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**STIGMA OF HIJABIS IN EMPLOYMENT SETTINGS AS A  
FUNCTION OF JOB TYPE**

By

**Sonia S. Ghumman**

**A THESIS**

**Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
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## **ABSTRACT**

### **STIGMA OF HIJABIS IN EMPLOYMENT SETTINGS AS A FUNCTION OF JOB TYPE**

**By**

**Sonia S. Ghumman**

**This study examines the perceptions that Muslim women who don the hijab (head scarf) have when applying for work. This study particularly focuses on whether Hijabis employ disengagement and disidentification prior to selection procedures (not applying for work and having low expectations to receive interviews or job offers) for certain job types (occupations that involve high public contact and those which deal with security). This study also investigates how certain factors (job status, stereotype internalization, group identification) and stable individual differences (optimism, internal locus of control) can serve as moderators for Hijabis from using disengagement/ disidenitification. Results indicate that Hijabis are more likely to employ certain disengagement/ disidentification tactics for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations (having low expectations to receive interviews or job offers), but not necessarily for security-related occupations over non-security related occupations. Also, job status, negative stereotype internalization, and membership self-esteem moderate this relationship.**

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## INTRODUCTION

According to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, employment discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin is prohibited (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2001). Any form of these types of discrimination is illegal in all areas of employment; including recruitment, hiring, and promotion. But despite this law, thousands of complaints are reported every year alleging violation of these codes. One of these forms of discrimination is that of religion. Although Title VII requires an employer to reasonably accommodate the religious practices of employees or prospective employees, there are still a vast number of religious-based complaints filed every year. Last year alone, there were 2,466 such complaints (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2005) ranging from the failure of the employer to provide leave for religious observances to not allowing a time and place to pray.

Another example of an employer's failure to accommodate religious practices is by not letting employees wear religious attire (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2005). The primary focus of this research is to examine some of the perceptions that minorities who wear religious attire or more specifically, Muslim women who wear the hijab (head scarf), hold during job selection procedures. This study addresses Hijabis' (Muslim women who wear the Hijab) likelihood to apply for and to expect to receive work compared to non-Hijabis for certain job types (occupations that involve high public contact and those which deal with security).

### Discrimination against Muslims

Before explaining the dilemma that Hijabis face in the workplace, it is necessary to understand the issues concerning their general group, Muslims. There are many

psychological explanations as to why Muslims have become targets of discrimination. Social categorization theory suggests that people have a tendency to place others into ingroups and outgroups - categories of “us” and “them” (Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994). As a result of this social categorization process, prejudice and discrimination might occur. 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 (Tajfel, 1981). Feelings of prejudice can also be created when the ingroup perceives threats from the outgroup, such as when its resources are threatened. To cope with this threat, ingroup bias occurs. This involves the inflation of positive feelings towards the ingroup and derogation of the outgroup by directing anger, fear, and anxiety towards outgroup members. This is especially likely when groups are in competition for limited resources or are under some type of external threat (Crocker et al., 1987).

The September 11<sup>th</sup> attack is a prime example of a direct threat to Americans that is attributed to Muslims. Many Americans lost their sense of personal security and safety when thousands of lives were taken and the American sense of invulnerability was destroyed. To respond to this threat, prejudice and discrimination against Muslims in the United States have increased dramatically ever since the September 11, 2001 attacks. For instance, Arab-looking men have been removed from airplanes without just cause, out of fear they might be terrorists. Women in headscarves, indicative of religious affiliation, have been verbally assaulted and insulted, and mosques have been sprayed with graffiti and bullets (CNN News, 2001). In a recent study measuring prejudiced attitudes, people showed higher feelings of prejudice toward Arab-Americans than towards any other

ethnic group, including African-Americans, Asian-Americans, and Hispanic-Americans (Bushman & Bonacci, 2004).

Discrimination against Muslims can also be observed in the work setting. These days, when employers recognize job applicants as Muslims, either by an Islamic name or by their Arabic appearance, they may immediately identify them as an outgroup. Muslims, as an outgroup, may then be automatically associated with terrorists, triggering the perception of threat (Bushman & Bonacci, 2004). In order to protect their self esteem from this threat and regain a sense of control, employers may discriminate against Muslims (outgroup) and thus engage in unfair hiring tactics (discrimination).

Work place discrimination against Muslims is evident in the reports of the U.S. Equal Opportunity Employment Commission (EEOC). In the period alone between September 11 attacks and May 7, 2002, EEOC (2003) reports that 497 claims were filed alleging workplace discrimination on the basis of being Muslim. The number for this same period in the prior year was 193, yielding a difference that represents a rise of 153 percent, while numbers for other religions have held steady during that same time frame. This number has risen to over a thousand in the past three years, a rather sharp increase from the pre-September 11 era (Equal Opportunity Employment Commission, 2004). The EEOC calls these discriminatory labor practices 'backlash discrimination.' The largest categories of these 'backlash discrimination' complaints usually pertain to bias acted out against Muslim employees by non-Muslim employers using harassment or discharge (Law.com, 2002). To give some examples of backlash discrimination, the following are questions posted on the EEOC website by Muslim workers concerning discrimination

they have faced in the aftermath of 9/11 (Equal Opportunity Employment Commission, 2002).

“I am a South Asian woman from Bangladesh. I applied for a job at a bakery and had a phone interview with the manager. She seemed to like me a lot and she offered me the job over the phone. When I came in to work the first day, she appeared to be startled by my appearance. I have dark skin and wear a hijab. She brusquely stated that she had found someone "better suited to the job" and sent me home. I don't know what to do about this.”

“I am an Arab American man and have been a salesman at a large car retailer for five years. After September 11, my coworkers stopped talking to me, and there has been a lot of tension. One coworker started calling me names like "camel jockey" and "the local terrorist." I used to have a good relationship with my coworkers and enjoyed my job, but now I dread coming to work each day. What can I do about my situation?”

In addition, other lawsuits that have been filed include one against the New York Plaza hotel and the Faimount Hotel management for discriminating against Muslims, Arab, and South Asian employees by calling them “terrorist,” “ taliban” and “dumb Muslim,” and writing “Osama” and “Taliban” instead of the employees’ actual names on key holders. In another case, a seafood restaurant fired their general store manager after speculating that the manager’s Egyptian name and appearance were the reason for the restaurants decline in earnings since 9/11 (USA Today, 2005). These reports represent just a few of the claims that have been filed alleging backlash discrimination.

Despite these reports, there is still a dearth of research examining prejudice and discrimination towards Muslims in the employment context in the United States today. Even fewer studies have addressed issues of Muslim women and their occupational status. This study serves to partially fill that void by addressing the perceptions of Muslim women who don the hijab in the employment arena.

### Hijabis as Stigmatized Individuals

Hijabis can be readily identified as a stigmatized group. Stigmatized individuals are defined as individuals who are rejected interpersonally, and whose social identity is devalued (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998). This is because Hijabis can easily be identified as Muslims, already described above as a stigmatized outgroup in the U.S. today. Being categorized as an outgroup, Hijabis are subjected to the same sorts of negative stereotypes as other Muslims. Even though Muslim females are stereotypically seen as docile, submissive, sexually chaste, religiously conservative, exotic, and oppressed (Cole & Ahmadi, 2003), while Muslim males are stereotypically seen as being aggressive, belligerent, and hostile (Srivastava, 1987), it should be noted that Muslim women are not free of the common Muslim stereotypes, as Muslims in general are portrayed as evil, barbaric, backwards, terrorists, religious fanatics, and uncivilized (Asani, 2003; Shaheen, 2003). There is no research that has quantitatively attempted to separate the stereotypes but as a result of these stereotypes, Hijabis also become targets of discriminatory practices.

In the legal arena, a variety of cases concerning Hijabis' right to wear religious attire in the workplace have already been seen: by a policewoman in Pennsylvania who was barred from wearing hijab on the job, by an 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).

In a community-based action research study done of Hijabis applying for work in Canada, it was shown that women who wear the hijab do experience barriers and discrimination when applying for work within the manufacturing, sales and service

sectors (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). In addition, 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. France has passed a law which bans religious symbols and clothing including not only Muslim head scarves, but also Jewish skullcaps, Sikh turbans, and large Christian crosses in public schools. For many Hijabis this situation, along with post 9/11 attitudes and the current discriminatory practices being used against them, has come as a sign that their right to wear hijab is under attack and is not acceptable in the public domain. Consequently, it is possible to believe that Hijabis may now tend to view themselves as stigmatized.

#### Disidentification and Disengagement

One way in which Hijabis can cope with their stigma is explained by disengagement and disidentification (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998; Tesser, 1999). Disengagement and disidentification are traditionally treated as synonymous constructs (Osborne, 1995, 1997; Griffin, 2002), but are described separately as processes here to give a deeper understanding of the construct. In the process of disengagement, stigmatized individuals disengage their self-esteem from the opinion of others. This process usually occurs when stigmatized individuals become aware of their devalued

social identity in a particular context, or when they perceive that others are prejudiced against them (Tesser, 1999).

Disengagement is followed by disidentification, a process by which the disengaged individual reduces the degree to which his or her sense of worth is associated with a particular domain by removing himself or herself from that domain. Another negative consequence of disengagement is the weakening of the stigmatized individual's motivation to achieve in the particular context in which their social identity is devalued – such as the employment context. This lack of motivation to achieve in a particular domain results in the belief that certain goals are unattainable, and in the interest of preserving stigmatized individuals' self-esteem, these goals become devalued.

In terms of attributions that preserve self-esteem, there is a dual purpose here: when a stigmatized individual does not reach his or her goal (of employment or otherwise), that individual can rationalize that (a) the goal was not valuable anyway and (b) they purposefully did not take actions that would have increased the likelihood of obtaining the goal. This sort of thinking and subsequent behavior can lead to systematic group differences in the level and types of aspirations and accomplishments of stigmatized individuals compared to the nonstigmatized in that domain, even when such individuals' native abilities and potential do not support these differences (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998).

Although there is no conclusive evidence that hijabis have disidentified with the employment context, due to the lack of research and information available concerning this matter, the disengagement and disidentification hypothesis ties in well with the experiences of Hijabis. Being aware of the negative workplace experiences of fellow

Muslims and of their own past (WWIW, 2002), Hijabis may believe that employers are biased against them. As a result, Hijabis may anticipate negative outcomes for themselves in the employment context. These negative expectations may lead to psychological disengagement and eventually to disidentification with this context. Thus, for example, Hijabis might decide not to apply for work in a particular domain (disidentification) in order to protect their self esteem from the fear of rejection during hiring practices (disengagement). Consequently, there will be fewer Hijabis working in that domain. Because of the self-fulfilling nature by which discrimination and blocked opportunities in a particular domain produce decreased motivation to achieve in that domain, even fewer Hijabis will be represented in the workforce. In the long run, this situation might eventually come to be misconstrued as reflecting a lack of ability and interest among Hijabis and continue to perpetuate the stereotype of Muslims, rather than being the result of perceived discrimination against Hijabis by Hijabis.

#### Discrimination as a Function of Job Type

The author of this study suspects that discrimination against Hijabis may be more acute for some types of jobs than for others. Previous research shows that workplace discrimination differs for certain people as a function of job type. For gender, Cash, Gillen, and Burn (1977) found that evaluators tend to rate attractive or more feminine women more favorably for female-type and neutral jobs than unattractive women. However, raters judged attractive women less favorably for traditional male jobs than unattractive women. In another study, it was shown that attractive women were more likely than either men or unattractive women to be hired for clerical positions but not for masculine type positions that required decision making or managerial skills (Heilman &

Sauwatari, 1979). Similarly, attractive women were not considered fit for promotions to masculine positions, but were more likely to be considered for promotions for clerical or feminine positions (Heilman & Stopeck, 1985).

Discriminatory practices have also been found between job type and race. Stewart and Perlow (2001) found that evaluators who had negative attitudes toward Blacks had less confidence in their decision to hire Blacks than Whites for high status jobs, compared to evaluators with positive attitudes toward Blacks. However, this lack of confidence was not apparent when the evaluators were making decisions to hire Blacks over Whites in low status jobs.

The same reasoning can be applied to understand discrimination against religious groups. In one of the very few studies dealing with religious based discrimination against Muslims in an employment setting, Muslim applicants were among the lowest ranked applicants for a security guard position and were less likely than non-Muslim applicants to receive invitations to interviews for the position (Mansouri & Perlow, 2005). This degree of difference in the evaluators' judgments of Muslims and non-Muslims was not as large for a non-security position (shipping, receiving and traffic clerk) as it was for the security-related job (security guard). This finding suggests that evaluators consider religion and job type as factors when evaluating candidates for job positions.

Mansouri and Perlow (2005) also found that evaluators selectively applied information when evaluating Muslims that they didn't apply while considering non-Muslim applicants. For example, evaluators judged Muslims as less trustworthy than non-Muslims but did not consider trustworthiness to the same extent that they did for

Muslim applicants when evaluating non-Muslim job applicants. This selective application of information illustrates discrimination based on religious membership.

Based on these findings, it can be expected that Muslims might be disadvantaged compared to non-Muslims when they apply for certain job types. This is even more so for Hijabis, whose identity as Muslims is more salient than other Muslims, as their religious attire is a dead giveaway as to the faith they possess, making them even more susceptible to stereotypes associated with Muslims. Jones and colleagues (1984) found that individuals with concealable stigma face less prejudice and have fewer negative interactions than those with nonconcealable stigmas. Thus, the visibility of the hijab plays a central role in producing the negative social interactions that Hijabis must endure, even more so than other Muslims.

It is believed that certain work domains, those which involve high public contact, will be considered by Hijabis as occupations in which they are more likely to experience discrimination than other job types. Knowing this, Hijabis might try to reduce their risk of disappointment by being less likely to pursue certain job types (disidentification). Thus, this study proposes that Hijabis will be more likely to disengage and disidentify for occupations which require high public contact.

#### HYPOTHESIS 1:

*Hijabis will have lower intentions than non-Hijabis (a) to apply for and have lower expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for occupations that require high public contact, than occupations that require low public contact.*

Similarly in line with Mansouri and Perlow' s (2005) study in which Muslim applicants were among the lowest ranked applicants for a security guard position, it is expected that Hijabis will be less likely to apply for security-based positions or ones that concern public safety in general. This is because stereotypes about Muslims usually place them in categories of terrorists (Shaheen, 1984: Siam ,1993). Being aware of these stereotypes and assuming that employers hold such attitudes towards them as well, Hijabis know that their likelihood of receiving security-related jobs, which in essence require serving the public good, will be low and will try to avoid rejection by not applying for such occupations (disidentification).

#### HYPOTHESIS 2:

*Hijabis will have lower intentions than non-Hijabis (a) to apply for and lower expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for security-related occupations than non-security related occupations.*

#### Job Status as a Moderator

For exploratory purposes, this study will also assess how job status operates in relation to Hijabi's likelihood to apply for jobs. This study proposes that in the case of high status occupations, high public contact will not deter Hijabis from applying for these jobs. This is because jobs of high status, or jobs concerning professionals (e.g. doctors, lawyers), usually require higher education as credentials (O\*NET, 2006). Higher education, for the most part, implies hard work and dedication as much time and effort needs to be expended for this criterion. So, to be even considered qualified for some jobs of such high status, one must be able to forgo hurdles (e.g., graduate school, selection process, years of commitment). If a Hijabi becomes qualified for a high status job, it

means that she has already went through the barriers of obtaining the credentials required for jobs of high status, even if she believes that the odds are stacked against her from actually getting the job due to discrimination. This dilemma will create dissonance.

According to cognitive dissonance theory, there is a tendency for individuals to seek consistency among their cognitions (i.e., attitude, beliefs, values) (Festinger, 1957). When there is an inconsistency among cognitions, such as when an individual believes one thing (attitude) but then acts in a different way from what she believes (behavior), cognitive dissonance occurs. To reduce this dissonance between attitude and behavior, something must change; the individual must either obtain new beliefs or modify existing beliefs. In the case of a discrepancy between attitudes and behavior, it is most likely that the attitude will change to accommodate the behavior to eliminate the dissonance (Festinger, 1957).

In line with this theory, the Hijabi, having already put in all the time commitment and effort to become qualified for a high status job, will face cognitive dissonance with the belief that she will not get the job due to her religious attire due to discrimination. Because the behavior (time commitment) can no longer be changed, as it has already happened, the Hijabi will instead change her belief. Her new attitude toward applying for work and expectations for getting job offers will be more positive, in that she will come to believe that she can get the job and thus will be willing to apply for the job even if it requires high public contact or has a potential for discrimination. This hypothesis is being done for exploratory purposes only, because some may argue that the other likely change in attitude will be however, for the Hijabi's to devalue the job. Therefore, the effect of job status as a moderating role will be explored.

**HYPOTHESIS 3: *Job status moderates the relationship between public contact and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that:***

*a) Hijabis will be more likely to apply for high public contact occupations in high status occupations than in low status occupations.*

*b) For low status occupations, Hijabis will be less likely to apply for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations.*

### **Stereotype Internalization**

Discounting stereotypes of one's social group can also serve as a moderator to prevent disengagement and disidentification (Kaiser & Major, 2004; Major et al., 2003). This means that the individual does not buy into the stereotypical attributes of his or her social group, such as inferiority or laziness, or in the case of a Hijabi, the idea that she will not get the job due to her religious attire. It is important to note here, that there is a distinction here between being aware of the stereotypes of one's group and actually internalizing them. Even when the individual is aware of the consensual negative stereotypes against their group, it does not necessarily imply that he/ she buys into (internalizes) the stereotypes. When one internalizes the stereotype, the person comes to believe that the stereotype is not only reflective of one's group, but him/ herself as well.

By not internalizing the stereotypes of one's group, an individual can discount him or herself from being affected by the stereotype even if the individual realizes that others may hold the stereotype, because he/ she will view the stereotypes as inaccurate information about one's self (Major et al., 2003). However, internalizing stereotypes about one's group counteracts this. The individual will come to attribute the failures of

one's social group to oneself, and for him/ herself for being a part of it. As a result, the target will come to believe that prejudice and negative treatment towards oneself from others is justified. Another term for this attribution is justifiable differential treatment (Major et al., 2003). Justifiable differential treatment causes targets to lose the self protective properties sometimes associated with attributions to discrimination and causes the target to become more vulnerable to perceived prejudice against the ingroup, and eventually to engage in disengagement/ disidentification tactics.

Thus, if a Hijabi internalizes the stereotypes about Muslims it will affect her perception of the likelihood of getting off-limit jobs (high-public contact & security-related occupations), she will be less likely to believe she can obtain those types of jobs and will therefore not attempt to apply for them (disidentification). However, if the Hijabi does not internalize the stereotypes she will be willing to believe that even off-limit jobs are attainable, and will be willing to apply for them. So, the magnitude to which Hijabis internalize the stereotypes moderates the likelihood of them applying for or expecting to get job offers or to receive interviews for occupations that require high public contact or jobs that are security related.

#### HYPOTHESIS 4:

*Negative stereotype internalization moderates the relationship between the amount of public contact required in an occupation and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who do not internalize the negative stereotypes of their Muslim identity will be more likely to apply for high public contact occupations than Hijabis who internalize the stereotypes.*

## HYPOTHESIS 5:

*Negative stereotype internalization moderates the relationship between security-related occupations and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who do not internalize the negative stereotypes of their Muslim identity will be more likely to apply for security-related occupations than Hijabis who internalize the stereotypes.*

### Hijabis and Group Identification

Disengagement and disidentification also depend on whether the target perceives the stigma to be a threat to personal identity or whether it is a threat to his/ her social identity. According to Major et al. (2003), personal identity “refers to a person’s sense of his or her unique self.” This can be described by the individual’s traits and attributes. Personal identity can be distinguished from social identity, which “refers to the self derived membership in social categories or groups, and which is shared to some extent with others” (Major et al., 2003). The two are interrelated in that social identity has been considered a subsystem of the personal self concept (Tajfel, 1972; Turner, 1982).

It is hypothesized that Hijabis are more likely to hold their Muslim social identity as a core aspect of self than non-Hijabi Muslim women. This is because Muslim women willing to wear the hijab are also more likely to hold their religion at heart and thus identify strongly with their Muslim religion and heritage. According to the Quran, Islam’s holy book, modesty in relation to the physical self means that Muslim women should dress in clothes that do not accentuate the shape of their bodies and cover all but their hands and faces. So following Islamic principles, a Muslim woman who chooses to

wear the hijab is choosing to be judged based on her character, instead of an objectified physical characteristic. For Hijabis, modest attire is an essential part of following their faith. In a recent news article, it was estimated that about 10 percent of the female Muslim population nationally wears the hijab, and nearly all of those interviewed for that news article stressed that wearing the veil was a personal decision (Post-Gazette News, 2001). This is quite different from the coercion that Muslim women might undergo in certain countries such as Iran and Afghanistan. The following quotes are taken from a news article which represents what it means to be an American Muslim for most Hijabis (Post-Gazette News, 2001).

“America is one of the best places on Earth to follow our religion, because we are free. And I feel that way, too.”

“I never want to change my values and the way I am now. ... I feel I want to educate the public in what a hijab is. ... Women that wear the hijab in America love to wear (it). I've never met a woman in America who didn't choose.”

"The U.S. is still one of the only parts of the world where I may practice my religion, wear what I choose and be respected for my choices. To me, that is real empowerment."

#### HYPOTHESIS 6:

*Hijabis will have a stronger degree of group identification with their social group (Muslims) than non-Hijabis.*

Most often, discrimination is usually targeted against social identity and not the personal identity. Perceiving one's social identity to be the cause of prejudice protects self esteem because when one can identify that the prejudice is a threat to social identity, and not one's personal self, one can shift the blame from the traits and characteristics of one's personal self to that of others (Crocker & Major, 1989; Crocker et al., 2003).

However, when one cannot discount his or her personal identity, they will perceive their

personal self to be responsible for negative outcomes, resulting in lower self esteem and negative affect. Thus, threats to social identity can affect self esteem only to the degree to which the victim also experiences a threat to their own personal identity.

Perceiving threats to social identity rather than personal identity can also be a buffer to engaging in disengagement/ disidentification tactics depending on the degree of identification one has with their social group (Kaiser & Major, 2004; Major et al., 2003). If one identifies strongly with their targeted group, as is predicted to be the case of Hijabis, then the impact of perceived discrimination on self esteem will be higher (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; McCoy & Major, 2003). Negative outcomes will no longer be related just to one's social identity, but will be also attributed to one's personal identity. The more the social identity becomes a core part of one's personal self, prejudice against the social identity also becomes prejudice against oneself (Major et al., 2003). This threat to the personal self eventually results in lower self esteem and eventually, disengagement and disidentification tactics. However, if the target is disassociated with his or her social identity, perceiving prejudice against one's social identity will protect personal self esteem.

So, the extent to which the Hijabi identifies with her targeted group also serves as a moderator between her likelihood to apply for and her expectations to receive job offers for high-public contact or security-related jobs. Because Hijabis are predicted to generally identify strongly with their social identity of being Muslims, Hijabis' will tend to perceive the stigma against other Muslims as prejudice against the self. This is because the negative outcomes will no longer be attributed solely to their group, but will be also attributed to them, personally (to the group aspect of their selves). This threat to the

personal self will eventually result in their greater likelihood to use disengagement and disidentification tactics for certain job types in which they anticipate discrimination.

#### HYPOTHESIS 7:

*The degree of identification with one's social group (Muslim) moderates the relationship between the amount of public contact required in an occupation and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who identify more strongly as Muslims will be less likely to apply for high public contact occupations than Hijabis who do not identify as strongly as Muslims.*

#### HYPOTHESIS 8:

*The degree of identification with one's social group (Muslim) moderates the relationship between security-related occupations and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who identify more strongly as Muslims will be less likely to apply for security related occupations than Hijabis who do not identify as strongly as Muslims.*

#### Optimism and Locus of Control

Certain attributes of personality, like dispositional optimism and internal locus of control, can also serve as moderators between the likelihood to apply for high public contact and security-related occupations. These personal characteristics reduce the degree to which the target perceives prejudice against their social identity as personally threatening and serve as important moderators of emotional responses to stressors such as discrimination (Kaiser, Major, & McCoy, 2004; Major et al., 2003).

In a study done by Kaiser and colleagues (2003), women who were dispositional optimists or pessimists were recruited and asked to read an article about sexism, after which they completed measures of personal self-esteem and depressed emotions. Optimism was found to be positively related to self esteem and negatively related to depressed emotions. Compared to pessimists, optimists also perceived prejudice against their group as less personally threatening and believed they were better able to cope with prejudice. This suggests that an optimistic person will be less likely to perceive a negative outcome as threatening. On the other hand, a pessimistic person will appraise a negative situation as harmful and will be more prone to becoming debilitated by it.

Similar to optimism, people with an internal locus of control will believe that they can control their outcomes by their efforts and will not be limited by people's stereotypes of their group. On the other hand, a person with an external locus of control will believe that certain goals are out of his/ her reach and believe he/ she will not be able to control other's stereotypes towards their social identity. This is because they believe that they can't control their outcomes. In a post-abortion adaptation study done by Major et al. (1998), it was found that women who had more resilient personalities (perceived control, optimism) appraised their abortion as less stressful and had a higher self-efficacy for coping with abortion. Other substantial evidence also shows that the perception of perceived control and optimism contributes to positive appraisals of and better adjustments to stressful life events (Aspinwall & Taylor, 1992; Carver et al., 1993; Cozzarelli, 1993).

Thus, it is hypothesized that certain personality characteristics (optimism and internal locus of control) can counter negative affect and bolster self esteem by enabling

the person to be better at coping with prejudice. This suggests that Hijabis who score more highly on either optimism or internal locus of control are less susceptible to using disengagement/ disidentification tactics to cope with prejudice. Their personality characteristics will serve as an important moderator in preventing a negative emotional response to discrimination.

HYPOTHESIS 9:

*Optimism moderates the relationship between the amount of public contact required in an occupation and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who score high on optimism will more likely to apply for high public contact occupations than Hijabis who score low on optimism.*

HYPOTHESIS 10:

*Optimism moderates the relationship between security-related occupations and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who score high on optimism will be more likely to apply for security-related occupations than Hijabis who score low on optimism.*

HYPOTHESIS 11:

*Locus of control moderates the relationship between the amount of public contact required in an occupation and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who have an internal locus of control will be more likely to apply for high public contact occupations than Hijabis who have an external locus of control.*

HYPOTHESIS 12:

*Locus of control moderates the relationship between security-related occupations and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who have an internal locus of control will be more likely to apply for security-related occupations than Hijabis who have an external locus of control.*

## **METHOD**

### **Participants**

610 Muslim females, 337 Hijabis and 272 non-Hijabis, participated in an online experiment. Participants were recruited through local mosques (Islamic Center of East Lansing, Islamic center of Long Island), Muslim American organizations (Council for American-Islamic Relations, ArabDetroit, American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, Arab American Institute Foundation), Muslim Student Associations throughout America, and a Muslim networking website ([www.naseeb.com](http://www.naseeb.com)). The organizations were contacted through email or given a letter similar to the email in person, asking for help concerning recruiting participants for the experiment (see Appendix F). The organizations were asked to forward the email or letter to potential participants or organization members.

The email or letter described the experiment and participant requirements (see Appendix F). Recipients who fulfilled the criteria of being a Muslim female were asked to take part in a study that examined issues that Muslim women face in the employment context. A website link was provided in the email or letter that led the participants to the actual online experiment. Upon logging in, participants were asked to confirm their religion and sex. This was to assure that only Muslim female participants took part in the study. Then, an informed consent form was shown (see Appendix D), which the participants were required to read and agree to participate before they began the actual experiment.

Additionally, a snowballing technique was employed to ensure an adequate sample size. The primary investigator of this study sent fellow Muslim female friends and

colleagues the same email (see Appendix F) that was sent to the organizations. These friends were expected to forward the email to their fellow Muslim friends and family members.

### Pilot Testing

150 Michigan State University undergraduates completed an online questionnaire rating the job status, amount of public contact required, and gender composition of over 90 occupations (see Appendix C). From the results, I attempted to select occupations that were low, neutral, or high in job status and low, neutral, or high in the amount of public contact required. The original pilot study did not yield any occupations that fit the low public contact/ low job status and high public contact/ neutral job status conditions, so two additional occupations were picked from a secondary pilot study geared towards finding occupations that fit these missing categories, creating a full 3 x 3 design (see Table 1 for statistics). Only jobs that were rated neither masculine nor feminine were used in the experiment to avoid confounding gender-linkage with other job characteristics.

In addition to the nine jobs listed below, two security related jobs that involve promoting public safety (security guard and flight attendant) were also used as independent variables. These jobs were chosen based on the criteria that both of these jobs require knowledge of public safety and security, as described in O\*NET (2006), and are clearly recognizable as demanding security enforcement. In total, there were a total of eleven occupation conditions.

Table 1

*Descriptive Statistics: Job Status, Public Contact, & Gender Composition of Occupations selected for use in the experiment*

Occupation	N	Job Status		Public Contact		Gender Composition	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Factory Worker-Cereal Company	21	2.10	.70	1.48	.68	2.00	.78
Laundry/ Dry-Cleaning Worker	150	1.83	.83	3.21	.93	2.16	.57
Waiter/ Waitress	150	2.33	.83	4.56	.66	2.39	.52
Cooks, Private Household	150	2.70	.87	2.13	.85	2.15	.74
Paralegal	150	3.47	.68	3.37	.68	2.12	.58
Sales Representative	150	3.02	.74	4.21	.77	1.85	.67
Graphic Designer	150	3.69	.69	2.39	.83	1.70	.69
Technical Writer	21	3.60	.51	2.76	.77	1.90	.79
Physician	150	4.59	.60	4.17	.80	1.70	.52

*Note: Scales for job status and public contact ranged from 1 (low) to 5 (high), while the scale for gender composition ranged from 1 (male) to 3 (female).*

Procedure

Participants who logged in to the experiment website were initially asked to indicate their religion and sex. Then, they began the experiment by reading the informed consent form (see Appendix D), and agreeing to participate in the experiment.

