that having a friend who has a foreign friend correlates with anti-group prejudice ($r=.34$) and, related to this study, even anti-Muslim prejudice ($r=.30$).

There are many beliefs as to why intergroup contact reduces prejudice, ranging from affective to cognitive explanations. Affectively, it is believed that inter-group contact allows the ingroup member to develop empathy and positive emotions towards the outgroup members while reducing negative emotions, which in turn, reduce prejudice (Miller, Smith, & Mackie, 2004). Additionally, intergroup contact increases understanding between outgroup and ingroup members, reducing intergroup threat and anxiety, and as an end result, prejudice is reduced (Blascovich, Mendes, Hunter, Lickel, & Kowai-Bell, 2001). Intergroup contact is also thought to produce positive intergroup attitudes by increasing knowledge about the outgroup (Stephan & Stephan, 1984), because having direct contact with an outgroup member individuates the outgroup by making the outgroup more familiar, thereby reducing prejudice towards that outgroup (Wilder, 1978).

As it is evidenced by numerous studies that intergroup contact reduces intergroup prejudice, it is reasonable to expect that increased intergroup contact with Muslims will result in lower prejudice and more positive attitudes toward members from the Muslim outgroup. The underlying assumption here is that increased intergroup contact with Muslims might lead to a greater understanding of the Muslim community, increased positive empathy and emotions, and reduced anxiety towards Muslims. Previous research supports this contention. Plant and Devine (2003) found that people with previous intergroup contact exhibit less intergroup anxiety and hold positive expectations

regarding future interracial interactions. Accordingly, this view of Muslims will make individuals less prejudiced towards them, and as a result, less likely to engage in discriminatory behaviors against Muslims. Likewise, in the case of Hijabi job applicants, employers who had high intergroup contact with Muslims in the past, would be more inclined to be empathetic and to take the perspective of Hijabis, thereby reducing prejudice against them. In fact, previous research shows that intergroup contact is most effective in reducing intergroup prejudice when the positive feelings are projected to an individual member from the stigmatized group whose outgroup membership is salient (i.e. Hijabis) (Brown, 1995). Accordingly, I predict:

H5: The relationship between Hijabi/ Non-Hijabi and behaviors related to formal discrimination is moderated by intergroup contact such that:

This relationship is accentuated when there is low intergroup contact and attenuated when there is high intergroup contact.

H6: The relationship between Hijabi/ Non-Hijabi and behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination is moderated by intergroup contact such that:

This relationship is accentuated when there is low intergroup contact and attenuated when there is high intergroup contact.

Stigma Consciousness. Previous research suggests that individuals from stigmatized groups are aware that their membership in such groups affects how people interact with them. For example, Cohen and Swim (1995) found that women who perceived themselves as the only women in a group expected to be more stigmatized than women who did not perceive themselves as the sole woman in a given group. Similarly,

Kleck and Strenta (1980) found that when participants with cosmetically placed facial scars interacted with confederates, they reported the scar as affecting their interactions. These findings suggest that it is important to take account of differences in the expectations of stigmatized individuals to be stigmatized as these expectations can influence how stigmatized individuals will perceive certain situations. Additionally, the extent to which a stigmatized individual expects to be stigmatized, also known as stigma consciousness, can lead to cognitive and behavioral consequences that contribute to that individual's experiences of discrimination (Pinel, 1999). Accordingly, I predict that stigma consciousness can influence the amount of discriminatory behaviors which Hijabis will experience during the hiring process.

Stigma consciousness can be described as “an expectation of being judged on the basis of one's group membership” (Pinel, 1999). It is important to note that stigma consciousness does not imply that highly stigma conscious individuals necessarily regard the stereotypes associated with their stigmatized groups as true of their selves, and they may even reject these stereotypes. Stigma consciousness is also distinct from stereotype awareness. Mainly, stigma consciousness does not simply imply awareness of negative stereotypes, but rather a “focus on one's stereotyped status” or stigmatized status (Mosley & Rosenberg, 2007). Stigma consciousness is also separate from one's level of group identification, because it is not affected by one's degree of attachment with one's stigmatized group. Rather, it is concerned solely with the expectation that others will discriminate against them on the basis of their stigma, not their degree or extent of their membership within a group (Crocker et al., 1998). Additionally, stigma consciousness is different from the construct of stereotype threat (Steele & Aronson, 1995). Stereotype

threat is concerned with the threat of confirming stereotypical behavior, while stigma consciousness only concerns one's expectation that one will be stigmatized, regardless of whether one's expectations match with one's actual behavior.

Stigma consciousness can have important implications for how stigma influences stigmatized individuals' experiences. For example, Pinel (1999) found that women who reported being high on stigma consciousness were more likely to perceive discrimination both personally and towards their group. Specifically, women high in stigma consciousness were more attentive to sexism, and perceived more sexism than women who had low stigma consciousness. This suggests that high stigma conscious individuals are more likely to believe that they are being evaluated on the basis of their group membership than low stigma conscious individuals. Additionally, women who had high stigma consciousness were more likely to recognize the persistence of even subtle forms of discrimination, give concrete specific examples of sexism, and to believe sexism is a recurring problem in society than women low on stigma consciousness.

Stigma consciousness has been shown to exist for various other stigmatized groups, such as Blacks, homosexuals, and staff workers (Mosley & Rosenberg, 2007; Pinel, 1999; 2005). For these groups, stigma consciousness has also been related to higher perceptions of discrimination and the tendency to be worried about how they are perceived by others (Mosley & Rosenberg, 2007; Pinel, 1999; 2001; 2007). This is unfortunate, because high stigma consciousness can have deleterious cognitive and behavioral effects on the experiences of stigmatized individuals, which may cause perceptions of discrimination to lead to actual discrimination.

Cognitively, individuals with high stigma consciousness can show deficits in performance and anxiety. Research shows that high stigma consciousness people perform worse in their stigmatized academic domain than low stigma conscious individuals (Brown & Pinel, 2003). Individuals who believe that they will be stigmatized in certain tasks often also exhibit anxiety along with the presence of low performance (Steele & Aronson, 1995). For instance, in the case of academia, Blacks who had high expectations to be rejected on the basis of their race were anxious in approaching their professors regarding academic problems, and also showed a drop in their GPA (Mendoza-Denton, Purdie, Downey, & Davis, 2002).

Behaviorally, people high on stigma consciousness avoid opportunities that might confirm stereotypes about their stigmatized groups, which ironically fails to disconfirm stereotypes and perpetuates the stereotype even further (Pinel, 1999). For instance, there is evidence that individuals high in stigma consciousness are more likely to avoid situations that are stereotypical or can lead to stigmatization, which might unfortunately confirm stereotypes about their group and lead to stigmatization. Pinel (1999) found that women avoided choosing stereotypically male topics (automobile name) in a jeopardy game when competing against a man than when competing against a woman. Ironically, one of the consequences of this avoidance is that it might even make stigmatized individuals more likely to confirm stereotypes (i.e. women being not good at male dominated topics).

Another negative behavioral consequence of stigma consciousness is that the higher people are in stigma consciousness, the more they are likely to be treated negatively by others (Pinel, 2002). One reason for why people expecting to be stigmatized can actually

have their expectations come true is due to their communication of such expectancies to others. Previous research shows that people who expected to be stigmatized against evoke negative reactions from their perceivers (Curtis & Miller, 1986; Downey, Freitas, Michaelis, & Khouri, 1998; Farina, Allen, & Saul, 1968). For example, Pinel (2002) found that women high in stigma consciousness rated a perceived sexist male partner that they were interacting with negatively. These negative ratings from the females of the male partner were reciprocated back to the females in which the male partner also evaluated the females negatively, stereotypically confirming the women's belief that the sexist male partner would not like the females.

This process is consistent with self fulfilling prophecy, in which a stigmatized individual behaves in a way which ends up confirming stereotypes associated with one's given stigma (Jussim, Palumbo, Chatman, Madon, & Smith, 2000). This is because the stigmatized individual's belief that others are stigmatizing them (high stigma consciousness) may lead that stigmatized individual to interact in such ways that ultimately confirms stereotypes associated with one's stigma. Even when these beliefs are not true regarding the nonstigmatized individual, the highly stigma conscious person might interact in such a way that confirms the stereotypical beliefs associated with the stigma. For instance, individuals who perceived that others viewed them as either mentally ill or homosexual actually elicited more rejection from their perceivers, even though the actual perceivers were unaware of the stigmatized individual's artificially induced stigma status (Farina et al., 1968). This was because the stigmatized individual's negative behavior toward the perceiver elicited negative responses from the perceiver, resulting in less conversation.

Stigma consciousness acting as a self fulfilling prophecy process can be particularly harmful because it maintains stigmas by providing evidence that the behavior of the stigmatized individual warrants their derogation (Jussim et al., 2000). Curtis and Miller (1986) found direct evidence regarding how expectations to be stigmatized elicit behaviors that cause the perceiver to act negatively towards the stigmatized individuals. In the study, individuals who believed that they were disliked by the perceiver acted more disagreeable, and less open and warm towards the perceiver than were individuals who believed that the perceiver liked them. Consequently, as a result of this negative behavior, individuals who thought they were disliked were rated less favorably by the perceiver than individuals who thought they were liked by the perceiver. This suggests that it is the negative expectations of highly stigma consciousness individuals that motivate them to behave negatively towards others, which consequently results in their own negative treatment (Pinel, 2002). In turn, this also explains why people high in stigma consciousness are more likely to perceive discrimination than people low on stigma consciousness.

There is no doubt that some Hijabis should be inclined to score high on stigma consciousness. In an empirical study (Rippy & Newman, 2006) of Muslim Americans, many Muslims reported perceptions of societal discrimination, suggesting that Muslims have come to see themselves as being members of a stigmatized group. Generally, individuals whose stigma is visible (i.e. Hijabis) experience more discrimination than individuals with concealable stigma (Jones et al., 1984). Accordingly, Hijabis should be especially likely to believe that they will be stigmatized because their religious attire clearly identifies them as a member of the stigmatized Muslim group.

Consistent with the stigma consciousness research, it can be expected that these Hijabis who have high expectations to be stigmatized by others, will also be more likely to experience behaviors related to discrimination when applying for jobs than Hijabis who are low on stigma consciousness. This is because one of the key features of stigma consciousness is being overly concerned with how one is viewed by others (Pinel, 1999). As a result, highly stigma conscious Hijabis will be more vigilant to stigma and may be distracted with such thoughts, and in turn interact negatively in their interactions with the employer. Consequently, the highly stigma conscious Hijabis will be perceived more unfavorably by the employer than low stigma conscious Hijabis. As an end result, the employer will be inclined to reciprocate the negative attitudes back towards the highly stigma conscious Hijabis than low stigma conscious Hijabis. Thus, I predict:

H7: The relationship between Hijabi/ Non-Hijabi and behaviors related to formal discrimination is moderated by stigma consciousness such that:

This relationship is accentuated when the job applicant has high stigma consciousness and attenuated when the job applicant has low stigma consciousness.

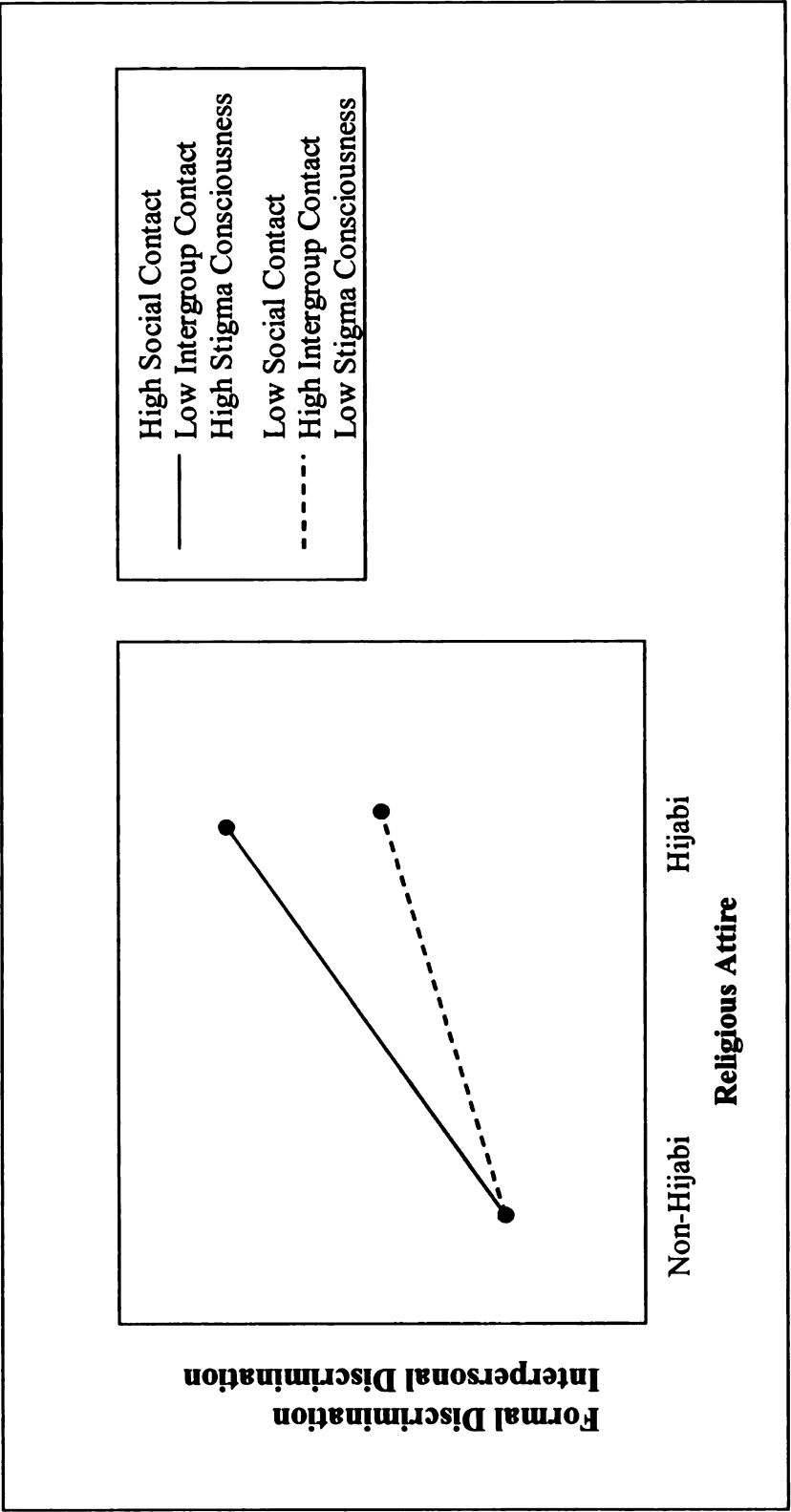
H8: The relationship between Hijabi/ Non-Hijabi and behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination is moderated by applicant stigma consciousness such that:

This relationship is accentuated when the job applicant has high stigma consciousness and attenuated when the job applicant has low stigma consciousness.

Summary

Figure 2 below shows how each of the three moderators proposed above are expected to influence the relationship between religious attire (Hijabi/ non-Hijabi) and behaviors related to formal discrimination and interpersonal discrimination. In summary, high social contact occupations and high stigma consciousness job applicants are each predicted to be positively associated with behaviors related to formal discrimination and interpersonal discrimination towards individuals who wear religious attire. In contrast, high intergroup contact is predicted to be negatively associated with behaviors related to formal discrimination and interpersonal discrimination that individuals who wear religious attire will experience. See Appendix A for the full list of hypotheses.

Figure 2. Expected interactions between religious attire and moderators on behaviors related to formal and interpersonal discrimination.



METHOD

Participants

Participating employees included 49 male and 63 female employees (69 White, 16 Black, 12 Arab, 5 Asian, 3 Latino, 2 South Asian, and 4 other) from a total of 72 retail stores and 40 restaurants in or in the vicinity of two shopping malls. For the role of the confederate participants, fourteen female undergraduates students (ages 19-22) from a Midwestern university volunteered to act as job applicants. To make sure that the results would generalize to a wide variety of Muslim women, women from several different ethnic backgrounds were chosen (6 South Asian women, 1 Middle Eastern woman, 2 Black women, and 5 Caucasian women). All confederates were also American citizens with English being their primary language, controlling for nationality and accents. Each confederate job applicant engaged in eight interactions each as job applicants by applying for jobs at eight different stores or restaurants, yielding a total of 112 trials. The confederate job applicant was important to ensure experimental control, so that all factors other than the manipulation were controlled for by using the same applicants in all conditions. Additionally, religious attire was able to be manipulated when using confederates, whereas it could not be manipulated with actual Hijabis, who are unable to remove their hijab in the public due to religious restrictions.

An additional fourteen female undergraduate students (ages 18-21; 1 multiracial woman, 2 Asian women, 11 Caucasian women) served as interaction observers for the confederate trials. Each observer was paired with one of the confederate applicants and acted as the observer for all of the confederate applicant's eight trials. These observers were used to ensure that ratings given by the confederate applicants were not a result of

confederate bias. In a related field study, Hebl et al. (2007) found that observers agreed with blind coders independently listening to an audio recording of the confederate job applicant-employer interaction (r_{wg} values ranging from .73 to .85), justifying the use of observers as an additional source of data. All the confederates and observers remained blind to the hypotheses of this study, but it is likely that they might have guessed the study's purpose (Kleck & Strenta, 1980).

