

Are Joris and Renske more employable than Rashid and Samira?

A study on the prevalence and sources of ethnic discrimination in recruitment in the Netherlands using experimental and survey data

Lieselotte Blommaert

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Are Joris and Renske more employable than Rashid and Samira?

A study on the prevalence and sources of ethnic discrimination in recruitment in the Netherlands using experimental and survey data

Zijn Joris en Renske meer gewild als werknemer dan Rashid en Samira?

Een studie naar het voorkomen en de oorzaken van etnische discriminatie in wervingsprocedures in Nederland met gebruik van experimenten en enquêtes.

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

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Promotor: Prof.dr. F.A. van Tubergen

Co-promotor: Dr. M.T.A. Coenders

Manuscript committee: Prof.dr. H. Aarts (Utrecht University)
Prof.dr. P. Scheepers (Radboud University Nijmegen)
Prof.dr. I. Maas (Utrecht University)
Prof.dr. J.J. Schippers (Utrecht University)
Prof.dr. M.J.A.M. Verkuyten (Utrecht University)

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1

Introduction

1.1 ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION AND ETHNIC INEQUALITY IN THE LABOR MARKET

Non-Western ethnic minorities in Europe on average hold less favorable positions in the labor market than the majority population. Substantial ethnic inequalities exist in labor market outcomes such as employment, occupational status, and wages (Bassanini & Saint-Martin, 2008; Heath, Rethon & Kilpi, 2008; Kogan, 2006; Van Tubergen, Maas & Flap, 2004).

Previous research has shown that ethnic differences in labor market outcomes can partly be attributed to ethnic differences in human and social capital. Compared to the majority population, ethnic minority group members on average come from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, have lower levels of education, possess less knowledge of host country institutions, and are less proficient in the host-country language (Chiswick & Miller, 1995, 2002; Heath et al., 2008; Kanas & Van Tubergen, 2009; Kristen, 2005). Moreover, ethnic minority group members generally have fewer contacts with others who can provide information or recommendations about labor market opportunities. In particular contacts with high-status individuals and majority group members are important in this regard (Aguilera & Massey, 2003; Kanas, Van Tubergen & Van der Lippe, 2011; Sanders, Nee & Sernau, 2002).

Scholars have argued, however, that differences in human and social capital are not the only forces that drive ethnic disparities in the labor market. Another potential explanation for ethnic inequality in the labor market is ethnic discrimination (e.g., Altonji & Blank, 1999; Heath et al., 2008). Defined in the most simple way, ethnic discrimination is the unequal treatment of individuals or groups on the basis of their ethnicity. In line with this definition, ethnic discrimination *in the labor market* is the unequal treatment of ethnic minority group members compared to similar majority group members by for example employers, managers, personnel workers, recruiters, or co-workers. Note that a crucial feature of any definition of ethnic discrimination is that it focuses on behavior and as such is distinct from interethnic attitudes and stereotypes or beliefs (c.f., Pager & Shepherd, 2008).

Ethnic discrimination in the labor market may occur during various stages of the occupational career and may influence careers in multiple ways. For example, discrimination can affect promotions or wages (National Research Council, 2004). The focus of the present study, however, is on discrimination in recruitment, which is also sometimes referred to as discrimination in employment (e.g., Pager, 2007) or in hiring (e.g., Derous, Ryan & Nguyen, 2012). Research on discrimination during recruitment procedures is relevant because previous research on the position of ethnic minorities across Europe (Heath et al., 2008) has shown that access to jobs is particularly crucial for ethnic minorities; ethnic penalties in employment appear to be larger

and more consistent than for example those in occupational attainment. Moreover, the labor market position earlier in the occupational career affects later labor market achievements (e.g., Gijsberts, Huijnk & Dagevos, 2012). Hence, when individuals are discriminated against during recruitment procedures this may result in longer periods of unemployment or smaller chances of obtaining higher level jobs. In the longer run, that may lead to discouragement and even to withdrawal from the labor market, or a reluctance to invest in education amongst ethnic minority groups (e.g., Loury, 2002).

1.2 PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION IN RECRUITMENT

1.2.1 Measuring ethnic discrimination in the labor market

Ethnic discrimination in the labor market (and in other domains) is difficult to identify. It can rarely be observed directly. Even if clear ethnic disparities in a certain labor market outcome exist, these may (also) be the result of other factors (National Research Council, 2004), as discussed above. Researchers have to infer the presence of discrimination by trying to determine whether an outcome for a certain individual would have been different had the individual belonged to a different ethnic group. In other words, to establish whether discrimination has occurred, one needs to answer the counterfactual question ‘what would have happened to the same person in the same situation if only his or her ethnicity would have been different?’ (c.f., Quillian, 2006). There are different ways to approach this question and measure ethnic discrimination in the labor market or, more specifically, in recruitment (Pager & Shepherd, 2008; Quillian, 2006; for a detailed discussion of the different available methods for measuring discrimination, see National Research Council, 2004). The most frequently used approaches will be discussed below.

One method to study ethnic discrimination in the labor market is by means of *survey data* (National Research Council, 2004). There are different ways in which survey data can provide information on discrimination. First, an approach to study ethnic discrimination in the labor market used by many researchers in the fields of sociology and economics is statistical analysis of survey data on labor market outcomes (for an overview of such studies see Altonji & Blank, 1999). Statistical analyses of survey data focus on differences in outcomes between ethnic groups. In the case of ethnic discrimination in the labor market, the outcome variable may be unemployment, occupational level, wages, or some other indicator of labor market success. Discrimination is then examined by estimating regression models that include ethnicity as well

as a range of other characteristics that are believed to influence the outcome, such as education, training, and experience. Discrimination is measured either as the direct effect of the ethnicity on the outcome controlled for the other determinants, or by estimating interaction effects of ethnicity and other relevant features (National Research Council, 2004; Pager, 2007). In other words, the part of the ethnic gap in the outcome that cannot be accounted for by the factors other than ethnicity (that is: the residual or unexplained rest) is often taken as an indication of discrimination. Accordingly, this approach is sometimes described as the 'statistical decomposition' or 'unexplained rest' method (Altonji & Blank, 1999; Pager, 2007; Quillian, 2006). Studies relying on the statistical decomposition method allow researchers to identify systematic disparities between ethnic groups and differences therein between geographical areas or over time. Also, such methods can be a valuable tool for understanding the sources underlying ethnic differences in labor market outcomes by shedding light on the relative importance of the determinants that were measured (National Research Council, 2004). However, there are at least three potential problems involved with using statistical decomposition methods to study discrimination. The first is sample selection bias. This type of bias occurs when the sample used excludes individuals whose features vary from those of the individuals that are represented in the data (Pager & Shepherd, 2008; Quillian, 2006). The second and perhaps most important potential problem involved with the statistical decomposition method is omitted variable bias, which occurs when conditions that affect the outcome measure are not included in the analysis. When studying labor market outcomes, for example, researchers may not have information on personal features such as motivation, social capital, language skills, or physical appearance. These factors may nevertheless influence the outcome and the ethnic gap in that regard. Hence, not taking them into account may lead to an overestimation of discrimination (Pager & Shepherd, 2008; Quillian, 2006). A third issue associated with the statistical decomposition method has to do with the potentially cumulative effect of discrimination. An assumption underlying studies using statistical decomposition is that discrimination occurs at one point in time and in one domain. But discrimination may well have a cumulative effect. For instance, discrimination during the educational career may affect students' educational achievements which may in turn affect their success on the labor market. Similarly, discrimination at an individuals' entry to the labor market may influence this person's initial labor market position (employment, type of contract, occupational level) which then determines his or her chances on the labor market in later stages. When researchers applying the statistical decomposition approach control for education or previous unemployment, they may therefore control for discrimination in earlier phases of the career. Hence, the role of discrimination in shaping labor market outcomes may be underestimated when using the statistical decomposition method (National Research Council, 2004; Pager & Shepherd, 2008).

Another way in which survey data can provide information on discrimination is by means of *self-reports from ethnic minority group members* (Quillian, 2006). Studies asking ethnic minority group members about their experiences with discrimination might give researchers some idea of the extent to which discrimination occurs in real-life situations. Perhaps more importantly, findings on levels of perceived discrimination are relevant in their own right, given the potential adverse consequences of discrimination experiences for personal well-being or efforts and performance in education or in the labor market (Loury, 2002; Pager & Shepherd, 2008). But there are also important drawbacks to the use of reports by potential victims to study discrimination. Due to the difficulties with observing discrimination directly, not only for researchers but also to those who are involved directly, reports on perceived discrimination by minority group members may either reflect an overestimation or an underestimation of the actual extent of discrimination. On the one hand, minority group members may incorrectly attribute negative outcomes to discrimination (overestimation). On the other hand, there are likely to be instances in which minority group members were discriminated against but in which they did not identify the discrimination (underestimation; Pager & Shepherd, 2008; Quillian, 2006).

Yet another manner in which survey data can be used to study discrimination is by studying *majority group members' experiences, intentions, support for discrimination, or attitudes* towards ethnic minorities (National Research Council, 2004). Survey methods can be used to ask majority group members about experiences with ethnic minority group members, for example in hiring situations. Also, research can use questionnaires to ask majority group members what course of action they themselves would take under certain circumstances or whether they would support discrimination in a situation in which for example goods have to be divided amongst minority and majority group members. Survey data can help to gain insight in the propensity towards discrimination amongst majority group members. However, due to social desirability concerns, majority group members can be unwilling to confess to practicing or supporting discriminatory behavior. Hence, the use of such data is likely to lead to an underestimation of discrimination (National Research Council, 2004; Pager & Shepherd, 2008; Quillian, 2006).