Upon the start of the online experiment, participants were asked to identify themselves as a Hijabi or not. Two groups resulted from this: a target group (Muslim women who wear the hijab) and a control group (Muslim women who do not wear the hijab). The main reason for comparing Hijabi Muslim women to non-Hijabi Muslim women is that this design reduced variance between the two groups, as the only difference between them was the wearing of religious attire. There is a legitimate reason to believe that along with the hijab, Muslim women also display other attributes (e.g, race, accent, nationality, etc.). By using just Muslim female participants, it was expected that the control group and target group will both display these possible confounding

variables just as equally. Still, to ensure that both of these groups were actually similar, demographic factors were still asked (see Appendix A).

For the online experiment, fictitious newspaper ads (see Appendix C) from each of the eleven occupations (nine occupations for the main design plus two security-related occupations) were shown online prior to having the participants fill out the actual measures. The occupations were either low, neutral, or high on job status and low, neutral, or high on the amount of public contact required, creating a 3 x 3 design, or security-related.

Table 2 describes the experimental design and lists the IVs, moderators, and DVs.

Table 2

*Experimental Design: IV's, Moderators, and DV's*

<i>Independent Variables</i>	<i>Moderators</i>	<i>Dependent Variables (disengagement/ disidentification tactics)</i>
Job type	Job type - high/ low job status	Intention to apply for job
- amount of public contact	Stereotype Internalization	Expectations to receive interviews
- security/ non-security related	Group identification	Expectations to receive job offers
Religious attire	Optimism	
- Hijabi/ non-Hijabi	Internal locus of control	

*Stimuli*

Participants were randomly assigned to one of the eleven occupational conditions. The participants were asked to read the newspaper ad imagining that they were about to apply for the job described in the ad, for which they had all the qualifications necessary. Upon reading the ad, participants completed the measures described in the following section and were debriefed (see Appendix E) and informed that their responses to the

online experiment will be used to identify issues confronting Hijabis in the employment arena.

### Measures

*Disengagement and Disidentification.* Upon reading the job ad, all participants were asked how likely they will be to 1) apply for the job, 2) be shown interest for the job such as receiving interviews or a call back, and to 3) get a job offer, assuming they applied for the job in the ad and had all the qualifications for it. Each of these three DV categories (Apply, Interest, and Offer) had two questions each, and item scale responses ranged from 1 (very unlikely) to 7 (very likely), with lower scores reflecting greater disengagement/ disidentification (See Appendix A).

*Manipulation Checks.* Participants were asked to rate the job status, the amount of public contact required, and the gender composition of the occupation featured in the ad (See Appendix A).

*Group Identification.* A modified form of the Collective Self-Esteem Scale (CSES) was used to measure religious identification (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). The CSES is a 16-item measure assessing the degree to which individuals identify with their social group and if they regard their social group positively. The CSES has 4 sub-scales: 1)

*Membership esteem* evaluated how worthy one is as a member of one's social group; 2)

*Private collective self esteem* measured one's evaluation of how good one's social group is; 3) *Public collective self esteem* measured one's evaluation of how positively their social group is viewed by others; and 4) *Importance to identity* measured how important one's social group membership is to one's self concept. Item scale responses ranged from

1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree), with higher scores reflecting greater collective self-esteem.

*Stereotype Internalization.* A self-stereotype measure was created consisting of 24 characteristics and traits stereotypically associated with Muslims (Kenny, 1975; Kamalipour, 2000; Pipes, 1990); (See Appendix A). Participants were asked to rate themselves on 7-point scales ranging from 1 (very unlike me) to 7 (very like me) on how true each of these stereotypical characteristics were of themselves.

*Optimism.* An individual difference measure of optimism was also included to test whether optimism moderates the relationship between public contact and security/ non-security relate occupations and the likelihood of employing disengagement and disidentification tactics (See Appendix A). To assess future dispositional expectations, the Revised Life Orientation Test (LOT-R) was used (Scheier, Carver, & Bridges, 1994). This six item measure contained dispositional statements such as "In uncertain times, I usually expect the best," which were rated on a 5-point item scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Higher scores indicate a more optimistic outlook on life while lower scores show a more pessimistic outlook on life.

*Locus of Control.* An individual difference measure of locus of control was also included to test whether locus of control moderates the relationship between public contact and security/ non-security relate occupations and the likelihood of employing disengagement and disidentification tactics (See Appendix A). Locus of control was measured with Rotter's Locus of control scale (1966). This 24-item measure consisted of attributional statements such as "People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make." Each item requires respondents to choose which of a pair of statements is more representative of

them. These items were then scored with 1 for an external alternative and 0 for an internal alternative. Scores were summed such that higher scores indicated a more external locus of control and lower scores indicated a more internal locus Cronbach's alpha was .74.

*Demographics.* Participants were asked to indicate their age, education, marital status, regional location, English proficiency, acculturation, work experience, annual income, and nationality status (See Appendix A).

*Open-ended Questions.* At the end of the experiment, Hijabi participants (not Non-Hijabi participants) were asked 6 extra questions to examine their perceptions of the impact of wearing religious attire in employment contexts. Participants were asked to recall and to write about real life incidents of work discrimination and how these incidents affected their career aspirations (if at all) (See Appendix A).

### Debriefing

After completing all the measures described above, participants were debriefed through the use of an electronic debriefing form (see Appendix E) and informed that their responses to the discussion questions will be used to identify issues confronting Hijabis in the employment arena.

## RESULTS

### Reliability of measures

*Disengagement and Disidentification.* Confirmatory factor analyses were conducted to confirm that the three DVs (apply, interest, and offer) should be considered separately. Specifically, a three-dimensional model was compared to an alternative unidimensional model and to all different types of 2-dimensional alternative models that combined the two latent factors. Results indicate that the 3-dimensional model ( $\chi^2$  (6, N= 599) = 14.97,  $p=.02$ , a CFI of 1.00, and an RMSEA of .05), fit the data significantly better than the alternative 2-dimensional models. The reliability of these three DVs (apply, interest, and offer) were .90, .95, and .98, respectively.

*Group Identification.* Confirmatory factor analysis was conducted to see if the four-dimension model (membership self-esteem, private self-esteem, public self esteem, and importance to identity) was a good fit. The four-dimension model yielded a  $\chi^2$  (98, N= 396) = 414.35,  $p=.00$ , a CFI of .95, and an RMSEA of .09; supporting the four dimensional nature of the scale, as stated in prior research. The overall scale had a coefficient alpha of .85, and internal consistencies of the subscales (membership self-esteem, private self-esteem, public self esteem, and importance to identity) were .84, .81, .78 and .77, respectively.

*Stereotype Internalization.* An exploratory factor analysis using principal axis factoring with a varimax rotation was conducted and yielded six factors. Because various items had cross loadings on different factors, and because some of the content differences across the six factors were not discernable and only the first two factors seemed to make sense content wise and accounted for the greatest proportion of variance, a second

exploratory factor analysis was conducted using principal axis factoring with a varimax rotation forcing two factors. The first factor had 12 items, all representing negative stereotypes mostly hinting at violence and being backwards (e.g. terrorist, oppressive) and accounted for 4.68% of the total variance, The second factor had 4 items, all of which represented stereotypes that reflected conservative attitudes (e.g. traditional, modest) and accounted for 2.13% of the total variance. The remaining items did not load distinctly on either of the two factors, and were therefore omitted. The negative stereotypes and conservatism scales had Cronbach's alphas of .78 and .73, respectively.

*Optimism.* A confirmatory factor analysis was conducted to see if the six-items in the optimism scale constituted a single underlying dimension, as expected. The single factor model yielded a  $\chi^2$  (9, N= 570) = 94.39,  $p=.00$ , a CFI of .93, and an RMSEA of .129.

Although the RMSEA did not meet the criteria of good fit, because the scale has been demonstrated to be unidimensional in prior research, and the reliability of the scale was adequate ( $\alpha = .75$ ), and the inter-item correlations were high with an average  $r = .34$ , a single scale was created by combining (arithmetic average) the six optimism items.

*Overall Scales.* Table 3 shows the intercorrelations for the scales used in this study. All of the three Dv's (Apply, Interest, Offer) were significantly correlated with one another. Apply and Interest was significantly correlated with optimism. Optimism was positively related to three of the measures of collective self esteem (membership self esteem, public self esteem, and private self esteem). Locus of control was negatively related to Offer, Interest, and optimism. The four subscales of collective self esteem were significantly related to one another. Negative stereotype internalization was negatively related to Offer and locus of control but positively related to the collective self esteem scales.

Conservative stereotype internalization was negatively related to optimism, and to the all of the subscales of collective self esteem but public self esteem.

Table 3

## Descriptive Statistics, Reliability, and Correlations for Measures

	Measure	Cronbach's Alpha	M	SD	N	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
3 DV's	1- Apply	0.90	3.77	1.36	608		<b>1</b>									
	2- Interest	0.95	3.76	1.16	607	0.30		<b>1</b>								
	3- Offer	0.98	3.29	1.30	607	0.25	0.74		<b>1</b>							
Optimism	4- Optimism	0.75	21.40	3.81	570	0.09	0.13	0.07		<b>1</b>						
Locus of Control	5- Locus of control	NA	11.35	4.19	455	-0.03	-0.11	-0.07	-0.38		<b>1</b>					
Collective Self Esteem	6- Membership self esteem	0.84	5.52	1.19	460	0.05	0.06	-0.01	0.30	-0.17		<b>1</b>				
	7- Public self esteem	0.78	4.19	1.32	461	0.01	0.09	0.13	0.17	-0.20	0.20		<b>1</b>			
	8- Private self esteem	0.81	6.09	1.03	461	0.03	0.07	0.04	0.15	-0.14	0.53	0.32		<b>1</b>		
Stereotype Internalization	9- Importance to identity	0.77	5.29	1.30	459	0.07	0.03	-0.04	-0.05	0.08	0.42	0.06	0.54		<b>1</b>	
	10- Negative stereotypes	0.78	5.03	1.17	447	-0.05	-0.06	-0.15	0.08	-0.11	0.43	0.17	0.35	0.37		<b>1</b>
	11- Conservative stereotypes	0.73	1.31	0.49	448	-0.06	-0.17	-0.12	-0.14	0.05	-0.18	0.02	-0.16	-0.11	-0.04	<b>1</b>

Note. Alpha reliability coefficients are on the main diagonal. Correlations in bold are significant at  $p < .05$

## Demographics

Although 610 participants logged onto the website, only 442 produced complete surveys. However, not all incomplete surveys were discarded since they still contained valuable data concerning the major IVs (intentions to apply, and expectations to receive interviews and job offers) and DVs (religious attire and occupation). Table 4 offers a more detailed description of the completed surveys sample size for each of the occupations and religious attire conditions.

The mean age for the sample was 24.95, ranging from 18-58, and 55.3% of the sample was Hijabi. 19 participants were removed from the data set because they were under 18. On average, participants rated themselves as having fairly good English speaking and writing abilities, 4.86 and 4.78 respectively, on a scale from 1-5 with 1 being poor and 5 being excellent. 87 % were either native U.S. citizens or naturalized, and 96.5% of the participants had lived in US for more than 5 years. All of the participants had completed high school or higher. The average annual self gross income was around \$20-30k, while the average gross household income was around \$70-80k. 84.9% of the participants had had a year or more employment experience, and 64.7% were currently employed at the time of their participation. 28.1% were married, out of which only 15.9% had children. The participants came from all regions of America: Northeast (46.1%), Midwest (17.6%), South (16.4%), California (9.7%), West (5.9%), and the North West (2.9%). Finally, this sample was 44.1% South Asian, 20.2% Middle Eastern, 15.4% White, 7.7% Black, 12.5% other ethnicities.

Table 4

Sample Size by Occupation and Religious Attire

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Religious Attire</i>		
	<i>N</i>		
	<i>Hijabi</i>	<i>NonHijabi</i>	<i>Total</i>
Total	337	272	609
Cook: private household	29	26	55
Factory worker: Cereal company	32	23	55
Flight attendant	25	25	50
Graphic Designer	25	26	51
Laundry/ Dry Clean Worker	31	31	62
Paralegal	39	21	60
Physician	31	24	55
Sales representative	38	21	59
Security guard	30	26	56
Technical writer	27	27	54
Waitress	30	22	52

To test for significant differences between Hijabis and non-Hijabis for the demographic variables, independent samples t-tests or Pearson chi-square tests were conducted. Results of these analyses are summarized in Table 5 for continuous data and Table 6 for categorical data.

Table 5

Mean Hijabi/ Non-Hijabi Differences in Demographics

<i>Tool</i>	Mean Difference	<i>Hijabi</i>			<i>Non Hijabi</i>			D-value
		M	SD	N	M	SD	N	
Age	1.46*	25.59	7.06	214	24.13	6.00	164	0.22**
English speaking	-0.02	4.85	0.39	231	4.87	0.4	190	-0.05
English writing	0.00	4.78	0.48	230	4.78	0.49	187	0.00
Stay in the US	0.09	4.85	0.46	231	4.76	0.69	190	0.16
Income self	0.00	3.23	2.52	225	3.23	2.74	186	0.00
Income House	-0.77*	6.76	2.98	226	7.52	3.00	184	-0.25**
Children	-0.13*	1.78	0.41	231	1.91	0.29	189	-0.36**
Employment								
Experience	0.42*	4.03	1.3	231	3.62	1.32	189	0.31**
Religious								
Devotion	0.86*	4.27	0.72	219	3.41	0.99	174	1.01***

Table 6

*Descriptive Results for Participants*

Questions	Percent		
	Total	Hijabi	Non Hijabi
What ethnicity do you consider yourself to be?*			
Hispanic	2.4	3.95	.54
Native American or Alaskan Native	.5	.88	.00
East Asian	4.1	3.07	5.38
South Asian	44.1	32.02	58.60
Middle Eastern	20.2	21.93	18.28
Black/ African American	7.7	10.53	4.30
White/ Caucasian/ Not of Hispanic Origin	15.4	21.49	8.06
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	.7	.44	1.08
Other	4.8	5.70	3.76
$*\chi^2(8, N = 414) = 43.48, p < .05.$			
What is your current nationality status?*	Total	Hijabi	Non Hijabi
Permanent Alien	10.9	10.43	11.58
Temporary Alien	1.9	1.30	2.63
Native U.S. Citizen	65.1	70.00	58.95
Naturalized	22.1	18.26	26.84
$*\chi^2(3, N = 420) = 6.50, ns.$			
How long have you lived in the United States?*	Total	Hijabi	Non Hijabi
Less than a year	.9	0.43	1.58
1-2 years	.2	0.00	0.53
3-4 years	2.4	1.73	3.16
5-10 years	10.0	9.96	10.00
Over 10 years	86.5	87.88	84.74
Indicate the highest level of education you have completed?*	Total	Hijabi	Non Hijabi
Did not complete High School	0	0.00	0.00
High school or equivalency	5.9	5.63	6.32
Some college	19.7	21.65	17.37
2 year college degree (Associates)	13.5	14.29	12.11
4 year college degree (BA, BS)	37.9	34.63	42.11
Master's degree	15.2	15.15	15.26
Doctoral degree or other professional degree (e.g., Medical, law)	7.8	8.66	6.84
$*\chi^2(5, N = 421) = 3.39, ns.$			
Are you currently enrolled in an academic program (e.g. college, graduate school)?*	Total	Hijabi	Non Hijabi
yes	61.4	58.01	65.26
No, but I plan to return to school	23.9	28.14	18.95
No, I am finished with school	14.7	13.85	15.79
$*\chi^2(2, N = 421) = 4.83, ns.$			
What is the highest level of education you intend to complete?*	Total	Hijabi	Non Hijabi
Some college	.3	0.50	0.00
2 year college degree (Associates)	1.9	3.52	0.00

Table 6

*Descriptive Results for Participants (cont.)*

Questions	Percent		
What is the highest level of education you intend to complete (cont.)?*	Total	Hijabi	Non Hijabi
4 year college degree (BA, BS)	7.2	8.54	5.63
Master's degree	36.1	36.18	36.25
Doctoral degree or other professional degree (e.g., Medical, law)	54.4	51.26	58.13
* $\chi^2(4, N = 359) = 8.25, ns.$			
What is the highest level of education your mother has completed? *	Total	Hijabi	Non Hijabi
Did not complete High School	11.0	14.78	6.38
High school or equivalency	20.3	21.74	18.62
Some college	12.6	12.17	13.30
2 year college degree (Associates)	9.5	9.57	9.57
4 year college degree (BA, BS)	26.7	25.65	27.66
Master's degree	11.7	11.30	12.23
Doctoral degree or other professional degree (e.g., Medical, law)	8.1	4.78	12.23
* $\chi^2(6, N = 418) = 14.53, p < .05.$			
What is the highest level of education your father has completed?*	Total	Hijabi	Non Hijabi
Did not complete High School	5.7	8.23	2.66
High school or equivalency	13.8	18.61	7.98
Some college	11.7	12.55	10.64
2 year college degree (Associates)	5.5	5.19	5.85
4 year college degree (BA, BS)	20.2	19.05	21.28
Master's degree	22.1	19.48	25.53
Doctoral degree or other professional degree (e.g., Medical, law)	21.0	16.9	26.1
* $\chi^2(6, N = 419) = 20.61, p < .01.$			
What is your gross yearly income?	Total	Hijabi	Non Hijabi
Less than \$10	41.36	38.67	44.62
\$10,000-19,999	9.98	10.67	9.14
\$20,000-29,999	9.49	11.11	7.53
\$30,000-39,999	11.92	12.89	10.75
\$40,000-59,999	9.00	9.33	8.60
\$60,000-69,999	8.03	8.00	8.06
\$70,000-79,999	2.92	3.11	2.69
\$80,000-89,999	1.46	1.33	1.61
\$90,000-99,999	1.22	0.89	1.61
\$100,000-150,000	1.95	1.33	2.69
More than 150,000	2.68	2.67	2.69
What is your total gross household income, including all earners in your household?	Total	Hijabi	Non Hijabi
Less than \$10	3.90	4.87	2.72
\$10,000-19,999	3.17	3.10	3.26
\$20,000-29,999	7.56	9.29	5.43
\$30,000-39,999	7.56	7.52	7.61
\$40,000-49,999	9.76	9.73	9.78

Table 6

*Descriptive Results for Participants (cont.)*

Questions	Percent		
What is your total gross household income, including all earners in your household (cont.)?*	Total	Hijabi	Non Hijabi
\$50,000-59,999	12.93	14.60	10.87
\$60,000-69,999	8.05	9.73	5.98
\$70,000-79,999	9.02	8.85	9.24
\$80,000-99,999	6.59	5.75	7.61
\$100,000-150,000	13.41	12.39	14.67
More than 150,000	18.05	14.16	22.83
What is your current marital status?*	Total	Hijabi	Non Hijabi
Single, never married	64.5	51.95	79.79
Married	28.1	38.10	15.96
Separated	1.4	1.73	1.06
Divorced	5.7	7.79	3.19
Widowed	.2	0.43	0.00
* $\chi^2(4, N = 419) = 35.47, p < .01$ .			
Do you have any children?	Total	Hijabi	Non Hijabi
Yes	15.9	21.65	8.99
No	84.1	78.35	91.01
What region of the United States do you live in?*	Total	Hijabi	Non Hijabi
North East	46.1	45.02	47.62
North West	2.9	3.90	1.59
Midwest	17.6	18.61	16.40
West	5.9	6.49	5.29
South	16.4	16.88	15.34
California	9.7	8.23	11.64
Do not live in the U.S	1.4	0.87	2.12
* $\chi^2(6, N = 420) = 5.15, ns$ .			
How much work experience (of any kind) do you have?	Total	Hijabi	Non Hijabi
None	4.0	3.03	5.29
less than a year	11.2	8.23	14.29
1-2 years	25.2	22.51	28.57
3-5 years	29.5	32.03	26.46
5-10 years	16.4	16.88	15.87
over 10 years	13.8	17.32	9.52
Are you currently employed?*	Total	Hijabi	Non Hijabi
Yes, full time	34.3	36.11	31.98
Yes, part time	30.4	31.48	29.07
No	35.3	32.41	38.95
* $\chi^2(2, N = 388) = 1.82, ns$ .			
How Religious do you consider yourself to be?	Total	Hijabi	Non Hijabi
very little/ not at all	2.0	0.00	4.60
a little	5.9	1.37	11.49
some	21.1	11.42	33.33
a lot	42.7	45.66	39.08

There was a significant difference for age,  $t(376) = 2.17, p < .05$ , with Hijabis tending to be older than Non-Hijabis. There was a significant difference for employment experience,  $t(418) = 3.23, p < .01$ , with Hijabis having higher employment experience than Non-Hijabis. This work experience difference is likely due to the age difference between the two groups.

Also, possibly as a result of the age differences, there was a significant difference for marital status,  $\chi^2(4, N = 419) = 35.47, p > .01$ , with Hijabis being more likely to be married than Non-Hijabis. Likewise, there was also significant difference for having children,  $t(418) = -3.57, p < .01$ , with Hijabis being more likely to have children than Non-Hijabis.

As expected, there was a significant effect for religious devotion,  $t(391) = 9.98, p < .01$ , with Hijabis being more devoted to their religion than Non-Hijabis. Not expected, the percentage of Hijabis differed from the percentage of Non-hijabis by race,  $\chi^2(8, N = 414) = 43.48, p > .05$ , with the non Hijabi sample having more percentage of South Asians and a lower percentage of other minorities than the Hijabi sample. Also not expected, there were significant differences for education of mother and father,  $\chi^2(6, N = 418) = 14.53, p > .05$  and  $\chi^2(6, N = 419) = 20.61, p > .01$ , respectively; with the parents of Hijabis usually being less educated than the parents of Non-Hijabis. Perhaps the difference in parental education level could explain why there was a significant difference for overall household income  $t(408) = -2.58, p < .05$ , with Hijabis having lower household income than Non-Hijabis. Since these demographic factors were not expected to affect the participant responses, they were not controlled for in the analyses.

To test for significant differences between Hijabis and non-Hijabis for the moderator variables, independent samples t-tests were conducted and effect sizes were computed. Results of these analyses are summarized in Table 7. Hijabis had significantly higher membership self esteem, private self esteem, and importance to identity than non-Hijabis (see page 100 for discussion). Hijabis were also significantly more likely to internalize the negative stereotypes of their identity group, which might be a result of identifying more with their social group of Muslims. Hijabis and were also more likely to be optimistic than non-Hijabis, possibly tied to the belief that God will help them and take good care of them. On the other hand, Non-Hijabis were more likely to have an internal locus of control than Hijabis. This might also be a result of the belief for Hijabis that God is in control of their destiny.

Table 7

*Mean Hijabi/ Non Hijabi Differences in Scales*

	Tool	Mean difference	<i>Hijabi</i>			<i>Non-Hijabi</i>			D-value
			M	SD	N	M	SD	N	
Collective Self esteem	Membership Self Esteem	.79†	5.88	.97	255	5.08	1.29	204	0.71**
	Private Self Esteem	.33†	6.24	.95	256	5.91	1.10	204	0.32*
	Public Self Esteem	-.11	4.14	1.34	256	4.25	1.30	204	-0.08
	Importance to Identity	.49†	5.51	1.20	255	5.03	1.38	203	0.38*
Stereotype Internalization	Conservative Stereotypes	-.04	1.29	.49	247	1.33	.49	200	-0.07
	Negative Stereotypes	.88†	5.42	.99	246	4.54	1.21	200	0.81***
Optimism	Optimism	.97†	21.85	3.65	315	20.88	3.90	254	0.26*
Locus of Control	Locus of Control	-.99†	10.91	4.17	254	11.90	4.17	200	-0.24*

†p < .05, \* = small effect size, \*\* = moderate effect size, \*\*\*= large effect size

### Manipulation Check

For each of the occupations used in the experimental design, participants were asked to rate the amount of public contact required for the occupation on a scale of 1 (low) to 5 (high), the job status of the occupation on a scale from 1 (low) to 5 (high), and the gender composition of the occupation on a scale from 1 (male) to 3 (female). Table 9 shows the statistics. For the majority of the occupations, gender composition was found to be either neutral or female-oriented, with the exception being security guard.

Similar to the pilot study, from these statistics, an attempt was made to select occupations that were low, neutral, or high in job status and low, neutral, or high in the amount of public contact. It was expected that this method would verify the original 3 x 3 pilot study design. However, the original pilot study design could not be recreated. Not only were the new occupation ratings of public contact and job status for many of the occupations different from the original pilot study ratings, furthermore most of the neutral public contact and neutral job status conditions were not significantly different from the low public contact and low job status occupations, making it more likely that many of the potential findings would be more uninterpretable due to weak comparisons among the two of the three conditions (low and neutral public contact and job status).

Thus, a new design was created removing all the neutral conditions (See Table 8). In the new design, the low job status occupations were significantly different from the high job status occupations and the low public contact conditions were significantly different from the high public contact conditions, yielding a strong comparison between the low and high conditions and thus, a more powerful design.

All the hypothesis will be run using the new 2x2 design (see Table 8) as well as the 3x3 original pilot study design (see Table 1). Because the main focus will be on the new design, the results for all the hypotheses run using the original pilot study design will be provided separately in Appendix H.

Table 8

*Job Status and Public Contact Ratings of Occupations of the New Design*

		Public Contact	
		low	high
Job Status	low	Laundry	Waiter
	high	Graphic Designer	Physician

Table 9

*Descriptive Statistics: Job Status, Public Contact, & Gender Composition of Occupations*

Occupation	Job Status			Public Contact			Gender Composition		
	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD
Cook	55	2.13	0.88	55	2.22	1.01	55	2.73	0.56
Factory Worker	55	1.98	0.91	54	1.35	0.78	55	1.82	0.82
Flight Attendant	49	2.69	0.74	49	4.45	0.82	50	2.80	0.45
Graphic Designer	51	3.35	0.69	50	3.04	0.90	51	2.04	0.72
Laundry/ Dry Clean Worker	61	1.95	0.83	61	3.02	1.28	61	2.57	0.62
Paralegal	60	3.15	0.73	60	3.27	0.97	60	2.00	0.84
Physician	56	4.00	0.87	56	4.45	0.60	56	1.68	0.64
Sales Representative	57	2.54	0.68	58	4.36	0.81	57	2.39	0.82
Security Guard	56	2.32	0.83	55	3.53	0.98	56	1.09	0.35
Technical writer	53	3.21	0.77	53	3.02	0.89	53	2.21	0.79
Waitress	52	2.10	0.82	52	4.56	0.70	52	2.46	0.73

*Note: Scales for job status and public contact ranged from 1 (low) to 5 (high), while the scale for gender composition ranged from 1 (male) to 3 (female).*

In addition to the design listed above, two security related jobs (security guard and flight attendant) were considered to test some of the hypotheses. It was intended that these two jobs be combined into one general security condition and then compared against non-security occupations that were similar on job status and public contact. However, because the amount of public contact required for security guard was significantly lower than the amount of public contact required for a flight attendant, the two occupations were not combined together into a one general security condition (and they differed in gender-linkage).

Instead, both these occupations were tested separately for all the hypotheses relating to security conditions. Flight attendant as a security occupation was compared against the non security occupation, sales representative, as it does not differ significantly from the flight attendant occupation on the amount of public contact required and job status. Security guard as a security occupation was compared against the non security occupation, laundry/ dry clean worker, as it does not differ significantly from the security guard occupation on the amount of public contact required or job status.

### Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1 suggested that in high public contact occupations, Hijabis will have lower intentions than non-Hijabis to apply for a job, and that they will have lower expectations of receiving interviews or getting job offers, than in low public contact occupations. A 2 by 2 MANOVA, treating religious attire (Hijabi versus non-Hijabi) and public contact (high versus low) conditions as independent variables, and the variables Apply, Interest, and Offer as dependent variables was used to conduct an omnibus test of this hypothesis. Significantly higher intentions to apply for a job (Apply) and higher

expectations of receiving interviews (Interest) and getting job offers (Offer) for high-public contact occupations in non-Hijabis relative to other cells in the design would be interpreted as support for this hypothesis.

The multivariate test results indicated that although the main effect of public contact was not significant [ $F(3, 213) = 1.24, p = .30$ ], the main effect of religious attire was significant [ $F(2, 213) = 10.57, p = .01$ ], meaning that Hijabis and non-Hijabis were significantly different in their intentions to apply, and expectations to receive interviews (Interest) and getting job offers (Offer). In addition, the religious attire by public contact interaction was marginally significant [ $F(3, 213) = 2.14, p = .096$ ], meaning that Hijabis and non-Hijabis were marginally different in their intentions to apply (Apply), and expectations to receive interviews (Interest) and getting job offers (Offer), depending on the amount of public contact required for the occupation.

Because the multivariate main effect for religious attire was significant, and the multivariate interaction between religious attire and public contact was marginally significant, the MANOVA was followed up with a series of 2 x 2 ANOVA's. As would be expected given the MANOVA results, the ANOVA's showed no significant main effect for public contact (see Table 10). However, there were significant religious attire main effects for the Interest and Offer DVs, indicating that Hijabis have lower expectations than non-Hijabis of receiving interviews (interest) or getting job offers (offer) than non-Hijabis (see Table 11 for the means and standard deviations). The religious attire by public contact interaction was significant for Interest and was marginally significant for Offer. The means presented in Table 10 suggest that Hijabis had lower expectations than non-Hijabis of receiving interviews and getting job offers for

occupations that require high public contact than occupations that require low public contact.

Table 10

Religious Attire by Public Contact MANOVA

Source		df	F	p value
Public Contact	Apply	1	0.89	0.35
	Interest	1	3.60	0.06
	Offer	1	2.77	0.10
Religious Attire	Apply	1	0.03	0.87
	Interest	1	13.99*	0.00
	Offer	1	29.76*	0.00
Religious Attire x Public Contact	Apply	1	0.73	0.39
	Interest	1	6.48*	0.01
	Offer	1	3.79**	0.05
Error	Apply	215		
	Interest	215		
	Offer	215		

\* =  $p < .05$ , \*\* =  $p = .05$

Effect sizes (Cohen's  $d$ ) were also computed to see if the differences presented in the MANOVA also have practical significance (Cohen, 1988). Cohen described  $d$ -values of .2, .5, .8 to be classified as small, moderate, and large (Cohen, 1988). Table 11 presents the effect sizes between Hijabis and non-Hijabis on the 3 DVs.