Training

In addition to having an observer present, to further reduce experiment bias, both the confederates and the observers received extensive training in which they were taught to act in a normal and appropriate manner through out the trials and to follow a standardized script (see Appendix B). During training, both confederates and observers were trained to be professional throughout the study, to act as much to a scripted standardized manner of a job applicant (confederate role) or being a customer (observer role), and to respect the anonymity of stores/ restaurants and employees they interacted with. Confederates practiced giving verbal scripts, how to enter/ leave stores and restaurants, and participated in mock observations with the experimenter. Confederates were also given standardized answers to memorize to anticipated questions regarding their religion, their appearance or the headscarf specifically (See Appendix B). Observers were trained regarding how to enter stores/ restaurants and to act discreetly as customers while observing the confederate, what to do if they are unable to watch confederates, and also participated in mock observations with the experimenter. Additionally, confederates learned how to wear the hijab and were required to wear it in a public place for three hours to ensure that they felt comfortable with the hijab before participating in the actual trials.

Manipulation of Conditions

Religious Attire. For half of the trials, the applicants were assigned to a Hijabi condition and for the other half of the trials, the applicants were assigned to a non-Hijabi condition. In the Hijabi condition, the confederate wore a hijab (plain black headscarf), while no hijab was worn in the control condition. As there are several different ways to wear the hijab, all applicants wore the hijab in a simple traditional way in which the hijab covered the hair, ears, neck and chest. A manipulation check supported that others recognized the headscarf manipulation as Muslim. 70 participants were randomly shown a picture of one of two different women wearing a headscarf. An overwhelming 96.8% and 94.8% percent of the participants identified the two women wearing the headscarf as Muslim, respectively. To standardize all of the interactions, in both the Hijabi and non-Hijabi conditions, all applicants dressed similarly in long-sleeve collared shirts with black dress pants and a black purse. See Appendix C for sample pictures of the job applicants.

Social Contact. For half of the trials, confederate job applicants applied for high social contact occupations (sales representative, waitress), while the other half involved applying for low social contact occupations (cook, stockperson). The investigator told the confederate which specific occupation to apply for depending on the social contact condition for each trial (see Appendix B for script). The low and high social contact occupations that were used for this study were chosen based on 149 undergraduates' responses to an online questionnaire rating the amount of social contact required for 7 occupations on a 1 (low) to 7 (high) scale. From the results, occupations were selected that were not only low in social contact (cook: $M=3.56$; stockperson: $M=2.57$) or high in social contact (sales representative: $M=6.13$; waitress: $M=6.37$), but jobs that were

similar in job status and jobs that would be commonly available at stores and restaurants, the target locations for data collection. Additionally, only occupations in which qualifications were not a major determinant in getting the job were chosen, as described in O*NET (2007). The low social contact conditions were significantly different from the high social contact conditions on social contact ($t[593] = -30.84, p < .001$), yielding a strong comparison between the low and high conditions.

Intergroup Contact. The demographic proportion of Muslims within a given location was used as a proxy for inter-group contact. Previous research suggests that living in a diverse neighborhood is ideal for allowing for more opportunities for intergroup contact (Liebkind et al., 2004). Individuals from diverse or urban areas are more likely to be placed in the same organizations, neighborhoods, and schools, due to the prevalence of other groups (Curtis, Timbers, & Jackson, 1967). As a result of these common memberships, individuals from different groups have increased contact with one another and also form personal relationships (i.e. work colleague, neighbor) (Curtis et al., 1967). Likewise, it is reasonable to expect that living in a neighborhood which has a high proportion of Muslims would result in a greater amount of intergroup contact with that group.

Thus, for high and low intergroup contact conditions, two cities in Michigan were chosen that differ substantially in their demographic proportion of Muslims: Lansing and Dearborn. In the U.S. Census Bureau Report (2000), Dearborn was listed as having the second largest Arab population of 29,181, representing 30% of the population in Dearborn. Although there is no count on how many Muslims reside in Lansing, a recent web search (Bestplaces.net, 2008a) indicates that only 1.29% of the Lansing population

affiliates with Islam. Additionally, in a Google maps search for Islamic center/ mosques in both of these cities, Lansing only had one Islamic center compared to five such organizations located in Dearborn, one of which happens to be the largest mosque in USA. It is clear from these statistics that Dearborn does have a relatively larger proportion of Muslims compared to that of Lansing, making these two cities ideal for representing low and high intergroup contact. Consequently, for half of the trials, confederate job applicants applied for jobs in Lansing (low intergroup contact), and for the other half of the trials, confederates applied for jobs in Dearborn (high intergroup contact).

It should be noted that all the conditions were counterbalanced, in that each confederate took part in each of the 2 x 2 x 2 conditions (religious attire x social contact x intergroup contact). The order was counterbalanced for intergroup contact in that half of all the interactions started in Dearborn and then moved to the Lansing location, while the other half of the interactions started in Lansing and moved to the Dearborn location. The order was counterbalanced for religious attire condition in that for the first trial, half of the applicants wore the headscarf in their first trial and alternated between no headscarf and headscarf afterwards, the other half of the applicants started with the headscarf off and alternated between headscarf and no headscarf afterwards. The order was also counterbalanced for the social contact condition in that for the first trial, half of the applicants applied to a low social contact job and alternated between high and low social contact jobs afterwards, while the other half of the applicants started with a high social contact job and alternated between low and high social contact jobs afterwards.

Procedure

After training had been completed, the confederate/ observer pairs were assigned to eight different service sectors (stores, restaurants) in or in the vicinity of Dearborn or Lansing malls. The retail stores selected were balanced out by merchandise sold and both the restaurants and stores chosen for the study were matched to be of similar typical clientele. The experimenter set up a designated place to meet in the mall area so as to provide a home base station for the confederate-observer teams to begin and end each of their interactions and to designate the store or restaurant which the confederate-observer team was to be assigned to. Each confederate and observer was paired up as a team and visited the same store or restaurant separately. The confederate-observer pairs each participated in eight trials, either in a Hijabi/ non-Hijabi condition, low/ high social contact condition, and low/ high intergroup contact contact, yielding a 2 x 2 x 2 repeated within subjects design. The stores/ restaurants visited were chosen randomly to be in a Hijabi or non-Hijabi condition. Furthermore, these stores/ restaurant were not prescreened for job openings, so there was a possibility that these some of these stores/ restaurants may have not been hiring. Depending on the social contact condition for the trial, the experimenter told the confederate which specific occupation to apply for and what religious attire condition the confederate would be in. Furthermore, half of the trials took place in a high intergroup contact location (Dearborn), and the remaining half of the trials took place in a low intergroup contact location (Lansing).

Upon the assignment of stores or restaurants to the confederate-observer team, the observers entered the store/ restaurant two minutes prior to the confederate and either busied themselves with merchandise, looked through menus, or waited in the waiting area

(restaurants) so as to appear unacquainted with the confederate. The observers were trained to decline help if offered by employees. The confederate job applicants entered the stores or restaurants and directly approached a store employee. Upon entering the stores, confederate applicants asked to speak to the manager, or the person in charge and asked three standard questions (See Appendix B for actual experiment script): 1) “Do you have a job position open for a sales representative¹?”, 2) “Could I fill out a job application?, ” 3) “Can I leave a copy of my resume?,” and 4) “What sort of things would I be doing if I worked here?” Meanwhile, the observers wore a stopwatch to time the length of the interaction between the confederate applicant and the store employee/ manager. From the time that the confederates started speaking with the employee to the end of the whole interaction, the observers timed the length of that interaction in seconds with the stop watch.

After each interaction, the confederate applicants returned to the home base station to fill out the confederate measures, in response to their interactions (see Appendix D for actual questions). After the confederates left, the observers waited approximately 2 minutes before leaving, so as to appear unacquainted with the confederates. The observers also returned to the home base station to fill out the observer measure (see Appendix E for actual questions), which was primarily identical to the confederates’ measure. It should be noted that during each of the interactions and until all of the trials were complete, the confederates and observers were required to not talk to each other, so as to not bias their responses.

¹ Positions differed depending on the social contact condition (high, low) and the type of service sector (store, restaurant) the confederate applied to. Positions included cook, waitress, sales person, and stockperson.

Measures

Confederates and observers completed separate measures. Although many of the measures for confederates and observers overlap (e.g. formal discrimination, interpersonal discrimination, situational characteristics), and many of the confederate and observer responses for these measures were later averaged for the analyses (justification described later on in results section), they are discussed separately below in greater detail because of slight differences between the measures. See Appendix D and E for the actual questionnaires used for the confederate and observers, respectively.

Confederates

Stigma Consciousness. A modified form of the Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire (SCQ) was used to measure the confederate applicant's expectations to be discriminated against by others (Pinel, 1999). The modified SCQ is a 6-item measure assessing the extent to which individuals expect to be discriminated against as a result of their attire. Item scale responses range from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), with higher scores reflecting greater expectations to be stigmatized. The SCQ had a Cronbach's alpha of .92. This measure was completed prior to each of the confederate applicant trials to assess how much the confederate applicants expected to be stigmatized for each of their trials.

It should be noted that even though the participants in this study were acting as Hijabis and the headscarf was not a permanent symbol of their identity, they can develop stigma consciousness levels similar to individuals who actually belong to the Hijabi group. Previous research shows that even artificially induced stigmas can increase the individuals' expectations to be stigmatized (Farina et al., 1968; Kleck & Strenta, 1980).

For instance, people who were under the impression that others thought they had epilepsy, a hideous facial scar, or allergies were more likely to believe that they will be stigmatized. Thus, the acquired identity of a Hijabi was relevant in this study.

Formal Discrimination. Following the precedent established by Hebl et al. (2002), this study utilized four measures of behaviors related to formal discrimination on a yes/no scale depending on whether the confederate applicants 1) gained direct access to the manager, 2) were told a job is available, 3) were given the opportunity to fill an application form, and 4) received call backs. For the call back measure, the applicants were given a 6-week period in which the confederates reported back to the investigator of any stores/ restaurants calling them back for interviews or job offers. These items for measuring formal discrimination were generated from similar field studies measuring formal discrimination against homosexual job applicants, pregnant job applicants, and obese customers (Hebl et al., 2002; 2007; King et al., 2006). Additionally, other measures of formal discrimination were created and used in which confederate applicants also reported whether the manager greeted the applicant, thanked the applicant, recommended another job to the applicant if original was not available, gave permission to the applicant to leave a resume, and made any negative references to the applicant regarding attire.

Interpersonal Discrimination. Behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination were measured by five separate categories: 1) average distance from applicant and manager, 2) perceived negativity of the manager, 3) perceived employer interest, 4) overall negativity, and 5) microaggression. The items for all the first four subscales were generated from similar field studies measuring interpersonal discrimination against homosexual job applicants, pregnant job applicants, and obese customers (Hebl et al.,

2002; 2007; King et al., 2006). To measure average distance, observers reported the average perceived distance between the employee and confederate applicant on a range from less than one foot to a range of greater than 8 feet. Perceived negativity measured the extent to which the confederate applicant found the employer to be helpful, standoffish, nervous, motivated to end the conversation prematurely, focused on attire, avoiding eye contact, and hostile. Perceived employer interest measured the extent to which the confederate applicant believed that the store employer would be interested in the applicant as a job candidate and perceived the applicant as a qualified job applicant. Overall negativity measured the extent to how negative and positive the overall interaction was. Both of these scales are on a 1 (not at all) to 5 (very much) scale.

In addition to measuring behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination through measures used by similar field studies (Hebl et al., 2002; 2007; King et al., 2006), interpersonal behaviors of discrimination was also observed through the microaggressions framework (Sue et al., 2007). Specifically, confederates were asked to what extent they experienced microinsults and microinvalidation during their interactions. Currently, research studying racial microaggression is mostly based on qualitative data spanning long-term interactions (Constantine & Sue, 2007; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Sue et al., 2007), and there is no empirically valid scale for racial microaggression. Although Constantine and Sue (2007) created a racial microaggression checklist for White supervisors working with Black supervisees, most items from this checklist concern long-term, day to day interactions and were thus inappropriate to use in this study. However, one item was adopted from the racial microaggression checklist concerning whether the employer avoided discussing the applicant's attire.

Nine additional behavioral items were created using Sue et al.'s (2007) categorization of microaggression into microinsults and microinvalidation (See Appendix F for microaggression scale). These items were developed based on the 9 themes that Sue et al. (2007) identified under microinsults and microinvalidation: ascription of intelligence, second class citizen, pathologizing cultural values, color blindness, alien in own land, denial of individual racism, myth of meritocracy, and environmental microaggression. Item scale responses range from a 1 (not at all) to 5 (very much) scale.

Situational Characteristics. In addition to the measures above, the confederates were asked to identify how crowded and upscale the stores or restaurants were on a 1 (not at all) to a 5 (very much) scale. It is possible that these characteristics could be related to the dependent variables because these situational characteristics may lead to differences in employer interactions with the Hijabis. For example, brevity might be more likely to occur in a crowded store, in which the employer has to attend to many other customers. Additionally, excellent customer service (extending to job applicants) might be a higher priority for upscale stores/ restaurants than lower scale stores/ restaurants. The gender and ethnicity of the managers and the diversity of the employees and customers were also recorded in case they accounted for any differences in employer interactions with the confederates. All of these variables were recorded in the case that if they were related to the dependent variables, they could be used as controls.

Observers

The interpersonal discrimination and formal discrimination scales used by the observers were almost identical to the interpersonal discrimination and formal discrimination scales used by the confederates, with the main exception being the scale

referent was the confederate job applicant, not the self. Additionally, the observers lacked the call back measure for formal discrimination but had an additional measure for interpersonal discrimination (interaction length). The items for both the formal and interpersonal discrimination measures were also similar to those that were used to measure interpersonal and formal discrimination in similar field studies on homosexual job applicants, pregnant job applicants, and obese customers (Hebl et al., 2002; 2007; King et al., 2006). For this study, there was no instance in which the observers failed to witness the entire interaction, but there were instances in which the observers missed certain parts of the interactions.

Formal Discrimination. Behaviors related to formal discrimination were measured by three separate questions on a yes/ no scale depending on whether the confederate applicant was 1) told a job is available, 2) gained direct access to the manager, and 3) given the opportunity to fill an application form and to leave a resume. Additionally, other measures of behaviors related to formal discrimination were created and used in which observers also reported whether the manager greeted the applicant, thanked the applicant, recommended another job to the applicant if the original was not available, gave permission to the applicant to leave a resume, and made any negative references to the applicant regarding their attire. An additional “could not observe” response option was also included in case the observer was unable to observe due to the setting. Because the measures for formal discrimination were dichotomous, no reliability coefficients are available.

Interpersonal Discrimination. Behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination were measured by six separate measures: 1) average distance between confederate and

employee, 2) length of confederate-employee interaction, 3) perceived negativity of the manager, 4) perceived employer interest, 5) overall negativity, and 6) microaggression. To measure average distance, observers reported the average perceived distance between the employee and confederate applicant on a range from less than one foot to a range of greater than 8 feet. To measure whether interactions were shorter for stigmatized applicants compared to non-stigmatized applicants, observers recorded the full length of the interactions in seconds through the use of a stop watch. Perceived negativity measured the extent to which the observer found the employer to be helpful, standoffish, nervous, motivated to end the conversation prematurely, focused on attire, avoided eye contact, and hostile towards the confederate applicant. Perceived employer interest measured the extent to which the observers believed the store employer would be interested in the confederate applicant as a job candidate and if the employer perceived the candidate as a qualified job applicant. Overall negativity measured how negative and positive the overall interaction was. Microaggression measured the extent to which confederates experienced microinsults and microinvalidation during their interactions. These last four scales were on a 1 (not at all) to 5 (very much) scale with an additional “could not observe” response option in the case in which the observer was unable to observe due to the setting (i.e. too loud).

Applicant Consistency. To ensure that the applicants were not acting differently across trials, four items on a 1 (not at all) to 5 (very much) scale were used asking how relaxed, nervous, attentive, friendly, and consistent in behaviors the applicants were for each trial. The scale had a Cronbach’s alpha of $\alpha=.78$.

Situational Characteristics. In addition to the measure above, the observers were asked to identify how crowded and upscale the stores or restaurants were on a 1 (not at all) to a 5 (very much) scale. The observers also noted the gender and perceived ethnicity of the managers and the diversity of the employees and customers were also recorded. These variables were recorded in the case that if they were related to the dependent variables, they could be used as controls.

Investigator

In addition to the measures above, the investigator also noted the trial number of the interactions and location type (whether the interaction took place in a store or restaurant setting). These variables were recorded in the case that if they were related to the dependent variables, they could be used as controls. The date of the interaction and time of the interaction were also recorded for tracking purposes to help match up callbacks to ratings.