An alternative way to use survey data gathered amongst majority group members to gain insight in interethnic relations is by means of questions on interethnic attitudes. In many studies, interethnic attitudes of majority group members are taken to be a proxy for discrimination of minority group members (c.f., Pager & Quillian, 2005). Allport (1954: 14), for example, stated that "It is true that any negative attitude tends somehow, somewhere to express itself in action. Few people keep their antipathies entirely to themselves". Levin and Levin (1982: 81) wrote: "We are interested in prejudice only to the extent that it is related to actual discrimination". Yet, there

is much scholarly debate and research about the attitude-behavior link (for meta-analyses see Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson & Gaertner, 1996; Schütz & Six, 1996; Talaska, Fiske & Chaiken, 2008) and both classic and more recent studies (e.g., LaPiere, 1934; Pager & Quillian, 2005) show that interethnic attitudes and behavior are not always in line with each other. Moreover, the abovementioned social desirability involved with asking potential discriminators about practicing or supporting discriminatory apply to reporting interethnic attitudes as well. For these reasons, survey methods relying on reports from majority group members are problematic as an indicator for discrimination (National Research Council, 2004).

In addition to using survey data, another way to gauge discrimination is by means of *experimental methods* (National Research Council, 2004). Experiments are a compelling way to study discrimination because they most closely approach the counterfactual design that provides insight into the crucial question of what would have happened to a certain individual in a certain situation had only his or her ethnicity been different. The key elements of experiments are manipulation of the variable hypothesized to have a causal effect on a certain outcome (in this case ethnicity), random assignment and control of confounding variables (National Research Council, 2004). These elements ensure that experiments have high levels of internal validity. In other words, experiments form a convincing way to determine whether disparate outcomes for different ethnic groups are indeed the result of discrimination (Pager & Shepherd, 2008; Quillian, 2006).

Two main types of experimental approaches to study discrimination in recruitment can be distinguished: field experiments and laboratory experiments (National Research Council, 2004; Pager & Shepherd, 2008). *Field experiments* on ethnic discrimination in recruitment typically involve fictitious matched job applicants who contact employers in response to vacancies. Specifically, two main types of field experiments exist: ‘correspondence tests’ and ‘in-person audits’ (Pager, 2007). In correspondence tests, sets of résumés (and application letters) representing ethnic minority and majority applicants with similar background features and qualifications are sent to employers. In-person tests involve the use of pairs of individuals, again representing equivalent ethnic minority and majority group members, who pose as job applicants (‘testers’) and contact employers via telephone or in person. For both types of field experiments, systematic differences in outcomes (for example call-backs, positive reactions, invitations for job interviews) by the ethnicity of the fictitious applicants provide a measure of ethnic discrimination in recruitment (National Research Council, 2004; Riach & Rich, 2002). Field experiments retain the crucial features of experimental studies (matching and randomization) and are therefore able to identify discrimination more accurately than non-experimental approaches. In addition, field experiments have the advantage of being situated

in the real world, making their results more directly generalizable than those of laboratory experiments (National Research Council, 2004). Field experiments are therefore generally seen as the most suitable method to demonstrate the extent to which discrimination occurs in real-life hiring procedures (Pager, 2007; Riach & Rich, 2002). But field experiments also have drawbacks. First, such experiments typically involve selecting job vacancies to which fictitious applicants can respond. The sample of vacancies is inevitably limited. Which sample is selected may therefore influence conclusions about discrimination. Second, in the case of in-person audits, average differences in outcomes by ethnicity may be driven by features of testers which were unobserved by the researcher rather than by discrimination. Finally, it has been argued (Heckman, 1998) that estimates of discrimination based on a random selection of vacancies (for example by using a random selection of firms, advertisements, and so on) do not measure the impact of discrimination in a market. Based on knowledge or assumptions about the risk of being discriminated against in certain sectors, firms, or job types, ethnic minority applicants choose to apply for vacancies for which they expect a higher likelihood of success (National Research Council, 2004; Pager & Shepherd, 2008).

In *laboratory experiments* on ethnic discrimination in recruitment, experimental subjects participate in simulated recruitment procedures (National Research Council, 2004). These subjects are asked to take on the role of employers, recruiters, or other decision makers and asked to evaluate the application materials of fictitious ethnic minority and majority applicants. Laboratory experiments are particularly suitable to identify causal effects of determinants on the outcome, as the controlled environment of the laboratory provides researchers with the opportunity to rule out external influences and isolate effects of conditions predicted to influence discrimination via matching and random assignment. In other words, such experiments “offer some of the strongest evidence of causal relationships” (Pager & Shepherd, 2008: 184-185) not only about effects of applicants’ ethnicity on recruitment decisions but also about the conditions under which discrimination is more or less likely to occur. Hence, laboratory experiments are very suitable to investigate the sources of discrimination. A drawback of laboratory experiments studies is that such studies are limited in their external validity and therefore the extent to which their results are generalizable to a broader population. They cannot guarantee that the participants in the experiment would display the same kind of behavior in the real world and are generally restricted regarding their sample of subjects. As a consequence, it sometimes remains unclear how outcomes of laboratory experiments relate to real-life social contexts such as actual recruitment procedures (National Research Council, 2004).

In conclusion, all of the existing methods to study discrimination have their own strengths and none of them are completely without shortcomings. Which method is most suitable depends

upon the research question asked (National Research Council, 2004; Pager & Shepherd, 2008). Whereas field experiments are widely considered to be the best way to assess the prevalence of discrimination, laboratory experiments offer a way to strictly test predictions about the sources that shape discrimination, and survey techniques are a suitable way of gathering more detailed information on conditions that foster or hamper discrimination.

1.2.2 Previous research

This section provides an overview of prior research on ethnic discrimination – and interethnic attitudes – applying the different methods outlined in the previous section. It will clarify what previous research has taught us and what questions remain open regarding the prevalence of ethnic discrimination in the labor market and the conditions that shape such discrimination.

Studies applying the statistical decomposition method to survey data on labor market outcomes have provided insight into the size of ethnic inequalities in the labor market and the extent to which these can be explained by relevant features such as education and experience, both internationally and in the Netherlands. For the United States, for example, Altonji and Blank (1999) have shown that in 1995 black males received 21% lower hourly wages compared to white males. After controlling for group differences in education, experience and region a gap of 12% remained and adding additional controls left a gap of 9%. Results for females were comparable (Altonji & Blank, 1999). For the Netherlands, recent analyses conducted by the Netherlands' Institute for Social Research (Gijssberts et al., 2012) showed that in 2010 non-Western ethnic minorities were about three times as likely as native Dutch to be unemployed. Controlling for education, experience, prior unemployment and demographic factors, the remaining ethnic gap in unemployment was on average 30%. However, there turned out to be large differences between ethnic groups in this regard. For example, for the Moroccan minority, 50% of the gap remained unexplained. In sum, previous research relying on decomposition of survey data on labor market outcomes has shown that human capital only partially explains the ethnic inequalities in the labor market. However, as argued above, the remaining ethnic gaps do not form a reliable indication of the role of ethnic discrimination in shaping labor market achievements of ethnic minorities (National Research Council, 2004).

Previous *research using survey data to measure interethnic attitudes* is also discussed in this section because such attitudes are sometimes taken as a proxy for tendencies to display discriminatory behavior (Pager & Quillian, 2005). The most important achievement of the extensive literature on interethnic attitudes is that it has shed light on the conditions under which interethnic attitudes are more or less negative. Moreover, compared to experimental

studies on discrimination the interethnic attitudes literature has been more theory-driven. Important theories in this literature focus on the influence of interethnic contacts and ethnic competition or threat (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; Zick, Pettigrew & Wagner, 2008). Empirical results have confirmed that these two factors are indeed important predictors of interethnic attitudes (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; Zick et al., 2008). The effect of interethnic contact on interethnic attitudes is well-documented. Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) conducted a meta-analysis taking into account 515 studies on the influence of intergroup contact on intergroup relations. Results of this meta-study showed that intergroup contact is, as predicted by Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis, typically related to less negative interethnic attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006: 765). Likewise, the effect of perceived interethnic threat on interethnic attitudes is well established (e.g., Savelkoul, Scheepers, Tolsma & Hagendoorn, 2010; Scheepers, Gijsberts & Coenders, 2002; Schlueter, Schmidt & Wagner, 2008). Findings are more mixed concerning the influence of contextual and (to a lesser extent) individual conditions associated with increased threat perceptions that are expected to affect interethnic attitudes. Nevertheless, the general consensus is that, like interethnic contact, interethnic threat is indeed an important predictor of negative interethnic relations (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; Zick et al., 2008). But findings from studies on interethnic attitudes and their sources cannot be taken as direct evidence on discriminatory behavior because, as mentioned above, previous research has shown that individuals' behavior is not always in line with their attitudes (c.f., Schuman, Singer, Donovan & Sellitz, 1983; Dovidio et al., 1996; Schütz & Six, 1996; Talaska et al., 2008). Recently, Pager and Quillian's study 'Walking the Talk? What Employers Say Versus What They Do' (2005) clearly demonstrated the relevance of considering interethnic attitudes and behavior (in the context of the labor market) separately. It therefore remains unclear whether features that are known to affect interethnic attitudes are also related to ethnic discrimination in the labor market.