Similar to the MANOVA, there was no significant effect size for applying for either of the public contact conditions (Apply) for Hijabis in comparison to non-Hijabis. There was a marginally small effect size ( $d = -0.19$ ) for Hijabis in comparison to non-Hijabis in expecting interviews in the low public contact occupations (Interest), which became a moderate significant effect size ( $d = -0.75$ ) in the high public occupations. There was a moderate significant effect size ( $d = -0.51$ ) for Hijabis in comparison to non-Hijabis in

expecting job offers in the low public condition (Offer), which became a large effect size ( $d = -0.94$ ) in the high public condition.

Although the results show that Hijabis are less likely to expect interest and offers than non-Hijabis in general for both the low and high public contact conditions, it should be noted that the effect size are large in the high public contact condition compared to the small to moderate effect sizes displayed in the low public contact condition.

Table 11

Religious Attire by Public Contact Effect Sizes

		Religious Attire						
		Hijabi			Non-Hijabi			
Public		Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	D-
Contact		1	1	1	2	2	2	value
LOW	Intention to apply for job	4.06	1.21	56	3.94	1.28	57	0.10
	Expectations to receive interviews	3.97	.96	56	4.15	0.88	57	-0.19
	Expectations to receive job offers	3.45	1.17	56	4.00	0.99	57	-0.51*
HIGH	Intention to apply for job	3.74	1.46	61	3.86	1.41	46	-0.08
	Expectations to receive interviews	3.32	1.45	61	4.24	0.84	45	-0.75**
	Expectations to receive job offers	2.88	1.36	61	4.04	1.04	45	-0.94**

\* = moderate effect size, \*\* = large effect size

Overall, hypothesis 1 was partially supported. Although Hijabis do not have significantly lower intentions than non-Hijabis to apply for high public contact occupation than low public contact occupations, Hijabis are significantly less likely to expect job interviews and offers than non-Hijabis. These differences increase as the amount of public contact associated with the occupation increases.

Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 suggested that for security-related occupations, Hijabis will have lower intentions than non-Hijabis to apply for a job, and that they will have lower expectations of receiving interviews or getting job offers, than non-security related

occupations. A 2 by 2 MANOVA, treating religious attire (Hijabi versus non-Hijabi) and security conditions (security versus non-security) as independent variables, and the variables Apply, Interest, and Offer as dependent variables was used to conduct an omnibus test of this hypothesis. Significantly higher intentions to apply for a job (Apply) and higher expectations of receiving interviews (Interest) and getting job offers (Offer) for security-related occupations in non-Hijabis relative to other cells in the design would be interpreted as support for this hypothesis. The results are divided below in to the two different security/ non-Security condition analyses that were conducted: (1) security guard/ laundry dry clean worker and (2) flight attendant/ sales representative.

#### *Security Guard*

The multivariate test results indicated that the main effects of security condition [ $F(3, 112) = 9.74, p = .00$ ] and religious attire [ $F(3, 112) = 5.41, p = .01$ ] were significant. However, the religious attire by security condition interaction was not significant [ $F(3, 112) = 1.39, p = .25$ ].

The MANOVA results showed no significant interaction for religious attire by security condition (see Table 12). However, there was a significant religious attire main effect for the Offer DV, indicating that Hijabis have lower expectations than non-Hijabis of getting job offers (offer) than non-Hijabis (see Table 13 for the means and standard deviations). The security condition main effects were significant for the Interest and Offer DVs and marginally significant for Apply DV, indicating that both Hijabis and non-Hijabis have lower expectations of receiving interviews (Interest) or getting job offers (Offer) for security-related occupations than non-security-related occupations.

Table 12

*Religious Attire by Security Condition MANOVA*

Source		df	F	p value
Security Condition	Apply	1	0.28	0.60
	Interest	1	16.18*	0.00
	Offer	1	29.10*	0.00
Religious Attire	Apply	1	0.32	0.57
	Interest	1	0.13	0.72
	Offer	1	5.88*	0.02
Religious Attire x Security Condition	Apply	1	1.13	0.29
	Interest	1	0.32	0.57
	Offer	1	0.41	0.53
Error	Apply	114		
	Interest	114		
	Offer	114		

\* =  $p < .05$ 

Effect sizes (Cohen's  $d$ ) were also computed to see if the differences presented in the MANOVA also have practical significance. The means presented in Table 13 suggests that there was no significant effect size for expecting interviews (Interest) for either of the security conditions for Hijabis in comparison to non-Hijabis. For applying (Apply), there was a non-significant effect size ( $d = 0.09$ ) in the non-security condition for Hijabis in comparison to non-Hijabis in applying in the security-related condition, which became a small effect size ( $d = -0.30$ ) in the security condition. Although the results show that Hijabis are less likely expect offers (Offer) than non-Hijabis in general, it should be noted that the effect size is moderate ( $-0.52$ ) in the security-related condition compared to the small effect size ( $-0.36$ ) displayed in the non security condition.

Table 13

*Religious Attire by Security Condition Effect Sizes*

		Reference Group						
		Hijabi			Non Hijabi			
Security Status		Mean 1	SD 1	N 1	Mean 2	SD 2	N 2	D-value
Security Guard (Security)	Intention to apply for job	3.13	1.51	30	3.56	1.26	26	-0.30*
	Expectations to receive interviews	3.27	1.52	30	3.06	1.38	26	0.14
	Expectations to receive job offers	2.17	1.47	30	2.88	1.24	26	-0.52**
Laundry/Dry Cleaning Worker (non-Security)	Intention to apply for job	3.55	1.38	31	3.42	1.46	31	0.09
	Expectations to receive interviews	4.05	.93	31	4.10	1.01	31	-0.05
	Expectations to receive job offers	3.58	1.20	31	4.00	1.15	31	-0.36*

\* = moderate effect size, \*\* = large effect size

Overall, hypothesis 2.1 was not supported. Although the effect sizes reveal that the direction hypothesized is true, the differences are not significant. Even though Hijabis do have lower intentions than non-Hijabis to apply for security-related occupation than non-security related occupations, and are less likely to expect offers (Offer) in the security condition than in non-security condition in comparison to non-Hijabis, the MANOVA does not suggest a significant difference between Hijabis and non-Hijabis in Apply, Interest, and Offer depending on security condition.

*Flight Attendant*

The multivariate test results indicated that the main effects of security condition [ $F(3, 101) = 2.57, p = .06$ ] and religious attire [ $F(3, 101) = 12.05, p = .00$ ] were significant. However, the religious attire by security condition interaction was not significant [ $F(3, 101) = 1.366, p = .26$ ].

The MANOVA results showed no significant interaction for religious attire by security condition except for a marginally significant interaction for the Apply DV (see

Table 14). However, there were significant religious attire main effects for Interest and Offer DVs, indicating that Hijabis have lower expectations than non-Hijabis of receiving interviews (interest) or getting job offers (offer) (see Table 15 for the means and standard deviations). The security condition main effects were significant for the Apply DV, indicating that both Hijabis and non-Hijabis have lower expectations of applying (Apply) for non-security related occupations than security related occupations.

Table 14

*Religious Attire by Security Condition MANOVA*

Source		df	F	p value
Security	Apply	1	5.45*	0.02
	Interest	1	0.67*	0.42
	Offer	1	2.60	0.11
Religious Attire	Apply	1	0.21	0.65
	Interest	1	10.90*	0.00
	Offer	1	36.25*	0.00
Religious Attire x Security	Apply	1	3.16*	0.08
	Interest	1	0.03	0.85
	Offer	1	0.75	0.39
Error	Apply	103		
	Interest	103		
	Offer	103		

\* =  $p < .05$

Effect sizes (Cohen's d) were also computed to see if the differences presented in the MANOVA also have practical significance. Table 15 presents the effect sizes between Hijabis and non-Hijabis on the 3 DVs.

For applying (Apply), there was a small effect size ( $d = -0.28$ ) in the non-security condition for Hijabis in comparison to non-Hijabis. Surprisingly, for the security condition, there was a small effect size, but in reverse, for the Apply Dv ( $d = 0.41$ ), suggesting that Hijabis were actually more likely to apply for the security-related

occupation than non-Hijabis. For both the security and non-security condition, there was a moderate effect size between Hijabis and non-Hijabis (-0.66 & -0.64) for the Interest DV and a large effect size (-1.30 & -1.06) for the Offer DV suggesting that Hijabis were less likely to expect interviews and offers than non-Hijabis in general, for both the security and non-security condition.

Table 15

Religious Attire by Security Condition Effect Sizes

		Reference Group						
		Hijabi			Non Hijabi			D-value
Security Status		Mean 1	SD 1	N 1	Mean 2	SD 2	N 2	
Flight Attendant (Security)	Apply for job	3.70	1.38	25	3.15	1.34	24	0.41*
	Receive interviews	3.36	1.17	25	4.08	1.01	24	-0.66**
	Receive job offers	2.30	1.28	25	3.83	1.06	24	-1.30***
Sales	Apply for job	3.84	1.25	37	4.17	0.99	21	-0.28*
Representative (non-Security)	Receive interviews	3.57	1.17	37	4.21	0.64	21	-0.64**
	Receive job offers	2.85	1.17	37	4.00	0.91	21	-1.06***

\* = small effect size, \*\* = moderate effect size, \*\*\* = large effect size

Overall, hypothesis 2.2 was not supported. The effect sizes show that there is a difference between Hijabis and Non-hijabis in applying, interest, and offer, and a significant difference in applying compared to the security condition, but these differences did not yield a significant interaction between security condition and religious attire, as revealed by the MANOVA.

Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3 suggested that job status moderates the relationship between public contact and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis will be more likely to apply for high public contact occupations in high status occupations than in low status occupations. For low

status occupations, Hijabis will be less likely to apply for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations.

One separate moderated regression analysis was conducted for each of the three dependant variables [intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis] (See Table 16). The demographics variables of age, race, educational level of parent, gross household income, and employment experience were controlled for in the analyses. Due to the directional nature of the hypothesis, one-tailed tests were conducted

#### *Apply*

Hypothesis 3a was not supported (See Table 16).

#### *Interest*

Hypothesis 3b was supported. Significant main effects were found for both public contact ( $\beta = -.77, p < .01$ , one-tailed) and job status ( $\beta = .70, p < .01$ , one-tailed). A significant interaction between public contact and job status was also found ( $\beta = 1.36, p < .01$ , one-tailed;  $\Delta R^2 = .07, p = .00$ , one-tailed) (see Table 16). To detect the true nature of the interaction, the statistically significant interaction between public contact and job status was plotted (see Figure 1). The plot shows that job status neutralizes the effect of public contact so that Hijabis were more likely to apply for high public contact occupations in high status jobs than in low status jobs, and were less likely to apply for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations for low status jobs.

#### *Offer*

Hypothesis 3c was supported. Significant main effects were found for both public contact ( $\beta = -.78, p < .01$ , one-tailed) and job status ( $\beta = .64, p < .05$ , one-tailed). A

significant interaction between public contact and job status was also found ( $\beta = 1.86, p < .01$ , *one-tailed*;  $\Delta R^2 = .12, p = .00$ , *one-tailed*) (see Table 16). Inspection of the means shows job status neutralizes the effect of public contact so that Hijabis were more likely to expect job offers for high public contact occupations in high status jobs than in low status jobs, and were less likely to expect job offers for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations for low status jobs.

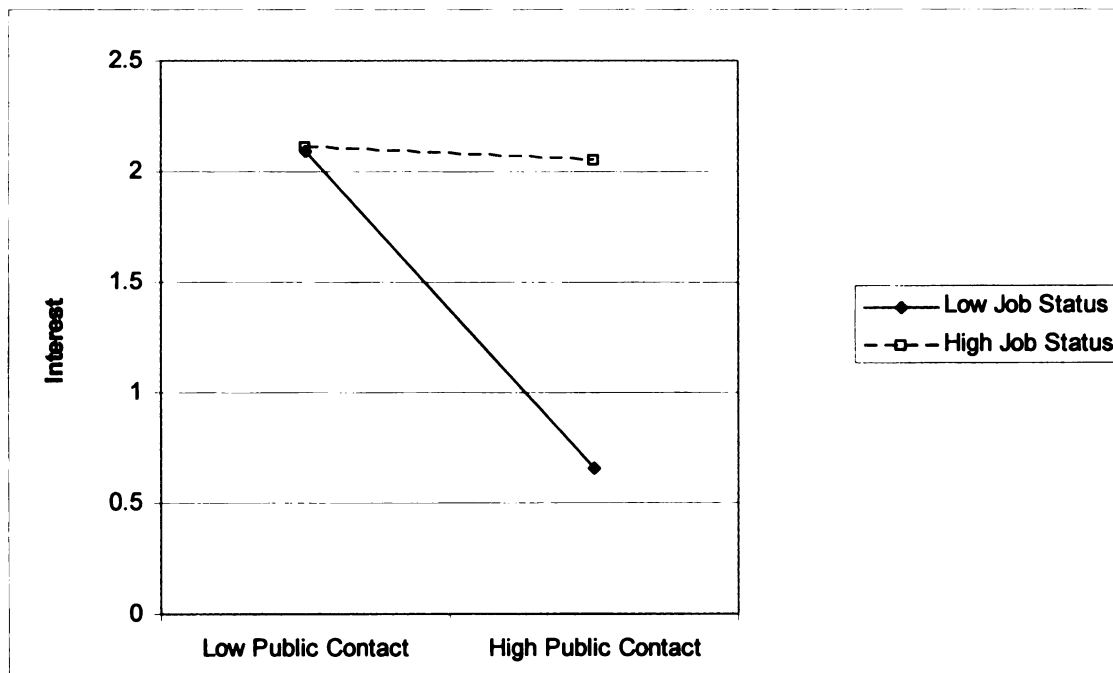


Figure 1. Interaction between public contact and job status on expectations to receive interviews (interest) for Hijabis.

Table 16

*Effects of Public Contact and Job Status on Apply, Interest, and Job Offers.*

<b><i>Hijabi</i></b>									
Independent variable	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	b	R2 Total	Δ R2	b	R2 Total	Δ R2	b	R2 Total	Δ R2
<b>Step 1</b>		0.21	0.21		0.30	0.30		0.20	0.20
Age	0.06			0.03			0.03		
Race	-0.13			-0.21*			-0.27*		
Education									
Mother	0.00			0.19*			0.08		
Education Father	0.16			0.12			0.06		
Income House	-0.13*			-0.07			0.01		
Marital Status	-0.21			0.15			0.20		
Children	0.86			0.99*			0.41		
Employment									
Experience	0.25			0.26			0.05		
<b>Step 2</b>		0.42	0.22		0.43	0.13		0.33	0.13
Public Contact	-0.59*			-0.77*			-0.78*		
Job Status	1.33*			0.70*			0.64*		
<b>Step 3</b>		0.43	0.00		0.50	0.07		0.45	0.12
Public Contact X									
Job Status	0.34			1.36*			1.86*		
<b><i>Non-Hijabi</i></b>									
Independent variable	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	b	R2 Total	Δ R2	b	R2 Total	Δ R2	b	R2 Total	Δ R2
<b>Step 1</b>		0.11	0.11		0.17	0.17		0.14	0.14
Age	0.04			0.03			-0.02		
Race	0.10			-0.07			-0.04		
Education									
Mother	-0.08			0.04			0.06		
Education Father	0.17			-0.06			-0.08		
Income House	-0.07			0.05			0.03		
Marital Status	0.17			-0.05			0.08		
Children	-0.21			-0.60			-0.71		
Employment									
Experience	-0.12			-0.24*			-0.25*		
<b>Step 2</b>		0.32	0.22		0.18	0.01		0.15	0.01
Public Contact	-0.10			-0.08			-0.18		
Job Status	1.31*			0.16			0.11		
<b>Step 3</b>									
Public Contact X									
Job Status	-0.55	.329	0.01	0.19	.184	.003	-0.24	.156	.004

\*p&lt;.05

Overall, Hypothesis 3 was partially supported. The regressions show that that job status moderates the relationship between public contact and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis will be more likely to expect receiving interviews and job offers for high public contact occupations in high status occupations than in low status occupations. For low status occupations, Hijabis will be less likely to expect receiving interviews and job offers for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations. Furthermore, since the regressions using the non-Hijabi sample did not show job status to be a significant moderator of the relationship between public contact and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers, this shows that this significant interaction is only particular to the Hijabi population.

However, job status did not moderate the relationship between public contact and intentions (a) to apply for Hijabis or non-Hijabis.

#### Hypothesis 4

Hypothesis 4 predicts that stereotype internalization moderates the relationship between public contact and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who do not internalize the negative stereotypes of their Muslim identity will be more likely to apply for high public contact occupations than Hijabis who internalize the stereotypes.

One separate moderated regression analysis was conducted for each of the three dependant variables [intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis] (See Table 17). Each of these three regressions was run twice for two subscales of the stereotype internalization measure: (1)

negative stereotype and (2) conservative stereotype (divided into two separate sections below). Due to the directional nature of the hypothesis, one-tailed tests were conducted. The demographics variables of age, race, educational level of parent, gross household income, and employment experience were controlled for in the analyses. Due to the directional nature of the hypothesis, one-tailed tests were conducted

### **Negative stereotype**

#### *Apply*

Hypothesis 4.1a was supported. The main effect for negative stereotype internalization ( $\beta = -.37, p < .05, one-tailed$ ) was significant but the main effect was not significant for public contact ( $\beta = -.43, ns, one-tailed$ ), suggesting that public contact alone did not effect Hijabis likelihood to apply for an occupation. A significant interaction between public contact and negative stereotype internalization was found ( $\beta = -.74, p < .05, one-tailed; \Delta R^2 = .05, p = .07, one-tailed$ ) (see Table 17). To detect the true nature of the interaction, the statistically significant interaction between public contact and negative stereotype internalization was plotted. Figure 2 shows that negative stereotype internalization neutralizes the effect of public contact so that Hijabis were more likely to apply for high public contact occupations when they do not internalize the negative stereotypes than when they do internalize negative stereotypes, and were less likely to apply for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations when they internalized the negative stereotypes.

#### *Interest*

Hypothesis 4.2b was supported. A significant main effect was found for public contact ( $\beta = -.69, p < .01, one-tailed$ ), but the main effect for negative stereotype

internalization ( $\beta = -.24, p < .05, ns$ ) was not. A significant interaction between public contact and negative stereotype internalization was also found ( $\beta = -.84, p < .01$ , one-tailed;  $\Delta R^2 = .07, p = .01$ , one-tailed) (see Table 17). Inspection of the means shows that negative stereotype internalization moderates the effect of public contact so that Hijabis were more likely to expect receiving interviews or call backs for high public contact occupations when they do not internalize the negative stereotypes than when they do internalize negative stereotypes, and were less likely to expect receiving interviews or call backs for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations when they do internalize the negative stereotypes.

#### *Offer*

Hypothesis 4.2c was supported. A significant main effect was found for public contact ( $\beta = -.71, p < .01$ , one-tailed), but the main effect for negative stereotype internalization ( $\beta = -.18, p < .05, ns$ ) was not. A significant interaction between public contact and negative stereotype internalization was also found ( $\beta = -.68, p < .01$ , one-tailed;  $\Delta R^2 = .05, p = .06$ , one-tailed) (see Table 17). Inspection of the means shows that job status moderates the effect of public contact so that Hijabis were more likely to expect receiving interviews or call backs for high public contact occupations when they do not internalize the negative stereotypes than when they do internalize negative stereotypes, and were less likely to expect receiving interviews or call backs for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations when they do internalize the negative stereotypes.

Table 17

*Effects of Public Contact and Negative Stereotype Internalization on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.*

<b>Hijabi</b>									
Independent variable	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	b	R2 Total	Δ R2	b	R2 Total	Δ R2	b	R2 Total	Δ R2
<b>Step 1</b>		0.21	0.21		0.30	0.30		0.20	0.20
Age	0.06			0.03			0.03		
Race	-0.13			-0.21*			-0.27*		
Education Mother	0.00			0.19*			0.08		
Education Father	0.16			0.12			0.06		
Income House	-0.13*			-0.07			0.01		
Marital Status	-0.21			0.15			0.20		
Children	0.85			0.99*			0.41		
Employment Experience	0.25			0.26			0.05		
<b>Step 2</b>		0.28	0.07		0.39	0.09		0.29	0.09
Public Contact	-0.43			-0.69*			-0.71*		
Stereotype Internalization	-0.37*			-0.23			-0.18		
<b>Step 3</b>		0.33	0.05		0.46	0.07		0.34	0.05
Public Contact X Stereotype Internalization	0.34*			-0.84*			-0.68*		

<b>Non-Hijabi</b>									
Independent variable	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	b	R2 Total	Δ R2	b	R2 Total	Δ R2	b	R2 Total	Δ R2
<b>Step 1</b>		0.11	0.11		0.17	0.17		0.14	0.14
Age	0.04			-0.07			-0.02		
Race	0.10			0.04			-0.04		
Education Mother	-0.08			-0.06			0.06		
Education Father	0.17			0.05			-0.08		
Income House	-0.07			-0.05			0.03		
Marital Status	0.17			-0.60			0.08		
Children	-0.21			-0.24*			-0.71		
Employment Experience	-0.12			0.03			-0.25*		
<b>Step 2</b>		0.11	0.00		0.18	0.01		0.16	0.02
Public Contact	-0.07			-0.08			-0.18		
Stereotype Internalization	0.08			-0.05			-0.09		
<b>Step 3</b>		0.13	0.02		.18	.00		.17	.01
Public Contact X Stereotype Internalization	-0.35			0.05			0.12		

\*p&lt;.05

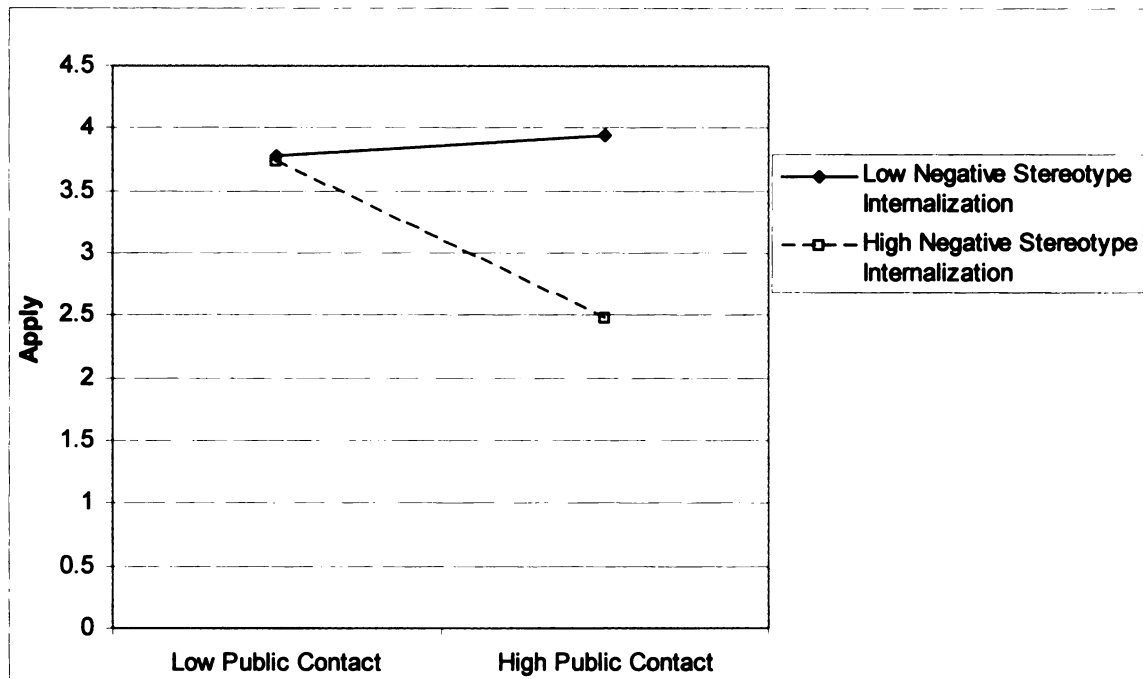


Figure 2. Interaction between public contact and stereotype internalization to apply (apply) for Hijabis.

### Conservative stereotype

*Apply, Interest, Offer*

Hypotheses 4.2a, 4.2b, and 4.2c were not supported (see Table 18).

Table 18

*Effects of Public Contact and Conservative Stereotype Internalization on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.*

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>
1. Public Contact	-0.38	0.04	0.04	-0.73*	0.11	0.11*	-0.64*	0.06	.06*
Conservative Stereotype	-0.28			-0.22			-0.03		
2. Public Contact x Conservative Stereotype	0.06	0.04	0.00	0.29	0.11	0.01	0.57	0.08	0.02

\* =  $p < .05$ ,  $N=77$

Overall, Hypothesis 4 was partially supported. Stereotype internalization of the negative stereotypes of Muslims moderates the relationship between public contact and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who did not internalize the negative stereotype of their Muslim identity to be of low status were more likely to apply and to expect receiving interviews for high public contact occupations than Hijabis who internalized the negative stereotypes. Hijabis who internalized the negative stereotypes of their Muslim identity to be of low status were less likely to apply and expect receiving interviews or job offers for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations. Furthermore, since the regressions using the non-Hijabi sample did not show negative stereotype internalization to be a significant moderator of the relationship between public contact and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers, this shows that this significant interaction is only particular to the Hijabi population.

Also, conservative stereotype internalization did not moderate the relationship between public contact and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis.

#### Hypothesis 5

Hypothesis 5 suggested that stereotype internalization of Muslims moderates the relationship between security-related occupations and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who do not internalize the negative stereotypes of their Muslim identity will be more likely to apply for security-related occupations than Hijabis who internalize the stereotypes.

Each of these three regressions was run twice for two subscales of the stereotype internalization measure: (1) negative stereotype and (2) conservative stereotype (divided into two separate sections below). The results are divided below in to the two different security/ non-security condition analyses that were conducted: (1) security guard/ laundry dry clean worker and (2) flight attendant/ sales representative. Due to the directional nature of the hypothesis, one-tailed tests were conducted.

### ***Security Guard***

#### **Negative stereotype**

#### ***Apply, Interest, Offer***

Hypotheses 5.1.1.a, 5.1.1.b, and 5.1.1.c were not supported (see Table 19).

Table 19

*Effects of Security Condition and Negative Stereotype Internalization on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.*

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup>	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup>	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup>	Δ R <sup>2</sup>
1. Security Condition	0.39	0.05	0.05	0.52	0.04	0.04	1.27*	0.17	0.17*
Negative Stereotype	0.32			0.05			-0.01		
2. Security Condition x Negative Stereotype	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.17	0.04	0.00	0.03	0.17	0.00

\* =  $p < .05$ , N=50

## Conservative stereotype

*Apply, Interest, Offer*

Hypotheses 5.1.2.a, 5.1.2.b, and 5.1.2.c were not supported (see Table 20).

Table 20

Effects of Security Condition and Conservative Stereotype Internalization on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>
1. Security Condition	0.30	0.02	0.02	0.51	0.04	0.04	1.28*	0.17	0.17*
Conservative Stereotype	-0.42			-0.22			-0.13		
2. Security Condition x Conservative Stereotype	-2.56	0.06	0.05	1.11	0.05	0.01	1.89	0.19	0.02

\* =  $p < .05$ , N=50

## Flight Attendant

### Negative stereotype

*Apply, Interest, Offer*

Hypotheses 5.2.1.a, 5.2.1.b, and 5.2.1.c were not supported (see Table 21).

Table 21

Effects of Security Condition and Negative Stereotype Internalization on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>
1. Security Condition	0.22	0.03	0.03	0.10	0.02	0.02	0.80*	0.10	0.10
Negative Stereotype	-0.20			-0.14			-0.10		
2. Security Condition x Negative Stereotype	0.20	0.03	0.00	-0.09	0.02	0.00	-0.55	0.13	0.04

\* =  $p < .05$ , N=46

## Conservative stereotype

### *Apply, Interest, Offer*

Hypotheses 5.2.2.a, 5.2.2.b, and 5.2.2.c were not supported (see Table 22).

Table 22

*Effects of Security Condition and Conservative Stereotype Internalization on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.*

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>
1. Security Condition	0.15	0.02	0.02	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.79*	0.10	0.10
Conservative Stereotype	0.43			-0.08			-0.38		
2. Security Condition x Conservative Stereotype	-0.90	0.02	0.01	1.87	0.04	0.04	-0.21	0.10	0.00

\* =  $p < .05$ , N=46

Hypothesis 5 was not supported. Neither conservative stereotype internalization nor negative stereotype internalization of Muslims moderates the relationship between security-related occupations and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis.

### Hypothesis 6

Hypothesis 6 suggested that Hijabis will have a stronger degree of group identification with their social group (Muslims) than non-Hijabis.

T-tests between being a Hijabi/ non-Hijabis and degree of identification were conducted for each of the four subscales within the collective self esteem measure to test the hypothesis (see Table 23). Significant higher degree of identification for Hijabis compared to non-Hijabis were to be interpreted as support for this hypothesis.

All of the subscales had significant differences between Hijabis and Non-Hijabis except for the public self-esteem scale,  $t(458) = -.88, ns$ . There was a significant effect for membership self esteem,  $t(457) = 7.52, p < .001$ , with Hijabis receiving higher scores than Non-Hijabis. There was a significant effect for private self esteem,  $t(458) = 3.45, p < .001$ , with Hijabis receiving higher scores than Non-Hijabis. There was a significant effect for Importance to identity,  $t(456) = 4.00, p < .001$ , with Hijabis receiving higher scores than Non-Hijabis.