Ethical Concerns

Great consideration was given to the ethics of this study. Although the store/ restaurant employees were unaware of the nature of the study, the study was conducted in an ethical manner. First, this study followed the precedent of similar field studies that have been approved by IRBs from different universities (Hebl et al., 2002; 2007; King et al., 2006). Likewise, this study had also received approval from Michigan State University's IRB committee. Second, the design of this study was such that the participants (job employees) did not encounter anything that is unusual at work. Individuals applying for jobs and having customers is a common occurrence in the public domain. Third, to obtain the data necessary for this study, it was impractical to reveal the true nature of the

study. Previous research has acknowledged that people's discriminatory behavior is subjected to social desirability bias (Crosby, Bromley, & Saxe, 1980; Krysan, 1998; Phillips & Clancy, 1972). Thus, if the employees were aware that they were involved in a study about discrimination, they would be less likely to act as they naturally would have, compromising the validity of the study. Fourth, I felt that if I were to disclose to the employees that they were participating in a study on discrimination, this would have yielded more potential harm than if they were unaware of the study. It would have been psychologically harmful for some of these employees to know that they act in discriminatory ways. Realizing that one has negative biases and attitudes towards certain groups can lead to inconsistencies with one's notions of social norms and values of tolerance. This might shatter one's self image as a tolerant person (Van Dijk, 2002). Finally, confederates provided actual information regarding themselves (names, phone numbers, and references) and the confederates had the option to accept any job offers they were offered. Observers were also allowed to purchase merchandise or service, if they so desired.

In addition, the confederates and observers were trained to be sensitive to the ethical concerns of the study while interacting with the employees. Specifically, confederates and observers were required to complete an informed consent to ensure that they clearly understood the goals of the study. Included in this informed consent, participants signed a confidentiality agreement in which the participants agreed not to share the names of the stores/ restaurants, the names of the managers/ employees, and the data that they provided in the survey with any party other than the investigator of the study. See Appendix G for informed consent and confidentiality agreement.

RESULTS

Post Manipulation Check

To assess whether there were any differences in the perception of confederates as Muslims, pictures of all of the confederates were taken with and without a Hijab and used as stimuli for a post manipulation check study. In this study, 50 participants rated the 14 confederates each through rating 14 different stimulus pictures. Seven of these stimulus pictures were of 7 confederates wearing the hijab and 7 of the stimulus pictures were of 7 confederates not wearing the hijab (no confederate appeared more than once in a picture). An additional 51 participants rated another 14 different stimulus pictures, in which these stimuli pictures were of the confederates in their opposite conditions (confederates who were wearing a hijab in the previous condition were now shown without a hijab, and vice versa). Each participant was asked to identify the religious affiliation of the person in the picture. The responses for this data were later dummy coded into 0 or 1, being identified as Muslim or not Muslim. The pictures of the confederates shown were also dummy coded 0 and 1, for confederates wearing the hijab and confederates not wearing the hijab.

A t-test was conducted to see if there were any significant differences in being identified as a Muslim across Hijabi and non-Hijabi conditions. There was a significant difference in being identified as a Muslim, $t(1401) = -5.99$, $p < .01$, with confederates in the Hijabi photos ($M=0.44$, $SD=.47$) being more likely to be identified as Muslim than confederates in the non-Hijabi photos ($M=0.61$, $SD=.49$), as expected.

Establishing Agreement

To establish agreement between confederates and observers on their ratings on continuous measures, r_{wg} values were calculated using equations provided by James,

Demaree, and Wolf (1984). There was high interrater agreement between confederate and observers on perceived distance ($r_{wg} = .97$), perceived negativity ($r_{wg} = .97$), perceived interest ($r_{wg} = .82$), overall negativity measures ($r_{wg} = .97$), microaggression ($r_{wg} = .93$), how crowded the location was ($r_{wg} = .80$), how upscale the location was ($r_{wg} = .80$), and the diversity of the employees ($r_{wg} = .80$). Because the statistical index of agreement for the perceived negativity scale and the perceived interest scale were both above the .70 rule-of-thumb required to justify aggregation of ratings (Klein et al., 2000), the confederates and observers ratings were averaged for these scales.

To establish agreement between confederates and observers on their ratings on dichotomous measures, Kappa values were calculated. As a rule of thumb values of Kappa from 0.40 to 0.59 are considered moderate, 0.60 to 0.79 good, and 0.80 outstanding (Landis & Koch, 1977). There was good agreement for access to manager ($k = 0.68$), job availability ($k = 0.65$), permission to complete application ($k = 0.98$), permission to leave resume ($k = 0.77$), manager race ($k = 0.84$), and manager gender ($k = 0.96$). Because these measures had good agreement, the responses on these scales were not averaged and only confederate responses for the formal discrimination measures and manager's race and ethnicity were used in the future analysis. These measures were not averaged so as to preserve the dichotomous nature of these variables and because observers were sometimes unable to fill out measures because they could not hear or see the interaction well. Additionally, there was only inadequate to moderate agreement for recommend another position ($k = 0.46$), thanked applicant ($k = 0.48$) and greeted applicant ($k = 0.33$), and thus these scales were dropped from all subsequent analyses.

See Table 1 for r_{wg} values for all of the continuous scales and kappa values for all the dichotomous variables.

Table 1: <i>Agreement between Confederates and Observers</i>	
Scale	<i>Agreement</i>
Access to manager	0.68 ¹
Job availability	0.65 ¹
Recommend other position	0.46 ¹
Permission to complete application	0.98 ¹
Leave resume	0.77 ¹
Greeted Applicant	0.33 ¹
Thanked Applicant	0.48 ¹
Distance	0.96 ²
Perceived Negativity	0.97 ²
Perceived Interest	0.82 ²
Overall Negativity	0.87 ²
Microaggression	0.93 ²
Controls	
Location-Crowded	0.80 ²
Location-Upscale	0.80 ²
Diversity of Employees	0.70 ²
Diversity of Customers	0.64 ²
Manger Race	0.84 ¹
Manger Gender	0.96 ¹
Note: ¹ Kappa values for dichotomous variables. ² R_{wg} values for continuous variables.	

Confirmatory Factor analysis.

Formal Discrimination. As mentioned above, three measures of behaviors related to formal discrimination (greeted applicant, thanked applicant, recommend other position) were dropped from the study due to the low agreement on these measures between the confederates and observers ($k = .33$, $k = .48$, and $k = .46$, respectively). An additional measure (made negative attire references) was also removed because there was almost no

variance in this measure. Because of good agreement on the remaining measures of formal discrimination (kappa values ranged from .65 to .98), the responses on behaviors related to formal discrimination from confederates and observers for each of these measures were averaged for the purpose of the CFA. A confirmatory factor analysis was run using the five remaining dimensions to confirm that these five factors (access to the manager, job availability, completed job application, permission to complete resume, callback) should be considered separately, because they were used separately and described as conceptually distinct in Hebl et al.'s (2000; 2007) study. Results indicate that the 5-dimensional model of behaviors related to formal discrimination was a good fit (χ^2 (4, N= 110) = 1.48, a CFI of 0.99, and an RMSEA of .00). Because all of the measures for behaviors related to formal discrimination were single item measures, no reliability coefficients are available.

Interpersonal Discrimination. Because of good agreement between confederates and observers on all of the six measures of behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination (r_{wg} values ranged from .82 to .96), responses on all of the interpersonal discrimination items from confederates and observers were averaged. However, three of the microaggression scale items (pathologizing cultural values, criminalizing status, alien in own land) were dropped from the study due to zero or almost zero variance. A confirmatory factor analysis was conducted to examine whether a six dimensional model of behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination (microaggression, interaction length, perceived distance, perceived negativity, perceived interest, overall negativity) was a good model. This model proved to be a bad fit (χ^2 (227, N= 111) = 623.60, a CFI of 0.73, and an RMSEA of .126). A second model was run treating microaggression and

behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination as two separate latent constructs, with behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination as having five first order constructs (interaction length, perceived distance, perceived negativity, perceived interest, overall negativity). This model also proved to be bad fit (χ^2 (225, N= 111) = 634.47, a CFI of 0.81, and an RMSEA of .129). Because many of the factor loadings of the microaggression scale items were problematic in the previous two models, microaggression was dropped from the model. Furthermore, microaggression was removed as both a dimension of behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination and further removed from this study altogether because of its poor psychometric properties which was reflected by the poor loading of its items in the first two models and a very low alpha (α =.28). Next, a five dimensional model of behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination (interaction length, perceived distance, perceived negativity, perceived interest, overall negativity) was run. This model had a poor fit (χ^2 (102, N= 111) = 386.91, a CFI of 0.79, and an RMSEA of .159).

A final five dimensional model of behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination (interaction length, perceived distance, perceived negativity, perceived interest, overall negativity) was run after examining the previous three models, which suggested that two items from the perceived negativity scale (focused on attire, nodded and made affirmative gestures) were not loading significantly on the perceived negativity scale, and therefore should be removed from the model. Additionally, interaction length and perceived interest were allowed to correlate because the modification indices of the previous models suggested it and conceptually it made sense that the longer the interaction length, the more likely the applicant would perceive that the manager as being interested. Results

of this model suggested a good fit: (χ^2 (66, N= 111) = 106.90, a CFI of 0.97, and an RMSEA of .05). Thus, this five dimensional model of behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination was retained for future analyses of behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination. The perceived negativity, perceived interest scale, and overall negativity scale had a Cronbach's alpha of .82, .87, and .72, respectively. The remaining two measures of behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination were single item measures (interaction length, perceived distance), so no reliability coefficients are available.

Correlations

The correlations, means, standard deviations, and internal consistency reliabilities for all of the variables are reported in Table 2. Wearing the hijab was correlated with stigma consciousness, permission to complete job application, perceived negativity, and perceived interest. Interaction length, perceived negativity, perceived interest, and overall negativity were correlated with one another and to several measures of behaviors related to formal discrimination (job availability, permission to complete job application). The actual religion of the confederates (Muslim or not Muslim) was significantly correlated with stigma consciousness. The social contact of the location was correlated with the diversity of employees and customers. The intergroup contact of the location was negatively correlated with manager's race (White)².

These correlations were also used to decide which of the variables (situational characteristics, manager race, and gender) could be used as controls in future analyses, depending on these variables' correlations with the dependent variables. Because there

² It should be noted that because there were relatively only a small proportion of confederates and managers who belonged to different minority race categories, all minority race categories were lumped together and dichotomous race variables (White vs. non-White) for manager and applicant race were created to reduce the likelihood of sampling error.

were too many potential control variables (7) that were correlated with at least one or more dependent variables, to avoid using up too many degrees of freedom in the analyses, these variables were used as controls on a per analysis basis, in which they were only controlled for when they were related to the dependent variable of interest in the analysis.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics, Reliabilities, and Correlations

Variable	Mean	SD	N	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1 - Hijab	0.50	0.50	112	1												
2 - Applicant Age	20.50	0.83	112	.00	1											
3 - Applicant Race- White ¹	0.36	0.48	112	.00	-.27**	1										
4 - Applicant Muslim ¹	0.29	0.45	112	.00	.19*	-.47**	1									
5 - Applicant Consistency	3.98	0.63	111	-.07	.06	-.27**	.05	(.78)								
6 - Trial Number	4.50	2.30	112	.02	.00	.00	.00	.06	1							
7 - Location Type (Store or Restaurant)	0.64	0.48	112	-.22*	.07	.13	-.11	-.14	-.02	1						
8 - Location-Crowded ²	2.56	1.17	112	-.15	-.02	.25**	-.01	-.16	.21*	-.03	1					
9 - Location-Upscale ²	2.45	0.88	112	-.08	.10	.10	.04	-.08	.02	.26**	.12	1				
10 - Diversity of Employees ²	2.12	1.02	112	-.01	.02	.27**	-.10	-.12	.18	-.12	.42**	.21*	1			
11 - Diversity of Customers ²	2.40	1.08	112	-.12	.02	.24*	.06	-.38**	.13	-.02	.59**	.15	.64**	1		
12 - Manager Gender	0.57	0.50	111	-.15	-.05	.11	-.13	-.02	.12	.18	.07	.09	-.06	-.09	1	
13 - Manager Race- White ¹	0.62	0.49	111	-.04	.04	-.05	.09	.01	-.02	.07	.374**	.17	.01	.03	.14	1
14 - Call Back	0.08	0.27	112	-.16	.18	-.01	-.04	.07	.08	.01	.01	.02	.08	.09	-.01	.10
15 - Access to Manager	0.80	0.40	112	-.09	.11	-.10	.06	.28**	-.04	.01	.11	.03	.06	-.07	-.02	.31**
16 - Job Availability	0.44	0.50	110	-.11	-.05	.02	-.16	.10	.10	-.08	.11	.08	.02	.16	-.10	.04
17 - Permission to Complete Application	0.59	0.49	109	-.20*	.26**	-.15	.13	-.01	.02	.11	.33**	.28**	.21*	.23*	.05	.44**
18 - Permission to leave Resume	0.86	0.34	111	-.02	.24*	.18	.14	-.14	-.14	-.02	.24*	.26**	.20*	.21*	.13	.30**
19 - Interaction Length ²	367.78	376.52	112	-.08	.15	.03	.02	-.04	-.01	.12	.34**	.27**	.27**	.19*	.01	.36**
20 - Perceived Distance ²	2.07	0.28	112	-.07	-.06	.15	.16	.00	.06	-.11	.08	-.10	.09	.11	-.04	.00
21 - Perceived Negativity ²	2.18	0.35	112	.20*	-.01	.19*	-.17	-.07	.12	-.27**	.05	-.26**	.04	-.04	-.09	-.13
22 - Perceived Interest ²	2.70	0.77	112	-.29**	.12	.13	-.03	.01	-.10	.15	.26**	.30**	.16	.26**	.05	.21*
23 - Overall Negativity ²	2.35	0.54	112	.17	.03	.16	-.13	-.02	.13	-.17	.13	-.17	.07	.02	-.05	-.05
24 - Social Contact	0.50	0.50	112	.00	.00	.00	.00	-.01	-.14	.45**	-.38**	.02	-.42**	-.24*	.08	-.14
25 - Intergroup Contact	0.50	0.50	112	.00	.00	.00	.00	.02	.00	-.07	-.03	.19*	.15	.09	-.03	-.33**
26 - Stigma Consciousness	2.49	0.95	112	.33**	.04	.11	.28**	-.26**	-.07	-.05	.05	.08	-.02	.06	-.05	.00

NOTE: Alpha reliability coefficients are on the main diagonal for scales where relevant; * Values are significant at $p < .05$, ** Values are significant at $p < .01$.

¹Variable was dummy code 0 (no) and 1 (yes). ²Based on average responses of confederates and observers.

Table 2 (cont'd).

Variable	Mean	SD	N	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
1 - Hijab	0.50	0.50	112													
2 - Applicant Age	20.50	0.83	112													
3 - Applicant Race- White ¹	0.36	0.48	112													
4 - Applicant Muslim ¹	0.29	0.45	112													
5 - Applicant Consistency	3.98	0.63	111													
6 - Trial Number	4.50	2.30	112													
7 - Location Type (Store or Restaurant)	0.64	0.48	112													
8 - Location-Crowded ²	2.56	1.17	112													
9 - Location-Upscale ²	2.45	0.88	112													
10 - Diversity of Employees ²	2.12	1.02	112													
11 - Diversity of Customers ²	2.40	1.08	112													
12 - Manager Gender	0.57	0.50	111													
13 - Manager Race- White ¹	0.62	0.49	111													
14 - Call Back	0.08	0.27	112	1												
15 - Access to Manager	0.80	0.40	112	.15	1											
16 - Job Availability	0.44	0.50	110	.34**	.19*	1										
17 - Permission to Complete Application	0.59	0.49	109	.18	.23*	.20*	1									
18 - Permission to leave Resume	0.86	0.34	111	.12	.07	-.02	.40**	1								
19 - Interaction Length ²	367.78	376.52	112	.22*	.16	.21*	.64**	.24*	1							
20 - Perceived Distance ²	2.07	0.28	112	-.02	-.04	-.07	-.08	-.04	-.04	1						
21 - Perceived Negativity ²	2.18	0.35	112	-.13	-.11	-.23*	-.35**	-.12	-.25**	.22*	(.82)					
22 - Perceived Interest ²	2.70	0.77	112	.28**	.16	.40**	.52**	.29**	.48**	-.18	-.63**	(.87)				
23 - Overall Negativity ²	2.35	0.54	112	-.18	-.13	-.21*	-.39**	-.17	-.22*	.19*	.74**	-.56**	(.72)			
24 - Social Contact	0.50	0.50	112	.10	.04	.07	-.21*	-.08	-.13	.00	-.21*	-.02	-.18	1		
25 - Intergroup Contact	0.50	0.50	112	-.10	.00	.05	-.32**	-.14	-.09	.03	.09	-.10	.13	.00	1	
26 - Stigma Consciousness	2.49	0.95	112	-.08	-.06	-.06	-.05	.08	.13	.14	.01	.06	.00	.00	.01	(.92)

NOTE: Alpha reliability coefficients are on the main diagonal for scales where relevant; * Values are significant at $p < .05$, ** Values are significant at $p < .01$.

¹Variable was dummy code 0 (no) and 1 (yes).²Based on average responses of confederates and observers.

Initial Analysis

To ensure that the confederates' behavior was standardized across conditions, t-tests were conducted to see if there were any significant differences in their behaviors (relaxed, nervous, interested, and friendly) across Hijabi and non-Hijabi conditions. There was no significant difference in applicant consistency, $t(109) = .763$, *ns*, between Hijabi ($M=3.93$, $SD=.63$) and non-Hijabi condition ($M=4.03$, $SD=.63$).