Field experiments to study discrimination in the labor market excel in exactly that aspect that forms the main weakness of survey data: accurately identifying cases in which discriminatory behavior occurred (National Research Council, 2004). A considerable number of studies have used field experiment data to study ethnic discrimination in recruitment (for overviews, see: Pager & Sheperd, 2008; Riach & Rich, 2002). Field experiment research on ethnic discrimination in recruitment has been conducted in Europe (Allasino, Reyneri, Venturini & Zincone, 2004; Andriessen, Nievers, Faulk & Dagevos, 2010; Andriessen, Nievers, Dagevos, & Faulk, 2012; Attström, 2007; Bovenkerk, Gras & Ramsøedh, 1994; Carlsson & Rooth, 2007; Cediey & Foroni, 2008; Dolfing & Van Tubergen, 2005; Kaas & Manger, 2012; McGinnity, Nelson, Lunn & Quinn, 2009; Rooth, 2010; Zegers de Beijl, 2000), the United States (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Pager & Quillian, 2005; Pager, Bonikowski & Western, 2009), Australia (Riach & Rich,

1991) and Canada (e.g., Oreopoulos, 2011). These prior studies have consistently found strong evidence of discrimination against ethnic minority applicants (Bassanini & Saint-Martin, 2008; Pager, 2007; Riach & Rich, 2002). For instance, in their field experiment conducted in New York (United States), Pager and colleagues (2009) concluded that whites were about 50% more likely to receive a callback from an employer than African Americans. Similarly, in a study on discrimination of African American job applicants in Boston and Chicago (United States), Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) showed that applicants with white sounding names were about 50% more likely to receive a callback than those with black sounding names. Oreopoulos (2011) found somewhat lower discrimination rates in his study on discrimination of applicants with Chinese, Indian, Pakistani and Greek sounding names in the Toronto metropolitan area (Canada), showing that candidates with English sounding names were on average 39% more likely to receive a callback. In Europe, similar rates of discrimination were found. For example, based on a field experiment in Ireland, McGinnity and colleagues (2009) showed that Irish applicants were more than twice as likely to be invited for an interview as candidates of African, Asian or German origin. Cediey and Foroni (2008) found a discrimination rate of 54% against applicants of North-African and Sub-Saharan-African origin in France. Carlsson and Rooth (2007) conducted a study on discrimination against applicants with Middle Eastern names in Stockholm and Gothenburg (Sweden). They found that applicants with Swedish names were about 50% more likely to receive a callback than those with Middle Eastern names. Field experiments have thus been of crucial importance to convincingly document the pervasiveness of ethnic discrimination in labor markets. However, these studies were not designed to study predictions on the forces driving discriminatory behavior (Riach & Rich, 2002). Hence, important questions regarding the circumstances under which discrimination is more likely to take place remain open (Pager, 2007; Quillian, 2006). Several scholars have argued that we need to move beyond establishing to what extent ethnic discrimination is present in the labor market and focus our attention on the conditions that foster or hamper discrimination (Reskin, 2000; Pager & Shepherd, 2008).

Compared to field experiments, *laboratory experiments* potentially form a more suitable way to study conditions under which discrimination is more or less likely to occur. But laboratory based studies on interethnic relations in the past decades have mainly been conducted by psychologists and have focused predominantly on subtle, nonverbal forms of discriminatory behavior (c.f., National Research Council, 2004). Examples of such behavior are speech time, speech errors and hesitations, eye contact, smiling, social comments, ignition of conversation, hand and body movements, position and seating distance during interactions with a member of an other ethnic group, and generosity (Dovidio, Kawakami & Gaertner, 2002; McConnell

& Leibold, 2001; Rudman & Ashmore, 2007; Sekaquaptewa, Espinoza, Thompson, Vargas & Von Hippel, 2003; Stepanikova, Triplett & Simpson, 2011). Other research dealt with somewhat more overt behaviors like choices of whether or not to work with a member of another ethnic group, volunteering to help organizations, providing direct aid to a member of an other ethnic group, or even aggression in the form of subjecting others to low levels of shock, blasts of noise, or other aversive experiences (Talaska et al., 2008). Yet, laboratory studies on forms of discrimination that may lead to ethnic inequalities in important life domains like the labor or housing market remain extremely scarce (c.f., Deros, Nguyen & Ryan, 2009; National Research Council, 2004). There are a few notable exceptions; studies examining the influence of job or group features and different types of interethnic attitudes on selection decisions in fictitious hiring situations (Hosoda, Stone & Stone-Romero, 2003; Krings & Olivares, 2007; Son Hing, Chung-Yan, Hamilton & Zanna, 2008: study 2; Deros et al., 2009, 2012: study 2). Together, these studies have shown that discrimination (at least against some groups) does occur in hiring procedures and is influenced by job type (external contact and cognitive demand), gender and qualifications of applicants, and (certain types of) interethnic attitudes of the raters. Moreover, these factors tend to interact with each other in shaping discrimination. Despite these few exceptions, however, discrimination in “real-world-type behaviors” are still largely neglected in laboratory studies (National Research Council, 2004: 116). Hence, much is still unknown about the conditions that shape types of discriminatory behavior that influence social inequalities. These types of behavior are key concern to sociologists and economists. As such, these academic disciplines could benefit from an increased use of the laboratory experiment methodology (c.f., Falk & Heckman, 2009) to further develop “theories of discriminatory mechanisms” (National Research Council, 2004: 116).

1.3 CONTRIBUTIONS, AIMS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS OF THIS STUDY

1.3.1 Contributions, aims and theoretical approach

The present study seeks to bring together four research lines from different scientific disciplines to expand existing knowledge on not only the pervasiveness of ethnic discrimination in the labor market but also the circumstances under which such discrimination is more or less likely to occur. The first of these lines of research is formed by field experiments on discriminatory behavior in the labor market. These have primarily been conducted by economists and sociologists. Field experiments have contributed greatly to our knowledge of the prevalence

of discrimination in labor markets but have taught us less about the sources of discrimination (Riach & Rich, 2002). In this study, field experiment data will be used to answer new descriptive questions that focus on the prevalence of discrimination in different phases of recruitment procedures via relatively new and increasingly important channels.

The second line of research on which this study builds is formed by laboratory experiments on ethnic discrimination, which have primarily been conducted by psychologists. Laboratory experiments provide the opportunity to examine the conditions that shape discriminatory behavior more closely. However, laboratory studies conducted over the past decades have focused mainly on more subtle behaviors and have largely ignored behavior that may be related to social inequalities, such as hiring or renting (National Research Council, 2004). Hence, which conditions shape the latter types of behavior remains unclear. In the present study, the laboratory experiment approach will be applied to study individual level conditions that may foster or hamper ethnic discrimination in recruitment.

The third line of research on which this study builds consists of studies on interethnic attitudes and their sources, mainly conducted by sociologists. This more theory-based body of research has provided valuable insights in the mechanisms that shape negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010). However, as other studies have shown that people's behavior is not always in line with the attitudes that they express (e.g., Pager & Quillian, 2005), we cannot be sure that the factors that influence negative interethnic attitudes affect interethnic behavior in the same way and to the same extent (National Research Council, 2004). The present study will apply survey data, in combination with laboratory experiment data, to gain more insight in individual conditions that may shape ethnic discrimination in recruitment. Building on theories from the literature on *interethnic attitudes*, this study derives and tests predictions on the role of intergroup contacts and both individual and contextual features related to interethnic competition in shaping *interethnic behavior*, that is, discrimination in recruitment.

The fourth line of research on which the present study builds has primarily been developed by psychologists and distinguishes between *explicit* and *implicit* attitudes (c.f., Quillian, 2006, 2008; Pager & Shepherd, 2008). Explicit attitudes are controllable and expressed consciously or with awareness. They are the attitudes which are typically studied by sociologists and which are commonly measured by means of survey questions (Quillian, 2008). Implicit attitudes may affect thoughts and behavior outside of conscious awareness (e.g., Nosek, 2007) and can be measured via reaction time tasks or priming methods (Wittenbrink & Schwartz, 2007). Although sociologists and economists have so far hardly paid attention to this strand of literature, it is believed that both explicit and implicit attitudes may influence actions (Quillian, 2006, 2008;

Pager & Shepherd, 2008). The present study examines the influence of implicit interethnic attitudes, alongside that of explicit interethnic attitudes, on ethnic discrimination in recruitment.

Summarizing, this study combines experimental data on discriminatory behavior in the labor market with data from survey questions and reaction time tasks to provide more insight in both the prevalence of ethnic discrimination in recruitment and the conditions under which such discrimination is more likely to occur. The main aim of this study is twofold. The first goal is to assess whether ethnic discrimination occurs during recruitment processes via online résumé databases in the Netherlands. In doing so, this study will further our knowledge on the pervasiveness of discrimination in *recruitment via new channels*. Moreover, it will provide insight into the role of discrimination in *different phases of recruitment procedures* and hence shed more light on the mechanisms that underlie discriminatory behavior. The second goal of this study is to investigate under which *individual and contextual conditions* ethnic discrimination in recruitment is more likely to occur. In other words, the present study will examine *when or where* ethnic discrimination in recruitment is more likely to arise, *who* is more likely to discriminate, and *who* is more likely to be discriminated against. Studying conditions that foster or hamper discrimination will help to identify the mechanisms that underlie discriminatory behavior, which should eventually lead to a better understanding of *why* discrimination occurs.