Table 23

*Mean Hijabi/ Nonhijabi Differences on the Collective Self Esteem Scale.*

<i>Collective Self Esteem</i>	Mean Difference	<i>Hijabi</i>			<i>Non-Hijabi</i>			D-value
		N	M	SD	N	M	SD	
1 - Membership Self Esteem	0.79*	255	5.88	0.97	204	5.08	1.29	0.71***
2 - Private Self Esteem	0.33*	256	6.24	0.95	204	5.91	1.1	0.32**
3 - Public Self Esteem	-0.11	256	4.14	1.34	204	4.25	1.3	-0.08
4 - Importance to Identity	0.49*	255	5.51	1.2	203	5.03	1.38	0.38**

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* = small effect size, \*\*\*= moderate effect size

Overall, Hypothesis 6 was partially supported. Hijabis were significantly more likely to have higher membership self esteem, private self esteem, and importance to identity. However, there was no significant difference between Hijabis and non-Hijabis on public self esteem.

Hypothesis 7

Hypothesis 7 suggested that the degree of identification with one's social group (Muslim) moderates the relationship between public contact and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such

that Hijabis who identify more strongly as Muslims will less likely to apply for high public contact occupations than Hijabis who do not identify as strongly as Muslims.

One separate moderated regression analysis was conducted for each of the three dependant variables [intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis]. Each of these three regressions were run four times for the four subscales of the group identification (collective self esteem) measure: (1) membership self esteem, (2) public self esteem, (3) private self esteem, and (4) importance to identity (divided into four separate sections below). The demographics variables of age, race, educational level of parent, gross household income, and employment experience were controlled for in the analyses. Due to the directional nature of the hypothesis, one-tailed tests were conducted

### **Membership Self Esteem**

#### *Apply*

Hypothesis 7.1.a was not supported (see Table 24).

#### *Interest*

Hypothesis 7.1.b was supported. The main effect for public contact ( $\beta = -.68, p < .05$ , *one-tailed*) was significant but the main effect was not significant for membership self esteem ( $\beta = .00$ , *ns*, *one-tailed*). A significant interaction between public contact and membership self esteem was also found ( $\beta = -1.07, p < .01$ , *one-tailed*; ( $\Delta R^2 = .11, p = .00$ , *one-tailed*)) (see Table 24). The statistically significant interaction between public contact and membership self esteem was plotted to better interpret the results. Figure 3 shows that membership self esteem neutralizes the effect of public contact so that Hijabis were more likely to expect receiving interviews or call backs for high public contact

occupations when they scored low on membership self esteem than when they scored high on membership self esteem, and were less likely to expect receiving interviews or call backs for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations when they scored high on membership self esteem.

### *Offer*

Hypothesis 7.1.c was supported. The main effect for public contact ( $\beta = -.70, p < .05$ , *one-tailed*) was significant but the main effect was not significant for membership self esteem ( $\beta = .01$ , *ns*, *one-tailed*). A significant interaction between public contact and membership self esteem was also found ( $\beta = -1.31, p < .01$ , *one-tailed*;  $\Delta R^2 = .17, p = .00$ , *one-tailed*) (see Table 24). Inspection of the means shows that membership self esteem neutralizes the effect of public contact so that Hijabis were more likely to expect receiving job offers for high public contact occupations when they scored low on membership self esteem than when they scored high on membership self esteem, and were less likely to expect receiving job offers for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations when they scored high on membership self esteem.

Table 24

*Effects of Public Contact and Membership Self Esteem on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.*

<b>Hijabi</b>									
Independent variable	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	b	R2 Total	Δ R2	b	R2 Total	Δ R2	b	R2 Total	Δ R2
<b>Step 1</b>		0.21	0.21		0.30	0.30		0.20	0.20
Age	0.06			0.03			0.03		
Race	-0.13			-0.21*			-0.27*		
Education									
Mother	0.00			0.19*			0.08		
Education Father	0.16			0.12			0.06		
Income House	-0.13*			-0.07			0.01		
Marital Status	-0.21			0.15			0.20		
Children	0.85			0.99*			0.41		
Employment									
Experience	0.25			0.26			0.05		
<b>Step 2</b>		0.23	0.02		0.36	0.06		0.27	0.07
Public Contact	-0.38			-0.68*			-0.70*		
Membership Self Esteem	0.09			0.00			0.01		
<b>Step 3</b>		0.24	0.01		0.47	0.11		0.44	0.17
Public Contact X Membership Self Esteem	0.33			-1.07*			-1.31*		

<b>Non-Hijabi</b>									
Independent variable	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	b	R2 Total	Δ R2	b	R2 Total	Δ R2	b	R2 Total	Δ R2
<b>Step 1</b>		0.11	0.11		0.17	0.17		0.14	0.14
Age	0.04			0.03			-0.02		
Race	0.10			-0.07			-0.04		
Education									
Mother	-0.08			0.04			0.06		
Education Father	0.17			-0.06			-0.08		
Income House	-0.07			0.05			0.03		
Marital Status	0.17			-0.05			0.08		
Children	-0.21			-0.60			-0.71		
Employment									
Experience	-0.12			-0.24*			-0.25		
<b>Step 2</b>		0.11	0.00		0.18	0.01		0.21	0.07
Public Contact	-0.07			-0.05			-0.05		
Membership Self Esteem	0.03			0.06			0.25		
<b>Step 3</b>									
Public Contact X Membership Self Esteem	-0.18	0.11	0.01	0.18	.19	.01	0.31	.23	0.03

\*p<.05

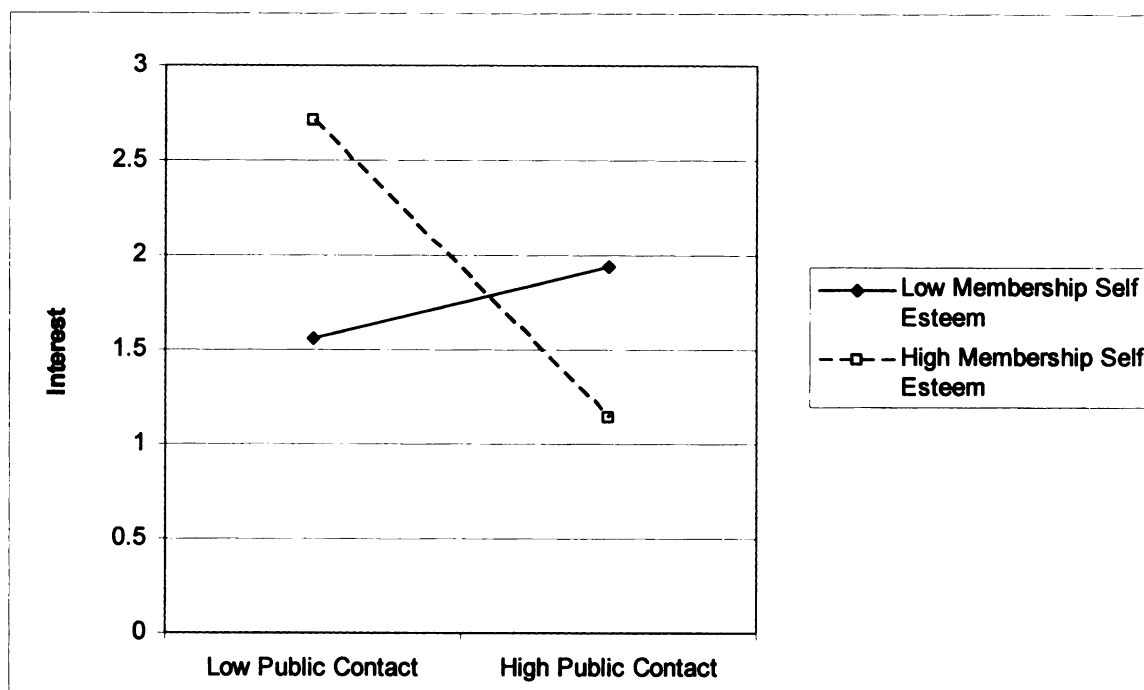


Figure 3. Interaction between public contact and membership self esteem on expectations to receive interviews or calls back for the job (interest) for Hijabis.

## Public Self Esteem

### *Apply, Interest, Offer*

Hypotheses 7.2.a, 7.2.b, and 7.2.b were not supported (see Table 25).

Table 25

Effects of Public Contact and Public Self Esteem on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	$R^2$ Total	$\Delta R^2$	<i>b</i>	$R^2$ Total	$\Delta R^2$	<i>b</i>	$R^2$ Total	$\Delta R^2$
1. Public Contact	-0.53*	.06	.06*	-0.83*	0.11	.11*	-0.71*	0.07	.07*
Public Self Esteem	-0.18			-0.07			0.00		
2. Public Contact x Public Self Esteem	-0.01	.06	.00	-0.14	0.12	0.01	-0.14	0.08	0.01

\* =  $p < .05$ ,  $N=79$

## Private Self Esteem

### *Apply, Interest, Offer*

Hypotheses 7.3.a, 7.3.b, and 7.3.c were not supported (see Table 26).

Table 26

Effects of Public Contact and Conservative Private Self Esteem on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>
1. Public Contact	-0.43	0.06	0.06	-0.80*	0.11	.11*	-0.75*	0.08	0.08*
Private Self Esteem	-0.22			-0.05			0.11		
2. Public Contact x Private Self Esteem	0.27	0.06	0.01	-0.29	0.11	0.01	-0.55	0.11	0.03

\* =  $p < .05$ , N=79

## Importance to Identity

### *Apply, Interest, Offer*

Hypotheses 7.4.a, 7.4.b, and 7.4.c were not supported (see Table 27).

Table 27

Effects of Public Contact and Importance to Identity on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>
1. Public Contact	-0.51	0.04	0.04	-0.82*	0.11	0.11*	-0.71*	0.07	0.07*
Importance to Identity	0.07			-0.01			0.03		
2. Public Contact x Importance to Identity	0.20	0.04	0.01	0.01	0.11	0.00	-0.20	0.08	0.01

\* =  $p < .05$ , N=79

Overall, hypothesis 7 was partially supported. Membership self esteem moderates the relationship between public contact and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who score low on membership self esteem will be more likely to expect interviews and job offers for high public contact occupations than hijabis who score high on membership self esteem. Hijabis who score high on membership self esteem will be less likely to expect interviews and job offers for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations. Furthermore, since the regressions using the non-Hijabi sample did not show membership self esteem to be a significant moderator of the relationship between public contact and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers, this shows that this significant interaction is only particular to the Hijabi population. Membership self esteem did not, however, moderate the relationship between public contact and (a) applying for Hijabis.

Also, public self esteem, private self esteem, and importance to identity did not moderate the relationship between public contact and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis.

### Hypothesis 8

Hypothesis 8 suggested that the degree of identification with one's social group (Muslim) moderates the relationship between security-related occupations and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who identify more strongly as Muslims will be less likely to apply for security related occupations than Hijabis who do not identify as strongly as Muslims.

One separate moderated regression analysis was conducted for each of the three dependant variables [intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis] (See Table 28). Each of these three regressions were run four times for the four subscales of the group identification (collective self esteem) measure: (1) membership self esteem, (2) public self esteem, (3) private self esteem, and (4) importance to identity (divided into four separate sections below). The results are divided below in to the two different security/ non-Security condition analyses that were conducted: (1) security guard/ laundry dry clean worker and (2) flight attendant/ sales representative. Due to the directional nature of the hypothesis, one-tailed tests were conducted.

### ***Security Guard***

#### **Membership Self Esteem**

#### ***Apply, Interest, Offer***

Hypotheses 8.1.1.a, 8.1.1.b, and 8.1.1.c were not supported (see Table 28).

Table 28

#### **Effects of Security Condition and Membership Self Esteem on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.**

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>
1. Security Condition	0.22	0.04	0.04	0.38	0.17	0.17*	1.12*	0.31	0.31*
Membership Self Esteem	0.32			0.55*			0.71*		
2. Security Condition x Membership Self Esteem	-0.56	0.07	0.02	-0.12	0.17	0.00	-0.43	0.33	0.01

\* =  $p < .05$ , N=50

## Public Self Esteem

*Apply, Interest, Offer*

Hypotheses 8.1.2.a, 8.1.2.b, and 8.1.2.c were not supported (see Table 29).

Table 29

Effects of Security Condition and Public Self Esteem on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>
1. Security Condition	0.28	0.10	0.01	0.47	0.04	0.04	1.30*	0.17	0.17*
Public Self Esteem	0.02			0.07			-0.05		
2. Security Condition x Public Self Esteem	-0.30	0.03	0.02	-0.17	0.05	0.01	-0.25	0.18	0.01

\* =  $p < .05$ , N=50

## Private Self Esteem

*Apply, Interest, Offer*

Hypotheses 8.1.3.a, 8.1.3.b, and 8.1.3.c were not supported (see table 30).

Table 30

Effects of Security Condition and Private Self Esteem on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>
1. Security Condition	0.30	0.02	0.02	0.49	0.05	0.05	1.25*	0.18	0.18*
Private Self Esteem	-0.11			0.12			0.16		
2. Security Condition x Private Self Esteem	-0.47	0.04	0.02	-0.05	0.05	0.00	-0.34	0.19	0.01

\* =  $p < .05$ , N=50

## Importance to Identity

*Apply, Interest, Offer*

Hypotheses 8.1.4.a, 8.1.4.b, and 8.1.4.c were not supported (see Table 31).

Table 31

Effects of Security Condition and Importance to Identity on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>
1. Security Condition	0.30	0.01	0.01	0.52	0.05	0.05	1.30*	0.19	.19*
Importance to Identity	0.05			0.09			0.17		
2. Security Condition x Importance to Identity	-0.32	0.03	0.02	-0.11	0.05	0.00	-0.09	0.19	0.00

\* =  $p < .05$ , N=50

## Flight Attendant

### Membership Self Esteem

*Apply, Interest, Offer*

Hypotheses 8.2.1.a, 8.2.1.b, and 8.2.1.c were not supported (see Table 32).

Table 32

Effects of Security Condition and Membership Self Esteem on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>
1. Security Condition	0.14	0.01	0.01	0.06	0.01	0.01	0.66*	0.07	0.07
Membership Self Esteem	-0.13			0.10			-0.05		
2. Security Condition x Membership Self Esteem	0.59	0.04	0.03	-0.45	0.03	0.03	-0.19	0.07	0.00

\* =  $p < .05$ , N=50

## Public Self Esteem

### *Apply, Interest, Offer*

Hypotheses 8.2.2.a, 8.2.2.b, and 8.2.2.c were not supported (see Table 33).

Table 33

Effects of Security Condition and Public Self Esteem on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>
1. Security Condition	0.09	0.00	.00	-0.10	0.13	0.13*	0.44	0.14	0.14*
Public Self Esteem	-0.06			0.29*			0.26*		
2. Security Condition x Public Self Esteem	0.21	0.02	.01	0.20	0.14	0.02	0.07	0.14	0.00

\* =  $p < .05$ ,  $N=50$

## Private Self Esteem

### *Apply, Interest, Offer*

Hypotheses 8.2.3.a, 8.2.3.b, and 8.2.3.c were not supported (see Table 34).

Table 34

Effects of Security Condition and Private Self Esteem on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>
1. Security Condition	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.52	0.09	0.09
Private Self Esteem	-0.07			-0.09			-0.25		
2. Security Condition x Private Self Esteem	0.31	0.02	0.01	-0.12	0.01	0.00	-0.08	0.09	0.00

\* =  $p < .05$ ,  $N=50$

## Importance to Identity

### *Apply*

Hypothesis 8.2.4.a was supported. The main effects for security condition ( $\beta = .13$ , *ns*, *one-tailed*) and importance to identity ( $\beta = -.07$ , *ns*, *one-tailed*) were not significant (see table 38). A significant interaction between public contact and importance to identity was also found ( $\beta = 1.51$ ,  $p < .01$ , *one-tailed*;  $\Delta R^2 = .18$ ,  $p = .00$ , *one-tailed*) (see Table 33). The statistically significant interaction between security condition and importance to identity was plotted to better interpret the results. The Figure 4 plot shows that importance to identity neutralizes the effect of security condition so that Hijabis were more likely to apply for security-related occupations when they scored low on importance to identity than when they scored high on importance to identity, and were less likely to apply for security-related occupations than non-security-related occupations when they scored high on importance to identity.

### *Interest, Offer*

Hypotheses 8.2.4.b and 8.2.4.c were not supported (see Table 35).

Table 35

Effects of Security Condition and Importance to Identity on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	$R^2$ Total	$\Delta R^2$	<i>b</i>	$R^2$ Total	$\Delta R^2$	<i>b</i>	$R^2$ Total	$\Delta R^2$
1. Security Condition	0.13	0.01	0.01	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.65*	0.13	0.13*
Importance to Identity	-0.07			-0.27			-0.32*		
2. Security Condition x Importance to Identity	1.51*	0.19	0.18*	-0.03	0.05	0.00	0.37	0.14	0.01

\* =  $p < .05$ ,  $N=50$

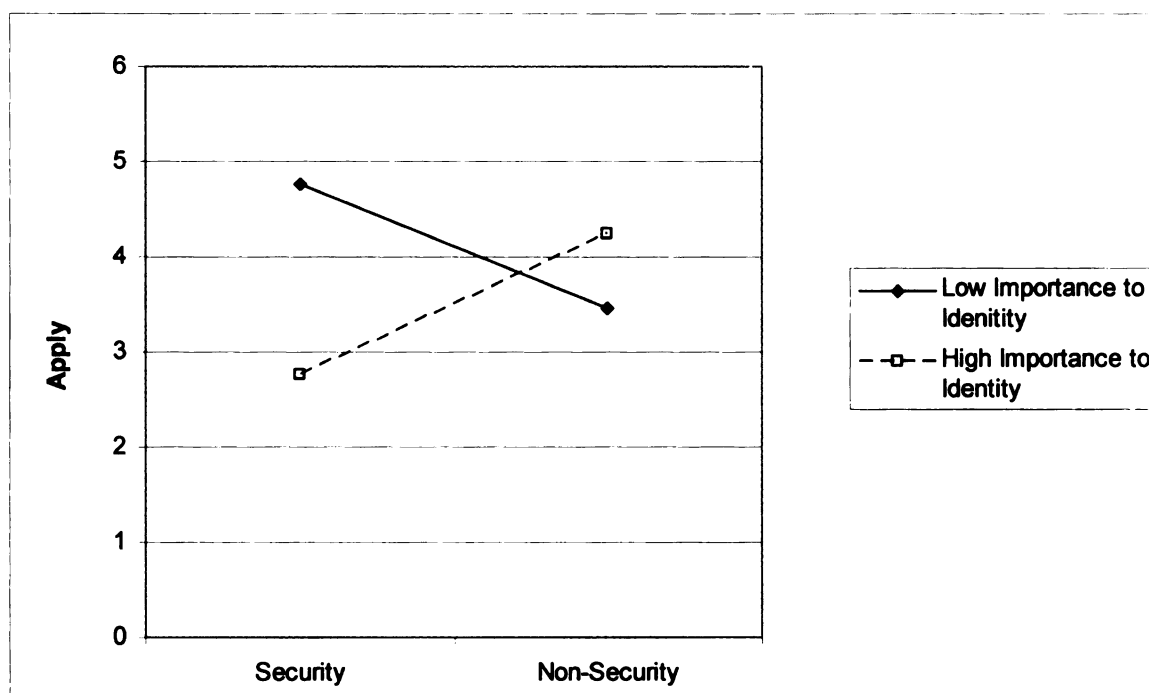


Figure 4. Interaction between security condition and importance to identity on intentions to apply for the job (apply) for Hijabis.

Overall, hypothesis 8 was not supported. Collective self esteem did not moderate the relationship between security condition and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis. However, when comparing the flight attendant occupation (security) to the sales representative occupation (non-security), importance to identity did moderate the relationship between security-related occupations and (a) intentions to apply so that Hijabis were more likely to apply for security-related occupations when they scored low on importance to identity than when they scored high on importance to identity, and were less likely to apply for security-related occupations than non-security-related occupations when they scored high on importance to identity.

### Hypothesis 9

Hypothesis 9 suggested that optimism moderates the relationship between public contact and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who score high on optimism will be more likely to apply for high public contact occupations than hijabis who score low on optimism.

One separate moderated regression analysis was conducted for each of the three dependant variables [intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis] (See Table 36). An interaction term for optimism and amount of public contact will be entered into a regression predicting differences in the DV. Due to the directional nature of the hypothesis, one-tailed tests were conducted.

#### *Apply, Interest, Offer*

Hypotheses 9a, 9b, and 9c were not supported (see Table 36).

Table 36

#### *Effects of Public Contact and Optimism on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.*

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>
1. Public									
Contact	-0.34	0.02	0.02	-0.72*	0.11	0.11*	-0.62*	0.07	0.07*
Optimism	0.02			0.07*			0.03		
2. Public									
Contact x									
Optimism	-0.01	0.02	0.00	-0.03	0.11	0.00	-0.07	0.01	0.01

\* =  $p < .05$ , N=111

Overall, hypothesis 9 was not supported. Optimism did not moderate the relationship between public contact and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis.

#### Hypothesis 10

Hypothesis 10 suggested that optimism moderates the relationship between security-related occupations and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who score high on optimism will be more likely to apply for security-related occupations than non-security related occupations.

One separate moderated regression analysis was conducted for each of the three dependant variables [intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis]. An interaction term for optimism and security-related condition will be entered into a regression predicting differences in the DV. The results are divided below in to the two different security/ non-security condition analyses that were conducted: (1) security guard/ laundry dry clean worker and (2) flight attendant/ sales representative. Due to the directional nature of the hypothesis, one-tailed tests were conducted.

## Security Guard

### *Apply, Interest, Offer*

Hypotheses 10.1.a, 10.1.b, and 10.1.c were not supported (see Table 37).

Table 37

*Effects of Security Condition and Optimism on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.*

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>
1. Security Condition	0.30	0.03	0.03	0.70*	0.13	.13*	1.37*	0.24	.24*
Optimism	0.05			0.09*			0.06		
2. Security Condition x Optimism	0.09	0.04	0.01	0.04	0.13	0.00	0.07	0.24	0.01

\* =  $p < .05$ , N=59

## Flight Attendant

### *Apply, Interest, Offer*

Hypotheses 10.2.a, 10.2.b, and 10.2.c were not supported (see Table 38).

Table 38

*Effects of Security Condition and Optimism on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.*

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>
1. Security Condition	0.13	0.03	0.00	0.13	0.04	0.04	0.53	0.05	0.05
Optimism	0.02			0.07			0.02		
2. Security Condition x Optimism	0.09	0.01	0.01	0.05	0.04	0.00	0.17	0.08	0.03

\* =  $p < .05$ , N=54

Overall, hypothesis 10 was not supported. Optimism did not moderate the relationship between security condition and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis.

#### Hypothesis 11

Hypothesis 11 suggested that locus of control moderates the relationship between public contact and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who have internal locus of control will be more likely to apply for high public contact occupations than Hijabis who have external locus of control.

One separate moderated regression analysis was conducted for each of the three dependant variables [intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis]. An interaction term for locus of control and amount of public contact will be entered into a regression predicting differences in the DV. Due to the directional nature of the hypothesis, one-tailed tests were conducted.

#### *Apply, Interest*

Hypotheses 11a, and 11b were not supported (see Table 39).

#### *Offer*

Hypothesis 11c was supported. The main effect for public contact ( $\beta = -.55, p < .05$ , *one-tailed*) was significant but the main effect was not significant for locus of control ( $\beta = -.02, ns$ , *one-tailed*) (see Table 39). The interaction between public contact and locus of control was found to be significant ( $\beta = .12, p < .05$ , *one-tailed*;  $\Delta R^2 = .04, p = .07$ , *one-tailed*). To make sure that the demographic variables were not affecting the results, this regression was run again controlling for age, race, educational level of parent, gross

household income, and employment experience were controlled for in the analyses. The interaction between public contact and locus of control was found not to be significant ( $\beta = .11$ , *ns*, one-tailed;  $\Delta R^2 = .03$ ,  $p = .17$ , one-tailed) and thus the prior analysis was ignored.

Table 39

*Effects of Public Contact and Locus of Control on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.*

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	$R^2$ Total	$\Delta R^2$	<i>b</i>	$R^2$ Total	$\Delta R^2$	<i>b</i>	$R^2$ Total	$\Delta R^2$
1. Public Contact	-0.39	0.02	0.02	-0.62*	0.07	.07*	-0.55*	0.05	0.05
Locus of Control	-0.01			0.00			-0.02		
2. Public Contact x Locus of Control	-0.04	0.02	0.00	-0.01	0.07	0.00	.12*	0.09	.04*

\* =  $p < .05$ ,  $N=83$

Overall, hypothesis 11 was not supported. Locus of control did not moderate the relationship between public contact and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews and (c) getting job offers.

**Hypothesis 12**

Hypothesis 12 suggested that locus of control moderates the relationship between security-related occupations and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who have internal locus of control will be more likely to apply for security-related occupations than Hijabis who have an external locus of control.

One separate moderated regression analysis was conducted for each of the three dependant variables [intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis]. An interaction term for locus of control and security condition will be entered into a regression predicting differences in the DV. The results are divided below in to the two different security/ non-security condition analyses that were conducted: (1) security guard/ laundry dry clean worker and (2) flight attendant/ sales representative. Due to the directional nature of the hypothesis, one-tailed tests were conducted.

### Security Guard

#### *Apply, Interest, Offer*

Hypotheses 12.1.a, 12.1.b, and 12.1.c were not supported (see Table 40).

Table 40

*Effects of Security Condition and Locus of Control on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.*

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>
1. Security Condition	0.33	0.01	0.01	0.34	0.03	0.03	1.25*	0.18	0.18*
Security Condition	0.00			-0.04			-0.04		
2. Security Condition x Locus of Control	-0.17	0.06	0.05	0.06	0.04	0.01	-0.18	0.22	0.05

\* =  $p < .05$ , N=47

### Flight Attendant

#### *Apply, Interest, Offer*

Hypotheses 12.2.a, 12.2.b, and 12.2.c were not supported (see Table 41).

Table 41

*Effects of Security Condition and Locus of Control on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.*

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>
1. Security Condition	-0.04	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.33	0.05	0.05
Security Condition	0.04			-0.04			-0.04		
2. Security Condition x Locus of Control	-0.05	0.03	0.01	0.04	0.04	0.01	-0.05	0.06	0.01

\* =  $p < .05$ , N=47

Overall, hypothesis 12 was not supported. Locus of control did not moderate the relationship between security condition and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis.

### Qualitative Findings

Open-ended questions were used to gain a better understanding of the Hijabi perspective on the hijab, work, and discrimination. These open-ended questions were generated based on interest and not any particular theory, but it was believed that they would corroborate with the quantitative data and enlighten the findings qualitatively. Quotes which were the most articulate and represented most of the Hijabis' concerns are presented in Appendix I. A few select quotes are also represented below by question.

*What does the hijab mean to you as a Muslim, and as an American?*

One hundred ninety six Hijabis chose to respond to this optional open-ended question. Most of the responses reflected that as a Muslim, the hijab was an act of following God's will, showing commitment to their religion, and to show modesty and piousness. As an American, hijab was used to represent one's identity as a Muslim

woman, show individuality, serve as a form of freedom of expression, and a feministic statement against the portrayal of women as sexual objects. Below are some quotes that reflect the overall opinion of the majority of the participants:

“As a Muslim American; the hijab represents to me dignity and modesty.”

“As a Muslim, hijab is an indication of my commitment to Islam. Also, it's a constant reminder of what that commitment mean insofar as how I choose to spend my life. As an American, I want to be identified as a member of this group.”

“It's a symbol of my religion, gives me a sense of identity, and allows me to observe modesty. Also it's a great conversation opener with people who may not know much about Islam.”

*Why do you choose to wear the hijab even after 9/11, when it might pose a danger to do so or it might arouse suspicion from others?*

Two hundred and three Hijabis chose to respond to this optional open-ended question. Most Hijabis responded that their reason for continuing to wear the hijab post-9/11 was that regardless of the politics or current events going about, the hijab was still and will continue to be a religious obligation and an essential part of their identity. They expressed that this dress code needs to be observed despite all obstacles and barriers. Most of these Hijabis also voiced an opinion of how wearing the hijab and keeping it on became even more pertinent for them after 9/11; the primary reason being to dispel stereotypes about Muslims by being model citizens and to teach people that Islam is a peaceful religion. Some of the comments that were quite vocal are listed below:

“After 9/11 many people had questions about Islam. By wearing the hijab, I gave them someone to approach to ask those questions. I consider myself highly educated, and am therefore willing to answer those questions in a calm manner and hopefully enlightened.”

“Because it is a command from Allah (God).”

**“It is a part of who I am - my identity and is representative of my Islamic values and beliefs - modesty being one of the many.”**

**“It serves a political and educative purpose and helps to eliminate stereotypes of Muslim women.”**

*In what ways has your Islamic beliefs influenced your work life in America, such as in seeking employment and in demanding accommodations on the basis of your religion?*

One hundred eighty one Hijabis chose to respond to this optional self report question. There were mixed responses for this question, with some Hijabis stressing that their Islamic beliefs makes it harder for them to apply for work and to ask for accommodations. Due to restrictions within the religion (not accepting interest, eating pork, not drinking alcohol, working co-ed), they are limited to certain jobs. Other Hijabis disagreed and stated that the hijab has opened doors for them, feeling that it gives them an advantage in looking more memorable during job interviews and in general, feeling that people are eager to learn about their religion and accommodating to their religious practices. Some of the comments are presented below:

**“Before I apply for a job, I have to think about how easy it will be for me to pray on location and abide by Islamic dress code.”**

**“....often times when I go for interviews I'm fearful that I won't be chosen because I wear a headscarf and am Muslim. Not because they think I'm a terrorist but because it may look "unprofessional". ”**

**“I try to apply to places that are more open minded and educated like universities and cultural places and to jobs where praying etc. wouldn't be a big deal.”**

**“Often times, people mistake us for other non-English speaking people because we are dressed differently. The more covered you are, the more backwards or illiterate you seem, but that is not the case in the majority.”**

*Are you concerned about applying for work because you wear the hijab?*

One hundred ninety nine Hijabis chose to respond to this optional self report question. There were a wide range of responses to this question. Some Hijabis stated that they are not concerned about applying for work because of their religious attire, main reasons being that they are confident in their skills and abilities, strong belief that God will help them and they will get the job if fate has it in line for them, and that they would not work for employers who judge them by their hijab anyway. Other Hijabis stated that it was a big concern, they feel that often they are or will be rejected from jobs due to their hijab or will trigger other stereotypes that do not represent them. Despite this, the overwhelming majority of responses stressed that this fear does not hinder them from applying. The following are select responses for this particular question:

“I have had interviews in which it was obvious they were taken aback by the hijab and it probably affected the overall outcome of the interview. But how one carries oneself and speaks and one's qualifications go along way most of the time.”