To ensure that the confederates' level of stigma consciousness was state-like and changed for confederates across the Hijabi and non-Hijabi conditions, t-tests were conducted to see if there were any significant differences in stigma consciousness across Hijabi and non-Hijabi conditions. There was a significant difference in stigma consciousness, $t(110) = -3.69$, $p < .01$, with confederates in the Hijabi condition ($M=2.80$, $SD=.83$) reporting higher levels of stigma consciousness than when in the non-Hijabi condition ($M=2.18$, $SD=.97$), as expected. In addition, a t-test was conducted to determine if confederates wearing the hijab exhibited more stigma consciousness if they were of the Muslim faith compared to non-Muslim confederates. There was no significant difference in stigma consciousness, $t(54) = -1.12$, *ns*, between Muslim confederates wearing the hijab ($M=3.00$, $SD=.55$) and non-Muslim confederates wearing the hijab ($M=2.73$, $SD=.91$). Finally, a t-test was conducted to determine if confederates exhibited more stigma consciousness if they were non-minority (White) compared to minority confederates (dummy coded 0 and 1 for White and non-White, respectively). There was no significant difference in stigma consciousness, $t(110) = -1.12$, *ns*, between non-minority confederates ($M=2.41$, $SD=.95$) and minority confederates ($M=2.63$, $SD=.96$).

Intraclass Correlation Coefficient Values

Although all the hypotheses in this study are at the observation level of analysis, the observations are nested within confederates. This nesting might violate the assumption of non-independence of observations. Thus, to see if there was any clustering within the data such that the observations and confederates were not independent, interclass correlation coefficients were calculated (see Table 3). Several of the dependant variables (callback, permission to leave resume, distance) had significant intraclass correlation coefficient (ICC) values, indicating clustering within the data such that the observation data were not independent. For these variables, it was necessary to use hierarchical linear modeling (HLM; Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002) to account for the non-independence of observations. For the remaining variables, the non-significant ICC values indicated that there was no significant clustering in the data and therefore either regression or HLM would be appropriate. However, HLM was employed for all the analyses, because it is actually a more conservative test than would be a typical regression analysis. Additionally, because some of variables did require HLM, using HLM for all dependant variables standardized all of the analyses,

Table 3:
ICC Values

Scale	ICC (1)	ICC (2)
Call back	0.015	0.179
Access to manager	0.065	0.495
Job availability	-0.032	-0.781
Permission to complete app	0.026	0.274
Leave resume	0.087	0.573
Interaction Length	0.016	0.188
Distance	0.292	0.853
Perceived Negativity	-0.013	-0.221
Perceived Interest	0.000	0.005
Overall Negativity	0.028	0.284

Note: ICC values in **bold** are significant at $p < .05$, values in **bold-italics** are significant at $p < .01$.

To test all of the hypotheses, two major sets of HLM analyses were conducted, one for each of the DVs: behaviors related to formal discrimination and behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination. It is important to note that behaviors related to formal discrimination had 5 distinct measures and behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination also had 5 distinct measures (as supported by the CFA analyses), all of which required their own separate HLM analyses. In model 1 of the HLM analyses, relevant control variables were entered. In model 2 of the HLM analyses, the control variables and the main effect (hijab) were entered. In model 3, the control variables, the main effect, and moderators were entered (social contacts, intergroup contact, stigma consciousness) were entered. In model 4 of the HLM analyses, the control variables, main effect, moderators, and their interactions were entered. These models estimated the between-individual and between-observation effects of religious attire on behaviors related to formal and interpersonal discrimination. At Level 1, the models included observation level data. At Level 2, data was examined at the person level to control for non-independence of observations within individuals. Significant main effects for hijab

were viewed as support for Hypothesis 1-2. Significant interactions were viewed as support for Hypotheses 3-8.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1 predicted that Hijabis would experience more behaviors related to formal discrimination compared to non-Hijabis. The results of the test of this hypothesis are shown in Table 4-8³. There was a significant main effect of intergroup contact on permission to complete job application ($B = -2.06, p < .01$). Primarily consistent with this hypothesis, Hijabis were marginally less likely to be given permission to complete a job application than non-Hijabis ($B = -0.81, p = 0.08$). However, the main effects for job availability ($B = -0.45, p = ns$), access to manager ($B = -0.51, p = ns$), permission to leave resume ($B = 0.29, p = ns$), and to receive callback ($B = -1.36, p = ns$) were not significant.

³ The control variables entered for these five dependant variables of formal discrimination are different in each table because only the variables related to the dependant variable of interest were used as controls. There was no control variable entered for the callback dependant variable.

Null N

Step

Step

St

N
V
P

Table 4

The Relationship between Hijab, Social Contact, Intergroup Contact, Stigma Consciousness and Callback

	DV	
	Call Back	
	Estimate ¹	t value
Null Model		
Intercept (β_0)	-2.46	-6.46
Step 1		
Intercept (β_0)	-1.97	-4.49
Hijab (β_1)	-1.36	-1.64
Step 2		
Social Contact (β_2)	0.79	1.09
Intergroup Contact (β_3)	-0.78	-1.07
Stigma Consciousness (β_4)	-0.09	-0.09
Step 3		
Hijab x Social Contact (β_5)	1.03	0.60
Hijab x Intergroup Contact (β_6)	-1.10	-0.64
Hijab x Stigma Consciousness (β_7)	-0.48	-0.53

NOTE: Values in *italics* are marginally significant $p < .10$, values in **bold** are significant at $p < .05$, values in ***bold-italics*** are significant at $p < .01$.

¹ All Beta estimates are at entry.

Table 5

The Relationship between Hijab, Social Contact, Intergroup Contact, Stigma Consciousness and Access to Manager

	DV	
	Access to Manager	
	Estimate ¹	t value
Null Model		
Intercept (β_0)	<i>1.46</i>	4.71
Step 1		
Intercept (β_0)	0.55	1.29
Manager Race-White (β_1)	1.84	3.34
Step 2		
Hijab (β_2)	-0.51	-0.95
Step 3		
Social Contact (β_3)	0.64	1.13
Intergroup Contact (β_4)	0.90	1.45
Stigma Consciousness (β_5)	-0.08	-0.22
Step 4		
Hijab x Social Contact (β_6)	-1.23	-1.08
Hijab x Intergroup Contact (β_7)	-0.34	-0.31
Hijab x Stigma Consciousness (β_8)	-0.36	-0.56

NOTE: Values in *italics* are marginally significant $p < .10$, values in **bold** are significant at $p < .05$, values in **bold-italics** are significant at $p < .01$.

¹ All Beta estimates are at entry.

Table 6
The Relationship between Hijab, Social Contact, Intergroup Contact, Stigma Consciousness and Job Availability

	DV	
	Job Availability	
	Estimate ¹	t value
Null Model		
Intercept (β_0)	-0.26	-1.33
Step 1		
Intercept (β_0)	-0.04	-0.14
Hijab (β_1)	-0.45	-1.15
Step 2		
Social Contact (β_2)	0.29	0.75
Intergroup Contact (β_3)	0.22	0.56
Stigma Consciousness (β_4)	-0.06	-0.27
Step 3		
Hijab x Social Contact (β_5)	-0.02	-0.02
Hijab x Intergroup Contact (β_6)	0.48	0.61
Hijab x Stigma Consciousness (β_7)	0.51	1.17

NOTE: Values in *italics* are marginally significant $p < .10$, values in **bold** are significant at $p < .05$, values in **bold-italics** are significant at $p < .01$.

¹ All Beta estimates are at entry.

Table 7

The Relationship between Hijab, Social Contact, Intergroup Contact, Stigma Consciousness and Permission to Complete Application

	DV	
	Permission to Complete Application	
	Estimate ¹	t value
Null Model		
Intercept (β_0)	0.36	1.57
Step 1		
Intercept (β_0)	-3.69	-3.62
Location-Crowded (β_1)	0.17	0.58
Location-Upscale (β_2)	0.56	2.03
Diversity of Employee (β_3)	0.34	1.06
Diversity of Customer (β_4)	0.21	0.59
Manager Race-White (β_5)	1.77	3.32
Step 2		
Hijab (β_7)	-0.81	-1.72
Step 3		
Social Contact (β_8)	-0.54	-0.92
Intergroup Contact (β_9)	-2.06	-3.43
Stigma Consciousness (β_{10})	0.03	0.09
Step 4		
Hijab x Social Contact (β_{11})	-0.04	-0.04
Hijab x Intergroup Contact (β_{12})	-0.42	-0.39
Hijab x Stigma Consciousness (β_{13})	0.28	0.50

NOTE: Values in *italics* are marginally significant $p < .10$, values in **bold** are significant at $p < .05$, values in **bold-italics** are significant at $p < .01$.

¹ All Beta estimates are at entry.

Table 8

The Relationship between Hijab, Social Contact, Intergroup Contact, Stigma Consciousness and Permission to Leave Resume

	DV	
	Permission to Leave Resume	
	Estimate ¹	t value
Null Model		
Intercept (β_0)	2.01	5.02
Step 1		
Intercept (β_0)	-2.09	-1.61
Location-Crowded (β_1)	0.29	0.59
Location-Upscale (β_2)	0.73	1.73
Diversity of Employee (β_3)	0.42	0.92
Diversity of Customer (β_4)	0.13	0.25
Manager Race-White (β_5)	1.61	2.17
Step 2		
Hijab (β_7)	0.29	0.40
Step 3		
Social Contact (β_8)	0.18	0.24
Intergroup Contact (β_9)	-1.03	-1.18
Stigma Consciousness (β_{10})	0.32	0.63
Step 4		
Hijab x Social Contact (β_{11})	-0.94	-0.61
Hijab x Intergroup Contact (β_{12})	-1.76	-1.09
Hijab x Stigma Consciousness (β_{13})	0.55	0.67

NOTE: Values in *italics* are marginally significant $p < .10$, values in **bold** are significant at $p < .05$, values in **bold-italics** are significant at $p < .01$.

¹ All Beta estimates are at entry.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that Hijabis would experience more behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination compared to non-Hijabis. The results of the test of this hypothesis are shown in Table 9-13⁴. There was a significant main effect of social contact on overall negativity ($B = -2.06, p = .04$). The hypothesis was partially supported, Hijabis experienced significantly less perceived interest ($B = -0.36, p < .01$) and more overall negativity ($B = 0.18, p = 0.05$) than non-Hijabis. However, the main effects for Hijab for interaction length ($B = -29.12, p = ns$), perceived distance ($B = -0.04, p = ns$) and perceived negativity ($B = 0.10, p = ns$) were not significant.

⁴ The control variables entered for these five dependant variables of interpersonal discrimination are different in each table because only the variables related to the dependant variable of interest were used as controls. There was no control variable entered for the perceived distance dependant variable.

Table 9

The Relationship between Hijab, Social Contact, Intergroup Contact, Stigma Consciousness and Interaction length

	DV	
	Interaction Length (seconds)	
	Estimate ¹	t value
Null Model		
Intercept (β_0)	367.78	9.44
Step 1		
Intercept (β_0)	-189.22	-1.57
Location-Crowded (β_1)	56.60	1.45
Location-Upscale (β_2)	75.41	2.01
Diversity of Employee (β_3)	79.77	1.89
Diversity of Customer (β_4)	-26.39	-0.57
Manager Race-White (β_5)	197.25	2.66
Step 2		
Hijab (β_8)	-29.12	-0.45
Step 3		
Social Contact (β_9)	43.21	0.59
Intergroup Contact (β_{10})	-62.78	-0.90
Stigma Consciousness (β_{11})	70.23	1.75
Step 4		
Hijab x Social Contact (β_{12})	98.67	0.77
Hijab x Intergroup Contact (β_{13})	-167.30	-1.29
Hijab x Stigma Consciousness (β_{14})	-189.22	-1.57

NOTE: Values in *italics* are marginally significant $p < .10$, values in **bold** are significant at $p < .05$, values in **bold-italics** are significant at $p < .01$.

¹ All Beta estimates are at entry.

Table 10

The Relationship between Hijab, Social Contact, Intergroup Contact, Stigma Consciousness and Perceived Distance

	DV	
	Perceived Distance	
	Estimate ¹	t value
Null Model		
Intercept (β_0)	<i>2.07</i>	39.57
Step 1		
Intercept (β_0)	<i>2.09</i>	37.25
Hijab (β_1)	-0.04	-0.89
Step 2		
Social Contact (β_2)	0.00	0.00
Intergroup Contact (β_3)	0.02	0.45
Stigma Consciousness (β_4)	-0.01	-0.33
Step 3		
Hijab x Social Contact (β_5)	-0.04	-0.50
Hijab x Intergroup Contact (β_6)	0.07	0.86
Hijab x Stigma Consciousness (β_7)	-0.05	-1.00

NOTE: Values in *italics* are marginally significant $p < .10$, values in **bold** are significant at $p < .05$, values in **bold-italics** are significant at $p < .01$.

¹ All Beta estimates are at entry.

Table 11

The Relationship between Hijab, Social Contact, Intergroup Contact, Stigma Consciousness and Perceived Negativity

	DV	
	Perceived Negativity	
	Estimate ¹	t value
Null Model		
Intercept (β_0)	<i>2.18</i>	65.36
Step 1		
Intercept (β_0)	<i>2.49</i>	-0.08
Location Type (Store or Restaurant) (β_1)	<i>-0.17</i>	-2.49
Location-Upscale (β_2)	<i>-0.08</i>	-2.15
Step 2		
Hijab (β_3)	0.10	1.50
Step 3		
Social Contact (β_4)	-0.12	-1.64
Intergroup Contact (β_5)	0.09	1.47
Stigma Consciousness (β_6)	-0.01	-0.28
Step 4		
Hijab x Social Contact (β_7)	-0.01	-0.04
Hijab x Intergroup Contact (β_8)	0.05	0.41
Hijab x Stigma Consciousness (β_9)	-0.05	-0.71

NOTE: Values in *italics* are marginally significant $p < .10$, values in **bold** are significant at $p < .05$, values in **bold-italics** are significant at $p < .01$.

¹ All Beta estimates are at entry.

Table 12

The Relationship between Hijab, Social Contact, Intergroup Contact, Stigma Consciousness and Perceived Interest

	DV	
	Perceived Interest	
	Estimate ¹	t value
Null Model		
Intercept (β_0)	2.70	36.91
Step 1		
Intercept (β_0)	1.61	6.40
Location-Crowded (β_1)	0.05	0.67
Location-Upscale (β_2)	<i>0.21</i>	2.64
Diversity of Customer (β_3)	<i>0.12</i>	1.51
Manager Race-White (β_4)	0.22	1.38
Step 2		
Hijab (β_6)	-0.36	-2.67
Step 3		
Social Contact (β_7)	0.09	0.62
Intergroup Contact (β_8)	-0.21	-1.41
Stigma Consciousness (β_9)	0.10	1.31
Step 4		
Hijab x Social Contact (β_{10})	0.15	0.57
Hijab x Intergroup Contact (β_{11})	-0.13	-0.50
Hijab x Stigma Consciousness (β_{12})	<i>0.28</i>	1.93

NOTE: Values in *italics* are marginally significant $p < .10$, values in **bold** are significant at $p < .05$, values in **bold-italics** are significant at $p < .01$.

¹ All Beta estimates are at entry.

Table 13

The Relationship between Hijab, Social Contact, Intergroup Contact, Stigma Consciousness and Overall Negativity

	DV	
	Overall Negativity	
	Estimate ¹	t value
Null Model		
Intercept (β_0)	2.35	40.18
Step 1		
Intercept (β_0)	2.26	29.65
Hijab (β_1)	0.18	1.82
Step 2		
Social Contact (β_2)	-0.20	-2.05
Intergroup Contact (β_3)	0.14	1.50
Stigma Consciousness (β_4)	-0.04	-0.66
Step 3		
Hijab x Social Contact (β_5)	0.22	1.14
Hijab x Intergroup Contact (β_6)	0.16	0.82
Hijab x Stigma Consciousness (β_7)	0.04	0.36

NOTE: Values in *italics* are marginally significant $p < .10$, values in **bold** are significant at $p < .05$, values in **bold-italics** are significant at $p < .01$.

¹ All Beta estimates are at entry.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that social contact would moderate the relationship between Hijab and behaviors related to formal discrimination such that this relationship is accentuated when there is high social contact and attenuated when there is low social contact. The results of the test of this hypothesis are shown in Table 4-8. There were no significant interactions for callbacks ($B = 1.03$, $p = ns$), access to manager ($B = -1.23$, $p = ns$), job availability ($B = -0.02$, $p = ns$), permission to complete job applications ($B = -0.04$, $p = ns$), and permission to leave resume ($B = -0.95$, $p = ns$). Hypothesis 3 was not supported.

Hypothesis 4 predicted that social contact would moderate the relationship between Hijab and behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination such that this relationship is accentuated when there is high social contact and attenuated when there is low social contact. The results of the test of this hypothesis are shown in Table 9-13. This hypothesis was not supported, as there were no significant interactions for interaction length ($B = 98.67, p = ns$), perceived distance ($B = -0.04, p = ns$), perceived negativity ($B = -0.01, p = ns$), perceived interest ($B = 0.15, p = ns$), and overall negativity ($B = 0.22, p = ns$).