To study the circumstances under which ethnic discrimination in recruitment is more or less likely to occur, this study builds upon theoretical approaches from the scientific fields of sociology and psychology. First, it draws from two theoretical approaches from the sociological literature on determinants of interethnic attitudes to derive expectations on determinants of discriminatory behavior: Ethnic Competition Theory and Contact Theory. These are prominent theoretical perspectives in sociological research on interethnic attitude (for overviews of this literature see: Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; Zick et al., 2008). In addition to being well-known theoretical approaches in this field, these theories are also informative. They can be used to derive predictions on the influence of conditions at both the individual and the contextual level. Moreover, they can be used to formulate hypotheses on the role of actual circumstances (e.g., the extent to which a majority group member competes with ethnic minorities over a scarce resource or the frequency of interethnic contacts) as well as perceptions (e.g., the extent to which interethnic threat is experienced or how interethnic contacts are evaluated). Hypotheses are derived from Ethnic Competition Theory and Contact Theory in Chapter 3, Chapter 4, and Chapter 6.

A second theoretical approach from which this study will derive predictions on the conditions that shape ethnic discrimination in recruitment is a relatively new line of research within the

psychological literature that focuses on the distinction between *explicit* and *implicit* attitudes (Quillian, 2008). The key assumption within this line of research is that in addition to explicit attitudes, which can be controlled and are expressed consciously, there are implicit attitudes which can influence thoughts and actions without intention or awareness (although there is still some debate about what exactly implicit attitudes are, how they are formed and how they relate to explicit attitudes; Nosek, 2007). Predictions revolving around explicit and implicit attitudes will be formulated in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

In addition to the abovementioned theoretical approaches that take a prominent place in this study, there are some other theoretical approaches that will also be discussed, albeit more briefly. There are elements of the implicit-explicit distinction, at least in some interpretations, which are related to dual attitudes' models (Wilson, Lindsey & Schooler, 2000). Hence, such models will receive some attention in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. Chapter 2 is a more descriptive chapter, which aims to uncover to what extent ethnic minority applicants are discriminated against in different phases of recruitment procedures via online résumé databases. However, it is possible to compare some of the outcomes of this chapter (post-hoc) with two theoretical approaches that have mainly been developed by economists (as well as with Ethnic Competition Theory): Statistical Discrimination Theory (e.g., Aigner & Cain, 1977; Altonji & Blank, 1999; Arrow, 1973; Phelps, 1972) and the job competition model (Thurow, 1975).

In the next section, the present study's aims and contributions are discussed in more detail, after which research questions are formulated, and the outline of the remainder of this study is sketched.

1.3.2 Prevalence of ethnic discrimination in recruitment in the Netherlands

The first aim of this study is descriptive; it concerns the prevalence of ethnic discrimination in recruitment in the Netherlands. New descriptive questions are formulated, which are relevant for the following reasons. New technologies have come to play an increasingly important role in recruitment procedures (Parry & Tyson, 2008). Originally, field experiment studies using correspondence test or in-person audit methods selected job vacancies from newspapers (National Research Council, 2004; Pager & Quillian, 2005). Over the past years, however, the internet has become a more and more important channel through which applicants seek for employment opportunities (Feldman & Klaas, 2002). Taking this development into account, some more recent field experiments (Carlsson & Rooth, 2007; Oreopoulos, 2011; Rooth, 2010) used job offers found on the internet to select vacancies. This approach is, however, still rather close to the classical field experiment design. It neglects the fact that, in addition to providing new ways of finding

advertisements of vacancies for job seekers, the internet offers new opportunities to organizations looking to hire new personnel. For instance, employers can actively recruit appropriate candidates using online résumé databases. Such different forms of recruitment have so far been neglected in research on discrimination in hiring. Yet, the use of online recruitment procedures applying résumé databases by employers or recruiters may change the way hiring decisions are made. Employers and recruiters are now able to search for prospective employees more efficiently, using specific search criteria. This potentially entails a stronger focus on applicant features relevant for productivity and a smaller role of applicant characteristics that are irrelevant for employee productivity (like ethnicity). Additionally, résumé databases standardize the information about job seekers that is presented to employers, at least during the first stages of the recruitment process in which employers are shown lists of potential candidates consisting of very brief applicants' profiles. This standardized way in which information on candidates is presented rules out that ethnic differences in the outcomes of recruitment processes are explained by ethnic minority applicants presenting themselves less well than native candidates.

In sum, to gain insight in the role of discrimination in recruitment procedures via new channels, this study investigates to what extent ethnic discrimination occurs during recruitment procedures via online résumé databases. The first research question therefore is:

RQ1: To what extent does ethnic discrimination in recruitment occur in the Netherlands?

1.3.3 Differences between different phases of recruitment procedures

Another way in which this study builds upon previous research on ethnic discrimination in recruitment is by investigating different phases or decision moments within recruitment procedures. In other words, this study examines *when* ethnic discrimination in recruitment arises.

Previous field experiments on discrimination in recruitment were typically restricted to positive reactions from employers or invitations for job interviews (i.e., 'callbacks', National Research Council 2004). Such studies portray discrimination in recruitment as a single decision (c.f., Pager et al., 2009). They lump together discrimination that occurs in the decision about whom to call back *and* in earlier decisions. Several scholars in this field have theorized about earlier phases of the recruitment process, suggesting that employers may use simple heuristics to make first selections of candidates (i.e., apply a 'lexicographic search') (Betrand & Mullainathan, 2004; McGinnity et al., 2009). One heuristics could be to "simply read no further" when they see a minority name (Betrand and Mullainathan 2004: 1011). So far, the soundness of this idea has not yet been investigated.

To better understand the processes that give rise to discrimination in recruitment different stages or decision points within hiring procedures are distinguished in this study. Phases of recruitment procedures may differ not only regarding the extent to which discrimination occurs but also regarding the mechanisms that lead to discrimination. Hence, this study differentiates between stages of recruitment processes when studying the prevalence of discrimination but also when the conditions that shape discrimination are examined. Therefore, the second research question is:

RQ2: Are there any differences between different phases of recruitment procedures in the prevalence of ethnic discrimination or the conditions that affect discrimination?

1.3.4 Contextual conditions: interethnic contact and interethnic threat

We will now turn to conditions that may influence ethnic discrimination in recruitment. First, this study examine the role of contextual conditions. More specifically, it investigates to what extent there are regional differences in the prevalence of discrimination in recruitment and whether characteristics of regions can account for these differences.

Drawing from Ethnic Competition Theory (e.g., Scheepers et al., 2002a) and Contact Theory (Allport, 1954) the focus is on two regional features: ethnic minority group size and unemployment levels. Ethnic Competition Theory postulates that interethnic relations are shaped by individuals' need to perceive their own group as superior to other groups, combined with competition over scarce resources. Contextual level conditions can affect the extent to which a person feels threatened by other ethnic groups and in the literature on interethnic attitudes and sources of these attitudes, ethnic minority group size and economic circumstances have been the most important contextual factors taken into account (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; Zick et al., 2008). Positive relationships between poorer economic circumstances and negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities were found in multiple investigations (e.g., Hello, Scheepers & Gijssberts, 2002; Lahav, 2004; Schneider, 2008; Semyonov et al., 2006, 2008) though some studies did not find a significant effect (Coenders, Lubbers & Scheepers, 2008; Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2009; Hjerem 2007; Scheepers et al., 2002a; Sides & Citrin, 2007; Strabac & Listhaug, 2008). Likewise, various studies have confirmed that larger minority groups are related to more negative interethnic attitudes (e.g., Coenders et al., 2008; Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2009; Scheepers et al., 2002a; Schneider, 2008; Semyonov, Rajjman & Gorodzeisky, 2006, 2008) even though some other studies found no relationship (Hello et al., 2002; Hjerem, 2007; Sides & Citrin, 2007; Strabac & Listhaug, 2008) or a negative relationship (Hjerem, 2009). Another theoretical approach which links minority group size in a certain area to interethnic attitudes and behavior is Contact Theory (Quillian, 1995). Assuming that larger minority groups lead to more meeting opportunities for majority and

minority group members and therefore more contact, this theory predicts the exact opposite as Ethnic Competition Theory, namely that larger minority groups lead to *less* negative interethnic relations. Numerous studies have found evidence of a negative relation between interethnic contact and negative interethnic attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Although there is quite some research on the influence of minority group size and economic circumstances on interethnic attitudes, this is not the case for discrimination (Riach & Rich, 2002). Moreover, previous research has shown that individuals' actions are not always in line with their explicit attitudes (Dovidio et al., 1996; Pager & Quillian, 2005; Schütz & Six, 1996; Talaska et al., 2008). Hence, this study examines to what extent regional features related to interethnic threat and interethnic contact affect discriminatory behavior in the labor market. The third research question therefore is:

RQ3: Is there an effect of the unemployment rate or the size of ethnic minority groups in the region on ethnic discrimination in recruitment?

1.3.5 Individual conditions: interethnic contact and interethnic threat

In addition to the role of contextual conditions, this study examines the role of individual conditions on ethnic discrimination in recruitment. First and foremost, the role of features of decision makers (potential discriminators) is investigated. Additionally, some attention is devoted to the role of features of applicants (potential victims). In other words, the present study examines who is more likely to discriminate and who is more likely to be discriminated against.

To derive predictions on the influence of characteristics of decision makers on their likelihood of discrimination against ethnic minority applicants, this study again builds upon Contact Theory and Ethnic Competition Theory. As for the role of contextual conditions, the influence of individual features related to interethnic threat and individuals' interethnic contacts on interethnic attitudes is rather well-established, but has not been investigated for discrimination. Hence, regarding interethnic contacts, the focus is on the effect of the frequency as well as the quality of decision makers' interethnic contacts on their likelihood to display discriminatory *behavior*. Regarding interethnic competition, this study investigates whether individuals' demographic and socioeconomic features related to interethnic threat affect their likelihood to discriminate. Accordingly, the fourth research question is:

RQ4: Is there an effect of demographic or socioeconomic (background) features related to interethnic threat or of interethnic contacts of decision makers on ethnic discrimination in recruitment?