“No, because if the people who hire you base your ability, knowledge, and dependability on your appearance (head scarf), then you should not work for them because they are not worthy of your time and energy. ”

“Yes. When I interview for a job, I can tell that some HR representatives are surprised to see a hijabi walk in. They don't say, but you can tell that they're thinking, ‘I'm not going to hire her no matter how well the interview goes’.”

Yes, because of constant discrimination. People think I don't speak English, that I'm stupid and archaic.”

*Would you consider taking your hijab off to apply for work or if you were specifically asked to or were required to in order to get work?*

Two hundred and two Hijabis chose to respond to this optional self report question. The overwhelming majority of them stated that they would not take off the hijab for

work, if asked. Some stated that only under absolute dire circumstances, such as starvation or homelessness, would they consider such an option. Many others reported that they would consult legal forces if such a situation ever arose to protect their civil rights. The following are some of the responses to this question:

"I will not compromise my beliefs especially for a job offer or asked, in order to get to work as I would take this matter to a higher level due to discrimination and harassment."

"I would modify it, but never take it off. Due to employment laws, employers must accommodate religious practices."

"Never, unless I was out on the streets and my children or family were starving, but most likely not."

"No. Hijab is a part of me. That's like asking me to take my arm off to work for you. You must accept it as a part of me."

*Are you aware of any incidences (personal or not) in which Hijabis were refused work on the basis of their attire?*

One hundred and ninety four Hijabis chose to respond to this optional self report question. Mostly, there were mixed responses. Many Hijabis reported never facing any discrimination or knowing anyone who had, while others stated they have experienced discrimination due to their religious attire and know of people who have as well. Some Hijabis stated that the discrimination was subtle so it was hard to actually classify it as discrimination, even though they felt it did occur. The following are select responses for this question:

"I had a personal experience where they didn't want to hire me because I wear hijab or they asked me to take it off because I would be dealing with the public. So of course I refused the job."

"I know a lot of Muslims who think the world is out to get them and that they can't get a job because of their hijab and beard. But no one I know has any

personal examples, proof, or has ever had any comments made to them about their attire.”

“I was actually fired when I decided to start to wear the hijab. I was given a choice to not wear the hijab or quit, of course I wore the hijab. I have also heard about 3 stories from friends of similar mistreatment.”

“Yes, some people feel they may have been discriminated against because of it, but many hijabis have also had positive experiences. It is on a person-by-person basis.”

## DISCUSSION

This study addresses whether Muslim women who wear the hijab employ disidentification/ disengagement tactics during job selection procedures for certain job types (occupations that involve high public contact and those which deal with security). More specifically, disengagement and disidentification were collectively measured by Hijabis' likelihood to apply for and to expect to receive work. It was expected that Hijabis would employ disengagement/ disidentification tactics more for occupations that require high public contact than occupations that required low public contact than non-Hijabis. It was also expected that Hijabis will also not apply for or expect to get work for occupations that concern the security of others.

Job status was another job type factor that was tested to see if it would influence Hijabi's likelihood to disengage and disidentify from certain work domains. It was expected that Hijabis would not be hindered from applying for high public contact occupations that have high job status than when the occupation had low job status.

Other moderators that were tested were stereotype internalization, group identification, optimism, and locus of control. Hijabis who internalized the negative stereotypes of their Muslim identity, had high group identification as Muslims, scored low on optimism, or had an external locus of control were expected to be less likely to apply for and to expect to receive interviews or job offers for occupations that were either of high public contact or were security related than Hijabis who did not internalize the negative stereotypes of their Muslim identity, had low group identification, scored high on optimism, or had an internal locus of control.

## Findings

### *Demographic Differences*

Although Hijabi and non-Hijabis were expected to be similar in demographics with the exception of their religious devotion, this was not the case. The Hijabi participants were found to be significantly different from non-Hijabis in age, employment experience, marital status, child status, religious devotion, parental education, and household income. Hijabis in general tended to be older in age, maybe a result of having more Hijabis in the sample than non-Hijabis. Possibly due to being older, Hijabis also tended to be more likely to be married, and to have children. Not surprising at all was that Hijabis rated themselves as being more religiously devoted than non-Hijabis. This was expected since the hijab represents a core aspect of the Islamic religion, and Hijabis choose to observe this practice while many other Muslim females do not.

Non-Hijabis tended to have parents with higher education than non-Hijabis, which might have also resulted in non-Hijabis reporting coming from higher household income than non-Hijabis, as higher education entail higher paying jobs. The US Census Bureau has shown that people with a higher level of education make more money on average than those with less education (2004). Perhaps being more educated resulted in being less religious, as more non-Hijabis stemmed from more educated households than Hijabis.

Because these differences might just be representative of the sample used in this study, it is hard to make generalizations to the Muslim female population at large. Future research should include samples from a more varied age group. Because some of these factors might affect the results, all of these demographic factors were controlled for.

### *Job Status Ratings*

For some of the occupations, the pilot study ratings of job status were significantly different than the ratings given by the Muslim females. This might suggest that Muslims and non-Muslims view occupations differently, and on average, Muslim females viewed certain jobs as having even more lower status than did non-Muslims. This might be the case because the Muslim female sample in this study have a higher college education completion rate (60.9%) than the average American population (26%) (U.S Census Bureau, 2004). Since higher education qualifies one for more higher paying jobs that require higher credentials (NCCP, 2006), being educated might have lead the Muslim female sample to consider jobs of higher status as more suitable for themselves and perhaps leading them to rate jobs of lower status as even lower than the average American might perceive them. Also, the US Census Bureau has shown that people with a higher level of education make more money on average than those with less education (2004). Coming from a high income family (70,000-80,000), these Muslim females might look more favorably towards occupations that require higher education (e.g. physician) and even less favorably for occupation that do not require education (e.g. laundry worker). However, since the income status of the pilot study group was not asked, this is just an assumption.

It is important to note that unlike the pilot study group who were just provided with the title of the occupations and then asked for ratings, the Muslim sample group was also given job ads with descriptive tasks of the occupations. Knowing more about the occupations and the job characteristics associated with them might have influenced their ratings.

### *Public Contact*

Hypothesis 1 predicts that Hijabis employ disengagement/ disidentification tactics more for occupations that require high public contact than occupations that require low public contact. It was found that Hijabis were significantly less likely to expect to receive interviews and job offers than non-Hijabis for occupations that required high public contact than occupations that had low public contact. However, Hijabis did not have significantly lower intentions than non-Hijabis to apply for high public contact occupation than low public contact occupations.

This finding suggests that Hijabis and Non-Hijabis, despite being similar on most characteristics, have different expectations about the possibility of getting hired. Particularly, Hijabis feel that they are less likely to receive interviews or work than non-Hijabis. Because the control group in this experiment also included Muslim women, most of the confounding factors between the two groups were controlled for (e.g. English speaking ability, nationality, etc.). Since Hijabis and non-Hijabis were alike on most characteristics, as shown by our demographic information, one can conclude from this data that religious attire does have a part in Muslim women's likelihood in employing disengagement/ disidentification tactics. Muslim women who wear the hijab are less likely to expect to receive job interviews and job offers than Muslim women who do not.

Unlike non-Hijabis, who might be able to conceal the religious identity, Hijabis cannot hide their religious affiliation as the Hijab is a dead giveaway of their Muslim identity. Research shows that stigmatized individuals are aware that the visibility of their stigma leads others to use their stigma as a basis of judging and discrediting them (Crocker et al., 1998, Goffman, 1963). As stigmatized individuals, Hijabis might be well

aware that their Muslim identity will be used to negatively evaluate them as potential job applicants. Being aware of this, Hijabis might feel that their likelihood of getting a job offer or even being called back for an interview is quite low, as shown from the findings.

Another interesting finding within this hypothesis was that as the amount of public contact increases, so does the difference between Hijabi and non-Hijabi's expectations to receive work. Particularly, Hijabis become even less likely to expect job interviews and offers for high public contact occupations than occupations that require low public contact. This is expected to be the case for Hijabis because high public contact occupations involve an increase in the amount of interactions Hijabis will have with other people from other groups. 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 received 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 inter-group interaction less likely to occur (Fiske & Ruscher, 1993, Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Similarly, in the context of this experiment, high public contact occupations require Hijabis to have a wide number of interactions, some of which might be particularly uncomfortable due to people's stereotypical beliefs about Muslims. To reduce this possibility, Hijabis might believe that employers will be less likely to hire them for such occupations.

### *Job Status*

Hypothesis 3 predicts that job status would moderate the relationship between the amount of public contact required for an occupation and Hijabis' likelihood to disengage/disidentify. Job status was in fact found to moderate the relationships between expecting to receive interviews and job offers and public contact such that Hijabis had a higher likelihood to expect interviews and job offer for high public contact occupations when the occupation had high job status than when it had low job status.

Since this hypothesis was conducted for exploratory purposes, more data needs to be collected before speculating the underlying mechanisms behind this finding. However, there might be a variety of reasons why Hijabis were more likely to expect to receive interviews and job offers for high public contact occupations when the occupation had high job status than when it had low job status. It might be an influence of the culture of the Muslim community tested in this study. 63.3% of the Muslim female sample reported having fathers who had a college degree or higher, and 46.5% of them had mothers who had a college education or higher. Furthermore, 90.5% of the Muslim sample reported that they intend to pursue a Master's degree or higher. Since higher education qualifies one for higher paying jobs that require higher credentials (NCCP, 2006), being educated might lead the Muslim female sample to consider jobs of higher status as more achievable. Thus, Hijabis may in fact not disidentify/disengage with high status occupations even when they require high public contact, despite perceived discrimination in them. However, this explanation needs to be further investigated using direct methods to get at the root of this finding.

### *Negative Stereotype Internalization*

Hypothesis 4 predicts that negative stereotype internalization moderates the relationship between the amount of public contact and employing disengagement/disidentification tactics such that Hijabis who do not internalize the negative stereotypes of their Muslim identity will be more likely to apply for high public contact occupations than Hijabis who internalize the stereotypes of their negative identity.

This hypothesis was partially supported. When Hijabis internalized negative stereotypes of themselves as being violent and backward, meaning that they themselves rated themselves as actually identifying with such stereotypes, they were less likely to apply for high public contact occupations and to expect to receive job interviews and job offers than when they did not internalize such stereotypes. This is because when a person comes to buy into the stereotypes of his/ her group, that person can come to believe that since the stereotype is true, discrimination based on this stereotype is deserved, a phenomenon known as justifiable differential treatment (Major et al., 2003). In the case of this study, Hijabis who believe that they are violent, just as the many Muslim stereotypes labeling them as “terrorist,” they also come to believe that they will have a less likelihood of receiving interviews or job offers for such jobs because they confirm the stereotype of Muslims as violent. Thus, they are less likely to apply for high public contact jobs.

On the other hand, Hijabis who did not internalize this stereotype, can disassociate themselves from these stereotype by seeing these negative stereotypes as being reflected of something else, either of other Muslims or ignorance, but not of themselves. So, even though Hijabis might be aware of public perceptions of Muslims, they reject them for

with either their group, themselves, or both. When the person does not internalize the stereotype, they also become less vulnerable to perceived prejudice against their ingroup (Major et al., 2003). This, in turn, would make Hijabis less likely to disengage/disidentify since these Hijabis do not think that they confirm these stereotypes. Thus, they are more likely to expect to receive interviews and job offers for high public contact jobs than Hijabis who internalize the stereotypes, and thus, more likely to apply for such occupations.

However, another alternative explanation for this finding could be that stereotype internalization, especially that of violent attributes, could also reflect a poor opinion of oneself, or low global self esteem (feelings of personal self-worth) (Crocker & Major, 1989). Chassin and Stager (1984) found that the acceptance of negative stereotypes was related to low self-esteem among stigmatized individual. Similarly, in this experiment, Hijabis who internalize the negative stereotypes of Muslims might also have low self esteem, causing them to have low self ratings of themselves. Thus, they are less likely to expect to receive interviews and job offers, making them less likely to apply.

It is important to note that some may argue that the stereotypes of Muslim men and women are different, but there is no research known to date that has quantitatively attempted to separate the stereotypes by gender and Muslim women are also categorized by the same stereotypes that Muslims in general have, such as evil, barbaric, backwards, terrorists, religious fanatics, and uncivilized (Asani, 2003; Shaheen, 2003).

#### *Group Identification: Collective Self Esteem*

Hypothesis 6 predicts that Hijabis will have a stronger degree of group identification with their social group (Muslims) than non-Hijabis and was supported. Hijabis were

found to be significantly different than non-Hijabis on all the subscales of group identification, but public self esteem. This was expected as the Hijabis choose to wear the hijab, an essential part of their religion, while many other Muslim women do not. Thus, donning the hijab is symbolic of how much the Muslim identity is a core aspect of Hijabis' lives.

*Group Identification: Membership Self Esteem*

Hypothesis 7 predicts that the degree of identification with one's social group (Muslim) moderates the relationship between employing disengagement/ disidentification tactics and the amount of public contact required in an occupation such that Hijabis who identify more strongly as Muslims will be less likely to apply for high public contact occupations than Hijabis who do not identify as strongly as Muslims. This was partially supported; membership self esteem was the sole subscale from the collective self esteem measure, which was used to assess group identification, that was shown to moderate the relationship between public contact and expectations to receive interviews and job offers.

Membership self esteem evaluates how worthy one is as a member of one's social group. When Hijabis had high membership self esteem, or believed that they were worthy of being a member of their social group, they were less likely to expect to receive interviews and job offers for high public contact jobs than low public contact jobs. This is because research has shown that when group identification is high, the lines become blurred between group identity and personal identity (Major et al., 2003). So when a person's group is discriminated against, the person will also perceive this threat to him/herself (Major et al., 2003; McCoy & Major, 2003). As a result, Hijabis who have high membership self esteem might feel more threatened by rejection of their group from

the public arena than Hijabis who have low membership self esteem, and thus are less likely to expect to receive interviews and job offers for high public contact jobs.

Another explanation that can be tied in with this finding is that high membership self esteem could also reflect low global self esteem. Correlational studies have shown that the more that stigmatized individuals perceive themselves or their groups as targets of discrimination, the lower their global self esteem will be (Brascombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Schmitt & Brascombe, 2002; Schmitt, Brascombe, & Kobrynowicz, 2002). Hijabis having high membership self esteem are more likely to perceive the discrimination against their group (Muslims) as also as discrimination against themselves. Thus, they might be more likely to also exhibit lower self esteem and rate them self as more unfavorable, such as in their low expectations to receive job offers and interviews.

*Differences between the Intent to Apply, and Expecting Job Interviews and Job Offers*

The results of this study show that there were differences for Hijabis in their likelihood of employing the three disengagement/ disidentification variables: (1) intent to apply, and expectations of receiving (2) job interviews and (3) job offers. Although the Hijabis were less likely to expect to receive interviews and job offers for high public contact occupations and this relationship was moderated by job status and membership self esteem, they were not any less likely to apply for high public contact occupations except for when the relationship was moderated by negative stereotype internalization.

One explanation for this might be that applying is more within the person's range of things which they can control while receiving interviews and job offers is not. Thus Hijabis are willing to apply for these jobs, even if they don't think they will actually get them. Another explanation is that the cost of applying is minimal (turning in a resume)

compared to the benefit of actually getting the job (money, security). Even if one doesn't expect to receive the job, they have not lost anything but actually increased their chance of gaining work. One can even think of it like buying a lottery ticket, although an extreme example, the underlying mechanisms for buying lotto tickets are the same. Most people know that their chances of winning the lottery are actually quite low, but they still buy them, just for the small possibility that they might actually win.

In actuality, the implications of this finding is good since it shows that Hijabis still will apply for jobs, regardless of their belief that these jobs are out of their reach. This shows that they do not fully disengage/ disidentify to the extent that this study had proposed, but only partially.

### Limitations

#### *Public Contact and Job Status Design*

One of the major problems with this study turned out to be the design. As explained in the results section, the manipulation check showed that the participants in the actual experiment had different perceptions of the job status and amount of public contact required for most of the occupations than the participants in the pilot study. Because of this problem, a new design had to be created excluding all the occupations that fit in the neutral job status and neutral public contact conditions, resulting in a simple 2 x 2 design (hi/ lo public contact x hi/lo job status). Since this new 2 x 2 only had one occupation (4 jobs total) under each category, it is difficult to factor out the uniqueness of that job from the results. The hypotheses might or might not have been supported because of something particular about the job itself and not necessarily reflecting the job status or the amount of public contact required for that job. It would have been best if multiple jobs were used for

each category, so the results would have been more generalizable to the conditions and not the job.

### *Security Design*

All of the results for the hypotheses (2, 5, 8, 10, & 12) concerning the security condition might not have been supported because of the problems with the design and the choice of the security occupations, security guard and flight attendant. Although participants were asked to report the amount of public contact required or the job status associated with each of the occupations used in the experiment, the participants were not asked their opinion on how much they felt these occupations actually concerned security or the protection of others. Instead, this information was assumed from O\*NET (2006), which described these two security occupations as having elements of security involved. However, asking this information from the participants would have been useful to see if the participants actually perceived these occupations as having security content involved. It is very plausible to believe that the perceived degree of security involved for the two occupations in the security condition differs; for example, the security guard occupation's primary concern might be with dealing with safety but the flight attendant occupation might be more concerned with offering other services, with safety as being a secondary or in-demand concern.

Also, to factor out the influence of public contact and job status, the two security occupations were compared with occupations that were equivalent in these factors (public contact and job status). Thus the security guard position was compared to a laundry/ dry-clean worker position and the flight attendant position was compared to a sales representative position. These comparisons however might have compounded the

problem. For example, perhaps Hijabis are just not likely to apply for either of the two occupations, flight attendant and sales representative, because they both require high public contact. Comparing security guard to laundry/ dry clean worker might have also been a problem since security guard was generally seen as a male dominated occupation. But since the laundry/ dry clean worker was a low status job, Hijabis were not necessarily less likely to apply for the security guard position or expect to receive interviews and job offers over the job of a laundry/ dry clean worker. Using security occupations that had both neutral public contact and job status would have also helped factoring out some of the noise that was affecting the results.

#### *The Operationalization of Disengagement/ Disidentification*

Another important limitation to address in this study is the operationalization of disengagement and disidentification, which were collectively measured by three separate DVs: (1) the willingness to apply for, and expectations to (2) receive interviews and (3) job offers for certain occupations. Although Hijabi's intent on applying, and expecting interviews and job offers were sufficient in measuring Hijabi's self reported behavior on removal of themselves from that work context, there was a failure to incorporate any measure of self esteem. Thus, there is no way of knowing if Hijabis do not use the work place to determine their self-esteem. In hindsight, this was a crucial piece of the disengagement/ disidentification hypothesis omitted from this research.

#### *Response Rates & Systematic Attrition*

To recruit participants for the study, initial contact people/ organizations were asked to forward the survey link to other potential participants, who were supposed to forward the email to other potential participants as well, creating a snowballing technique. But

because of the nature of this recruitment method, it is impossible to detect the actual response rate of the participants. There is no way to note how many individuals received information or an email about the experiment and how many forwarded this information about the experiment on to others. However, it is important to note that there might be a possibility of response rate bias within this study. If there is a response rate bias within this study, it should be noted that this threatens the external validity of my study and limits the generalizability of my findings.

Systematic attrition might have been another problem within this study (see Table 4). Although each of the conditions were randomly assigned and participants had an equal chance of being in any of the 11 conditions, the complete data suggests an unequal sample size matrix. This suggests a possibility that participants chose to complete the experiment for certain conditions over others. This systematic attrition is more likely between groups than across them. In particular, Hijabis were more selective in completing the experiments for certain occupations over others. This could be a result of two things: 1) there were simply more Hijabi participants making the selectivity bias more obvious in the study and 2) Hijabis might be more apt to share that certain occupations are especially challenging for them (sales representative, paralegal) and thus were more compelled to complete surveys for such occupations. Surprisingly, the job status of an occupation did not entail having a higher completion rate, as many low status jobs (sales representative, laundry worker) had a higher sample size than high status jobs (physician, technical writer). This excludes the possibility that job attractiveness might be causing the differences in completion rates.

Systematic attrition limits the generalizability of my findings and pose ad internal validity threats. Shadish, Cook, and Campbell (2002) state that if different kinds of people are left out of sample, then these differences can produce posttest outcome differences. It is possible that perhaps that certain subsets of Muslim females are not represented in my study, therefore weakening my findings and limiting my results to just my sample.

#### *Conservative Stereotype Internalization*

For Hypothesis 4, although negative stereotype internalization moderated the relationship between employing disengagement/ disidentification tactics and public contact, conservative stereotype internalization did not moderate the relationship between public contact and intentions to apply for and expectations of receiving interviews or getting job offers for Hijabis. This might have been because conservative stereotype internalization focused on stereotypes that reflected traditional attitudes. Unlike negative stereotype internalization, none of the items on the conservative stereotype scales had a negative connotation to them (e.g. traditional, modest, conservative, and religious). Since fulfilling conservative stereotypes is not necessarily as unfavorable as having negative stereotype internalization, Hijabis might not feel that they deserve to be discriminated against on the basis of these conservative stereotypes. Thus, they are not any more or less likely to employ disengagement/ disidentification tactics for high public contact jobs than when they do not internalize the conservative stereotype.

#### *Public Self Esteem*

For Hypothesis 6, Hijabis were found to be significantly different than non-Hijabis on all the subscales of group identification (collective self esteem), but public self

esteem. It is believed that Hijabis and non-Hijabis did not differ significantly on public self esteem because it measures how they evaluate how positively their social group is viewed by others. Since both the Hijabi and non-Hijabi participants used in this experiment live in America and are probably subject to the same media and societal portrayal of their social identity, they agree as to how their Muslim identity is judged by others.

### *Collective Self Esteem*

For Hypothesis 7, although membership self esteem moderated the relationship between employing disengagement/ disidentification tactics and public contact, the three other dimensions of collective self esteem (public self esteem, private self esteem, and importance to identity) did not. It appears the scales (private, public self esteem, and importance to identity) examining the group as the referent do not play a role in this relationship. For example, private collective self esteem measures one's evaluation of how good one's social group is, public collective self esteem measures how one evaluates how positively one's social group is viewed by others, and importance to identity measures how important one's social group membership is to one's self. All of these dimensions focus more on the value of the group, not the self. Membership self esteem puts the focus on the self, by measuring how worthy one self is as a member of one's social group. Perhaps it is this focus on the self that make membership self esteem more likely to moderate the relationship between employing disengagement/ disidentification tactics and public contact.

### *Optimism & Locus of Control*

For Hypotheses 11 and 12, neither locus of control nor optimism was found to moderate the relationship between applying and expecting to receive interviews and getting job offers and public contact. This might have been the case because even if they have an external locus of control or low optimism, Hijabis might have believed that divine intervention can control their outcomes. Infact, a main theme expressed in the open ended questions, was the belief that getting work is dependant on God's will. Also, Hijabis, on average rated themselves as high on religiosity.

Thus, perhaps religiosity is the driving force for many Hijabis that when it comes to applying for or expecting work, that they might succeed through God's help. Hijabis might be using their religion as a source of well-being; as religion has been shown to derive meaning in life, which in turn helps them feel better (Stager & Frazier, 2005). Previous research has also shown that religiosity is positively related to higher self esteem and psychological well being (Maltby, Lewis, & Day, 1999; Knox, Langehough, Walters, & Rowley, 1998; Levin, Chatter, & Taylor, 1995).

### Implications and Future Directions

The results of this study have important consequences for American Muslims. The Council of American-Islamic Relations (2004), America's largest Muslim civil liberties group, reports that there is no scientific count of Muslims in the U.S., but six to seven million is the most commonly cited figure. Islam has also become the fastest growing religion in the world. In light of these statistics and the great social implications that Islam has had after September 11, 2001, on the United States, it has become increasingly

important to develop an empirically based understanding of Muslims and the issues confronting them as citizens in the U.S. today.

This study aims to gain understanding of the perceptions that Muslim women who wear the hijab have in the employment context. Although, there is no statistical data to date that details the percentage of Hijabis working today, yet alone working in high status/ high public contact occupations, this study shows that Hijabis partially disidentify from certain work domains (those that require high public contact) by expecting to be less likely to receive interviews and job offers than non-Hijabis for certain occupations. This is important because it suggests that more research should be done on Hijabis to uncover why this is the case. This finding alone suggests that there are differences in expectation when applying for work within Muslim females, with religious attire being a major driving force behind the difference. This finding can explain systematic differences that might exist for Hijabis for certain types of work that concern public contact, and it is important to inform the findings and offer suggestions to members within Muslim communities.

Many actions need to be taken to empower Hijabis. Muslim communities should work together to stress the problems Muslim women face when applying for work in the public domain, and report any incidents focusing on the discrimination experienced by Muslim women wearing hijab. Hijabis need to be given more support, through the use of workshops focusing on gaining leadership skills and boosting self-confidence. Additionally, Hijabis should be educated about the whole job process, their rights, and how to take action if they feel they have experienced discrimination during the hiring process or at work.

Collective action within the Muslim community can help tremendously. Although high identification with one's social identity can be a threat to personal identity, high identification can also serve as a coping strategy to increase self esteem and counter threats to the self (Major et al., 2003). One's social identity can also promote psychological well being and raise self esteem (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999). Because of this, the Muslim community should collectively work together to address the problem of prejudice facing their social group and invest efforts in reducing discrimination. Thus, for some Hijabis, group identification can be a boon as it can provide emotional support and a sense of belonging.

Another approach to addressing this issue would be to inform HR officials of the findings of this study that Hijabis believe that employers are less likely to give them interviews or hire them than compared to non-Hijabis for certain occupations. As in case of the open-ended measures, many Hijabis voiced concerns that their hijab is a major issue when applying for work. Employers should be educated that wearing hijab has no effect on a woman's capability to execute her job, and that Hijabis should be hired on the basis of their credentials and experiences, not according to how they dress. This involves employing training workshops that serve to clear any misconceptions one might have about Hijabis or Muslims in general.

Future directions regarding theoretical advancement of the findings of this study should revolve around reexamining this study while addressing the limitations concerned in this present study; occupations used in the design, response rate bias, disengagement/disidentification measures, etc. Also, although this study does show that Hijabis are less likely to expect to receive interviews and job offers for high public contact occupations

than non-Hijabi Muslim females and that this relationship is moderated by job status, the underlying mechanisms for why this is so remains inconclusive whether this is a cause of discrimination, perceived discrimination, both, or neither. Future research should directly ask if it is in fact perceived discrimination (which is hypothesized to be the case but not measured) due to wearing the hijab that is leading the Hijabis to respond such a way.

In the most ideal scenario, a field study investigating Hijabis and their quest for employment in different work domains concerning public contact, security, and job status should be conducted to see if these self-report behaviors of Hijabis are actually backed by real-life data. A longitudinal study should also be employed. Osborne (1995) states that in order for the disidentification theory to hold, one of the elements that should occur is that the correlation between measures of the disidentified domain and self esteem should be moderate and significant in the beginning, but over time this relationship would weaken as the stigmatized group will remove their self esteem from that particular domain. In line with this, a longitudinal study measuring this relationship should be employed to see if Hijabi's also observe this.

Additionally, future research should extend the findings of this study to the employment context to see if nonstigmatized individuals limit the amount of exposure that Hijabis have in public domains to reduce the possibility of potential interactions with them. Other possible future directions involve investigating stigma from the employer's perspective. More research needs to be conducted addressing what triggers the employer to employ these unfair hiring tactics. Also, it is possible that prejudice might not always be the culprit in the employment setting. Other considerations, 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 accounted for.

Future research should also examine the generalizability of these findings to other religious groups, such as Jewish men who wear the yarmulke, Sikh men who wear the turban, and Christians who wear the crucifix. The general hypothesis is that these groups, like Muslims, will be stigmatized because of their physical display of their religious beliefs and as a result of the stigmatization, disengage and disidentify from the work domain. However, the extent of this stigmatization and the victim's use of disengagement/ disidentification tactics will depend on the extent to which these other religious groups are perceived as a threat and how these religious groups, as victims, perceive prejudice.

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## APPENDIX A

### MEASURES

#### Measure of disengagement/ disidentification

Assuming that you were interested in this job and had all the qualifications, would you *consider applying* for this job?

Assuming that you were interested in this job and had all the qualifications, would you actually *apply* for this job?

Assuming that you were interested in this job and had all the qualifications, do you think you would *receive a call back* for this job?

Assuming that you were interested in this job and had all the qualifications, do you think you would *receive a job interview*?

Assuming that you were interested in this job and had all the qualifications, do you think you would *receive a job offer*?

Assuming that you were interested in this job and had all the qualifications, do you think you would *be hired* for this job?

To what extent do you think your religious attire would be factor in getting the job?

Would you be willing to take off or modify your religious attire in order to get or to keep the job?