Hypothesis 5 predicted that intergroup contact would moderate the relationship between Hijab and behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination such that this relationship is accentuated when there is low intergroup contact and attenuated when there is high intergroup contact. The results of the test of this hypothesis are shown in Table 4-8. There were no significant interactions for callbacks ($B = -1.10, p = ns$), access to manager ($B = -0.34, p = ns$), job availability ($B = 0.48, p = ns$), permission to complete job applications ($B = -0.42, p = ns$), and permission to leave resume ($B = -1.76, p = ns$). Hypothesis 5 was not supported.

Hypothesis 6 predicted that intergroup contact would moderate the relationship between Hijab and behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination such that this relationship is accentuated when there is low intergroup contact and attenuated when there is high intergroup contact. The results of the test of this hypothesis are shown in Table 9-13. This hypothesis was not supported, as there were no significant interactions for interaction length ($B = -167.30, p = ns$), perceived distance ($B = 0.07, p = ns$),

perceived negativity ($B = 0.05$, $p = ns$), perceived interest ($B = -0.13$, $p = ns$), and overall negativity ($B = 0.16$, $p = ns$).

Hypothesis 7 predicted that stigma consciousness would moderate the relationship between Hijab and behaviors related to formal discrimination such that this relationship is accentuated when there is high stigma consciousness and attenuated when there is low stigma consciousness. The results of the test of this hypothesis are shown in Table 4-8. There were no significant interactions for callbacks ($B = -0.48$, $p = ns$), access to manager ($B = -0.36$, $p = ns$), job availability ($B = 0.51$, $p = ns$), permission to complete job applications ($B = 0.28$, $p = ns$), and permission to leave resume ($B = 0.55$, $p = ns$). Hypothesis 7 was not supported.

Hypothesis 8 predicted that stigma consciousness would moderate the relationship between Hijab and behaviors related to formal discrimination such that this relationship is accentuated when there is high stigma consciousness and attenuated when there is low stigma consciousness. The results of the test of this hypothesis are shown in Table 9-13. This hypothesis was not supported, as there were no significant interactions for interaction length ($B = -72.73$, $p = ns$), perceived distance ($B = -0.05$, $p = ns$), perceived negativity ($B = -0.05$, $p = ns$), perceived interest ($B = 0.28$, $p = ns$), and overall negativity ($B = 0.04$, $p = ns$).

Table 14 shows the means and frequencies (where applicable) of all of the dependent variables in this study. Although none of these differences were significant (with the exception of perceived interest and overall negativity), Hijabi confederate applicants received fewer callbacks, got less access to manager, were less likely to be told a job was available or be recommended another job, and were given less permission to

complete a job application (marginally significant) than non-Hijabi confederate applicants. Hijabi confederate applicants, on average, also experienced shorter interactions with managers and experienced higher perceived negativity from managers than non-Hijabi confederate applicants.

Table 14
Means of Behaviors Related to Formal Discrimination and Interpersonal Discrimination

	Religious Attire		
	No Hijab	Hijab	Total
Formal Discrimination¹			
Call Back	0.13 (n=7)	0.04(n=2)	0.08 (n=9)
Access to Manager	0.84 (n=47)	0.77 (n=43)	0.8 (n=90)
Job Availability	0.49 (n=27)	0.38 (n=21)	0.44 (n=48)
Permission to Complete Application	0.69 (n=37)	0.49 (n=27)	0.59 (n=64)
Permission to Leave Resume	0.87 (n=48)	0.86 (n=48)	0.87 (n=96)
Interpersonal Discrimination			
Interaction Length (seconds)	398.70	336.86	367.78
Perceived Distance	2.09	2.05	2.07
Perceived Negativity	2.10	2.25	2.18
Perceived Interest	2.92	2.48	2.70
Overall Negativity	2.26	2.44	2.35

NOTE:¹ The frequency of yes responses for the formal discrimination measures are provided in the parentheses.

Exploratory Analyses

Because many of the hypotheses were not supported or only partially supported, exploratory HLM analyses were conducted focusing solely on finding a significant main effect of the hijab on behaviors related to formal discrimination and behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination. Because several variables were not controlled for in the previous analyses, to account for as much noise as possible and to make the effect more detectable, all of the control variables were included in the exploratory analyses. These exploratory analyses were performed entirely used hierarchical linear modeling (HLM;

Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002) to account for non-independence of observations within individuals. At Level 1, the models included observation level data. At Level 2, data was examined at the person level. In model 1 of the HLM analyses, all of the control variables (trial number, location type, location crowdedness, location-upscale, diversity of employees, diversity of customers, manager's gender, and manager's race) were entered. In model 2 of the HLM analyses, the control variables, and the main effect (hijab) were entered. The results of the test are shown in Table 15 and 16 (only significant findings are discussed below).

For the influence of hijab on formal discrimination Hijabis were significantly less likely to receive callbacks than non-Hijabis ($B = -1.80, p = 0.04$) and marginally less likely to be given permission to complete job applications ($B = -0.82, p = 0.10$), lending more support for hypothesis 1. For the influence of hijab on interpersonal discrimination, Hijabis experienced significantly less perceived interest ($B = -0.33, p = 0.02$) than non-Hijabis, lending more support for hypothesis 2.

Table 15
The Influence of Hijab on Behaviors Related to Formal Discrimination (All Controls)

	DV							
	Call Back		Access to Manager		Job Availability		Permission to Complete Application	
	Estimate ¹	t value	Estimate ¹	t value	Estimate ¹	t value	Estimate ¹	t value
Null Model								
Intercept (β_0)	-2.46	-6.46	1.46	4.71	-0.26	-1.33	0.36	1.57
Step 1								
Intercept (β_0)	-28.04	-2.53	1.26	1.13	-1.31	-1.56	-4.09	-3.39
Trial Number (β_1)	0.14	0.91	-0.07	-0.58	0.10	1.02	-0.02	-0.19
Location Type (β_2)	0.31	0.39	0.04	0.07	-0.42	-0.94	0.36	0.64
Location-Crowded (β_3)	-0.44	-0.93	0.20	0.55	0.04	0.16	0.21	0.66
Location-Upscale (β_4)	-0.15	-0.34	-0.02	-0.07	0.28	1.15	0.53	1.79
Diversity of Employee (β_5)	0.18	0.41	0.27	0.75	-0.40	-1.44	0.42	1.19
Diversity of Customer (β_6)	0.37	0.77	-0.46	-1.13	0.47	1.62	0.20	0.53
Manager Gender (β_7)	-0.18	-0.29	-0.55	-0.95	-0.45	-1.05	0.06	0.12
Manager Race-White (β_8)	1.23	1.42	1.75	2.90	0.14	0.29	1.87	3.32
Step 2								
Hijab (β_{17})	-1.80	-1.94	-0.78	-1.27	-0.50	-1.17	-0.82	-1.63

NOTE: Values in *italics* are marginally significant p<.10, values in **bold** are significant at p<.05, values in ***bold-italics*** are significant at p<.01.
¹ All Beta estimates are at entry.

Table 16

The Influence of Hijab on Behaviors Related to Interpersonal Discrimination (All Controls)

	DV							
	Interaction Length (seconds)		Perceived Distance		Perceived Negativity		Perceived Interest	
	Estimate ¹	t value	Estimate ¹	t value	Estimate ¹	t value	Estimate ¹	t value
Null Model								
Intercept (β_0)	367.78	9.44	2.07	39.57	2.18	65.36	2.70	36.91
							2.35	40.18
Step 1								
Intercept (β_0)	-164.11	-1.22	2.04	18.95	2.43	18.19	1.73	6.10
Trial Number (β_1)	-12.56	-0.86	0.01	0.71	0.02	1.03	-0.05	-1.69
Location Type (β_2)	83.78	1.17	0.01	0.24	-0.14	-1.96	0.13	0.88
Location-Crowded (β_3)	68.40	1.69	-0.02	-0.57	0.05	1.25	0.09	1.03
Location-Upscale (β_4)	64.17	1.64	-0.03	-1.13	-0.08	-1.96	0.19	2.29
Diversity of Employee (β_5)	94.83	2.18	0.04	1.21	0.03	0.69	-0.01	-0.11
Diversity of Customer (β_6)	-37.48	-0.80	0.02	0.47	-0.06	-1.34	0.13	1.38
Manager Gender (β_7)	-43.82	-0.64	-0.05	-0.95	-0.04	-0.62	0.04	0.27
Manager Race-White (β_8)	189.75	2.52	0.02	0.42	-0.09	-1.25	0.18	1.09
							-0.09	-0.76
Step 2								
Hijab (β_{17})	-15.87	-0.24	-0.05	-1.18	0.10	1.48	-0.33	-2.35
							0.15	1.48

NOTE: Values in *italics* are marginally significant $p < .10$, values in **bold** are significant at $p < .05$, values in *bold-italics* are significant at $p < .01$.

¹ All Beta estimates are at entry.

Discussion

Summary of Findings

The purpose of this dissertation was to identify and provide evidence for the different types of behaviors related to discrimination that Hijabis encounter in the work domain. Although many behaviors related to formal and interpersonal discrimination were not found, this study did reveal partial evidence for behaviors related to both interpersonal and formal discrimination against Hijabis applying for work.

In terms of experiencing behaviors related to formal discrimination, Hijabis were marginally less likely to be given permission to complete job applications compared to non-Hijabis. Exploratory analyses further reveal that in terms of behaviors related to formal discrimination, Hijabis were significantly less likely to get callbacks than non-Hijabis. This is in line with reports that Islamophobic activities such as verbal abuse, harassment, and aggression towards Muslims are on a rise (Sheridan, 2007). There are several reasons why certain behaviors related to formal discrimination still exist against Hijabis. One reason is that discrimination against some groups might be more tolerable than towards other groups. For example, some people still consider negative attitudes towards obese people acceptable (Crandall, 1994). Similarly, certain forms of differential treatment against Muslims might be considered acceptable, as suggested by the prevalent negative attitudes and stereotypes towards Muslims today. Additionally, discrimination of individuals with controllable stigma is viewed as more acceptable than discrimination of individuals with uncontrollable stigma (Rodin, Price, Sanchez, & McElligot, 1989). Similarly, people may perceive the Hijab as a controllable stigma since it can be removed, and thereby justify discriminatory behaviors against women who wear the

hijab. In fact, Allen & Nielson (2002) identified the most powerful antecedent of negative behaviors against Muslims as being visually identifiable as a Muslim.

In terms of behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination, Hijabi job applicants experienced significantly less perceived interest and more overall negativity from the managers than non-Hijabi job applicants. This is in alignment with previous research, in which homosexual job applicants (stigmatized group) perceived that the employers were not interested in them as candidates compared to heterosexual job applicants (Hebl et al., 2002). Interpersonal discrimination is believed to be prevalent because, unlike formal discrimination in which there are legal norms for acceptable behaviors during job interactions (i.e. cursing), there are no legal norms for how to interact with job applicants (Hebl et al., 2002). Consequently, managers' negative biases against stigmatized groups are often reflected in them being more negative and less interested in stigmatized job applicants.

Although certain forms of behaviors related to formal and interpersonal discrimination were found in the original or the exploratory analyses, the majority of behaviors related to formal discrimination (access to manager, job availability, permission to leave resume,) and behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination (interaction length, perceived negativity, perceived distance) that were used in this study did not yield any significant differences between Hijabis and non-Hijabis. Because many of these effects were in the right direction (Hijabis experienced shorter interaction length, higher perceived negativity, were less likely to get access to manager, be told a job was available), it is possible that the main effects for these dependent variable did exist but they were too small, and more trials were needed to get these significant effects. For

example, with the current sample size of 112 trials, to detect a main effect with an effect size of 0.15 at an alpha 0.05, this study has a power of .98. To detect an interaction effect with an effect size of 0.15 at an alpha 0.05, this study has a power of .84. However, to detect an effect size that is much smaller than 0.15, a larger sample size would be required than is currently available in this study.

The economy could have also played a factor in explaining the numerous null findings. The state in which this study was conducted, Michigan, currently has an unemployment rate of 12.9% (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2009). It is possible that given the high unemployment rate and the current state of the economy, there are fewer jobs available for the confederates in general. So, managers are not just telling Hijabis that there aren't any jobs available, but the managers are also telling the same thing to non-Hijabis too, because there just really are not that many positions open for job applicants. For instance, out of a 112 trials conducted in this study, only 9 of these trials resulted in a callback, reflecting a low job availability rate. It is important to consider this low job availability rate because it lowers the base rate for all the conditions. When there is a low base rate, it is harder to detect the effects, which can serve to explain some of the null findings.

It is also possible that the low base rate for callback is related to managers being less concerned about hiring young employees such as our confederates (19-22 year-olds) because of their likelihood for high turnover for such jobs (Cotton & Tuttle, 1986). Many managers might perceive that young people work in mall and restaurant settings as simply a means of making money to get through college (or other expenses) and are not serious about pursuing such jobs for a lifetime careers, and may only want to work part-

time or at odd hours due to their inflexible class schedules (Gakovic & Tetrick, 2003). Consequently, managers may be less interested in younger employees because they do not view such employees as long-term or good investments, regardless of whether these employees wear the headscarf or not. Additionally, managers in these service and sales-related occupations might have also been less likely to show interpersonal discrimination in general because the social skill requirements of such positions require the managers to be polite and courteous in their day-to-day work interactions (Pettijohn, Pettijohn, & Taylor, 2007). Managers may transfer these forms of helpful behaviors not just towards their customers, but also employees in general, thereby reducing their overall likelihood of engaging in behaviors related to discrimination.

Another explanation for the null findings might be that the measurement of some of the dependent variables might have been problematic. For example, the inability to find an effect for interaction length might have been a result of using a stopwatch for timing the length of the interaction. The stopwatch recorded time from beginning to end of interaction, but the stopwatch did not account for the time it would take to wait for manager to find an application, to deal with other customers present, and the amount of time required to fill out an application, which varied store to store.

There was no significant moderator effect for social contact on behaviors related to formal discrimination and behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination. One possibility for the null interaction effects of social contact could be due to the type of occupations which the confederates applied for. According to O*Net (2009), jobs such as stockpersons (stock clerks) require physical exertion involving lifting and handling heavy objects. Research shows such occupations that require physical activities are considered

to be masculine jobs (Anker, 1998). Because one of the low contact jobs (stockperson) could have been perceived as gender specific for males, the suitability of the applicant for the job may have been confounded with the gender of applicant. To examine this possibility, exploratory analyses were run after removing all the trials that had a stockperson job and the analyses revealed that there was a significant interaction between the hijab and social contact on permission to complete application ($B = -1.43$, $p = 0.03$), but there was no significant interactions between hijab and social contact on the remaining dependant variables.

In addition, there was no significant moderator effect for intergroup contact on behaviors related to formal discrimination and behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination. Although, inter-group contact has been well established as one of the key ways to reduce intergroup prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), Allport's (1954) intergroup contact theory suggests that four conditions are still essential for intergroup contact to reduce intergroup prejudice: 1) equal status of the groups in the situation, 2) intergroup cooperation, 3) common goals, and 4) social and institutional support of greater contact. It is possible that one or more of these conditions are not being met in the high intergroup contact location (Dearborn) used in this study. For example, there is no reason to suspect that there is actually any high order institutional force that is prompting employers to have greater contact with Hijabis. Similarly, even though there is a substantial Muslim population in Dearborn, this does not necessarily suggest that there is increased cooperation between these different groups. In fact, some research studies have shown that interracial housing did not significantly alter racial attitudes (Bradburn, Sudman, & Gockel, 1971; Zuel & Humphrey 1971), despite expectations that it would.

Finally, there were no significant interactions between stigma consciousness and hijab on behaviors related to formal discrimination and behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination. This is surprising since previous studies suggest that people high on stigma consciousness are more likely to perceive discrimination and experience actual discrimination (Mosley & Rosenberg, 2007; Pinel, 1999). This is because of the self fulfilling nature of stigma consciousness, in which the individual high in stigma consciousness, expecting stigma, acts in a way that ultimately confirm stereotypes associated with one's stigma, thereby warranting stigma against one self (Jussim et al., 2000).

One possibility for the lack of finding is that the stigma consciousness of the confederate job applicants was artificial and induced, because some of the participants were not Muslim and none of the participants were actually Hijabis. However, it should be noted that although stigma consciousness levels reflect individual differences, they can also change depending on the situation (Pinel, Warner, & Chua, 2005). Specifically, Pinel (2002) distinguished between trait-like stigma consciousnesses (dispositional) from state-like stigma consciousness (situationally induced). People with dispositional stigma consciousness chronically expect that they will be stigmatized as a result of their group membership whereas situational induced stigma consciousness can be manipulated even when people have low dispositional stigma (Pinel, 2002). For example, Pinel (2004) situationally manipulated stigma consciousness in women by asking women with dispositionally low levels of stigma consciousness to reflect upon times when their group was stereotyped after having them read a list of examples of men discriminating against women. Compared to women who were not situationally induced, these women reported

higher levels of stigma consciousness after the manipulation. This study also revealed state-like levels of stigma consciousness, in which the confederates' level of stigma consciousness fluctuated, depended on which condition they were in. In general, when confederates were in the Hijabi condition, they reported higher levels of stigma consciousness than when these same confederates were in the non-Hijabi condition.