The next research question then deals with the role of features of applicants who are the potential victims of ethnic discrimination in recruitment. Prior field experiment studies on ethnic discrimination in recruitment were in general limited in scope. For example, they often covered a limited geographical area, generally focusing on one or two cities (McGinnity et al., 2009). Moreover, most of these experiments are limited to a particular type of applicant. Many studies deal with only one ethnic minority group, one occupational level, and only male job applicants (c.f., Pager et al., 2009). By collecting data on both male and female candidates, applying for jobs at different levels across different areas of the Netherlands, this study is able to investigate whether different types of applicants are equally likely to encounter discrimination. Hence, the fifth research question is:

RQ5: Is there an effect of features of applicants (other than ethnicity) on their chances during recruitment procedures?

1.3.6 Individual conditions: implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes

In addition to contextual conditions and individual level interethnic contact and demographic and socioeconomic conditions linked to interethnic threat, this study examines the role of another type of individual condition, namely interethnic attitudes of decision makers. It builds upon a relatively new line of research that is based on the distinction between *explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes*. Explicit attitudes are controllable and expressed with awareness. Implicit attitudes, on the other hand, can be activated without conscious awareness (e.g., Nosek, 2005; Quillian, 2008). In the psychological literature, it is generally assumed that both explicit and implicit attitudes may have important implications for behavior (e.g., Nosek, 2005; Quillian, 2008). Over the past years, psychologists have started to examine the effect of implicit interethnic attitudes on interethnic behavior (Greenwald, Poehlman, Uhlmann & Banaji, 2009). But these studies dealt with more subtle behaviors, such as speech time or seating distance when interaction with an ethnic minority group member (Dovidio et al., 2002; McConnell & Leibold, 2001; Rudman & Ashmore, 2007; Sekaquaptewa et al., 2003; Stepanikova et al., 2011). The influence of implicit interethnic attitudes on discriminatory behavior in the labor market remain under-researched, despite the fact that prominent scholars in the field of interethnic attitudes have advocated the integration of these implicit attitudes into sociological research on ethnic discrimination. Sociologist Quillian (2006: 299), for instance, has argued that: “research on implicit prejudice, largely developed by psychologists, provides an important new understanding of the basis of discrimination and should be incorporated in sociological accounts”. Following this suggestion, the sixth research question of this study is:

RQ6: Is there an effect of explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes of decision makers on ethnic discrimination in recruitment?

1.3.7 Explaining implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes

After assessing the effect of explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes on ethnic discrimination in recruitment, this study examines explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes in more detail by looking at their sources.

Although research on the nature, prevalence and consequences of implicit attitudes has been developing rapidly since the first publications on implicit attitudes appeared in the mid-1990s (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Greenwald, McGhee & Schwartz, 1998) the origins of implicit attitudes have received much less attention (c.f., Rudman, 2004a; Rudman, Phelan & Heppen, 2007). Notwithstanding a few exceptions (e.g., Livingston, 2002; Nosek et al., 2007; Rudman et al., 2007) much remains unknown about conditions that affect implicit attitudes. Moreover, as most research on this topic was conducted by psychologists, the role of individuals' demographic features and other conditions commonly taken into account when explaining (explicit) interethnic attitudes in sociological research is still very much unclear (c.f., Quillian, 2006). Eventually, a better understanding of what shapes explicit and implicit attitudes can provide more insight in how these two types of attitudes are formed, operate, and influence actions, such as discriminatory behavior. The seventh and last research question addressed in this study therefore is:

RQ7: Do demographic and socioeconomic features, interethnic threat and interethnic contacts affect implicit interethnic attitudes and explicit interethnic attitudes similarly?

1.4 THE CONTEXT OF THIS STUDY

This study is set in the Netherlands. It deals with discrimination of and attitudes towards four non-Western ethnic minority groups in this country, namely those of Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese and (Netherlands') Antillean origin. In the Netherlands, as in many other European countries (c.f., Zick et al., 2008), the term 'ethnic minorities' is often used to refer not only to immigrants per se (individuals who were born abroad) but also to children of immigrants (born in the Netherlands), sometimes called 'second generation immigrants'. In line with this terminology, when the term 'ethnic minorities' is used in this dissertation it refers to immigrants or their children. Throughout this study the focus is sometimes on all four of these ethnic minority groups (Chapter 3), at times on those of Moroccan and Turkish origin (Chapter 4, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6), and other times on those of Moroccan origin (Chapter 2).

The Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese and Antillean minorities form the four largest non-Western ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands. In 2011, they together made up around 7.3% of the countries' population, whereas non-Western immigrants in total made up about 11.0% of the population. Of the four groups on which this study focuses, Turks are the largest group (2.3% in 2011), closely followed by Moroccans and Surinamese (both 2.1%) and at some distance by Antilleans (0.8%). These percentages are higher in and around the four largest cities in the country (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, and Utrecht) and amongst younger cohorts (Gijsberts et al., 2012). The same or comparable minority groups can also be found in other European countries. Turkish minorities are present in several countries across Europe (e.g., Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland). Belgium and France also have Moroccan minorities. Although minorities from Suriname and the Netherlands' Antilles are (almost) solely found in the Netherlands, these are both Caribbean minority groups, which are, in many respects, very similar to the Caribbean minorities in Great Britain. Moreover, they share the status of immigrants from ex-colonies with many other minority groups in Europe.

There are both important differences and similarities between the four ethnic minority groups in the present study. One important aspect in which these groups differ is their migration history. Moroccans and Turks came to the Netherlands as 'guest workers' who were recruited between the 1950s and 1970s in response to a large demand for (low-skilled) labor. Their stay in the country was initially thought to be temporary. A considerable share of these guest workers, however, eventually settled permanently in the Netherlands and brought their families over. Suriname and the Antilles are former Dutch colonies in the Caribbean. Until the 1960s, immigrants from these areas consisted mostly of children from elite families who were sent to the Netherlands to get a high quality education. Later stages mainly brought Caribbean migrants from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. Given the colonial history, Surinamese and Antillean migrants, unlike Turks and Moroccans, have been in contact with Dutch culture and language in their country of origin (Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000).

Another important distinction between the four ethnic minority groups in this study is religion. The vast majority (over 95%) of individuals of Moroccan or Turkish descent identify themselves as Muslim (Maliepaard & Gijsberts, 2012). Of individuals of Surinamese origin, about 70% identify themselves as religious. The religious diversity within this community is large, with Christians, Hindus, and Muslims forming the largest groups. Amongst the Antillean Dutch groups, 66% considers themselves religious and this concerns mostly Christians (Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2009).

A crucial feature that the four ethnic minority groups in this study have in common is their low socioeconomic position in the host country, the Netherlands. All four of these groups on average hold relatively disadvantaged positions in the labor market. In 2010, the net participation rate (the share of the population between the ages of 15 and 65 that has a job for at least 12 hours per week) for the Surinamese (60%), Antillean (57%), Turkish (52%), and Moroccan (48%) population were lower than for majority group members (69%). Similarly, unemployment rates were considerably higher for the Surinamese (10%), Antillean (13%), Turkish (11%), and Moroccan (15%) population than for the majority population (5%). Furthermore, these minority groups are overrepresented in the lower segments of the labor market. The share of the population working in elementary or lower level occupations is higher amongst Surinamese (40%) and Antillean (41%) but especially amongst Turks (56%) and Moroccans (53%) than amongst natives (30%). Also, workers from these minority groups more often have non-standard, for example fixed-term, contracts. The global economic crisis that started in 2007 and the subsequent problems revolving around the financial position of several European Union member states have had a negative impact on the labor market in the Netherlands in general, but have hit the ethnic minority population harder than the majority population. The decline in the net participation rate and the increase in unemployment were stronger for non-Western ethnic minorities than for natives (Gijsberts et al., 2012).

Another important similarity between the four ethnic minority groups that are the focus of this study is that they have all been at the centre of attention in the ongoing debate on the integration of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands. In this discussion, the position of the Moroccan and Turkish minority groups has received more attention than that of the Surinamese and Antillean minorities. Previous research has shown that attitudes towards immigrants of Moroccan or Turkish origin are generally more negative than attitudes towards other ethnic minority groups (e.g., Hagendoorn, 1995; Verkuyten & Kinket, 2000). Both the economic performance and the religious background of the Moroccan and Turkish minorities may, at least partly, explain this pattern. Not only do these groups hold a less favorable position in the labor market than the ethnic majority group, they also do worse than other ethnic minority groups. Moreover, as mentioned above, these groups are predominantly Muslim and the values associated with Islam are perceived by part of the majority population to conflict with secular or Christian values (Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007).

1.5 DATA SOURCES USED IN THIS STUDY

As mentioned above, the present study combines elements from different research lines by not only documenting the prevalence of ethnic discrimination in recruitment but also shedding more light on the conditions that are conducive to such discrimination. This is not only reflected in the theoretical approach applied in this study but also in the methodology applied. To answer the research questions outlined above, this study applies a combination of data from field experiments (Chapter 2 and Chapter 3), laboratory experiments (Chapter 4, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6), survey data (Chapter 4 and Chapter 5), data from Implicit Association Tests (Chapter 5 and Chapter 6), and existing data on regional characteristics (Chapter 3). The different types of data used in the present study are discussed in more detail below.