#### Measure of occupational ratings

##### **Job Status (prestige)**

1	2	3	4	5
Very Low	Somewhat Low	Average	Somewhat High	Very High

##### **Gender Composition**

1	2	3
More males than females	About the same number of males and females	More females than and males

##### **Contact with the public**

1	2	3	4	5
very little/none	a little	some	a lot	a great deal

#### Measure of Group Identification

Collective Self-Esteem Scale (Lutheran & Crocker, 1992) (4 Subscales)

##### **Membership self-esteem**

1. I am a worthy member of my social group (Muslims).
5. I feel I don't have much to offer to my social group (Muslims).
9. I am a cooperative participant in the activities of my social group (Muslims).
13. I often feel I'm a useless member of my social group (Muslim).

*Private collective self-esteem*

- 2. I often regret that I belong to my social group (Muslims).
- 6. In general, I'm glad to be a member of my social group (Muslims).
- 10. Overall, I often feel that my social group (Muslims) is not worthwhile.
- 14. I feel good about the social group (Muslim) I belong to.

*Public collective self-esteem*

- 3. Overall, my social group is considered good by others (Muslims).
- 7. Most people consider my social group (Muslims), on the average, to be more ineffective than other groups.
- 11. In general, others respect my social group (Muslims).
- 15. In general, others think that the social group (Muslim) I am a member of are unworthy.

*Importance to Identity*

- 4. Overall, my social group (Muslims) has very little to do with how I feel about myself.
- 8. The social group (Muslims) I belong to is an important reflection of who I am.
- 12. The social group (Muslim) I belong to unimportant to my sense of what kind of a person I am.
- 16. In general, belonging to my social group (Muslim) is an important part of my self image.

*Measure of Stereotype Internalization*

American (Reverse-coded)  
Terrorist  
Backward  
Traditional  
Educated (Reverse-coded)  
Modest  
Immigrant  
Conservative  
Peaceful (Reverse-coded)  
Uncultured  
Westernized (Reverse-coded)  
Religious  
Extremist  
Wild  
Nomadic  
Disorganized  
Violent  
Misogynist (People who mistreat or oppress women)  
Polygamous  
Menacing  
Uneducated  
Oppressive

Submissive  
Fanatic

Measure of Optimism

Revised Life Orientation Test (LOT-R)

In uncertain times, I usually expect the best.  
It's easy for me to relax.  
If something can go wrong for me, it will.  
I'm always optimistic about my future.  
I enjoy my friends a lot.  
It's important for me to keep busy.  
I hardly ever expect things to go my way.  
I don't get upset too easily.  
I rarely count on good things happening to me.  
Overall, I expect more good things to happen to me than bad.

Measure of Locus of control

Rotter's Locus of Control Scale (Rotter, 1966)

- 1a. Children get into trouble because their parents punish them too much.
- 1b. The trouble with most children nowadays is that their parents are too easy with them.
- 2a. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.
- 2b. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.
- 3a. One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.
- 3b. There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.
- 4a. In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world
- 4b. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries
- 5a. The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.
- 5b. Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.
- 6a. Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.
- 6b. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.
- 7a. No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you.
- 7b. People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.
- 8a. Heredity plays the major role in determining one's personality
- 8b. It is one's experiences in life which determine what they're like.
- 9a. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.
- 9b. Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.
- 10a. In the case of the well prepared student there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test.

- 10b. Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying in really useless.
- 11a. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
- 11b. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.
- 12a. The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.
- 12b. This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.
- 13a. When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.
- 13b. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to- be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.
- 14a. There are certain people who are just no good.
- 14b. There is some good in everybody.
- 15a. In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
- 15b. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.
- 16a. Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.
- 16b. Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
- 17a. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand, nor control.
- 17b. By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control world events.
- 18a. Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.
- 18b. There really is no such thing as "luck."
- 19a. One should always be willing to admit mistakes.
- 19b. It is usually best to cover up one's mistakes.
- 20a. It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.
- 20b. How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are.
- 21a. In the long run the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones.
- 21b. Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all three.
- 22a. With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.
- 22b. It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.
- 23a. Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.
- 23b. There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get.
- 24a. A good leader expects people to decide for themselves what they should do.
- 24b. A good leader makes it clear to everybody what their jobs are.
- 25a. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.
- 25b. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life.
- 26a. People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.
- 26b. There's not much use in trying too hard to please people, if they like you, they like you.
- 27a. There is too much emphasis on athletics in high school.

- 27b. Team sports are an excellent way to build character.  
28a. What happens to me is my own doing.  
28b. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.  
29a. Most of the time I can't understand why politicians behave the way they do.  
29b. In the long run the people are responsible for bad government on a national as well as on a local level.

[ Demographics ]

*Please respond to the following questions about yourself.*

What is your age? \_\_\_\_

What ethnicity do you consider yourself to be?

- a. Hispanic
- b. American Indian or Alaskan native
- c. East Asian
- d. South Asian
- e. Middle Eastern
- f. Black/African American
- g. White/Caucasian/Not of Hispanic origin
- h. Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
- i. Other (specify: \_\_\_\_\_)

How would you rate your English speaking ability?

- a. Poor
- b. Somewhat below average
- c. Average
- d. Good
- e. Excellent

How would you rate your English writing ability?

- a. Poor
- b. Somewhat below average
- c. Average
- d. Good
- e. Excellent

What is your current nationality status?

- a. Permanent Alien
- b. Temporary Alien
- c. Native U.S. Citizen
- d. Naturalized

How long have you lived in the United States?

- a. less than a year
- b. 1-2 years

- c. 3-5 years
- d. 5-10 years
- e. over 10 years

Are you currently enrolled in an academic program?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Indicate the highest level of education you have completed?

- a. Did not complete High School
- b. High school or equivalency
- c. Some college
- d. 2 year college degree (Associates)
- e. 4 year college degree (BA, BS)
- f. Master's degree
- g. Doctoral degree or other professional degree (e.g., Medical, law)

Are you currently enrolled in an academic program (e.g. college, graduate school)?

- a. Yes, full time
- b. Yes, part time
- c. No

What is the highest level of education you intend to complete?

- a. Less than high School
- b. High school/ GED
- c. Some college
- d. 2 year college degree (Associates)
- e. 4 year college degree (BA, BS)
- f. Master's degree
- g. Doctoral degree or other professional degree (e.g., Medical, law)

What is the highest level of education your mother has completed?

- a. Less than high School
- b. High school/ GED
- c. Some college
- d. 2 year college degree (Associates)
- e. 4 year college degree (BA, BS)
- f. Master's degree
- g. Doctoral degree or other professional degree (e.g., Medical, law)

What is the highest level of education your father has completed?

- a. Less than high School
- b. High school/ GED
- c. Some college
- d. 2 year college degree (Associates)
- e. 4 year college degree (BA, BS)
- f. Master's degree
- g. Doctoral degree

h. Professional degree (MD, JD)

What is your gross yearly income?

- a. Less than \$10,000
- b. \$10,000-19,999
- c. \$20,000-29,999
- d. \$30,000-39,999
- e. \$40,000-49,999
- f. \$50,000-69,999
- g. \$70,000-79,999
- h. \$80,000-89,999
- i. \$90,000-99,999
- j. \$100,000-150,000
- k. more than 150,000

What is your total gross household income, including all earners in your household?

- a. Less than \$10,000
- b. \$10,000-19,999
- c. \$20,000-29,999
- d. \$30,000-39,999
- e. \$40,000-49,999
- f. \$50,000-69,999
- g. \$70,000-79,999
- h. \$80,000-89,999
- i. \$90,000-99,999
- j. \$100,000-150,000
- k. more than 150,000

What is your current marital status?

- a. Single, never married
- b. Married
- c. Separated
- d. Divorced
- e. Widowed

Do you have any children?

- a. Yes
- b. No

If yes, how many children do you have? \_\_\_\_

What region of the United States do you live in?

- a. North East
- b. North West
- c. Midwest
- d. West
- e. South
- f. California
- g. Do not live in the US?

How much work experience (of any kind) do you have?

- a. None
- b. less than a year
- c. 1-2 years
- d. 3-5 years
- e. 5-10 years
- f. over 10 years

Are you currently employed?

- a. Yes, full time
- b. Yes, part time
- c. No

If yes, what is your occupation? \_\_\_\_\_

How devoted a Muslim do you consider yourself to be?

- a. very little/ not at all
- b. a little
- c. some
- d. a lot
- e. a great deal

*Open-ended Questions (Hijabis Only)*

1. What does the hijab mean to you as a Muslim, and as an American?
2. Why do you choose to wear the hijab even after 9/11, when it might pose a danger to do so or it might arouse suspicion from others?
3. In what ways has your Islamic beliefs influenced your work life in America, such as in seeking employment and in demanding accommodations on the basis of your religion?
4. Are you concerned about applying for work because you wear the hijab?
5. Would you consider taking your hijab off to apply for work or if you were specifically asked to or were required to in order to get work?
6. Are you aware of any incidences (personal or not) in which Hijabis were refused work on the basis of their attire?

## APPENDIX B

### Online Study Protocol

*Are you a Muslim Female?* (If yes, they will be asked an additional question. If no, participants will not be allowed to take the study; they will be thanked and excused from the survey)

*Do you wear a hijab?* (If yes, they will be asked to fill out the self-report questions, if they wish. Everything else will remain the same regardless whether participants answers yes or no to this question)

#### [ Informed Consent Form ]

*Please read and click on the "I agree" button if you agree to the informed consent below. (If participants agree, they will begin the survey in the order as follows. If they do not agree, they will be thanked and excused from the survey):*

*For this study, suppose that you are a hypothetical job applicant seeking employment. The following is a job ad for a position you come across while in the middle of your job search. Please review the job ad and answer the questions that follow.*

[A job ad will be shown here- see Appendix C for exact job ads]

#### [ Measure of disengagement/ disidentification ]

*Please answer the following questions regarding the job ad you have read. Please use the rating scale below to describe how accurately each of these questions below describe your reactions to the job ad. There are no right or wrong answers. Just answer honestly.*

#### *Please respond to items using the following scale*

1	2	3	4	5
Very	Somewhat	Neither	Somewhat	Very
Unlikely	Unlikely		Likely	Likely

1. Assuming that you were interested in this job and had all the qualifications, would you *consider applying* for this job?
2. Assuming that you were interested in this job and had all the qualifications, would you *apply* for this job?
3. Assuming that you were interested in this job and had all the qualifications, do you think you would *receive a call back* for this job?
4. Assuming that you were interested in this job and had all the qualifications, do you think you would *receive a job interview*?
5. Assuming that you were interested in this job and had all the qualifications, do you think you would *receive a job offer*?

6. Assuming that you were interested in this job and had all the qualifications, do you think you would *be hired* for this job?
7. To what extent do you think your attire/ religious attire would be factor in getting the job?
8. Would you be willing to take off or modify your attire/ religious attire in order to get or to keep the job?

[ Measure of occupational ratings ] ( this measure was used for pilot testing and will be used again for the eleven occupation conditions)

*Please pick out the statement that best gives your own personal opinion of the general standing that the occupation represented in the job ad above has on each of the following categories:*

**Job Status (prestige)**

1	2	3	4	5
Poor	Somewhat Below Average	Average	Good	Excellent

**Gender Composition**

1	2	3
More males than females	About the same number of males and females	More females than and males

**Contact with the public**

1	2	3	4	5
very little/none	a little	some	a lot	a great deal

[ Measure of Optimism ]

Revised Life Orientation Test (LOT-R)

*Below is a list of statements dealing with your general feelings about yourself. Please indicate the degree to which each of the items represents your feelings according to the following scale.*

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

1. In uncertain times, I usually expect the best.
2. It's easy for me to relax.
3. If something can go wrong for me, it will.
4. I'm always optimistic about my future.
5. I enjoy my friends a lot.

6. It's important for me to keep busy.
7. I hardly ever expect things to go my way.
8. I don't get upset too easily.
9. I rarely count on good things happening to me.
10. Overall, I expect more good things to happen to me than bad

[ Measure of Locus of control ]

Rotter's Locus of Control Scale (Rotter, 1966)

*This questionnaire assesses your opinions about certain issues. Each item consists of a pair of alternatives marked with a or b. Select the alternative with which you most agree. If you believe both alternatives to some extent, select the one with which you most strongly agree. If you do not believe either alternative, mark the one with which you least strongly disagree. Since this is an assessment of opinions, there are obviously no right or wrong answers.*

- 1a. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.
- b. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.
- 2a. One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.
- b. There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.
- 3a. In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world
- b. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries
- 4a. The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.
- b. Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.
- 5a. Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.
- b. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.
- 6a. No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you.
- b. People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.
- 7a. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.
- b. Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.
- 8a. In the case of the well prepared student there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test.
- b. Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying is really useless.
- 9a. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
- b. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.
- 10a. The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.

- b. This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.
- 11a. When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.
- b. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to- be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.
- 12a. In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
- b. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.
- 13a. Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.
- b. Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
- 14a. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand, nor control.
- b. By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control world events.
- 15a. Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.
- b. There really is no such thing as "luck."
- 16a. It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.
- b. How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are.
- 17a. In the long run the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones.
- b. Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all three.
- 18a. With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.
- b. It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.
- 19a. Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.
- b. There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get.
- 20a. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.
- b. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life.
- 21a. People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.
- b. There's not much use in trying too hard to please people, if they like you, they like you.
- 22a. What happens to me is my own doing.
- b. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.
- 23a. Most of the time I can't understand why politicians behave the way they do.
- b. In the long run the people are responsible for bad government on a national as well as on a local level.

[ Measure of Group Identification ]

Collective Self-Esteem Scale (Lutheran & Crocker, 1992)

*We are all members of different social groups or social categories. Some of such social groups or categories pertain to gender, race, religion, nationality, ethnicity, and*

*socioeconomic class. We would like you to consider your membership in a particular group, as a **Muslim**, and respond to the following statements on the basis of how you feel about that group and your membership in it. There are no right or wrong answers to any of these statements; we are interested in your honest reactions and opinions. Please read each statement carefully, and respond by using the following scale from 1 to 7:*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree
Strongly		Somewhat		Somewhat		Strongly

1. I am a worthy member of my social group (Muslims).
2. I often regret that I belong to my social group (Muslims).
3. Overall, my social group is considered good by others (Muslims).
4. Overall, my social group (Muslims) has very little to do with how I feel about myself.
5. I feel I don't have much to offer to my social group (Muslims).
6. In general, I'm glad to be a member of my social group (Muslims).
7. Most people consider my social group (Muslims), on the average, to be more ineffective than other groups.
8. The social group (Muslims) I belong to is an important reflection of who I am.
9. I am a cooperative participant in the activities of my social group (Muslims).
10. Overall, I often feel that my social group (Muslims) is not worthwhile.
11. In general, others respect my social group (Muslims).
12. The social group (Muslims) I belong to are unimportant to my sense of what kind of a person I am.
13. I often feel I'm a useless member of my social group (Muslims).
14. I feel good about the social group (Muslims) I belong to.
15. In general, others think that the social group (Muslims) I am a member of are unworthy.
16. In general, belonging to social group (Muslims) is an important part of my self image.

[ Measure of Stereotype Internalization ]

*Below is a list of stereotypes more or less associated with members of your social group (Muslims). Please indicate the degree to which each of these characteristics represent **YOU** (not just Muslims) according to the following scale. There are no right or wrong answers; we are interested in your honest reactions and opinions.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very unlike me			Neutral			Very like me

American (Reverse-coded)  
 Educated (Reverse-coded)  
 Terrorist

Backward  
 Traditional  
 Modest  
 Immigrant  
 Conservative  
 Peaceful (Reverse-coded)  
 Uncultured  
 Westernized (Reverse-coded)  
 Religious  
 Extremist  
 Wild  
 Nomadic  
 Disorganized  
 Violent  
 Misogynist (People who mistreat or oppress women)  
 Polygamous  
 Menacing  
 Uneducated  
 Oppressive  
 Submissive  
 Fanatic

[ Measure of Work Centrality ]

*Below is a list of statements dealing with your general feelings about work in general..  
 Please indicate the degree to which each of the items represents your feelings according  
 to the following scale.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree
Strongly		Somewhat		Somewhat		Strongly

The most important things that happen in life involve work.  
 Work is something people should get involved in most of the time.  
 Work should be only a small part of one's life.  
 Work should be considered central to life.  
 In my view, an individual's personal life goals should be work-oriented.  
 Life is worth living only when people get absorbed in work.

*Below is a list of statements dealing with your general feelings about either your current  
 job OR your career plans for the future. Please indicate the degree to which each of the  
 items represents your feelings according to the following scale.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Agree	Agree
Strongly		Somewhat		Somewhat		Strongly

The most important things that happen to me involve my present job/ career plans.  
To me, my job/ career plans are only a small part of who I am.  
I am very much involved personally in my job/ career plans.  
I live, eat and breathe my job/ career plans.  
Most of my interests are centered around my job/ career plans.  
I have very strong ties with my present job/ career plans which would be very difficult to break.  
Usually I feel detached from my job/ career plans.  
Most of my personal life goals are job-oriented/ career-oriented.  
I considered my job/ career plans to be very central to my existence.  
I like to be absorbed in my job/ career plans most of the time.

[ Demographics ]

*Please respond to the following questions about yourself.*

What is your age? \_\_\_\_

What ethnicity do you consider yourself to be?

- a. Hispanic
- b. American Indian or Alaskan native
- c. East Asian
- d. South Asian
- e. Middle Eastern
- f. Black/African American
- g. White/Caucasian/Not of Hispanic origin
- h. Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
- i. Other (specify: \_\_\_\_\_)

How would you rate your English speaking ability?

- a. Poor
- b. Somewhat below average
- c. Average
- d. Good
- e. Excellent

How would you rate your English writing ability?

- a. Poor
- b. Somewhat below average
- c. Average
- d. Good
- e. Excellent

What is your current nationality status?

- a. Permanent Alien
- b. Temporary Alien
- c. Native U.S. Citizen

- d. Naturalized

How long have you lived in the United States?

- a. less than a year
- b. 1-2 years
- c. 3-5 years
- d. 5-10 years
- e. over 10 years

Indicate the highest level of education you have completed?

- a. Did not complete High School
- b. High school or equivalency
- c. Some college
- d. 2 year college degree (Associates)
- e. 4 year college degree (BA, BS)
- f. Master's degree
- g. Doctoral degree or other professional degree (e.g., Medical, law)

Are you currently enrolled in an academic program (e.g. college, graduate school)?

- a. Yes, full time
- b. Yes, part time
- c. No

What is the highest level of education you intend to complete?

- a. Less than high School
- b. High school/ GED
- c. Some college
- d. 2 year college degree (Associates)
- e. 4 year college degree (BA, BS)
- f. Master's degree
- g. Doctoral degree or other professional degree (e.g., Medical, law)

What is the highest level of education your mother has completed?

- a. Less than high School
- b. High school/ GED
- c. Some college
- d. 2 year college degree (Associates)
- e. 4 year college degree (BA, BS)
- f. Master's degree
- g. Doctoral degree or other professional degree (e.g., Medical, law)

What is the highest level of education your father has completed?

- a. Less than high School
- b. High school/ GED
- c. Some college
- d. 2 year college degree (Associates)
- e. 4 year college degree (BA, BS)
- f. Master's degree

g. Doctoral degree or other professional degree (e.g., Medical, law)

What is your gross yearly income?

- a. Less than \$10,000
- b. \$10,000-19,999
- c. \$20,000-29,999
- d. \$30,000-39,999
- e. \$40,000-49,999
- f. \$50,000-69,999
- g. \$70,000-79,999
- h. \$80,000-89,999
- i. \$90,000-99,999
- j. \$100,000-150,000
- k. more than 150,000

What is your total gross household income, including all earners in your household?

- a. Less than \$10,000
- b. \$10,000-19,999
- c. \$20,000-29,999
- d. \$30,000-39,999
- e. \$40,000-49,999
- f. \$50,000-69,999
- g. \$70,000-79,999
- h. \$80,000-89,999
- i. \$90,000-99,999
- j. \$100,000-150,000
- k. more than 150,000

What is your current marital status?

- a. Single, never married
- b. Married
- c. Separated
- d. Divorced
- e. Widowed

Do you have any children?

- a. Yes
- b. No

If yes, how many children do you have? \_\_\_\_

What region of the United States do you live in?

- a. North East
- b. North West
- c. Midwest
- d. West
- e. South
- f. California
- g. Do not live in the US?

How much work experience (of any kind) do you have?

- a. None
- b. less than a year
- c. 1-2 years
- d. 3-5 years
- e. 5-10 years
- f. over 10 years

Are you currently employed?

- a. Yes, full time
- b. Yes, part time
- c. No

If yes, what is your occupation? \_\_\_\_\_

How devoted a Muslim do you consider yourself to be?

- a. very little/ not at all
- b. a little
- c. some
- d. a lot
- e. a great deal

**For Non-Hijabi Participants:**

*Thanks for completing the survey! Please click the "NEXT" option below. The debriefing form that follows will give you more insight into our study.*

*If you do know of other Muslim females, please pass this survey along to them.*

If you have any comments about this survey, feel free to address them below. \_\_\_\_\_

**NEXT**

[ Debriefing Form ]

**For Hijabi Participants:**

*Thanks, you have reached the end of the questionnaire!*

*If you would like to add some more input to this experiment, you may choose to answer some free-response questions below. Please note that these questions are OPTIONAL, you do not have to respond to them and you may submit the questionnaire as is. Also, you*

*may choose to answer all or just the questions you wish to answer. Remember, there are no right or wrong answers. We are simply interested in your opinions and experiences.*

*If you wish to skip the free-response questions, please choose the "NEXT" option below. The debriefing form that follows will give you more insight into our study.*

*If you do know of other hijabis or Muslim females, please pass this survey along to them.*

*Open-Ended Questions (For Hijabi's only)*

1. What does the hijab mean to you as a Muslim, and as an American?
2. Why do you choose to wear the hijab even after 9/11, when it might pose a danger to do so or it might arouse suspicion from others?
3. In what ways has your Islamic beliefs influenced your work life in America, such as in seeking employment and in demanding accommodations on the basis of your religion?
4. Are you concerned about applying for work because you wear the hijab?
5. Would you consider taking your hijab off to apply for work or if you were specifically asked to or were required to in order to get work?
6. Are you aware of any incidences (personal or not) in which Hijabis were refused work on the basis of their attire?

*Thanks for completing the survey. Please click the "NEXT" option below. The debriefing form that follows will give you more insight into our study.*

If you have any comments about this survey, feel free to address them below. \_\_\_\_\_

NEXT

[ Debriefing Form ]

## APPENDIX C

### Job Ads

**Position or Job Title:** Laundry/ Dry Cleaning Worker  
**Company:** Madison Laundry & Dry Cleaning  
**Position Industry:** Service (Laundromat)  
**Position Location (City):** Midwest  
**State:** Michigan  
**Country:** United States

**Job Description:** Local Laundromat is seeking to add a full time employee to their business.

**Responsibilities:**

- Performing day to day laundry functions and ensuring that our facility is maintained in a clean, safe comfortable manner.
- Operate or tend washing or dry-cleaning machines to wash or dry-clean industrial or household articles.

**Skills/Qualifications:**

- High school diploma or equivalent preferred.
- Experience performing laundry duties.

**Position or Job Title:** Family Practice, Medicine  
**Company:** Madison Health Associates  
**Position Industry:** Healthcare (Medical Clinic)  
**Position Location (City):** Midwest  
**State:** Michigan  
**Country:** United States

**Job Description:** Local Medical Group is seeking to add a family physician to their practice.

**Responsibilities:**

- Advise patients and community members concerning health matters.
- Prescribe or administer treatment, therapy, medication, vaccination, and other specialized medical care to treat or prevent illness, disease, or injury.
- Refer patients to medical specialists or other practitioners when necessary.
- Must see 20-25 Patients daily.
- Use good communication, manners and judgment.

**Skills/Qualifications:**

- Must have a doctorate in medicine.
- Must have completed a family practice residency program.
- Must be board certified.

**Position or Job Title:** Sales representative  
**Company:** Madison Inc.  
**Position Industry:** Sales (Retail store)  
**Position Location (City):** Midwest  
**State:** Michigan  
**Country:** United States

**Job Description:** Local retail merchant is seeking to add a full time employee to their sales department.

**Responsibilities:**

- Recommend, select, and sell merchandise based on customer needs and desires.
- Work to achieve the highest level of customer satisfaction.
- Resolve specific customer questions or complaints.
- Accurately operate retail cash register system.
- Performs functions of opening or closing stores.

**Skills/Qualifications:**

- Excellent communication and customer service skills.
- High school diploma or equivalent.
- Retail sales experience.

**Position or Job Title:** Waitress  
**Company:** Madison Grill  
**Position Industry:** Service (Restaurant)  
**Position Location (City):** Midwest  
**State:** Michigan  
**Country:** United States

**Job Description:** Local diner is seeking waitress to serve patrons.

**Responsibilities:**

- Present menus to patrons and answer questions about menu items, making recommendations upon request.
- Take orders from patrons for food or beverages on order slips, and memorize orders.
- Serve food and/or beverages to patrons; prepare and serve specialty dishes at tables as required.
- Check with customers to ensure that they are enjoying their meals and take action to correct any problems.
- Prepare checks that itemize and total meal costs and sales taxes.
- Remove dishes and glasses from tables or counters, and take them to kitchen for cleaning.

**Skills/Qualifications:**

- Excellent customer service & communication skills.
- High school diploma or equivalent.
- General Math Skills.

**Position or Job Title:** Cook, Private Household  
**Company:** Mr. & Mrs. Madison  
**Position Industry:** Service (Household)  
**Position Location (City):** Midwest  
**State:** Michigan  
**Country:** United States

**Job Description:** Local family is seeking a private cook to prepare meals for whole family to enjoy.

**Responsibilities:**

- Prepare meals in private homes according to employers' recipes or tastes.
- Stock, organize, and clean kitchens and cooking utensils.
- Shop for or order food and kitchen supplies and equipment.
- Serve meals and snacks to employing families and their guests.
- Plan menus according to employers' needs and diet restrictions.
- Plan and prepare food for parties, holiday meals, and other special functions

**Skills/Qualifications:**

- Ability to communicate with family.
- High school diploma or equivalent preferred.
- Previous cooking experience and tools of the trade.

**Position or Job Title:** Factory Worker  
**Company:** Madison Goods  
**Position Industry:** Warehouse & Manufacturing (Cereal Company)  
**Position Location (City):** Midwest  
**State:** Michigan  
**Country:** United States

**Job Description:** Prominent cereal company is seeking general laborers to work in their warehouse.

**Responsibilities:**

- Mixes ingredients, according to formula.
- Feeds item into processing machine.
- Count finished product to determine completion of production order.
- Separates product according to weight, grade, size, and composition of material used to produce product.
- Examines product to verify conformance to company standards.

**Skills/Qualifications:**

- High school diploma or equivalent preferred.
- Previous warehouse or manufacturing experience considered a plus.

**Position or Job Title:** Paralegal  
**Company:** Madison & Madison  
**Position Industry:** Legal Administration (Law Firm)  
**Position Location (City):** Midwest  
**State:** Michigan  
**Country:** United States

**Job Description:** Local firm is seeking paralegal to add to their group to save attorneys' time by researching, obtaining, compiling, and preparing information.

**Responsibilities:**

- Prepare legal documents.
- Prepare affidavits or other documents, maintain document file, and file pleadings with court clerk.
- Gather and analyze research data.
- Call upon witnesses to testify at hearing.
- Direct and coordinate law office activity, including delivery of subpoenas.
- Arbitrate disputes between parties and assist in real estate closing process.

**Skills/Qualifications:**

- 4 year degree required.
- Research Skills, Analyzing Information
- Legal Administration Skills
- Excellent writing, proofreading and organizational skills
- Excellent communication skills
- Formal legal training and paralegal work experience

**Position or Job Title:** Graphic Designer  
**Company:** Madison Inc.  
**Position Industry:** Design/ Marketing (Design Studio)  
**Position Location (City):** Midwest  
**State:** Michigan  
**Country:** United States

**Job Description:** Local design studio is seeking graphic designer to plan, analyze, and create visual solutions for client companies.

**Responsibilities:**

- Create designs, concepts, and sample layouts based on knowledge of layout principles and esthetic design concepts.
- Use computer software to generate new images.
- Review final layouts and suggest improvements as needed.
- Confer with clients to discuss and determine layout design.
- Develop graphics and layouts for product illustrations, company logos, and Internet websites.
- Key information into computer equipment to create layouts for client or supervisor.
- Prepare illustrations or rough sketches of material, discussing them with clients and/or supervisors and making necessary changes.

**Skills/Qualifications:**

- BS/BA or BFA in related field.
- Strong knowledge of principles of graphic and visual design.
- Experience working with Adobe Acrobat, Adobe Photoshop, Adobe Illustrator, Quark Express, MacroMedia, and DreamWeaver.
- Experience in graphic design or related field.
- Web skills an added bonus as well.

**Position or Job Title:** Technical writer  
**Company:** Madison Inc.  
**Position Industry:** Media (Writing Firm)  
**Position Location (City):** Midwest  
**State:** Michigan  
**Country:** United States

**Job Description:** Local publishing firm is currently seeking a professional, innovative and detailed-oriented individual for a technical writer.

**Responsibilities:**

- Organize material and complete writing assignment according to set standards regarding order, clarity, conciseness, style, and terminology.
- Maintain records and files of work and revisions.
- Edit, standardize, or make changes to material prepared by other writers or establishment personnel.
- Confer with clients or publisher to establish technical specifications and to determine subject material to be developed for publication.
- Review published materials and recommend revisions or changes
- Observe production, developmental, and experimental activities to determine operating procedure and detail.
- Arrange for typing, duplication, and distribution of material.

**Skills/Qualifications:**

- Master's degree in a technical writing/composition (or equivalent graduate degree in English, Journalism, etc.)
- In-depth technical knowledge to comprehend technical programs/data.
- Experienced with document editing tools such as MS Office software, screen capture software, graphics packages, RoboHelp.
- Related work experience.