Another possibility why stigma consciousness was not a significant moderator could be that although stigma consciousness levels of our confederates did change through conditions, as evidenced through significant mean differences between Hijabis and non-Hijabi confederate applicants, confederate job applicants were still trained to be consistent throughout the interactions. It is possible that the self fulfilling nature of stigma consciousness becomes more diminished if the stigmatized individuals are trained to interact in a standardized manner throughout all their trials, thereby, reducing the differences in the experiences of behaviors related to discrimination between Hijabis and non-Hijabis confederate applicants. Additionally, it is important to note that another issue in this study is that the confederate-employer interactions were relatively short ($M = 367.78$ second) and the effects of stigma consciousness may have been greater in longer or ongoing interactions.

Theoretical implications

This study contributes to the literature by improving how discrimination is measured in organizations. Traditionally, organization studies tend to only focus on the measurement of formal discrimination. The measurement of formal discrimination can be misleading in determining the extent to which discrimination occurs in organizations, as formal discrimination is less likely to occur due to legal reasons (Gaertner & Dovidio,

1986). However, lack of formal discrimination does not mean that discrimination itself no longer exists in organizations. In fact, discrimination is more likely to be manifested as interpersonal discrimination (Hebl et al., 2002; 2006, King et al., 2006) but fails to go noticed because traditionally it is not measured in organizational studies. Also, it is difficult to measure interpersonal discrimination since it is difficult to detect due to its subtle nature. This study is among the few studies (Hebl et al., 2002; 2006; King et al., 2006) that evaluate discrimination in the organization in the forms of behaviors related to both interpersonal and formal discrimination. This study contributes to the literature by showing that certain behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination exist (low perceived interest, more overall negativity) and should be studied when measuring discrimination in organizations. Interpersonal discrimination has several negative consequences for stigmatized individuals, and can lead to stress, frustration, and hostile behavior (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1991). Thus, it is important to consider such indirect forms of discrimination along with behaviors related to formal discrimination to understand the degree to which stigmatized individuals experience discrimination during the application process.

Additionally, the findings of this study extend the literature by identifying stigmatized individuals who are still subjected to certain forms of behaviors related to formal discrimination (less likely to be given permission to complete job application, low callbacks). Although research on contemporary forms of discrimination in the workplace tends to draw from modern racism theory by McConahay (1986), aversive racism theory by Gaertner and Dovidio, (1986), and ambivalent racism by Katz and Haas (1988), to suggest that formal discrimination is being masked by interpersonal discrimination, my

findings indicate that for certain stigmatized groups (Hijabis), this is not the case. The finding that certain forms of behaviors related to formal discrimination still exist for certain stigmatized group is conceptually and empirically important to the topic of understanding contemporary forms of discrimination in the workplace. The finding highlights the importance of continuing to study and to measure behaviors related to overt forms of discrimination alongside with behaviors related to more contemporary subtle forms of discrimination.

This study's finding also warrants future research to identify the specific reasons why certain stigmatized groups are still subjected to overt forms of discrimination. One explanation for why Hijabis might be formally discriminated against is because of the threat they might pose. According to the terror management theory (TMT; Greenberg, Pyszczynski, & Solomon 1986), stigmatized individuals who induce mortality salience and challenge culture worldviews experience derogation from non-stigmatized individuals. It is possible that because Hijabis, as Muslims, are strongly tied with September 11th attacks and other terrorist activities and they represent an Islamic culture which threatens Western ideals (Gabriel, 2007), they pose a direct threat to many Americans. Consequently, Hijabis are more likely to be formally discriminated against than other groups whose immediate threats are not so apparent. Terror management theory is but one theory that helps explain circumstances under which behaviors related to formal discrimination can still occur against certain stigmatized groups, and future research warrants further investigation of this topic.

This study also contributes to the literature by extending the current research on interpersonal and formal discrimination by looking at moderators that can influence the

extent to which these forms of discriminatory behaviors occur. Very few studies (King et al., 2006) have looked at the boundary conditions around formal and interpersonal discrimination. Accordingly, this study examined specific factors (social contact, intergroup contact, and stigma consciousness) that were expected to influence the degree to which subtle forms of discriminatory behaviors occur as well as overt forms of discriminatory behaviors. Although, no significant interactions were found between the moderators and hijab on the dependant variables in this study, the study does highlight the need for looking for additional important moderators which were not examined in this study, such as situational context (i.e. job status, gender ratio of job). Future findings of such significant moderators of behaviors related to formal and interpersonal discrimination can be useful in identifying discrimination-reduction strategies.

Finally, this research also extends the research on interpersonal discrimination by integrating the racial microaggression framework. Primarily, the research on interpersonal discrimination relies on the theory of aversive racism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998) or modern racism theory (McConahay, 1986). This study is the first study to date which examines behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination by integrating it with a racial microaggression framework. In general, the microaggression framework represents another way of examining interpersonal discrimination because of its greater focus on the verbal behaviors than the traditional measures of interpersonal discrimination, which tend to focus more heavily on nonverbal behaviors (Hebl et al., 2002). In general, microaggressions tend to be very much in tuned with what exactly is being said, in which conversations or remarks made by the non-stigmatized status individuals to stigmatized status individuals are deconstructed to uncover the main motive behind statements.

Previous measures used for interpersonal discrimination (Hebl et al., 2002; 2007) certainly also take into account verbal communication, but they focus mostly on subtle nonverbal behaviors (eye contact, distance, rudeness, overall negativity). By including the microaggression scale as a measure of interpersonal discrimination, interpersonal discrimination can be measured through a more verbal lens, while other measures (i.e. distance, eye contact) of interpersonal discrimination are measured mostly through nonverbal lens. However, it is important to note that because microaggression does have a focus on verbal communication and what exactly is being said, microaggressions might also be harder to detect in shorter interactions, where verbal communication might be limited to a few words. Regardless, I suspect there is great value to be added by using the microaggression framework in measuring interpersonal discrimination. Even though the measure of microaggression did not prove to be useful due to its poor psychometric properties, in future research, a better measure of microaggression could prove to be useful for examining interpersonal discriminatory behaviors in the work context.

Practical Implications

The findings of this study are also of practical value to recruitment agencies, organizations, and Hijabis. According to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, employment discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin is prohibited. However, the findings from the original and exploratory analyses suggest that some organizations still employ unfair hiring tactics against certain protected stigmatized groups. Such practices can result in fairly substantial adverse impact against certain stigmatized groups. Consequently, such cases of adverse impact increase the risk at which organizations become vulnerable to undesirable lawsuits and legal implications.

Thus, organizations need to make clear to their employees of the legal rights of individuals who apply for work so as to not violate the law, and train them on both the formal and interpersonal aspects of the hiring process so as to avoid behaviors related to formal and interpersonal discrimination.

Both behaviors related to formal and interpersonal discrimination can also serve as negative cues for what the applicants might expect should they be hired, and thus might influence their job acceptance behavior. Previous research suggests that if applicants suspect intolerance of diversity, they are less likely to trust and feel comfortable in such organizations (Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davies, Dittmann, & Crosby, 2008). In extreme cases, suspecting intolerance, such persons might not even choose to apply. For many organizations, this can mean a reduced selection pool of valuable applicants to choose from. In addition to reducing the number of potential applicants, organizations will also lose out on a diverse labor force that can be a potential source of strength for some organizations since many organizations value diversity within the workplace.

The findings also make salient and document the difficulties which Hijabis undergo while applying for work. My findings suggest that Hijabis are subjected to certain forms of behaviors related to both formal and interpersonal discrimination during the hiring process. These forms of discriminatory behaviors have several negative consequences for stigmatized individuals. Discrimination has been shown to negatively affect personal well-being, lowered self esteem, and increase stress, anxiety, and depression (Deitch et al., 1996; Jackson et al., 1996; Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999; Sanchez & Brock, 1996). A far worse consequence of discrimination is that Hijabis may come to not apply for work altogether. Previous research suggests that minorities who expect to be

stigmatized against go as far as to avoid such situations (Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, & Pietrzak, 2002; Pinel, 1999). As a result, fewer Hijabis will be present in the work arena, leading to systematic group differences in the occupational attainment of Hijabis.

Strengths and Limitations

There are many strengths of this study. The fact that this study was a field experiment provides great ecological validity to the findings. Indeed, this study goes beyond self report data on discrimination and negative attitudes towards Hijabis and provides actual evidence of employment discrimination of such groups. The field experiment design of this study aids the generalizability of these findings. Additionally, according to the American Religious Identity Survey (City University of New York, the Graduate Center, 2001), American Muslims belong to variety of different racial and ethnic groups, including Whites, Blacks, Asians, and Hispanics. Because confederates selected in this study were from various ethnic backgrounds, it makes the sample more representative of the actual population of interest and the findings also generalize to a wide variety of Muslim women who wear the headscarf.

Another strength of this study was the analysis technique utilized. HLM is a more sophisticated technique than that which has been used in previous research examining this topic (Hebl et al., 2002; 2007). By using HLM, this study takes into account the non-independence of observations that are nested within individuals.

Another major strength of this study is represented by the sample of the study. Although previous studies have examined Muslims and Hijabis in general (Klink & Wagner, 1999; Rippey & Newman, 2006; Sheridan, 2007), these groups are very much

underrepresented in the management and applied psychology literatures. Because of the numerous accounts of workplace discrimination against Hijabis (Pluralism Project, 2004), it has become increasingly important to empirically study this sample. Consequently, this study is unique in that it systematically measures behaviors related to discrimination against Hijabis in the actual work context.

However, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of this study. Because the confederates wore the headscarf and observers saw the confederates in the headscarf, this might evoke the concern that the participants suspected the nature of the study. Although it might have been more effective to deal with this concern by audio taping the interaction and having blind coders rate the interactions, a method employed in previous research (Hebl et al., 2000; 2007), third party audio taping laws in the state of Michigan prevented this practice (Mich. Comp. Laws § 750.539d). In addition to the law, the use of third party audio taping may also be questioned ethically. However, there is little reason to suspect that there is confederate bias. Behaviors related to formal discrimination were measured objectively (yes/ no questions) by both observers and confederates and were found to be present. Additionally, to reduce confederate bias, both the confederates and observers were restricted from talking to each other during the interaction so as to not influence each others results. However, their interrater agreement on the behaviors related to the interpersonal measures of discrimination was good, with r_{wg} values ranging from .82 to as high as .97. Furthermore, Hebl et al. (2007) found that observers agreed with blind coders independently listening to an audio recording of the confederate job applicant-employer interaction (r_{wg} values ranging from .73 to .85), which suggests that

the use of blind coders would not have significantly altered the results of the current study.

Another limitation in this study is the possibility of experiment wise error. In total, 40 independent tests were conducted across the eight hypotheses in this study. Across 40 tests, the sampling error rate would be 2 significant tests on average, and this study also yielded 2 significant results for the original analyses (not including exploratory analyses). Thus, it is important to acknowledge sampling error as a potential alternative explanation for the main effect of Hijab on overall negativity and perceived interest. However, it is important to note that the p value of the main effect of hijab on perceived interest ($p=.000$) is so low that it makes it unlikely to be due to chance alone. The experiment wise error is more of a concern for the main effect of Hijab on perceived overall negativity because the p value was .046. Still, one can never be sure which effects are due to sampling error and which are not. Nevertheless, the possibility of experiment wise error is still a limitation of this study.

Another limitation of this study was the inability to detect differences in interaction length, which previous studies in the past have (Hebl et al., 2002; 2007). One explanation for this had to do with the manner in which time had been measured. Although previous research was able to audiotape their interactions and later measure the exact amount of time the interaction took and how many words were spoken, legal restrictions on third party audio taping prevented recording the interaction (Mich. Comp. Laws § 750.539d). Instead, in this study, the observers had to use the stopwatch from start to finish of the full interaction so as to not appear conspicuous. Such a measure of the interaction does

not account for interruptions between interactions due to other customers present and the length of the application, which varied by stores and restaurant.

It is also important to note that the cities (Dearborn and Lansing) used for this study may have been weak proxies for measuring interpersonal contact. Although Dearborn and Lansing have comparatively different proportion of Muslims, this does not necessarily mean that the city with the greater proportion of Muslims (Dearborn) would have more frequent intergroup contact than the city with the smaller proportion of Muslims (Lansing). This is because the study does not take into account that these two cities might have additional regional differences that may preclude intergroup contact. For example, it is possible that having a high proportion of Muslims in Dearborn actually causes more conflict than cooperation between Muslims and non-Muslims due to greater competition for limited resources (i.e. jobs) in that area. In fact, there have been accounts of Muslim women filing discrimination at a McDonald's in Dearborn on the basis of their religion (Fox News, 2008). Similarly, future studies should also consider several other factors regarding regional differences that might influence intergroup contact between groups, such as xenophobia, rural vs. urban locations, and overall diversity of the city. These regional characteristics are important to consider in future studies because they may promote or preclude intergroup contact between groups. For example, cities where locals are xenophobic, would on average be less welcoming and less likely to interact with foreigners, despite the presence of foreigners in these locations. Similarly, the overall diversity in a location is also important to study. A location that has a high percentage of one minority (i.e. Arabs) does not necessarily suggest that there will other minorities (i.e. Blacks, Asians) present as well, limiting the overall diversity of a location.

A final limitation of this study is the generalizability of this study's finding as pertaining solely to women of the Muslim faith. Specifically, it is important to consider what might be perceived as "atypical" in appearance for Muslims. While Muslim women are of several different ethnicities, due to the media and familiarity, Muslims might come to be associated with a few races more so than others. For example, many people believe that Arabs are Muslims (Cainkar, 2002), and might come to believe that any Arab they encounter is of the Muslim faith. However, associating a White woman with a Muslim faith would be rarer in America, even though there are certainly White Muslim women both in America and throughout the world. However, because of the atypicality of associating a White woman and Muslim or vice versa, seeing a White Hijabi might seem astereotypic to some people, who might expect only Arab women to wear the headscarf. It is possible that this atypicality/ astereotypicality might drive some people to treat the Hijabis confederate applicants differentially for that reason alone, and not necessarily because of the person's religion per se. Thus behaviors related to formal and interpersonal discrimination against the group might not necessarily be directed against the headscarf, but more so against the astereotypicality of the person. Because it was not possible to ask manager's themselves regarding if they engaged in discriminatory behaviors and what their discrimination behaviors were directed against, there is no way to be certain of whether astereotypicality of some of the confederate job applicants influenced the dependent variables in this study. However, non-significant correlations between White applicants and behaviors related to formal and interpersonal discrimination suggest that this did not play an important role in this dissertation.

Future research

Although this study provides evidence for certain forms of behaviors related to formal and interpersonal discrimination against Hijabis, it does not address the underlying causes of discriminatory behaviors against such individuals. For example, discrimination could have been a result of anti-Muslim sentiments. Terror management theory (Greenberg et al., 1986) would argue that discrimination could be the result of induced mortality salience in the presence of Muslims or having one's cultural worldviews challenged by Muslims. However, it might not necessarily be anti-Muslim sentiments. Discrimination could also have been a byproduct of xenophobia that might exist against Hijabis, who might come from various different countries, backgrounds, etc. It is important to tease all these factors out for future studies and uncover the real underlying processes involved in these different forms of discrimination. Future studies should possibly manipulate factors such as nationality and accent to account for the influence of xenophobia on discrimination. One such way of doing so might be to have confederates from various different nationalities to apply for jobs with or without the hijab. An interaction between nationality and hijab or a simple main effect for nationality may provide evidence of xenophobia.

On a similar note, it is also important for future studies to consider how gender intersects with religious attire to influence behaviors related to discrimination. Social dominance theory would suggest that there would be a difference in discrimination based on the gender of the target because outgroup males are more likely to be targets of discrimination than outgroup females because males engage in intrasexual competition directed against males, which should be evolutionary beneficial to maintain one's own resources and exploit the resources of outgroup males by resisting against them, but not

outgroup females (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius & Veniegas, 2000). This theory is very strongly tied to evolutionary perspective, which suggests that because females invest a lot of time and energy in raising their young, they tend to select mates who have enough social and economic resources to provide for them and their young (Buss, 1996).

Therefore, males who are in control of such resources are most successful in reproducing and consequently, men compete with other men for such resources, more so than they would compete with women. There has been considerable evidence that supports the subordinate-male target hypothesis. For example, the discrepancy in pay between minority women and White women is less compared to the discrepancy in pay between minority men and White men (Bowen & Bok, 1998; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Minority men are also more likely to be targets of discrimination than minority women in both housing sector as well as in criminal sentencing practices (Hood & Cordovil, 1992; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Accordingly, it is possible that male Muslims in traditional religious attire might actually be subjected to even more behaviors related to discrimination than the females in traditional Muslim attire.

Future research concerning theoretical advancement of this study's findings should also examine the generalizability of these findings to other stigmatized groups. Research should identify and examine other stigmatized groups that might also be subjected to behaviors related to formal discrimination and interpersonal discrimination, such as Arabs in general (who are not Muslim but are perceived to be Muslim). Additionally, it would be interesting to see if other religious groups who don religious attire perceived to Islamic (i.e. Sikh men who wear the turban) are also subjected to the same forms of

discrimination as Hijabis, due to their resemblance to Muslims, even if this association is incorrect.