1.5.1 Field experiment data

This study uses data from two field experiments on ethnic discrimination in recruitment in the Netherlands. First, new field experiment data were collected within the scope of this study. Adapting the field experiment methodology to the new possibilities regarding recruitment via résumé databases on the internet, we developed and implemented a new field experiment approach. Unlike classical field experiments in which fictitious applicants react to job vacancies, this approach involved posting résumés of fictitious ethnic minority and majority applicants on online résumé databases used by employers and recruiters to find suitable candidates for a job. Profiles of fictitious job applicants ($n = 640$) and accompanying résumés were created. Applicants' names (signaling their ethnic origin) were assigned randomly to these profiles. Fictitious applicants' profiles and résumés were then posted on two websites between May and November of 2011.

Second, the present study uses existing field experiment data collected by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP) in 2008. That study relied on a classical field experiment approach, with matched pairs of fictitious, equivalent native Dutch and ethnic minority applicants responding to vacancies. Part of the data was collected by means of written applications (a 'correspondence approach'), the other part using a telephone-assisted in-person approach. The field experiment data were enriched with existing information on regional characteristics. Specifically, information on the size of ethnic minority groups and on unemployment rates within geographical regions within the Netherlands was retrieved from Statistics Netherlands' website and matched to the experimental data.

1.5.2 Laboratory experiment data

Furthermore, a new laboratory experiment on ethnic discrimination in recruitment was designed and executed within the scope of this study. In this laboratory experiment, discriminatory behavior towards ethnic minorities was measured by asking respondents to assess résumés representing fictitious, equivalent native Dutch and ethnic minority applicants and to select three fictitious candidates that they would like to invite for a job interview. The data were collected amongst 288 students at Utrecht University and the University of Applied Sciences Utrecht (the Netherlands) in February and March 2010.

1.5.3 Survey data and Implicit Association Test

The laboratory experiment data used in the present study were enriched with data from a survey and a reaction time test (Implicit Association Test, IAT) that was designed and carried out within the scope of this study. Again, these data were collected amongst students at Utrecht University and the University of Applied Sciences Utrecht (the Netherlands) between February and March 2010. The survey data were obtained by means of a questionnaire which included items measuring explicit interethnic attitudes, perceived interethnic threat, interethnic contacts, and a range of socioeconomic and demographic features. An IAT was used to measure implicit interethnic attitudes (Greenwald et al., 1998; Wittenbrink & Schwartz, 2007). IATs are the most widely used method to assess implicit attitudes (e.g., Greenwald et al., 2009; Nosek, Greenwald & Banaji, 2005). They assess the strengths of associations between concepts by observing participants' reaction time in a computer-administered categorization task in which stimuli (in this case words) which are exemplars of contrasted concepts (in this case ethnic groups, positive and negative) that appear on the computer screen have to be categorized.

1.5.4 Ethical considerations regarding experiments on discrimination

Although field experiments and, to a lesser extent, laboratory experiments have been widely-used in recent decades to measure discrimination such studies entail some ethical considerations. Broadly speaking, there are two ethical issues involved (c.f., McGinnity et al., 2009). The first issue is that participants in field experiments are unaware of the fact that they are part of an experiment. This is a crucial feature of this type of research, as informing participants would invalidate the experiment. It is therefore not possible to obtain informed consent from participants as is generally required in social scientific research. A second issue is deception.

Field experiments involve deception in both the fabrication of fictitious applicants' profiles and in applying for real jobs. Laboratory experiments on discrimination often also involve some form of deception. Though participants in such research are aware that they are involved in some type of experiment, researchers often refrain from informing participants about the exact aim of the study. The goal of the study may for example be described in more general terms (i.e., examining 'hiring behavior' instead of 'the tendency to discriminate') to avoid socially desirable reactions that would invalidate the experiment.

These issues are much debated in publications on (measuring) discrimination (see for example Riach and Rich's (2004) article "Deceptive field experiments of discrimination: are they ethical?" or the book publication entitled "Measuring racial discrimination" by the Panel on Methods for Assessing Discrimination (National Research Council, 2004) for more elaborate discussions of this matter). Such publications identify several reasons to justify the use of experimental techniques (and field experiments in particular) to study discrimination and discuss ways to minimize any potential inconvenience to participants or third parties involved. First, the social damage caused by discrimination is considerable, making it is important to monitor discrimination and gain a better understanding of this phenomenon. Second, the "superior accuracy and transparency of this technique" (Riach & Rich, 2004: 469) justifies the use of field experiments instead of other, less suitable ways to measure discrimination. Third, researchers using experiments strive to minimize possible inconveniences to employers, genuine applicants, websites or other parties involved, for example by declining invitations for job interviews quickly and politely. Finally, the outcomes of studies using experimental approaches are treated confidentially; no information about specific employers, agencies or websites is disclosed (c.f., National Research Council, 2004; Riach & Rich, 2004).

1.6 OUTLINE OF THIS STUDY

The next five chapters of this study, Chapter 2 to Chapter 6, are empirical chapters that aim to answer the research questions outlined above. Table 1.1 indicates for each of these chapters which research questions are addressed, which ethnic minority groups are studied and which types of data are used. Figure 1.1 provides a graphical overview of the relationships that are examined in the empirical chapters. Note that Chapter 2 is not included in this figure because that chapter is largely descriptive. In the last chapter of this study, Chapter 7, the findings from the empirical chapters are summarized and discussed. The present section sketches the outline of the remainder of this study by briefly discussing the aim and approach of each of these subsequent chapters.

Table 1.1 Outline of the empirical chapters

Chapter	Research questions (number)	Data	Ethnic minority groups
2	To what extent does ethnic discrimination in recruitment occur in the Netherlands? (RQ1) Are there any differences between different phases of recruitment procedures in the prevalence of ethnic discrimination or the conditions that affect discrimination? (RQ2)	Field experiment: internet	Moroccan (Arabic-named)
3	Is there an effect of the unemployment rate or the size of ethnic minority groups in the region on ethnic discrimination in recruitment? (RQ3)	Field experiment: telephone and letters	Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese and Antillean
4	Is there an effect of demographic or socioeconomic (background) features related to interethnic threat or of interethnic contacts of decision makers on ethnic discrimination in recruitment? (RQ4) Is there an effect of features of applicants (other than ethnicity) on their chances during recruitment procedures? (RQ5) Are there any differences between different phases of recruitment procedures in the prevalence of ethnic discrimination or the conditions that affect discrimination? (RQ2)	Laboratory experiment and survey	Moroccan and Turkish
5	Is there an effect of explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes of decision makers on ethnic discrimination in recruitment? (RQ6) Are there any differences between different phases of recruitment procedures in the prevalence of ethnic discrimination or the conditions that affect discrimination? (RQ2)	Laboratory experiment and IAT	Moroccan and Turkish
6	Do demographic and socioeconomic features, interethnic threat and interethnic contacts affect implicit interethnic attitudes and explicit interethnic attitudes similarly? (RQ7)	Survey and IAT	Moroccan and Turkish