**Position or Job Title:** Flight Attendant  
**Company:** Madison Airlines  
**Position Industry:** Customer Service (Airlines)  
**Position Location (City):** Midwest  
**State:** Michigan  
**Country:** United States

**Job Description:** Regional airline is seeking flight attendant to offer safe and friendly customer service.

**Responsibilities:**

- Announce and demonstrate safety and emergency procedures such as the use of oxygen masks, seat belts, and life jackets.
- Answer passengers' questions about flights, aircraft, weather, travel routes and services, arrival times, and/or schedules.
- Assist passengers in placing carry-on luggage in overhead, garment, or under-seat storage.
- Assist passengers while entering or disembarking the aircraft.
- Attend preflight briefings concerning weather, altitudes, routes, emergency procedures, crew coordination, lengths of flights, food and beverage services offered, and numbers of passengers.
- Check to ensure that food, beverages, blankets, reading material, emergency equipment, and other supplies are aboard and are in adequate supply.
- Collect money for meals and beverages.
- Conduct periodic trips through the cabin to ensure passenger comfort, and to distribute reading material, headphones, pillows, playing cards, and blankets.
- Determine special assistance needs of passengers such as small children, the elderly, or disabled persons.
- Direct and assist passengers in the event of an emergency, such as directing passengers to evacuate a plane following an emergency landing.

**Skills/Qualifications:**

- Be at least 21 years of age.
- Have a HS diploma/GED.
- Customer service experience, professional image, and good communication skills. Ability to read, write and fluently speak and understand the English language.
- Ability to comprehend and retain information pertinent to the position.
- Willing to work holidays, weekends, nights and extended hours.
- Ability to attend a 5-week training class.
- Must have a valid passport by class date.

**Position or Job Title:** Security Guard  
**Company:** Madison Inc.  
**Position Industry:** Security (Security Firm)  
**Position Location (City):** Midwest  
**State:** Michigan  
**Country:** United States

**Job Description:** Local firm is looking for a security guard to increase safety and security for the welfare of fellow employees.

**Responsibilities:**

- Patrol premises to prevent and detect signs of intrusion and ensure security of doors, windows, and gates.
- Answer alarms and investigate disturbances.
- Monitor and authorize entrance and departure of employees, visitors, and other persons to guard against theft and maintain security of premises.
- Write reports of daily activities and irregularities, such as equipment or property damage, theft, presence of unauthorized persons, or unusual occurrences.
- Call police or fire departments in cases of emergency, such as fire or presence of unauthorized persons.
- Circulate among visitors, patrons, and employees to preserve order and protect property.
- Answer telephone calls to take messages, answer questions, and provide information during non-business hours or when switchboard is closed.
- Warn persons of rule infractions or violations, and apprehend or evict violators from premises, using force when necessary.
- Operate detecting devices to screen individuals and prevent passage of prohibited articles into restricted areas.
- Escort or drive motor vehicle to transport individuals to specified locations and to provide personal protection.

**Skills/Qualifications:**

- Must be at least 21 years of age.
- Must have a High School Diploma or GED.
- Clean Criminal Background and psychological exam.
- Able to pass a pre-employment drug test.
- Prior security and/or law enforcement experience preferred.
- Surveillance Skills, dealing with uncertainty, judgment, safety management.

## APPENDIX D

### Informed Consent for Online Experiment

**Project Title:** Stigma of Muslim Women in Employment Settings

**Primary Researchers:** Sonia Ghumman & Dr. Linda Jackson, Professor of Psychology

**Description and Explanation of Procedure:** You are being asked to participate in a study addressing the psychological and practical challenges that Muslim women encounter as applicants for employment during job selection procedures. In this experiment, you will be asked to take on the role of an hypothetical applicant and by computer, you will answer a set of questions that measure your opinions regarding a hypothetical job. In addition, you will be asked questions about yourself, Muslims, and your social identity as a Muslim.

The experiment is meant to look at issues confronting Muslim women today in the employment arena.

**Estimated Time Required:** 30 minutes

**Risks:** 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. 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. Linda Jackson) and secondary (Sonia Ghumman) investigators in the study. Your privacy will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law.

**Benefits:** You will gain experience in taking computer-based tests as well as learn more about how psychological research is done.

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 have any questions about 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.

By clicking on the “I agree to participate in this study” button below, you indicate your voluntary agreement to participate in this study.

## APPENDIX E

### Debriefing Form for Online Experiment

Thank you very much for completing the survey!

The goal of this study was to understand the issues confronting Muslim women today in the workplace. Ever since the September 11, 2001 attacks, prejudice and discrimination against Muslims in the United States have increased dramatically. Despite this, research examining prejudice and discrimination towards Muslims in the employment context in the United States is lacking. Even more, there has been relatively little research that addresses the issues of Muslim women and their status as Americans. This study serves partially to fill that void by addressing the concerns that Muslim women who don the hijab might have in the employment arena. This study predicts that certain job types, such as those that require high public contact or those that are security-related, will be considered off-limits for Hijabis. Your responses to the questions in this study will serve to inform us of how accurate our predictions are.

One of the ways you can help us further in this study is if you do not reveal the details of this study to anyone who might be participating. It is only this way that we can ensure that participants go through the experiment in exactly the same way. We thank you for doing this!

If you are interested in finding out more about prejudice and discriminations, a good place to start would be a book chapter by Susan T. Fiske (1998) titled "Stereotyping, Prejudice and Discrimination." included in the *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Vol. 2. Boston: McGraw-Hill; pages 357-411.

If you have any concerns or questions about this project please contact Sonia Ghumman by email: [ghummans@msu.edu](mailto:ghummans@msu.edu) or by mail at: 346 Psychology Research Bldg., MSU, East Lansing, MI 48824.

## APPENDIX F

### Recruitment Letter to be Sent to MSA, Local Mosque, or Naseeb.com Concerning Online Experiment

Dear MSA/ Local Mosque,

I am asking on your behalf to recruit potential participants for an online study I will be conducting addressing the psychological and practical challenges that Muslim women encounter as applicants for employment during job selection procedures. Because I only wish to study the influences in the lives of American Muslim women, I will be limiting my participants to these three criteria: Muslim, female, and American. Another important consideration will be for the participant to have internet access so that they can visit the site of my survey and to have the ability to navigate the internet.

The survey in itself shall be brief, taking approximately 30 minutes to complete, small in comparison to its contribution to gaining a deeper understanding of the issues concerning American Muslim women today at work. In addition, responses on the survey will be completely confidential. I will not be asking for any information that can be used to identify the participant, such as their name. The data will only be accessible by the primary investigators in the study. Their privacy will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law.

If you think you can help us, please forward me the email list of the sisters in your association or even have a couple of sisters who are interested in taking the online survey contact me at (516) 376-5006 or by email at [ghummans@msu.edu](mailto:ghummans@msu.edu). I would greatly appreciate your help.

Thanks,

Sonia Ghumman  
Industrial/Organizational Psychology  
Michigan State University  
348 Psychology Building  
East Lansing, MI 48824  
Office: 517-355-2171  
Cell: 516-376-5006  
[ghummans@msu.edu](mailto:ghummans@msu.edu)

Initial Email to be Sent out to the Email List of Participants Provided by MSA, Local Mosque, or www.Naseeb.com Members Concerning Online Experiment

Dear Sister,

I am asking on your behalf to participate in an online study that I am conducting addressing the psychological and practical challenges that Muslim women encounter as applicants for employment during job selection procedures. Because I only wish to study the influences in the lives of American Muslim women, I will be limiting my participants to these three criteria: Muslim, female, and American. Another important consideration will be for you to have the ability to navigate the internet.

The survey in itself shall be brief, taking approximately 30 minutes to complete, small in comparison to its contribution to gaining a deeper understanding of the issues concerning American Muslim women today at work. In addition, responses on the survey will be completely confidential. I will not be asking for any information that can be used to identify the participant, such as your name. The data will only be accessible by the primary investigators in the study. Your privacy will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law.

If you agree to take this survey, please click on the link below. In the case that the link does not work, please copy and paste the link as a web address.

<https://psychology.msu.edu/RyanResearch/Encrypt/ConsoleLogin.asp>

Also, if you know of any other sisters who might be interested in filling out this survey, please forward this email onto them. If you have any question or concerns, feel free to contact me at (516) 376-5006 or by email ([ghummans@msu.edu](mailto:ghummans@msu.edu)). I would greatly appreciate your help.

Thanks,

Sonia Ghumman  
Industrial/Organizational Psychology  
Michigan State University  
348 Psychology Building  
East Lansing, MI 48824  
Office: 517-355-2171  
Cell: 516-376-5006  
[ghummans@msu.edu](mailto:ghummans@msu.edu)

## APPENDIX G

### Summary of Analyses

<u>Hypothesis</u>	<u>Analysis</u>
<b>HYPOTHESIS 1:</b> Hijabis will have lower intentions than non-Hijabis (a) to apply for and have lower expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for occupations that require high public contact, where discrimination is more likely, than occupations that require low public contact, where discrimination is less likely.	<u>MANOVA</u> will be used to test this hypothesis for statistical significance. Significant higher intentions (a) to apply for and higher expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for high-public contact occupations in non-Hijabis will be interpreted as support for this hypothesis. Effect sizes will be also computed to see if the differences presented in the MANOVA also have practical significance (Cohen, 1988).
<b>HYPOTHESIS 2:</b> Hijabis will have lower intentions than non-Hijabis (a) to apply for and lower expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for security related occupations than non-security related occupations.	<u>MANOVA</u> will be used to test this hypothesis for statistical significance. Significant higher intentions (a) to apply for and higher expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for security-related occupations in non-Hijabis will be interpreted as support for this hypothesis. Effect sizes will be also computed to see if the differences presented in the MANOVA also have practical significance (Cohen, 1988).
<b>HYPOTHESIS 3:</b> Job status moderates the relationship between public contact and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that: 3a: Hijabis will be more likely to apply for high public contact occupations in high status occupations than in low status occupations. 3b: For low status occupations, Hijabis will be less likely to apply for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations.	<u>Moderated Regression.</u> One separate regression analysis will be done for each of the three DV's [intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis]. An interaction term for job status and amount of public contact will be entered into a regression predicting differences in the DV. In the case of a significant increase in the amount of variance accounted for when the term is added to the model, the interaction will be plotted to detect the nature of the interaction and interpreted to see if it supports the hypothesis.
<b>HYPOTHESIS 4:</b> Negative stereotype internalization moderates the relationship between the amount of <u>public contact</u> and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who do not internalize the negative stereotypes of their Muslim identity will be more likely to apply for high public contact occupations than Hijabis who internalize the stereotypes.	<u>Moderated Regression.</u> One separate regression analysis will be done for each of the three DV's [intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis]. An interaction term for perceived legitimacy of the low status of one's social identity and amount of public contact will be entered into a regression predicting differences in the DV. In the case of a significant increase in the amount of variance accounted for when the term is added to the model, the interaction will be plotted to detect the nature of the interaction and interpreted to see if it supports the hypothesis.
<b>HYPOTHESIS 5:</b> Negative stereotype internalization moderates the relationship between <u>security-related occupations</u> and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers	<u>Moderated Regression.</u> One separate regression analysis will be done for each of the three DV's [intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis]. An interaction term for perceived

for Hijabis such that Hijabis who do not internalize the negative stereotypes of their Muslim identity will be more likely to apply for security-related occupations than Hijabis who internalize the stereotypes.	legitimacy of the low status of one's social identity and job type (security vs. non-security) will be entered into a regression predicting differences in the DV. In the case of a significant increase in the amount of variance accounted for when the term is added to the model, the interaction will be plotted to detect the nature of the interaction and interpreted to see if it supports the hypothesis.
<b>HYPOTHESIS 6:</b> Hijabis will have a stronger degree of group identification with their social group (Muslims) than non-Hijabis.	<u>Correlations</u> between the being a Hijabi/ nonHijabi and degree of identification. A <u>t-test</u> will be used to test the hypothesis. Significant higher degree of identification for occupations in Hijabis will be interpreted as support for this hypothesis.
<b>HYPOTHESIS 7:</b> The degree of identification with one's social group (Muslim) moderates the relationship between the amount of <u>public contact</u> required in an occupation and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who identify more strongly as Muslims will less likely to apply for high public contact occupations than Hijabis who do not identify as strongly as Muslims.	<u>Moderated Regression.</u> One separate regression analysis will be done for each of the three DV's [intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis]. An interaction term for degree of identification and amount of public contact will be entered into a regression predicting differences in the DV. In the case of a significant increase in the amount of variance accounted for when the term is added to the model, the interaction will be plotted to detect the nature of the interaction and interpreted to see if it supports the hypothesis.
<b>HYPOTHESIS 8:</b> The degree of identification with one's social group (Muslim) moderates the relationship between <u>security-related occupations</u> and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who identify more strongly as Muslims will be less likely to apply for security related occupations than Hijabis who do not identify as strongly as Muslims.	<u>Moderated Regression.</u> One separate regression analysis will be done for each of the three DV's [intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis]. An interaction term for degree of identification and job type (security vs. non-security) will be entered into a regression predicting differences in the DV. In the case of a significant increase in the amount of variance accounted for when the term is added to the model, the interaction will be plotted to detect the nature of the interaction and interpreted to see if it supports the hypothesis.
<b>HYPOTHESIS 9:</b> <u>Optimism</u> moderates the relationship between the <u>amount of public contact</u> required in an occupation and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who score high on optimism will more likely to apply for high public contact occupations than Hijabis who score low on optimism.	<u>Moderated Regression.</u> One separate regression analysis will be done for each of the three DV's [intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis]. An interaction term for optimism and amount of public contact will be entered into a regression predicting differences in the DV. In the case of a significant increase in the amount of variance accounted for when the term is added to the model, the interaction will be plotted to detect the nature of the interaction and interpreted to see if it supports the hypothesis.
<b>HYPOTHESIS 10:</b> <u>Optimism</u> moderates the relationship between <u>security-related occupations</u> and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who score high on optimism will be more likely to apply for security-related occupations than	<u>Moderated Regression.</u> One separate regression analysis will be done for each of the three DV's [intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis]. An interaction term for optimism and job type (security vs. non-security) will be entered into a regression predicting differences in the DV. In the

Hijabis who score low on optimism.	case of a significant increase in the amount of variance accounted for when the term is added to the model, the interaction will be plotted to detect the nature of the interaction and interpreted to see if it supports the hypothesis.
<u>HYPOTHESIS 11: Locus of control</u> moderates the relationship between the <u>amount of public contact</u> required in an occupation and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who have an internal locus of control will be more likely to apply for high public contact occupations than Hijabis who have an external locus of control.	<u>Moderated Regression.</u> One separate regression analysis will be done for each of the three DV's [intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis]. An interaction term for locus of control and amount of public contact will be entered into a regression predicting differences in the DV. In the case of a significant increase in the amount of variance accounted for when the term is added to the model, the interaction will be plotted to detect the nature of the interaction and interpreted to see if it supports the hypothesis.
<u>HYPOTHESIS 12: Locus of control</u> moderates the relationship between <u>security-related occupations</u> and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who have an internal locus of control will be more likely to apply for security-related occupations than Hijabis who have an external locus of control.	<u>Moderated Regression.</u> One separate regression analysis will be done for each of the three DV's [intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis]. An interaction term for locus of control and job type (security vs. non-security) will be entered into a regression predicting differences in the DV. In the case of a significant increase in the amount of variance accounted for when the term is added to the model, the interaction will be plotted to detect the nature of the interaction and interpreted to see if it supports the hypothesis.

## APPENDIX H

### Analyses Conducted Using the Original Pilot Study Design

#### Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1 suggested that in high public contact occupations, Hijabis will have lower intentions than non-Hijabis to apply for a job, and that they will have lower expectations of receiving interviews or getting job offers, than in low public contact occupations. A 2 by 3 MANOVA, treating religious attire (Hijabi versus non-Hijabi) and public contact (high, neutral, and low) occupations as independent variables, and the variables Apply, Interest, and Offer as dependent variables were used to conduct an omnibus test of this hypothesis. Significantly higher intentions to apply for a job (Apply) and higher expectations of receiving interviews (Interest) and getting job offers (Offer) for high-public contact occupations in non-Hijabis relative to other cells in the design would be interpreted as support for this hypothesis.

The multivariate test results indicated that although the main effect of public contact was not significant [ $F(6, 986) = 0.77, p = .59$ ], but the main effect of religious attire was significant [ $F(3, 493) = 23.79, p = .00$ ]. In addition, the religious attire by public contact interaction was marginally significant [ $F(6, 986) = 1.87, p = .08$ ].

Because the multivariate main effect for religious attire was significant, and the multivariate interaction between religious attire and public contact was marginally significant, the MANOVA was followed up with a series of 2 x 3 ANOVA's. As would be expected given the MANOVA results, the ANOVA's showed no significant main effect for public contact (see Table 42). However, there were significant religious attire main effects for the interest and offer DVs, indicating that Hijabis have lower expectations than non-Hijabis of receiving interviews (interest) or getting job offers (offer) than non-Hijabis (see table 43 for the means and standard deviations). The religious attire by public contact interaction was significant for both Interest and Offer. The means presented in Table 43 suggest that Hijabis in general will have lower expectations than non-Hijabis of receiving interviews and getting job offers for occupations that require high public contact than low public contact. For neutral occupations, this difference does not exist, hinting at a flaw within the design.

**Table 42**  
***Religious Attire by Public Contact MANOVA***

Source		df	F	Sig.
Public Contact	Apply	2	1.91	0.15
	Interest	2	0.37	0.69
	Offer	2	0.33	0.72
Religious Attire	Apply	1	0.51	0.48
	Interest	1	27.35*	0.00
	Offer	1	68.63*	0.00
Religious Attire x Public Contact	Apply	2	0.37	0.69
	Interest	2	3.94*	0.02
	Offer	2	4.91*	0.01
Error	Apply	495		
	Interest	495		
	Offer	495		

\* =  $p < .05$

Effect sizes (Cohen's  $d$ ) were also computed to see if the differences presented in the MANOVA also have practical significance (Cohen, 1988). Table 43 presents the effect sizes between Hijabis and non-Hijabis on the 3 DVs.

Similar to the MANOVA, there was no significant effect size for applying (Apply) for either of the public contact conditions for Hijabis in comparison to non-Hijabis. There was a moderate effect size ( $d = -0.53$ ) for Hijabis in comparison to non-Hijabis in expecting interviews (Interest) in the low public contact occupations, a non significant effect size ( $-0.15$ ) for neutral condition, which became a moderate significant effect size ( $d = -0.71$ ) in the high public occupations. There was a large significant effect size ( $d = -0.93$ ) for Hijabis in comparison to non-Hijabis in expecting job offers (Offer) in the low public occupations, a small effect size in the neutral public contact occupation, which became a large effect size ( $d = -0.99$ ) in the high public occupations.

Overall, hypothesis 1 was not supported. The results show that Hijabis are less likely to expect interest and offers than non-Hijabis in general in both the low public contact condition and high public contact condition, not just the high public contact condition. However, this difference is not apparent in the neutral condition. Because of this and the inherent problem within the design, it is difficult to interpret the true nature of the results.

Table 43

*Religious Attire by Public Contact Effect Sizes*

		Religious Attire						
		Hijabi			NonHijabi			
Public Contact		M1	SD1	N1	M2	SD2	N2	D-value
LOW	Intention to apply for job	3.67	1.45	86	3.73	1.35	75	-0.04
	Expectations for interviews	3.57	1.21	86	4.12	0.77	75	-0.53**
	Expectations for job offers	2.90	1.28	86	3.93	0.87	75	-0.93***
NEUTRAL	Intention to apply for job	4.00	1.26	97	3.97	1.33	79	0.02
	Expectations for interviews	3.84	1.08	97	4.00	1.03	79	-0.15
	Expectations for job offers	3.30	1.24	97	3.72	1.15	79	-0.35*
HIGH	Intention to apply for job	3.78	1.38	98	3.96	1.29	67	-0.13
	Expectations for interviews	3.41	1.35	98	4.23	0.78	66	-0.71**
	Expectations for job offers	2.87	1.29	98	4.03	0.99	66	-0.99***

\* = Small effect size, \*\* = Moderate effect size, \*\*\* = Large effect size

**Hypothesis 3**

Hypothesis 3 suggested that job status moderates the relationship between public contact and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis will be more likely to apply for high public contact occupations in high status occupations than in low status occupations. For low status occupations, Hijabis will be less likely to apply for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations.

One separate moderated regression analysis was conducted for each of the three dependant variables [intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis] (See Table 44). Due to the directional nature of the hypothesis, one-tailed tests were conducted.

*Apply*

Hypothesis 3a was supported. No significant main effect was found for public contact ( $\beta = .02$ , *ns*, one-tailed) but a positive significant main effect was found for job status ( $\beta = .57$ ,  $p < .01$ , one-tailed). A significant interaction between public contact and job status was also found ( $\beta = .27$ ,  $p < .05$ , one-tailed;  $\Delta R^2 = .01$ ,  $p = .06$ , one-tailed) (see Table 44). To detect the true nature of the statistically significant interaction between public contact and job status, the interaction was plotted (see Figure 5). The plot shows that job status neutralizes the effect of public contact so that Hijabis were more likely to apply for high public contact occupations in high status jobs than in low status jobs, and were less likely to apply for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations for low status jobs.

*Interest*

Hypothesis 3b was marginally supported (see Table 44).

## Offer

Hypothesis 3c was supported. No significant main effect was found for public contact ( $\beta = -.04$ , *ns*, one-tailed) but a positive significant main effect was found for job status ( $\beta = .32$ ,  $p < .01$ , one-tailed). A significant interaction between public contact and job status was also found ( $\beta = .23$ ,  $p < .05$ , one-tailed;  $\Delta R^2 = .01$ ,  $p = .05$ , one-tailed) (see table 44). Inspection of the means show that job status neutralizes the effect of public contact so that Hijabis were more likely to expect receiving job offers for high public contact occupations in high status jobs than in low status jobs, and were less likely to expect receiving job offers for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations for low status jobs.

Table 44

### Effects of Public Contact and Job Status on Apply, Interest, and Job Offers.

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	$R^2$ Total	$\Delta R^2$	<i>b</i>	$R^2$ Total	$\Delta R^2$	<i>b</i>	$R^2$ Total	$\Delta R^2$
1. Public Contact	0.02	0.11	0.11*	-0.10	0.03	0.03*	-0.04	0.04	.04*
Job Status	0.57*			0.24*			0.32*		
2. Public Contact x Job Status	0.27*	0.12	0.012*	0.17	0.04	0.01	0.23*	0.05	.01*

\* =  $p < .05$ ,  $N=281$

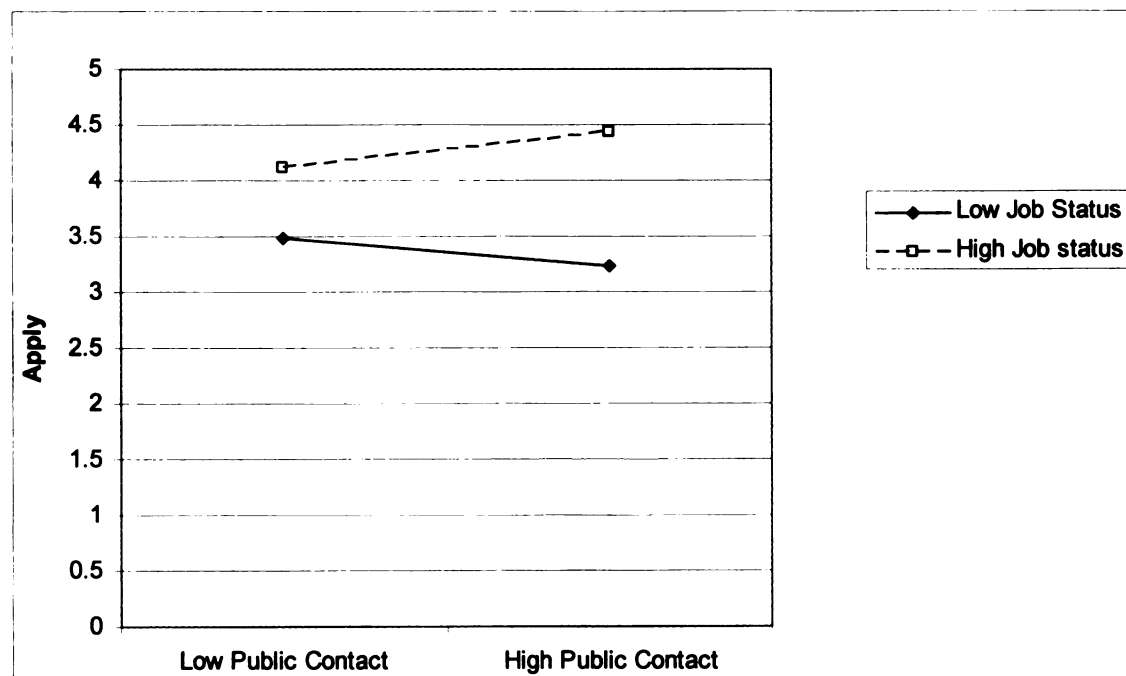


Figure 5. Interaction between public contact and job status on intentions to apply (apply) for Hijabis.

Overall, hypothesis 3 was supported. The regressions show that that job status moderates the relationship between public contact and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis will be more likely to apply and to expect job offers for high public contact occupations in high status occupations than in low status occupations. For low status occupations, Hijabis will be less to apply and to expect job offers for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations.

There was also a marginally significant finding that job status moderates the relationship between public contact and expectations of (b) receiving interviews.

#### Hypothesis 4

Hypothesis 4 suggested that stereotype internalization of Muslims moderates the relationship between public contact and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who do not internalize the stereotype of their Muslim identity to be of low status will be more likely to apply for high public contact occupations than hijabis who internalize the stereotype. Hijabis who internalize the stereotype of their Muslim identity to be of low status will be less likely to apply for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations.

One separate moderated regression analysis was conducted for each of the three dependant variables [intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis] (See Table 45). Each of these three regressions were run twice for two subscales of the stereotype internalization measure: (1) negative stereotype and (2) conservative stereotype (divided into two separate sections below). Due to the directional nature of the hypothesis, one-tailed tests were conducted.

#### **Negative stereotype**

##### *Apply*

Hypothesis 4.1.a was supported. The main effect for negative stereotype internalization ( $\beta = -.17, p < .05, \text{one-tailed}$ ) was significant but the main effect was not significant for public contact ( $\beta = .01, ns, \text{one-tailed}$ ). A significant interaction between public contact and negative stereotype internalization was found ( $\beta = -.24, p < .05, \text{one-tailed}$ ;  $\Delta R^2 = .02, p = .05, \text{one-tailed}$ ) (see table 45). To detect the true nature of the interaction, the statistically significant interaction between public contact and negative stereotype internalization was plotted (see Figure 6). The plot shows that job status neutralizes the effect of public contact so that Hijabis were more likely to apply for high public contact occupations when they do not internalize the negative stereotypes than when they do internalize negative stereotypes, and were less likely to apply for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations when do internalize the negative stereotypes.

##### *Interest*

Hypothesis 4.1.b was supported. The main effects for both public contact ( $\beta = -.11, ns, \text{one-tailed}$ ) and negative stereotype internalization ( $\beta = -.06, ns, \text{one-tailed}$ ) were not found. A significant interaction between public contact and negative stereotype internalization was found ( $\beta = -.34, p < .01, \text{one-tailed}$ ;  $\Delta R^2 = .05, p = .00, \text{one-tailed}$ ) (see Table 45). Inspection of the means shows that job status neutralizes the effect of public

contact so that Hijabis were more likely to expect receiving interviews or call backs for high public contact occupations when they do not internalize the negative stereotypes than when they do internalize negative stereotypes, and were less likely to expect receiving interviews or call backs for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations when they do internalize the negative stereotypes.

#### *Offer*

Hypothesis 4.1.c was supported. The main effects for both public contact ( $\beta = -.02$ , *ns*, one-tailed) and negative stereotype internalization ( $\beta = -.11$ , *ns*, one-tailed) were not found. A significant interaction between public contact and job status was found ( $\beta = -.27$ ,  $p < .05$ , one-tailed;  $\Delta R^2 = .03$ ,  $p = .02$ , *one-tailed*) (see Table 45). Inspection of the means that job status neutralizes the effect of public contact so that Hijabis were more likely to expect job offer for high public contact occupations when they do not internalize the negative stereotypes than when they do internalize negative stereotypes, and were less likely to expect job offers for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations when they do internalize the negative stereotypes.

Table 45

#### *Effects of Public Contact and Negative Stereotype Internalization on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.*

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	$R^2$ Total	$\Delta R^2$	<i>b</i>	$R^2$ Total	$\Delta R^2$	<i>b</i>	$R^2$ Total	$\Delta R^2$
1. Public Contact	0.01	0.01	0.01	-0.11	0.01	0.01	-0.02	0.01	0.01
Negative Stereotype	-.17*			-0.06			-0.11		
2. Public Contact x Negative Stereotype	-0.240*	0.03	.02*	-.34*	0.06	0.05*	0.27*	0.03	.03*

\* =  $p < .05$ ,  $N=205$

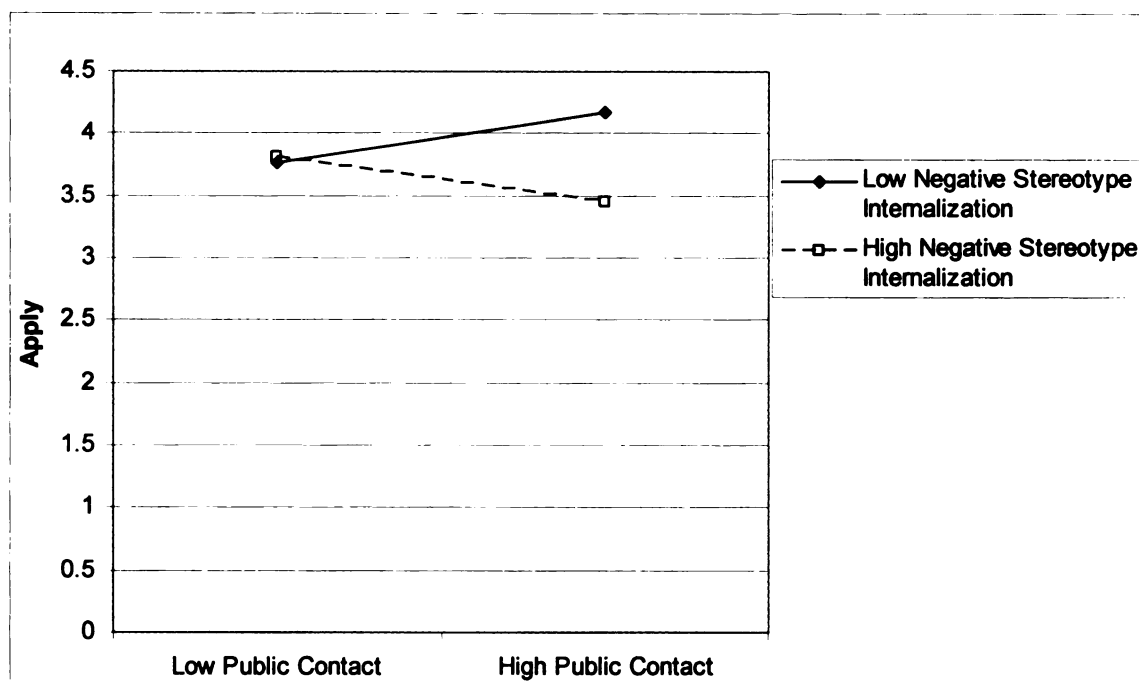


Figure 6. Interaction between public contact and stereotype internalization to apply (apply) for Hijabis.