Looking at a broader range of religious identifiers which are not associated with Arabs or Islam (i.e. yarmulkes) might also provide a broader framing for this study. It is possible that, like Hijabis, impressions of individuals who wear other forms of religious identifiers (cross necklaces, yarmulkes, Hindu tilaks, etc.) might also be grounded in various negative stereotypes pertaining to the religious group to which the individual belongs to (Chia & Jih, 1994). It is possible that wearing a religious identifier can serve as a signal to employers that the individual wearing the religious identifier highly identifies with his/ her faith, and employers might react negatively to this high degree of identification as research does show that highly identified stigmatized groups are judged more negatively than their weakly identified counterparts (Branscombe et al., 1999; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Going beyond religious identifiers, future studies can also examine if individuals who wear the Hijab or other forms of religious identifiers are perceived as deviants and are thus subjected to discriminatory practices. For example, previous research has shown that job applicants who have tattoos, piercings, and extreme hairstyles are perceived as being deviant and are often judged negatively in job interviews (Swanger, 2006), which have even led to job terminations (Brennan, Davis, & Rostow, 2005).

Future research should also examine similar and additional moderators of the relationship between religious attire and behaviors related to both formal and interpersonal discrimination. Although this study was unable to find much support for social contact of occupation as a moderator, this topic should be re-examined using only

jobs that cannot be confounded with gender linkage. Future research should also be conducted investigating intergroup contact as a moderator again, but measure intergroup contact directly rather than use location as a proxy, and also take into account whether intergroup contact fits Allport's (1954) four optimal conditions for successful intergroup contact to occur.

Specifically, situational moderators that were not examined in this study warrant further examination. Previous research suggests that discrimination against stigmatized individuals in the workplace is more prevalent for some types of jobs than for others. For example, Stewart and Perlow (2001) found that people evaluated Blacks less favorably and were less confident in hiring Blacks over Whites for high status jobs. This line of research suggests that occupational stereotypes influence how minorities are judged for particular jobs. In general, people classify occupations in a highly stereotyped manner, which is usually dominated by two orthogonal dimensions: job prestige and gender-type (Gottfredson, 1981). These two dimensions along with others (e.g., Holland's six personality types, values) are important because individuals match dimensions of the job to the individual pursuing the occupation. For example, a woman working as a bricklayer (stereotypically male job), would be considered stereotypically inconsistent and would not be welcome. Likewise, it is important for future studies focusing on behaviors related to interpersonal and formal discrimination to account for occupational stereotypes. It is expected that Hijabis will not be welcome in jobs whose values, gender-type, and prestige are inconsistent with individuals' stereotypes of Hijabis (i.e. Hijabi women working at a liquor store).

Future studies on discrimination should also try to clarify the distinction between interpersonal and formal discrimination and how they can be measured because currently there are no predefined set of behaviors for formal discrimination and interpersonal discrimination. Although Hebl et al. (2002) suggests the major difference between formal discrimination and interpersonal discrimination is that one form of discrimination is overt and conscious, while the other form of discrimination is subtle and unconscious, the behaviors related to both formal and interpersonal discrimination are not that easy to distinguish apart because oftentimes it is not possible to know if the stigmatized person is acting intentionally or unintentionally. A well-labeled guideline for defining behaviors related to formal and interpersonal discrimination is necessary as more researchers begin to explore these two forms of discrimination.

Perhaps one way to distinguish behaviors related to formal and interpersonal discrimination is based on whether they violate any laws. Behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination should not be subjected to the law because they are not protected but behaviors related to formal discrimination are protected by the law and can result in legal prosecutions. For example, if you refuse to hire some one because of his/ her minority status, this would be considered formal discrimination because you are violating the law. However, if you avoid making eye contact with someone because of his/ her minority status, this would be considered interpersonal discrimination, because there really are no legal guidelines about such behaviors. Furthermore, researchers should consider relabeling interpersonal discrimination to “informal discrimination,” because “interpersonal” implies that there is an interaction between two people, even though certain interpersonal behaviors might not necessarily involve direct interactions between

two individuals (e.g. distance). The study of formal and interpersonal discrimination is still at its beginning stages and future researchers need to address some of the criticisms regarding the distinction between formal and interpersonal discrimination.

Another possible future direction to take regarding research on behaviors related to formal and interpersonal discrimination is to investigate from the employer's perspective. Although legal and ethical concerns prevented the researcher of this study from pursuing the underlying beliefs and values inherent in the employer's discriminatory behaviors, the employer's perspective should be further explored. Specifically, future research needs to be conducted to examine the process by which employers come to use unfair hiring tactics against certain stigmatized groups, disregarding legal concerns. Negative stereotypes of the potential employee's group are but one cause. Other causes, such as health and safety issues (requirements of a different dress code), and the use of organizational dress as a symbol of person-organization fit should also be considered. For example, organizational dress may also serves as a symbol that reflects core values and beliefs of an organization (Rafaeli & Pratt, 1993), which may have important effects on the image that outsiders may have of an organization. Conceivably, having Hijabi employees may be perceived by employers as portraying a negative image of the company, which may explain in part discriminatory hiring practices. Thus, future research on religious attire in the workplace should consider the roots of the cause of the discrimination.

Conclusion

Going beyond self report data on negative attitudes and discriminations towards Muslims, this study provides evidence for certain forms of behaviors related to both

formal and interpersonal discrimination for one stigmatized group, Hijabis. Although previous research suggests that formal discrimination is being masked by more subtle forms of discrimination (Hebl et al., 2002; 2007), this study reveals that certain form of behaviors related to formal discrimination are not as uncommon as some researchers have suggested. These findings highlight the need for researchers to continue to examine not just the different forms of contemporary discrimination employed in work settings, but also to acknowledge that one perspective of discrimination does not necessarily apply to all stigmatized groups. These findings also make salient the importance of considering underrepresented stigmatized groups (i.e. Hijabis) in research.

APPENDIX A

List of Hypotheses

- Hypothesis 1:** Hijabis will experience more behaviors related to formal discrimination than non-Hijabis.
- Hypothesis 2:** Hijabis will experience more behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination than non-Hijabis.
- Hypothesis 3:** The relationship between Hijabi/ Non-Hijabi and behaviors related to formal discrimination is moderated by social contact such that: This relationship is accentuated when there is high social contact and attenuated when there is low social contact.
- Hypothesis 4:** The relationship between Hijabi/ Non-Hijabi and behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination is moderated by social contact such that: This relationship is accentuated when there is high social contact and attenuated when there is low social contact.
- Hypothesis 5:** The relationship between Hijabi/ Non-Hijabi and behaviors related to formal discrimination is moderated by intergroup contact such that: This relationship is accentuated when there is low intergroup contact and attenuated when there is high intergroup contact.
- Hypothesis 6:** The relationship between Hijabi/ Non-Hijabi and behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination is moderated by intergroup contact such that: This relationship is accentuated when there is low intergroup contact and attenuated when there is high intergroup contact.
- Hypothesis 7:** The relationship between Hijabi/ Non-Hijabi and behaviors related to formal discrimination is moderated by stigma consciousness such that: This relationship is accentuated when the job applicant has high stigma consciousness and attenuated when the job applicant has low stigma consciousness.
- Hypothesis 8:** The relationship between Hijabi/ Non-Hijabi and behaviors related to interpersonal discrimination is moderated by applicant stigma consciousness such that: This relationship is accentuated when the job applicant has high stigma consciousness and attenuated when the job applicant has low stigma consciousness.

APPENDIX B

Experimental Script

The observer enters the store/ restaurant first and tries to look around in a store (or sit in the waiting area in a restaurant). If someone asks the observer if she needs help, the observer says “no thank you” or “I’m waiting for a friend” and continues to look around (merchandise or menu) or wait in the waiting area (restaurant).

Two minutes later, the confederate enters the store and goes to the cash register or reception desk and interacts with the person behind the register or reception desk. The conversation should go as following, with the confederate trying to follow the script as closely as possible:

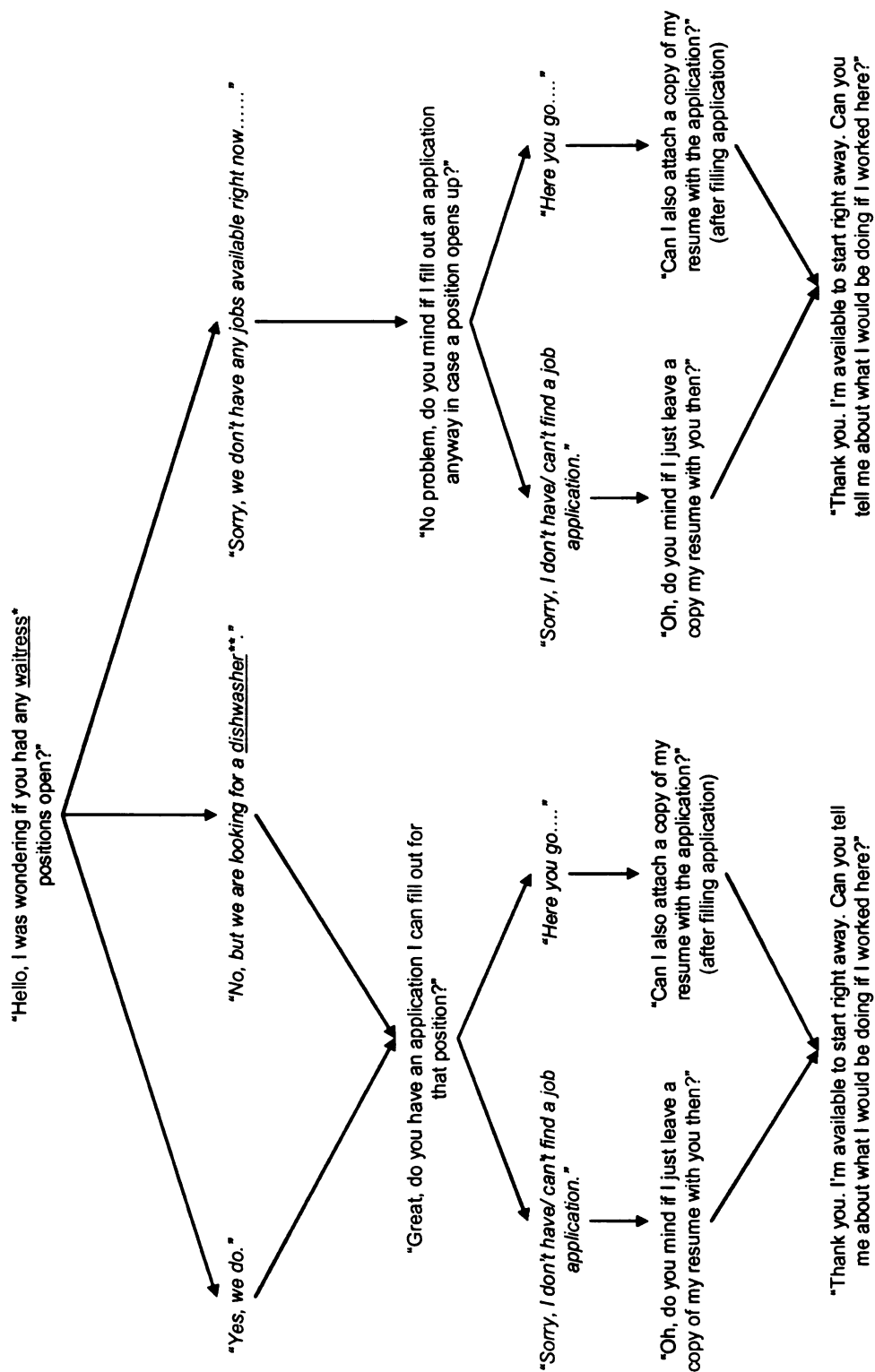
Confederate: Hi, could I please speak to the manager?

Depending on whether the manager is accessible or not, the confederate will utilize one of the following scripts in the next two pages:

During this job application process, the confederate might get a chance to fill out a job application form. The confederate should complete this application form honestly and accurately. If the confederate feels they are unable to be honest on any component of the application form, they should leave that part blank. Once they have completed the application, the confederate should immediately proceed to the designated area and fill out the survey. The observer should also leave the store about 2 minutes after the confederate and also proceed to the designated area and fill out the survey.

If the sales person says, I am the manager, proceed with the following script:

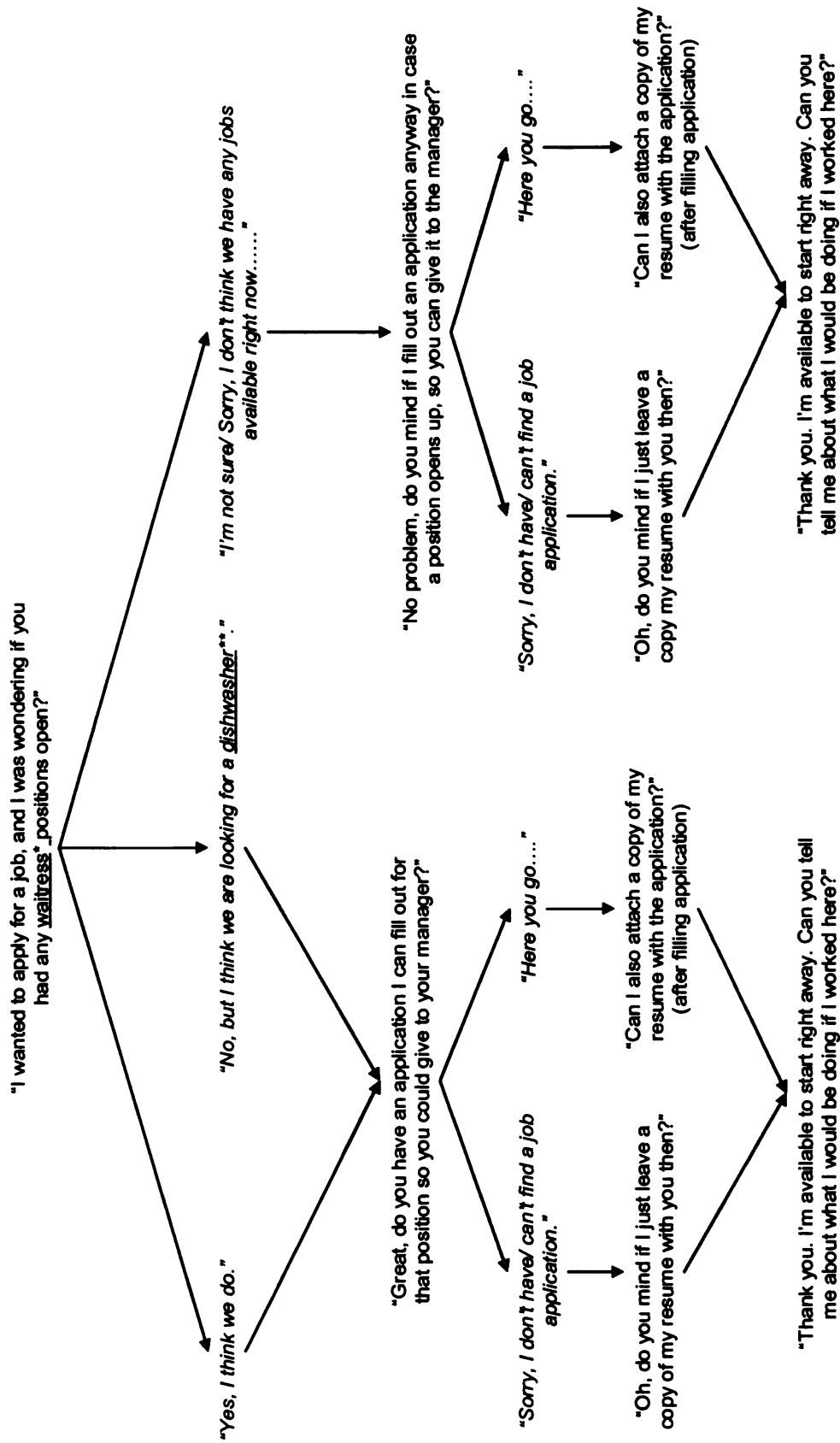
-Confederate
-Manager



If the sales person says no he/she isn't the manager or if the manager isn't there, proceed with the following script:

-Confederate

-Sales person



**The investigator will inform the confederate of what position to apply for. Positions include high social contact occupations (waitress, sales person, hostess) and low social contact occupations (dishwasher, stockroom person, bus person, cook).*

***The manager might recommend different positions than the one originally requested. If only one alternative position is recommended, the confederate will apply for that recommended position. If multiple positions are offered, confederates are to choose and apply for a low social contact occupation if they were originally applying for a low social contact occupation. Likewise, confederates are to choose and apply for a high social contact occupation if they were originally applying for a high social contact occupation.*

Additionally, it is possible that the employee/ manager might ask you questions that are not covered in the standardized script. Below are some questions that might come up, and how you should address them. It is important that you remain honest, without revealing that you are part of a research study.

What is your religion?

I'm sorry. I would not feel comfortable talking about that in an interview.

What race/ ethnicity are you?

I'm sorry. I would not feel comfortable talking about that in an interview.

What are you wearing on your head (headscarf)?

I am wearing a Muslim headscarf.

Why are you wearing that on your head (headscarf)?

I choose to wear it. It is a Muslim headscarf.

Would you be willing to remove/ take off that headscarf to work here?

I'm sorry. I would not feel comfortable talking about that in an interview.

Is that (headscarf) a religious requirement?

Yes, it is a religious requirement for Muslim women.

Why do you want this job? /What interests you about this job?

I am looking for work. I need to save up money for _____. Additionally, I feel I have all the qualifications necessary to do this job well and I can gain more work experience.

Why do you want to work here? / Why should I hire you?