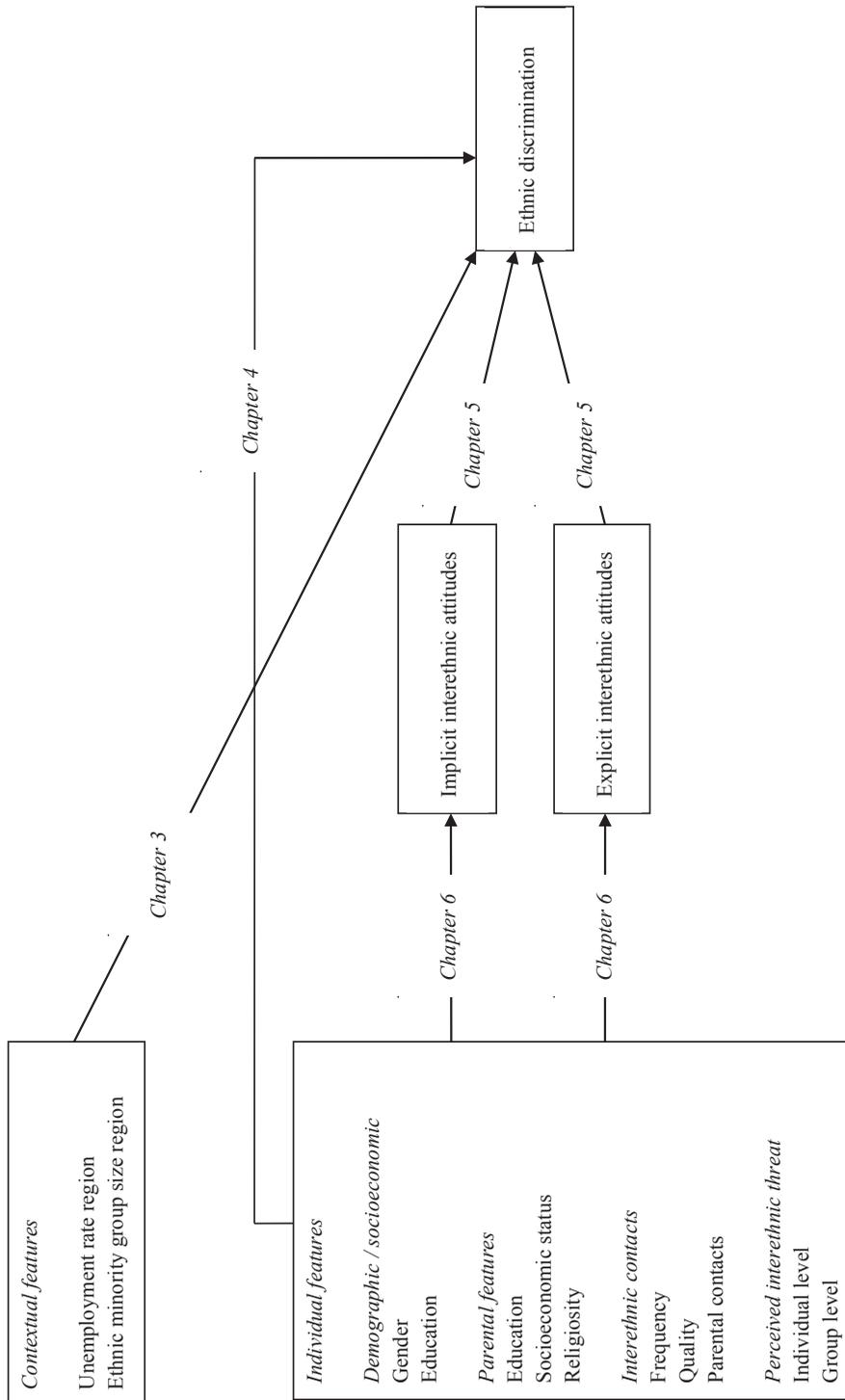


Figure 1.1 Overview of relationships examined in empirical chapters.

Chapter 2 has a mainly descriptive aim; it studies the prevalence of ethnic discrimination in recruitment and examines whether such discrimination is equally likely to occur in different stages of recruitment processes. This chapter addresses two research questions. The first of these questions is: *to what extent does ethnic discrimination in recruitment occur in the Netherlands?* (RQ1). The second research question on which this chapter focuses is: *are there any differences between different phases of recruitment procedures in the prevalence of ethnic discrimination or the conditions that affect discrimination?* (RQ2). To answer these research questions, data are used from a field experiment on discrimination in recruitment via résumés databases on the internet that was conducted as part of this study in 2011. This chapter focuses on discrimination against Arabic named applicants, which in the Dutch context are mainly individuals of Moroccan origin.

Chapter 3 is the first of the empirical chapters to examine the circumstances under which ethnic discrimination in recruitment is likely to occur. This chapter investigates the role of contextual conditions in shaping discrimination against ethnic minority job seekers, focusing on the regional level. Phrased differently, this chapter studies where discrimination is more likely to occur. To do so, it first examines to what extent ethnic discrimination in recruitment occurs in different geographical regions within the Netherlands. Hence, this chapter again provides information on the prevalence of ethnic discrimination in recruitment in the Netherlands and thus contributes to answering RQ1: *to what extent does ethnic discrimination in recruitment occur in the Netherlands?* Next, it investigates whether regional characteristics explain differences in the prevalence of discrimination across regions. Drawing from Ethnic Competition Theory and Contact Theory, predictions are formulated on the role of the economic circumstances, measured by unemployment, and the presence of ethnic minorities in the region. Hence, Chapter 3 addresses the following research question: *is there an effect of the unemployment rate or the size of ethnic minority groups in the region on ethnic discrimination in recruitment?* (RQ3). This chapter is based on existing field experiment data collected by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP) in 2008. This was a classical type of field experiment in which fictitious applicants react to job opening via mail or telephone. It includes fictitious applicants belonging to the four largest non-Western ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands, namely the Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese and Antillean minorities.

Chapter 4 focuses on the role of individual level conditions in shaping discrimination. Its main aim is to examine which features of decision makers (potential discriminators) affect ethnic discrimination in recruitment or, in other words, who is more and who is less likely to discriminate against ethnic minority job seekers. Again, predictions are derived from Ethnic Competition Theory and Contact Theory, this time on the influence of demographic and socioeconomic features and interethnic contacts of decision makers on their likelihood to

discriminate. In addition to the influence of decision makers' personal features, the role of their background is examined by taking characteristics of their parents into account. Hence, the first research question that is addressed in this chapter is: *is there an effect of demographic or socioeconomic (background) features related to interethnic threat or of interethnic contacts of decision makers on ethnic discrimination in recruitment?* (RQ4). Additionally, this chapter examines how applicants' ethnicity compares to other applicant features when it comes to determining their chances of success during recruitment procedures. To do so, the following research question is addressed: *is there an effect of features of applicants (other than ethnicity) on their chances during recruitment procedures?* (RQ5). Like Chapter 2, this chapter studies two different phases of recruitment processes; it examines both employers' first evaluations of fictitious applicants' suitability for a certain job as well as the eventual decision about which candidates to invite for an interview. Thus, Chapter 4 will reveal whether discrimination is equally likely to occur in different phases of the recruitment process and whether the conditions that shape discrimination are the same across these phases. As such, it provides an additional test of RQ2: *are there any differences between different phases of recruitment procedures in the prevalence of ethnic discrimination or the conditions that affect discrimination?* The data used in this chapter were collected within the scope of this study in 2010, using a combination of laboratory experiment and survey methodology. The chapter focuses on two minority groups: applicants of Moroccan and Turkish descent.

Chapter 5 again studies individual level conditions under which ethnic discrimination in recruitment is more or less likely to occur, but here the focal point is the role of attitudes of decision makers in shaping ethnic discrimination in recruitment. Building upon a relatively recent line of psychological research which has so far been largely ignored by sociologists and economists, a distinction is made between explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes. Hence, this chapter provides an answer to the following research question: *is there an effect of explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes of decision makers on ethnic discrimination in recruitment?* (RQ6). Similar to Chapter 4, this chapter studies both first evaluations of fictitious applicants' suitability and the decision whether or not to invite applicants for a job interview. Hence, it will show whether explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes affect discrimination in these two phases of the recruitment process in the same way and in that manner contributes to answering research question RQ2: *are there any differences between different phases of recruitment procedures in the prevalence of ethnic discrimination or the conditions that affect discrimination?* Chapter 5 is based on data collected for the present study in 2010. This time, the data were collected using a combination of laboratory experiment and survey methods, as well as an Implicit Association Test. Again, the focus is on the Moroccan and Turkish minorities.

Chapter 6 further examines the implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes which were used in Chapter 5 to predict ethnic discrimination in recruitment. To shed more light on the nature of these two types of attitudes, the relationship between them and eventually the way in which they may affect discrimination, Chapter 6 studies whether implicit interethnic attitudes are shaped by the same conditions that affect explicit interethnic attitudes. Predictions are derived from Ethnic Competition Theory and Contact Theory; key theoretical approaches from the (sociological) literature on *explicit* interethnic attitudes and their sources. More specifically, this chapter focuses on the role of individuals' demographic and socioeconomic (background) features, interethnic contacts, and perceptions of interethnic threat in shaping implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes. Hence, this chapter addresses the following research question: *do demographic and socioeconomic features, interethnic threat and interethnic contact affect implicit interethnic attitudes and explicit interethnic attitudes similarly?* (RQ7). For this chapter, data were collected using a survey as well as an Implicit Association Test. Once again, the focus is on applicants of Moroccan and Turkish descent.

In Chapter 7, answers to the research questions addressed in this study are formulated by summarizing the findings from the five empirical chapters. The final chapter of this dissertation is concluded by discussing implications of these findings and formulating suggestions for further research.

2

Discrimination of ethnic minority applicants in the Netherlands: An internet-based field experiment examining different phases in online recruitment procedures

This chapter was co-authored by Marcel Coenders and Frank van Tubergen. A slightly different version of this chapter is currently under review. An earlier version of this chapter was presented at the 'Dag van de Sociologie' 2012, May 2012, Utrecht.

ABSTRACT

This study examines discrimination of Arabic-named applicants in online recruitment procedures in the Netherlands. We developed and implemented a new field experiment approach, posting fictitious résumés (n = 636) on two online résumé databases. We examine two phases of recruitment processes: employers' decisions to (1) view applicants' complete résumés after seeing short profiles and (2) contact applicants with a positive reaction. Two waves were conducted. Results provide strong evidence of discrimination in the first phase (résumé views). Résumés of Arabic-named applicants were viewed less often, regardless of their education, gender, age, region, sector and for both websites and waves. There is less evidence of discrimination in the second phase (reactions). Interestingly, discrimination is stronger in wave two – when the total number of views of résumés was lower, indicating lower labor demand – which suggests that worse economic circumstances may lead to more discrimination.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Ethnic minorities in Europe generally hold less favorable positions in the labor market than the majority population. Substantial ethnic gaps exist both in employment and in wages (Bassanini & Saint-Martin, 2008; Heath et al., 2008). Part of the existing ethnic inequalities in economic outcomes can be explained by ethnic disparities in human capital. The fact that ethnic minorities on average have relatively low levels of education, less knowledge of labor market institutions, and are less proficient in the host-country language partially explains their unfavorable position on the labor market (Chiswick & Miller, 1995, 2002; Kanas & Van Tubergen, 2009; Van Tubergen & Kalmijn, 2005). Moreover, ethnic minority group members typically have less contact with individuals who can provide information or recommendations about labor market opportunities (Aguilera & Massey 2003; Kanas, Van Tubergen & Van der Lippe, 2009; Sanders et al., 2002). Yet, a considerable ethnic gap in economic outcomes remains after taking variations in human and social capital into account (Altonji & Blank, 1999; Bassanini & Saint-Martin, 2008).