### Conservative stereotype

*Apply, Interest, Offer*

Hypotheses 4.2.a, 4.2.b, and 4.2.b were not supported (see Table 46).

Table 46

*Effects of Public Contact and Conservative Stereotype Internalization on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.*

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	$R^2$ Total	$\Delta R^2$	<i>b</i>	$R^2$ Total	$\Delta R^2$	<i>b</i>	$R^2$ Total	$\Delta R^2$
1. Public Contact	0.01	0.01	0.01	-0.11	0.02	0.02	-0.02	0.00	0.00
Conservative Stereotype	-0.25			-0.27*			-0.13		
2. Public Contact x Conservative Stereotype	-0.04	0.01	0.00	0.22	0.03	0.01	0.26	0.01	0.01

\* =  $p < .05$ ,  $N=206$

Overall, hypothesis 4 was partially supported. Stereotype internalization of the negative stereotypes of Muslims moderates the relationship between public contact and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews and (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who did not internalize the negative stereotype of their

Muslim identity to be of low status were more likely to apply and expect receiving interviews and job offers for high public contact occupations than Hijabis who internalized the negative stereotypes. Hijabis who internalized the negative stereotypes of their Muslim identity to be of low status were less likely to apply and expect receiving interviews and job offers for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations.

However, conservative stereotype internalization did not moderate the relationship public contact and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis.

### Hypothesis 7

Hypothesis 7 suggested that collective self esteem Muslims moderates the relationship between public contact and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who score less on collective self esteem will be more likely to apply for high public contact occupations than Hijabis who score low on collective self esteem.

Hijabis who score high on collective self esteem status will be less likely to apply for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations.

One separate moderated regression analysis was conducted for each of the three dependant variables [intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis] (See Tables 47-51). Each of these three regressions were run four times for the four subscales of the collective self esteem measure: (1) membership self esteem, (2) public self esteem, (3) private self esteem, and (4) importance to identity (divided into four separate sections below). Due to the directional nature of the hypothesis, one-tailed tests were conducted.

### **Membership Self Esteem**

#### *Apply*

Hypothesis 7.1.a was not supported (see Table 47).

#### *Interest*

Hypothesis 7.1.b was supported. The main effect for public contact ( $\beta = -.14$ , *ns*, *one-tailed*) was not significant but the main effect was significant for membership self esteem ( $\beta = .19$ ,  $p < .05$ , *one-tailed*;  $\Delta R^2 = .02$ ,  $p = .05$ , *one-tailed*) (see Table 47). The statistically significant interaction between public contact and membership self esteem was plotted to better interpret the results (see Figure 7). As predicted, membership self esteem neutralizes the effect of public contact so that Hijabis were more likely to expect receiving interviews or call backs for high public contact occupations when they scored low on membership self esteem than when they scored high on membership self esteem, and were less likely to expect receiving interviews or call backs for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations when they scored high on membership self esteem.

#### *Offer*

Hypothesis 7.1.c was supported. The main effects for both public contact ( $\beta = -.05$ , *ns*, *one-tailed*) and membership self esteem ( $\beta = .12$ , *ns*, *one-tailed*) were not significant. A significant interaction between public contact and membership self esteem was found ( $\beta = -.24$ ,  $p < .05$ , *one-tailed*;  $\Delta R^2 = .02$ ,  $p = .03$ , *one-tailed*) (see Table 47). Inspection of the means shows that membership self esteem neutralizes the effect of public contact so

that Hijabis were more likely to expect receiving job offers for high public contact occupations when they scored low on membership self esteem than when they scored high on membership self esteem, and were less likely to expect receiving job offers for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations when they scored high on membership self esteem.

Table 47

*Effects of Public Contact and Membership Self Esteem on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.*

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> Total	$\Delta$ <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> Total	$\Delta$ <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> Total	$\Delta$ <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>
1. Public Contact	0.01	0.02	.02*	-0.14	0.03	0.03*	-0.05	0.01	0.01
Membership Self Esteem	0.21*			0.19*			0.12		
2. Public Contact x Membership Self Esteem	-0.12	0.03	0.01	-0.20*	0.05	.02*	0.24*	0.03	.02*

\* =  $p < .05$ ,  $N=212$

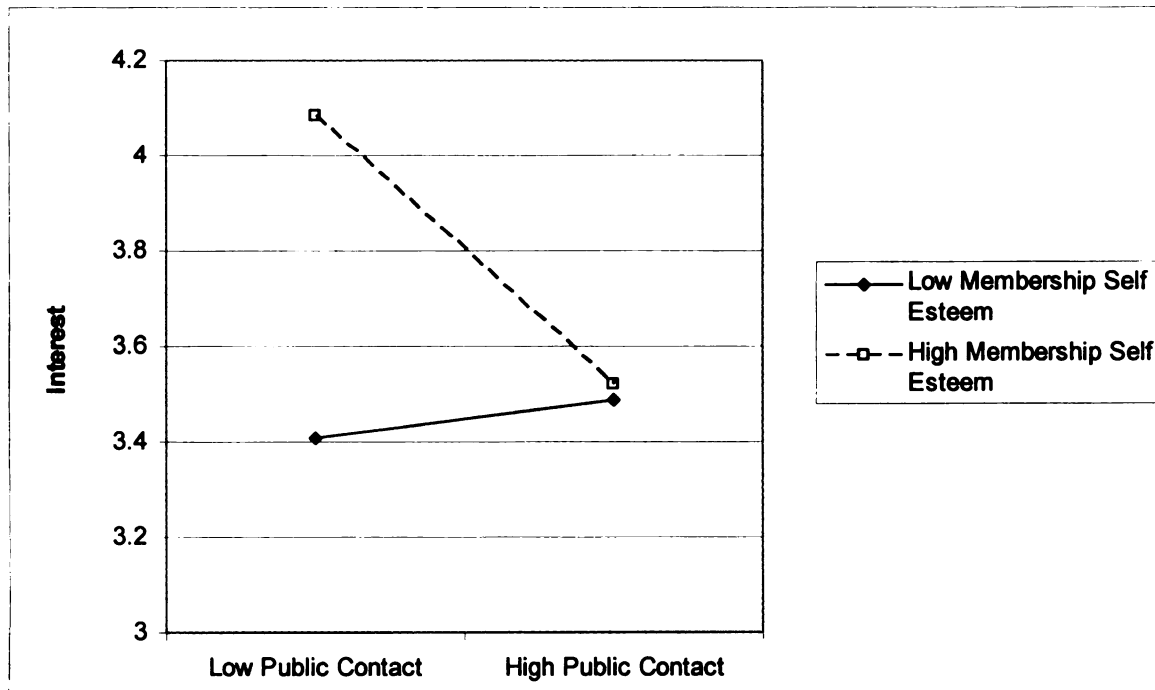


Figure 7. Interaction between public contact and membership self esteem on expectations to receive interviews or calls back for the job (interest) for Hijabis.

## Public Self Esteem

### Apply, Interest, Offer

Hypotheses 7.2.a, 7.2.b, and 7.2.b were not supported (see Table 48).

Table 48

*Effects of Public Contact and Public Self Esteem on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.*

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>
1. Public Contact	0.03	0.01	0.01	-0.14	0.02	0.02	-0.06	0.02	0.02
Public Self Esteem	-0.09			0.08			0.13*		
2. Public Contact x Public Self Esteem	0.03	0.01	0.00	-0.01	0.02	0.00	-0.06	0.02	0.00

\* =  $p < .05$ ,  $N=212$

## Private Self Esteem

### Apply

Hypothesis 7.3.a was not supported (see Table 49).

### Interest

Hypothesis 7.3.b was supported. The main effects for both public contact ( $\beta = -.15$ , *ns*, one-tailed) and private self esteem ( $\beta = .14$ , *ns*, one-tailed) were not significant (see Table 49). A significant interaction between public contact and private self esteem was also found ( $\beta = -.23$ ,  $p < .05$ , one-tailed;  $(\Delta R^2 = .02, p = .05, \text{one-tailed})$ ). The statistically significant interaction between public contact and private self esteem was plotted to better interpret the results (see Figure 8). As predicted, private self esteem neutralizes the effect of public contact so that Hijabis were more likely to expect receiving job offers for high public contact occupations when they scored low on private self esteem than when they scored high on private self esteem, and were less likely to expect receiving job offers for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations when they scored high on private self esteem.

### Offer

Hypothesis 7.3.c was supported. The main effects for both public contact ( $\beta = -.06$ , *ns*, one-tailed) and private self esteem ( $\beta = .11$ , *ns*, one-tailed) were not significant (see Table 49). A significant interaction between public contact and private self esteem was also found ( $\beta = -.33$ ,  $p < .01$ , one-tailed;  $\Delta R^2 = .03, p = .01, \text{one-tailed}$ ). Inspection of the means shows that private self esteem neutralizes the effect of public contact so that Hijabis were more likely to expect receiving job offers for high public contact occupations when they scored low on private self esteem than when they scored high on private self esteem, and were less likely to expect receiving job offers for high public

contact occupations than low public contact occupations when they scored high on private self esteem.

Table 49

*Effects of Public Contact and Conservative Private Self Esteem on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.*

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>
1. Public Contact	0.02	0.00	0.00	-0.15	0.02	0.02	-0.06	0.01	0.01
Private Self Esteem	0.03			0.14			0.11		
2. Public Contact x Private Self Esteem	-0.05	0.00	0.00	-0.23*	0.04	0.02*	-0.33*	0.04	.03*

\* =  $p < .05$ , N=212

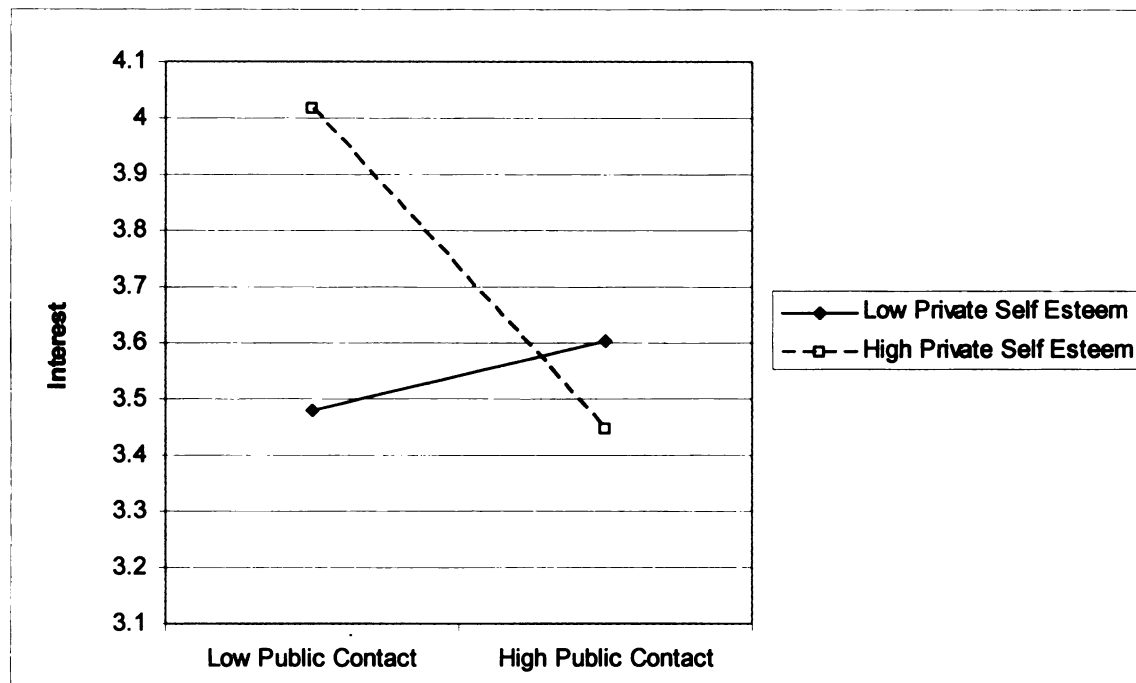


Figure 8. Interaction between public contact and private self esteem on expectations to receive interviews or calls back for the job (interest) for Hijabis.

## Importance to Identity

### *Apply, Offer*

Hypotheses 7.4.a and 7.4.c were not supported (see Table 50).

### *Interest*

Hypothesis 7.4.b was supported. The main effects for both public contact ( $\beta = -.14$ , *ns*, one-tailed) and importance to identity ( $\beta = .08$ , *ns*, one-tailed) were not significant. A significant interaction between public contact and importance to identity was also found ( $\beta = -.16$ ,  $p < .05$ , one-tailed;  $\Delta R^2 = .01$ ,  $p = .08$ , one-tailed) (see Table 50). The statistically significant interaction between public contact and importance to identity was plotted to better interpret the results (see Figure 9). As predicted, importance to identity neutralizes the effect of public contact so that Hijabis were more likely to expect receiving interviews or call backs for high public contact occupations when they scored low on importance to identity than when they scored high on importance to identity, and were less likely to expect receiving interviews or call backs for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations when they scored high on importance to identity.

Table 50

Effects of Public Contact and Importance to Identity on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	$\Delta R^2$	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	$\Delta R^2$	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	$\Delta R^2$
1. Public Contact	0.02	0.03	0.03*	-0.14	0.01	0.01	-0.05	0.00	0.00
Importance to Identity	.19*			0.08			0.03		
2. Public Contact x Importance to Identity	-0.02	0.03	0.00	-0.16	0.03	0.01*	-0.15	0.01	0.01

\* =  $p < .05$ , N=212

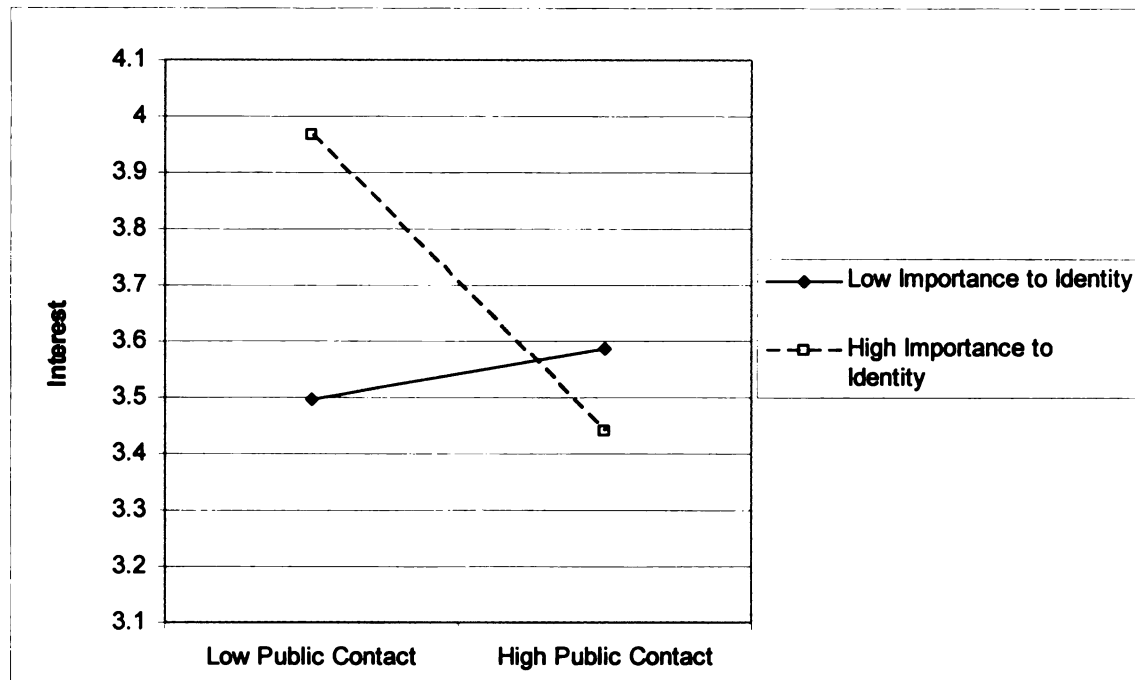


Figure 9. Interaction between public contact and importance to identity on expectations to receive interviews or calls back for the job (interest) for Hijabis.

Overall, hypothesis 7 was partially supported. Membership self esteem and private self esteem moderates the relationship between public contact and intentions and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who score low on membership self esteem or private self esteem will be more likely to expect interviews and job offers for high public contact occupations than Hijabis who score high on membership self esteem or private self esteem. Hijabis who score high on membership self esteem or private self esteem will be less likely to expect interviews and job offers for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations. Membership self esteem and private self esteem did not, however, moderate the relationship between public contact and (applying) for Hijabis. Also, importance to identity moderates the relationship between public contact and expectations of (b) receiving interviews but not intentions to (a) apply or expectations of (c) getting job offers for Hijabis.

Public self esteem does not moderate the relationship between public contact and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis.

#### Hypothesis 9

Hypothesis 9 suggested that optimism moderates the relationship between public contact and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who score high on optimism will be more likely to apply for high public contact occupations than hijabis who score low on optimism.

Hijabis who score low on optimism will be less likely to apply for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations.

One separate moderated regression analysis was conducted for each of the three dependant variables [intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis] (See Table 51). An interaction term for optimism and amount of public contact will be entered into a regression predicting differences in the DV. Due to the directional nature of the hypothesis, one-tailed tests were conducted.

*Apply, Interest, Offer*

Hypotheses 9a, 9b, and 9c were not supported (see Table 51).

Table 51

*Effects of Public Contact and Optimism on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.*

Step	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>
1. Public Contact	0.03	0.01	0.01	-0.13	0.05	.05*	-0.05	0.02	0.02
Optimism	0.03			0.07*			0.04*		
2. Public Contact x Optimism	-0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.00	-0.01	0.02	0.00

\* =  $p < .05$ , N=264

Overall, hypothesis 9 was not supported. Optimism did not moderate the relationship between public contact and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis.

#### Hypothesis 11

Hypothesis 11 suggested that locus of control moderates the relationship between public contact and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis such that Hijabis who have internal locus of control will be more likely to apply for high public contact occupations than Hijabis who have external locus of control.

Hijabis who have internal locus of control will be less likely to apply for high public contact occupations than low public contact occupations.

One separate moderated regression analysis was conducted for each of the three dependant variables [intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis] (See Table 52). An interaction term for locus of control and amount of public contact will be entered into a regression predicting differences in the DV. Due to the directional nature of the hypothesis, one-tailed tests were conducted.

*Apply, Interest, Offer*

Hypotheses 11a, 11b, and 11c were not supported (see Table 52).

Table 52

*Effects of Public Contact and Locus of Control on Applying and Receiving Job Interest and Job Offers.*

	DV Name								
	Apply			Interest			Offer		
Step	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	R <sup>2</sup> Total	Δ R <sup>2</sup>
1. Public Contact	0.06	0.00	0.00	-0.11	0.03	.03*	-0.02	0.01	0.01
Locus of Control	0.01			-0.04*			-0.04		
2. Public Contact x Locus of Control	-0.04	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.03	0.00	0.03	0.02	0.01

\* =  $p < .05$ , N=210

Overall, hypothesis 11 was not supported. Locus of control did not moderate the relationship between public contact and intentions (a) to apply for and expectations of (b) receiving interviews or (c) getting job offers for Hijabis.

## APPENDIX I

### Select Responses for the Open-Ended Questions

*What does the hijab mean to you as a Muslim, and as an American?*

“An exercise of my freedom of expression.”

“It's my identity as a Muslim woman.”

“It serves many functions in America, which it may not serve in Muslim countries. For example, in America it may be viewed as a feminist statement along with the typical view of piety.”

“Hijab means a visual association of who I am, discipline, fighting conformity, and probably very very little to do with modesty. Fighting conformity I believe is American and Islamic.”

“I do not wear the hijab for religious identification or nationalism. I wear it because God commanded me to. I wear it to represent modesty and submission to God...”

“I wear the headscarf for a variety of reasons -- 1) because, as a feminist, it struck me as the single strongest means to reject the exploitation of women's bodies and sexuality by the entertainment industry, advertisers, and the beauty industry....”

“As a Muslim, wearing the hijab indicates my devotion to God. It is my way of showing my belief in God and Islam. As an American, my headscarf means nothing other than individuality.”

*Why do you choose to wear the hijab even after 9/11, when it might pose a danger to do so or it might arouse suspicion from others?*

“A hijab is a piece of cloth, wrapped around my head, what kind of danger does that pose? As for suspicion, I think that's great, people ask more questions, they become more curious, and in turn they learn about Islam....”

“America continues to be a free country, therefore I continue to do as I please.”

“Because I have nothing to fear and nothing to feel guilty about. I'm not responsible for 9/11 and those ignorant enough to believe that women like us or Muslim men with beards were responsible should know that we won't go into hiding or change our ways.”

“Because I refuse to back down. This is who I am, and I should not be ashamed of it. The men that caused 9/11 were not Muslim, so they do not reflect me, my

values, or my beliefs. I should not be their "fall-guy" because they are nothing like me."

"Because I want to be a good example to show that just because I am Muslim and I wear a hijab, I am NOT a terrorist. I want to show that real Muslims are good people."

"Because it is part of the Islamic dress code that I believe in. People's suspicions should change, not my beliefs."

"Because wearing hijab and living in this society is my jihad and after 9/11 it became a bigger jihad. If I were to be scared of these people and had taken off my hijab, I don't deserve to call myself Muslim because I can't even stand up for my beliefs."

"Because I don't live my life to please others. Hijab is a test to see how much you love your lord, regardless of what political times may come. It is all the more a sign of how much I love my lord and am willing to do what he asks of me."

"I feel that particularly since 9/11, it is important to break stereotypes of Muslim women as submissive and down trodden as they are being used as excuses for invasions."

"I am not guilty of terrorism nor is Islam. Therefore, I don't think that I am the one who needs to change...I think we need more education about Islam. I can do more for that by keeping my hijab on and being an exemplary Muslim than by taking it off."

"I have more reason to wear it now, to alleviate the wrong stereotype that Muslims have attained in this time. By my actions I want others to see that we are peace loving, honest, hardworking individuals, just like them. I want that stereotype to not exist."

*In what ways has your Islamic beliefs influenced your work life in America, such as in seeking employment and in demanding accommodations on the basis of your religion?*

"I am much more careful in not wanting to go into a company or job that does anything against Islamic beliefs. For instance, as a future chemist, I will not get a job testing formulas at a brewery."

"I am sometimes asked why I wear hijab, and it sparks interesting discussions."

"I choose not to work in certain places that may serve alcohol or that would require a lot of contact with men. I think that I am just as qualified as anyone else to get a position, and I believe that Allah swt gives me, work not people. "

“I chose a career that would not compromise my religious beliefs so that I would not have to choose between Islam and my work life. As of yet, I have had no difficulty obtaining a position. ”

“I do not work on Fridays so I can be free to attend prayers. Also, my employer is aware I need to take breaks to pray. ”

“I don't shake hands with men in the business setting.”

“I have experienced somewhat of discrimination when applying for jobs but have also found others that were very accommodating.”

“I typically have not had any problems in my various jobs getting accommodations for my religious needs – holidays, prayer space, etc. I would never accept or seek employment in a setting that would be unsupportive of my needs.”

“If the first interview is over the phone I noticed people are usually nice, but when I go in for an interview and they see my hijab, I sense the awkwardness in the air. I am not saying everyone is like that but the hijab does play a major role ...”

“In general, people at work are extremely accommodating of my needs. I have not faced any issues in the work-place that relate to my religious beliefs. ”

“It is more difficult to be hired, some say the hijab is a health code violation or that it is dangerous to wear at work”

“It made me CHOOSE places that were Muslim/foreigner friendly, avoiding places where people stare or don't accept me. Most of the places I ended up in were more willing to accommodate my religion.”

“My Islamic beliefs encourage one to work. Work is also considered as a type of worship, as long as it's done within boundaries. But if a job is going to require me to take my scarf off, for example, then I wouldn't accept it.”

*Are you concerned about applying for work because you wear the hijab?*

“Honestly, yes. My concern is two-fold - how my potential employer might view it, and my potential employer's concerns that it may result in a negative response from clients and customers.”

“I sometimes worry that the interviewer may not like me because I wear hijab, or that they may be concerned that I will not mesh with the cultural atmosphere at the workplace.”

"I was and rightly so. I went to numerous interviews where I was rejected even though I believed I was fully qualified."

"I would not go to a job interview with a hijab."

"It does make me nervous at times. However, I know that I have credentials in academics and professional areas to know that where ever I'm applying, I'm qualified for it."

"No. I feel most people are able to see past the stereotypes against Muslims."

"NO.....if it is not meant for me, I will not get the job."

"Sometimes, I would already know if I would not be able to get the job so it'd be pointless to apply."

"Yes. I got a nice suit and always try to present myself in a very professional manner, but I know the scarf throws them off. So, I have to try extra hard to be personable and likable."

"Yes. I would hesitate to apply for a new job anywhere with hijab. Especially since I am the breadwinner for my family. The threat of unemployment is a risk I take in pushing the envelope, so to speak. "

"Yes, I've had a great deal of trouble finding a job because managers think it might make the customers nervous."

"Yes, I feel afraid that my potential employer may think I am a fanatic or a terrorist."

"Yes, most of the time I fear that I will be prejudiced because of the hijab, yet I feel that if the employer has a problem with my choice to do so, I would personally rather not be employed with that agency or corporation."

*Would you consider taking your hijab off to apply for work or if you were specifically asked to or were required to in order to get work?*

"Absolutely not. Taking off hijab is not an option."

"I would never consider taking the hijab off. I strongly believe that if a Muslim sister meets all the requirements while applying for a job, the hijab should not be part of the selection criteria."

"If I had no one to support me (I do currently) and my welfare had run out, I guess I would be force to do that."

**“NEVER EVER”**

**“No way. They are either going to take me as I am or deal with a huge law suit. I will not take off my hijab for any job out here.”**

**“NEVER! I think to take off your hijab to apply for work would be giving into discrimination. I believe that it would be a violation of human rights. But no person on Earth can make me give up part of my faith or what is required by my faith of me.”**

**“Never. I would consider speaking to a lawyer about pressing a discrimination suit, though.”**

**“Never. I would file a complaint with the EEOC and call CAIR to report discrimination.”**

**“No. There are enough jobs out there that I don't have to take a job that requires me to take off my hijab.”**

**“No. Wearing the hijab does not interfere with task performance. Anything and everything that can be done with the hijab off can be done with the hijab on.”**

**“No, I would never sacrifice my modesty over work, no matter how desperate I am for the job at the time. This world is vast, and I can always find another job.”**

***Are you aware of any incidences (personal or not) in which Hijabis were refused work on the basis of their attire?***

**“A lot of people don't believe this, but I have actually NEVER been shot even as much as dirty look even though I wear a jalbab and scarf. In my experience, people are very open when it comes to learning about Islam.”**

**“Absolutely. We all know someone who was offered a position without a scarf, only to be harassed while returning to work while wearing it.”**

**“I've heard of such stories and I know I was warned by non-Muslim managers and co-workers about the trials I would face personally. However, I have not experienced anything like that.”**

**“I got fired once for being a Muslim. He didn't know until I started wearing hijab.”**

**“I have heard of some stories to this effect. The people that I know personally suspected that they were not given a job in which they were qualified for because of their religious attire, but could not prove it.”**

"I have never heard of anyone specifically stating at their hijab must be taken off - but I have often felt and seen the shock on the interviewers face when they see me sitting in the waiting room."

"I heard, but have suspicions. I think it's a matter of qualifications, personality, and attitude."

"Not anyone I know. Employers won't say that because it is discrimination but I have felt many times that my hijab is why employers have not hired me. With wearing hijab, you have to prove yourself to everyone that you can do the job just as good or better."

"Not that I can absolutely prove, but I've applied for a number of retail jobs that I was very well qualified for and been turned down despite the fact that the business was still looking for help a month later."

"That is really hard to prove. Because most people are savvy enough not to admit that is why they don't hire someone. They will simply say someone else was more suited to what they were looking for."

"Yes I am. There are so many incidences in the state I live at moment. When 9/11 occurred, many people were laid off and were fired."

"Yes, I worked at \*\*\*\* in Atlanta, GA and while I was there I decide on my own I wanted to start wearing hijab. The management staff pulled me aside and said "take the scarf off or go home and get fired" I kept it on and I went home."

"Yes. A friend was hired for a job selling furniture and was told to take off her hijab. She was one of their better sales reps. She took her employer to court and won."

"Yes. A sister post 9/11 was asked to give up her manager position because it may "affect her safety at work" or take off her hijab and continue."

"Yes, I have many friends who were turned down from jobs, but on the other hand, I have many friends who do wear the headscarf and have very high class jobs."

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