I feel that I would be an asset to this company. I have all the qualifications necessary to do this job well and I can gain more work experience.

What are your availabilities?

I've got a flexible schedule. I can work anywhere from _____ hours/ week.

How many hours/ what days can you work?

I can work anywhere from _____ hours/ week. I can work on _____.

Tell me about yourself?

My name is _____. I am an undergraduate _____ major at MSU. I'm in my _____ year in college. My past work experiences include _____. I am looking for work. I need to save up money for _____.

Observer Role:

Enter the store approximately two minutes before the confederate.

Kindly decline all offers for help by saying that you are just looking and/or waiting for a friend (restaurant).

Situate yourself so that you will have a good view of the confederate when she enters the store/ restaurant, but be in the background so to speak...it should NOT be obvious to other store personnel that you are in any way whatsoever associated with the customer.

Begin looking through merchandise/ menu.

As soon as the confederate approaches the manager/ salesperson, start your stopwatch. Stop your stopwatch as soon as the conversation ends.

Continue looking through merchandise/ menu while the “applicant” is in the store, and remain in the store/ restaurant for approximately 2 minute after the customer leaves.

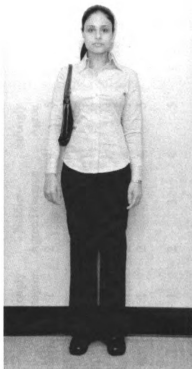
Finally, proceed directly to the central location.

******IF AT ANY TIME YOU BECOME UNCOMFORTABLE IN THE INTERACTIONS, PLEASE REMOVE YOURSELF FROM THE SITUATION. YOU CAN SAY, “THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME”, “I FORGOT ABOUT AN APPOINTMENT I HAVE TO GET TO”, OR ANY OTHER STATEMENT THAT ALLOWS YOU TO EXTRACT YOURSELF FROM THE SITUATION. IMMEDIATELY FIND THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR (SONIA GHUMMAN) AND DISCUSS THE SITUATION.**

******IF THE CONFEDERATE IS ASKED TO GO TO A DIFFERENT LOCATION WITHIN THE STORE/ RESTAURANT (OFFICE), DO NOT FOLLOW THE CONFEDERATE UNLESS CUSTOMERS ARE ALSO ALLOWED IN THAT ROOM AND IT WILL NOT BE ATYPICAL OF YOU BEING THERE. OTHERWISE, REMAIN WHERE YOU ARE AND ANSWER “COULD NOT OBSERVE” FOR QUESTIONS IN THE SURVEY PERTAINING TO INTERACTION OBSERVATIONS YOU WERE UNABLE TO WATCH. DO NOT EXIT THE TRIAL UNTIL 2 MINUTES AFTER THE CONFEDERATE HAS LEFT.******

APPENDIX C

Sample Pictures of Hijabi and Non-Hijabi Conditions



APPENDIX D

Confederate Questionnaire

PRE-TRIAL <i>RATE YOUR PRE-TRIAL EXPECTATIONS BELOW</i>			
		Strongly Disagree	Strongly Agree
1. Stereotypes about the attire I have on will not affect me personally.		1	5
2. I am not worried that my behaviors will be viewed as stereotypical of women who dress like me.		1	5
3. When interacting with the manager, I feel like the manager will interpret all my behaviors in terms of my attire.		1	5
4. I don't believe I will be judged on the basis of my attire.		1	5
5. The way I'm dressed will not influence how the manager will act toward me.		1	5
6. My attire does not influence how the manager acts toward me.		1	5

POST-TRIAL <i>RATE THE INTERACTION BELOW:</i>			
		Strongly Disagree	Strongly Agree
7. Did you get access to the manager?		1	5
8. Were you told that the job you initially applied for was available?		1	5
9. What position/ positions did you initially apply for?		1	5
10. Did the manager/ employee recommend a different position to you?		1	5
11. If so, what was this position recommended to you?		1	5
12. Did you get an opportunity to fill an application form?		1	5
13. Did you get an opportunity to leave your resume?		1	5
14. Did the manager greet you?		1	5
15. Did the manager thank you?		1	5
16. Were any negative references made regarding your attire?		1	5

RATE THE MANAGER OR STORE EMPLOYEE BELOW.

	≥ft	2-3ft	4-5ft	6-7ft	8 ft ≤
17. How far away did the manager stand from you?					
	None/Not at all	2	Somewhat	Very much/	A lot
18. How much did the manager smile at you?	1	2	3	4	5
19. How much did manager nod or make other affirmative gestures?	1	2	3	4	5
20. How friendly was the manager?	1	2	3	4	5
21. To what extent was the manager helpful?	1	2	3	4	5
22. How much eye contact did the manager make with you?	1	2	3	4	5
23. To what extent did the manager try to end the interaction prematurely?	1	2	3	4	5
24. To what extent did the manager seem hostile toward you?	1	2	3	4	5
25. To what extent did the manager behave rudely towards you?	1	2	3	4	5
26. To what extent did the manager seem nervous to be interacting with you?	1	2	3	4	5
27. To what extent was the manager focused on your attire?	1	2	3	4	5
28. In general, how positive was the interaction?	1	2	3	4	5
29. In general, how negative was the interaction?	1	2	3	4	5
30. To what extent did the manager appear to be interested in you as an applicant?	1	2	3	4	5
31. To what extent did the manager think of you as a qualified applicant for the position?	1	2	3	4	5

RATE THE INTERACTION BELOW:

32.	The manager implied that my success at the job would be unusual.	Not at all	Somewhat	Very much
33.	The manager treated me as a lesser person.	1	2	3
34.	The manager implied that my values would be different from traditional employees.	1	2	3
35.	The manager treated me as if I was a deviant.	1	2	3
36.	The atmosphere of the store/ restaurant made me feel out of place.	1	2	3
37.	The manager inquired about my religion.	1	2	3
38.	The manager commented on my attire.	1	2	3
39.	The manager stressed that I would not be differentially treated.	1	2	3
40.	The manager emphasized that qualifications were essential in getting this job.	1	2	3
41.	The manager avoided discussing or addressing any issues concerning my attire.	1	2	3

RATE THE STORE/ RESTAURANT BELOW:

42.	How crowded was the store/ restaurant?	Not at all	Somewhat	Very much
43.	How upscale was the store/ restaurant?	1	2	3
44.	How diverse were the employees ?	1	2	3
45.	How diverse were the customers ?	1	2	3

DESCRIBE THE MANAGER BELOW:

46.	What was the gender of the manager?	Male	Female
47.	What was the ethnicity of the manager?	White Asian	Black South Asian Hispanic Arab Don't know

48. Any comments on this trial?

APPENDIX E

Observer Questionnaire

POST-TRIAL ONLY

PLEASE RECORD THE LENGTH OF THE INTERACTION BELOW IN MINUTES AND SECONDS

1. Interaction time: ____:____:____ Could not observe ☐

RATE THE INTERACTION BELOW:

- | | | | | |
|-----|--|-----|----|--------------------------|
| 2. | Did the confederate get access to the manager ? | YES | NO | |
| 3. | Was the confederate told that the job she initially applied for was available ? | YES | NO | |
| 4. | What position/ positions did the confederate initially apply for? | | | |
| 5. | Did the manager/employee recommend a different position to the confederate ? | YES | NO | ☐ |
| | If so, what was this position recommended to the confederate? | | | |
| 6. | Did the confederate get an opportunity to fill an application form ? | YES | NO | ☐ |
| 7. | Did the confederate get an opportunity to leave a resume ? | YES | NO | ☐ |
| 8. | Did the manager greet the confederate? | YES | NO | ☐ |
| 9. | Did the manager thank the confederate? | YES | NO | ☐ |
| 10. | Were any negative references made regarding the confederate's attire? | YES | NO | ☐ |

RATE THE MANAGER OR STORE EMPLOYEE BELOW.

		≥ft	2-3ft	4-5ft	6-7ft	8 ft ≤	Could not observe ☐
11.	How far away would you estimate the manager stood from the applicant?						
12.	How much did the manager smile at the applicant?	None/ Not at all	2	3	4	5	Could not observe ☐
13.	How much did the manager nod or make other affirmative gestures to the applicant?	1	2	3	4	5	☐
14.	How friendly was the manager to the applicant?	1	2	3	4	5	☐
15.	How helpful was the manager to the applicant?	1	2	3	4	5	☐
16.	To what extent did the manager make eye contact with the applicant?	1	2	3	4	5	☐
17.	To what extent did the person try to end the interaction prematurely with the applicant?	1	2	3	4	5	☐
18.	To what extent did the manager seem hostile toward the applicant?	1	2	3	4	5	☐
19.	How rude was the manager to the applicant?	1	2	3	4	5	☐
20.	To what extent did the manager seem nervous to be interacting with the applicant?	1	2	3	4	5	☐
21.	To what extent did the manager seem focused on the applicant's attire?	1	2	3	4	5	☐
22.	In general, how positive was the interaction?	1	2	3	4	5	☐
23.	In general, how negative was the interaction?	1	2	3	4	5	☐
24.	To what extent did the manager seem to be interested in the job applicant?	1	2	3	4	5	☐
25.	To what extent did the manager view the applicant as qualified for the position?	1	2	3	4	5	☐
26.	Did the manager make comments about the applicant after the interaction was terminated?	YES	NO				
27.	If so, list the comments?						

RATE THE INTERACTION BELOW:

RATE THE INTERACTION BELOW:						Could not observe
	Not at all	Somewhat	Very much			
28. The manager implied that the confederate's success at the job would be unusual.	1	2	3	4	5	☐
29. The manager treated the confederate as a lesser person.	1	2	3	4	5	☐
30. The manager implied that the confederate's values would be different from traditional employees.	1	2	3	4	5	☐
31. The manager treated the confederate as if she was a deviant.	1	2	3	4	5	☐
32. The atmosphere of the store/ restaurant made the confederate feel out of place.	1	2	3	4	5	☐
33. The manager inquired about the confederate's religion.	1	2	3	4	5	☐
34. The manager commented on the confederate's attire.	1	2	3	4	5	☐
35. The manager stressed that the confederate would not be differentially treated.	1	2	3	4	5	☐
36. The manager emphasized to the confederate that qualifications were essential in getting this job.	1	2	3	4	5	☐
37. The manager avoided discussing or addressing any issues concerning the confederate's attire.	1	2	3	4	5	☐

RATE THE CONFEDERATE (APPLICANT) BELOW:

38. How friendly was the applicant during the interaction?	None/ Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	Could not observe
39. How relaxed was the applicant during the interaction?		1	2	3	4	5	
40. How nervous did the applicant appear during the interaction?		1	2	3	4	5	
41. How attentive was the applicant during the interaction?		1	2	3	4	5	
42. With respect to other trials, how consistent is the applicant's behavior?		1	2	3	4	5	

RATE THE STORE/ RESTAURANT BELOW:

43. How crowded was the store/ restaurant?	Not at all much	1	2	3	4	5	Could not observe
44. How upscale was the store/ restaurant?		1	2	3	4	5	
45. How diverse were the employees?		1	2	3	4	5	
46. How diverse were the customers?		1	2	3	4	5	

DESCRIBE THE MANAGER BELOW:

47. What was the gender of the manager?	Male	Female	☐
48. What was the ethnicity of the manager?	White	Black	Hispanic
49. Any comments on this trial?	Asian	South Asian	Arab
		Don't know	☐

DO NOT FILL OUT THIS INFORMATION.

ID# _____
 Trial # _____
 Date _____
 Time _____

City: _____ Dearborn _____ Lansing _____
 Loc: _____ Restaurant _____ Store _____
 Cond: _____ Hijab _____ No Hijab _____
 PC: _____ High _____ Low _____

APPENDIX F

Microaggression Scale

Categories of Microaggressions		Theme	Item
Microinsult	Micro-invalidation	Ascription of intelligence	The employer implied that my success at the job would be unusual.
		Second-class citizen	The employer treated me as a lesser person.
		Pathologizing cultural values	The employer implied that my values would be different from traditional employees.
		Criminalizing status	The employer treated me as if I was a deviant.
		Environmental microaggression*	The atmosphere of the store/ restaurant made me feel out of place.
		Alien in own land	The employer inquired about my religion.
		Denial of individual racism	The employer commented on my attire.
		Myth of meritocracy	The employer stressed that I would not be differentially treated.
		Color blindness	The employer emphasized that qualifications were essential in getting this job.
			The employer avoided discussing or addressing any issues concerning my attire. **

APPENDIX G

Informed Consent and Confidentiality Agreement

INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR OBSERVERS AND CONFEDERATES

Project Title: Job Application Process

Primary Researchers: Sonia Ghumman & Dr. Ann Marie Ryan, Professor of Psychology

Description and Explanation of Procedure: The purpose of this study is to examine the job application process. If you agree to participate, you will be required to attend one training session for two hours at the Psychology Building and one training session for one hour at the mall with Sonia Ghumman and a confederate or observer. The purpose of the first session is to allow you to practice and become familiar with the methodology and script. For those individuals who agree to participate, we will walk through mock trials in which the confederate and observers follow the scripts provided. We will also discuss potential unexpected scenarios and appropriate responses, including a scenario in which the retail employee or other individual expresses negative behavior by becoming loud and abusive. In such an instance, we will ask you to remove yourself from the situation and immediately contact the principal investigators. The second training session will take place in the actual mall setting (in a store or restaurant that will not be included in the actual experiment) to allow you to gain first hand experience to practice the script and ensure reliability for further trials. All the interactions will be monitored to ensure that the script is followed, and to ensure that information about the study is not conveyed. For confederates, part of the training process will also require them to wear the headscarf in a public place (coffee shop, library, etc.) where they don't know people for 3 hours to become more comfortable wearing the attire.

In the study, you will be asked to enter approximately 10-15 retail stores/ restaurants wearing either traditional (i.e., a headscarf) or non-traditional Muslim attire. Next, you will be asked to follow a script that directs you to interact with a store/ restaurant manager and to apply for a job. Before and after each interaction, you will be asked to complete a brief paper and pencil questionnaire about the experiences you expect to encounter and actually encounter. Before you enter each store, another researcher will enter the store to observe your behavior. In each case, you will also be asked to start and stop a stop-timer that will time the length of your verbal exchanges. Each interaction should take less than 15 minutes.

Risks: It is not anticipated, but you may encounter some negative reactions that take the form of interpersonal hostility and rudeness. In other words, when you engage in the interactions, you may experience some discomfort, anxiety, frustration, annoyance, or anger. We do not anticipate that you will experience any overtly or severely negative interactions. However, given these potential risks, it is critical that you are aware that participation or withdrawal from this study will not have any negative consequences for you or any party, nor will it impact your class standing in anyway. You should also be aware that psychological support services are available on the MSU campus at the MSU Psychological Clinic (517-355-9564; Olds Hall, Room 5) and the MSU Counseling Center (517- 355-8270; Student Services Building, Room 207).

Benefits: You will gain experience in field studies as well as learn more about how psychological research is done. Your participation will contribute to the scientific knowledge about the job application process.

Participation: Individuals who are at least 18 years of age may participate. Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may choose not to participate at all or you may refuse to answer certain questions should you object to them. Furthermore, you may discontinue the experiment at any time. If you decide not to participate or if you withdraw from the study, there is no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. There are no costs to you or any other party.

Confidentiality: Responses on all of these items on the questionnaire will be completely confidential. You will not be asked to provide your name or any information that can be used to identify you. However, in order to connect the different parts of your survey data, we will need to create an ID number that will be associated with your survey responses. The information gathered in this study will be combined with the data of all of the other participants in the study for any analyses so that even your responses cannot be identified. The data will only be accessible by the primary (Dr. Ann Marie Ryan) and secondary (Sonia Ghumman) investigators in the study, and will be stored in a password protected computer. Your privacy will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law.

Contact: If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please contact the investigator (Sonia Ghumman), 346 Psychology Research Bldg., MSU, East Lansing, MI 48824; 516-376-5006 or email (ghumman@msu.edu). If you have questions or concerns regarding your rights as a study participant, or are dissatisfied at any time with any aspect of this study, you may contact – anonymously, if you wish – Peter Vasilenko, Ph.D., Chair of the University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (UCRIHS) by phone: (517) 355-2180, fax: (517) 432-4503, e-mail: ucrihs@msu.edu, or regular mail: 202 Olds Hall, East Lansing, MI 48824.

Consent:

I have read the above points and agree to participate in this study.

Print Full Name Signature Date

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT FOR OBSERVERS AND CONFEDERATES

As noted in the informed consent statement, I have agreed to participate in this research exercise by acting as an observer or a confederate applying for jobs in retail stores and restaurants. I also agree to the following elements regarding confidentiality of this research:

1. I recognize that by participating in this research project I will be exposed to certain confidential materials and information which include store/ restaurant names, manager/ employee names, and information that you provide in your surveys.
2. I agree not to discuss the nature or substance of this project nor discuss or talk about any of the materials or other information (store/ restaurant names, manager/ employee names, self-reported data) I am exposed to with anyone other than the designated researchers, Ann Marie Ryan /Sonia Ghumman.
3. I agree also to refer all inquiries from outside parties to the supervisor of this project, Sonia Ghumman, and to return any and all project materials I may receive at the conclusion of the project.

I further agree to uphold this obligation even after the completion of my current participation. By signature, I agree as to act as a research assistant and confederate or observer in accordance with the above stated terms and conditions.

Signature

Printed Name

Date

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