Another potential explanation for ethnic inequality in the labor market is discrimination in recruitment, that is: unequal treatment of ethnic minority job applicants compared to similar natives by employers, personnel workers or recruiters (National Research Council, 2004). When confronted with similar ethnic minority and majority applicants, employers or other decision makers may favor the majority candidate.

Discrimination in recruitment is difficult to measure (National Research Council, 2004; Pager et al., 2009). Field experiments are generally considered the most suitable way to identify discrimination (Riach & Rich, 2002). They allow researchers to isolate effects of various applicant features on employers' responses through matching and random assignment. At the same time, they provide information about real hiring procedures. Hence, field experiments combine the strengths of experimental methods with those of field-based research (Pager, 2007; Riach & Rich, 2002).

Field experiments on discrimination in recruitment typically involve fictitious matched job applicants (i.e., sets of applicants with equivalent qualifications and personal characteristics who only differ from each other in one respect, for example their ethnic background) who contact employers in response to vacancies. Specifically, two main types of field experiments exist: 'correspondence tests' and 'in-person audits' (Pager, 2007). In correspondence tests, sets of résumés (and application letters) representing equivalent ethnic minority and majority applicants are sent to employers. In-person (audit) tests involve the use of pairs of individuals who pose as job applicants (testers) and contact employers via telephone or in person. Employers' reactions to the matched fictitious candidates (such as positive reactions or

'callbacks' or invitations for interviews) are registered. Systematic differences in outcomes by the ethnicity of the fictitious applicants provide a measure of ethnic discrimination (National Research Council, 2004; Riach & Rich, 2002).

Originally, studies using the correspondence test or in-person audit methodology chose job vacancies (to which fictitious applicants react) from newspapers (e.g., Pager & Quillian, 2005). However, over the past years the internet has become an important channel through which job seekers search for employment opportunities (Feldman & Klaas, 2002). In line with this development, some recent field experiments (e.g., Carlsson & Rooth, 2007; Oreopoulos, 2011; Rooth, 2010) used job offers found on the internet instead of in newspapers. Yet, the internet does not only provide new opportunities to job seekers but also to organizations looking for personnel. For example, employers can actively recruit suitable candidates via résumé databases. Such forms of recruitment have become more and more important (Parry & Tyson, 2008), but have so far been neglected in research on discrimination in recruitment.

Online recruitment procedures using résumé databases differ from classical hiring procedures in several ways that may affect employers hiring decisions. First, employers are able to look for potential employees more efficiently, using specific search criteria that are important for the position that they have to fill. This might lead to a stronger focus on applicant features relevant for productivity and a smaller role of applicant characteristics that are irrelevant for employee productivity. Second, résumé databases standardize the information about job seekers that is presented to employers. This is at the very least true for the first phase of the recruitment process in which employers are presented with lists of potential candidates consisting of very brief applicants profiles that are standardized (i.e., provide information about exactly the same features of each applicant in a standardized manner). This standardized way in which information on candidates is portrayed, rules out that ethnic differences are explained by the fact that ethnic minority applicants do a poorer job at presenting themselves than majority candidates. For these reasons, it is interesting to investigate whether ethnic discrimination occurs during recruitment procedures via the internet.

Adapting the field experiment methodology to new possibilities regarding recruitment via the internet, we develop and implement a new field experiment approach to examine the prevalence of discrimination in recruitment procedures via online résumé databases. This approach involves posting résumés of fictitious ethnic minority and majority applicants on online résumé databases used by employers and recruiters to find suitable candidates for a job. We create profiles of fictitious job applicants ($n = 640$) and accompanying résumés. Subsequently, applicants' names (signaling their ethnic origin) are assigned randomly to the

profiles. Fictitious applicants' profiles and résumés are then posted on two websites. Finally, responses to the fictitious applicants are registered and systematic differences in outcomes provide measures of discrimination.

The aim of this study is to examine discrimination of applicants with Arabic names in recruitment procedures using the internet and in particular different phases in these recruitment processes. Previous field experiments on discrimination in recruitment typically only examined positive reactions of employers or invitations for job interviews via telephone or e-mail (i.e., 'callbacks', National Research Council, 2004). Such studies lump together any discrimination that may occur in the decision about whom to call back *and* in earlier decisions.¹ Researchers in this field have theorized about the role of these earlier phases in the recruitment process (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; McGinnity et al., 2009) and suggested that if employers have to assess large numbers of candidates they may use simple heuristics to make a first selection (i.e., apply a 'lexicographic search'). One of these heuristics could be to "simply read no further" when they see a minority name (Bertrand & Mullainathan 2004: 1011). Hence, employers may never see minority applicants' skills. Whether this actually occurs has, to the best of our knowledge, not yet been investigated. The present study examines when exactly discrimination occurs, in order to better understand the processes through which discriminatory behavior arises. This is done by studying both the phase that precedes callbacks and callbacks themselves. Specifically, we focus on two phases and two dependent variables. The first variable measures employers' decisions to view an applicant's complete résumé after seeing a short profile including the candidate's name, level of education and job title. This will enable us to directly test the idea of a 'lexicographic search' by employers. The second variable measures whether, having seen an applicants' complete résumé, an employer decides to contact this applicant, for example with a request for further information or an invitation for a job interview.

In addition to enabling us to examine multiple phases of the recruitment process, another advantage of the new field experiment approach using the internet is that it allows for a more extensive coverage of *geographical areas* and *applicant features*. Prior field experiments generally have a rather limited geographical scope, often including one to three cities (Allasino et al., 2004; Arai, Bursell & Nekby, 2008; Attström, 2007; Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Bursell, 2007; Carlsson & Rooth, 2007; Oreopoulos, 2011; Pager et al., 2009; Pager & Quillian, 2005). This study includes fictitious job applicants that live across the Netherlands and indicate that they

1 Some previous research covered multiple stages of the recruitment process. Most notably, investigations of the International Labor Office (Bovenkerk, 1992) and Urban Institute (Mincey, 1993) cover discrimination during three stages: first contact (via telephone), invitations for interviews, and job offers. These studies do not, however, provide insight in employers' (potentially crucial) first reactions after seeing résumés.

are willing to commute. Therefore, employers in all areas of the Netherlands can be expected to react to the fictitious applicants in this study. Also, previous field experiments often include only male applicants and one occupational level (e.g., Allasino et al., 2004; Carlsson & Rooth, 2007; Kaas & Manger, 2012; Pager et al., 2009). In the present study, we vary a range of applicant features across résumés. Candidates differ regarding gender, age, level of education, work experience, sector, additional courses or competences, internships, hobbies and marital status.

This study focuses on discrimination of Arabic-named job applicants in the Netherlands. Within the Dutch context, most Arabs are of Moroccan origin. This group is the second largest non-Western ethnic minority group in the Netherlands. The Moroccan-Dutch population has been at the centre of attention in the debate on the social and economic integration of ethnic minorities. This is due, in part, to their unfavorable labor market position. Not only is the labor market position of the Moroccan-Dutch population worse than the position of the native Dutch population, it is also worse than that of most other ethnic minority groups (Gijsberts et al., 2012). Moreover, research has shown that natives in the Netherlands hold more negative attitudes towards the Moroccan minority than towards other minority groups (Verkuyten & Kinket, 2000). Hence, any degree of discrimination found in this study should provide an upper-bound of the extent to which ethnic minorities are discriminated against in the Dutch labor market.

2.2 DATA AND MEASURES

2.2.1 Data collection

Instead of posting matched résumés of pairs of equivalent minority and majority candidates online simultaneously, as is common in correspondence tests (National Research Council, 2004; Pager, 2007; Riach & Rich, 2002), we use unique résumés which are based on résumés of actual job searchers, to which either Arabic or typically Dutch names were assigned randomly. As a result of the random assignment, Arabic-named and Dutch-named candidates should have similar levels of education and work experience and in general be comparable regarding features relevant to employers. An examination of descriptive statistics for all variables (for applicants with Arabic names and those with Dutch names separately) verified that this randomization was successful² (Table A1, Appendix). Any differences in outcomes that might

² There are some minor differences between Dutch-named and Arabic-named applicants, namely regarding work experience, internships, additional courses, career interruptions, partner mentioned, and regional differences. However, given their modest size, these are not expected to have a notable impact on our results.

be found between Arabic-named and Dutch-named candidates can therefore not be explained by differences in the quality of the candidates. The study was conducted in two waves; after completing the first wave, we repeated the experiment using the same résumés but reversing the candidates' ethnic origin.

The first step in preparation of the experiment was to create résumés for the fictitious job applicants. To ensure that the résumés are realistic and representative of what real-life job searchers, we took 160 résumés of actual job searchers which were accessible online as a starting point for the résumés of our fictitious applicants. Given the relatively high costs³ that are involved with purchasing access to online résumé databases we assume that employers looking for personnel choose one website to search for suitable candidates. We therefore consider a résumé on one website to be a different case than the same résumé on the other website. As two online résumé databases were used, this brings the total number of individual résumés to 320. The same procedure was repeated in the second wave, one month after having completed the first wave. But in this second wave, every résumé which was assigned a typically Dutch name in the first wave was assigned an Arabic name and *visa versa*. Assuming that the employers looking for personnel during the first wave are different employers than those in the second wave, we view the fictitious applicants used in the second wave as different cases than those in the first wave. Hence, the total number of fictitious applicants in the experiment was 640. In one case, a profile was removed by the website after it was discovered that the fictitious applicant did not work at a company mentioned on the résumé. After removing this fictitious person and those with equivalent résumés from the data, the number of cases or résumés in the analyses is 636.

To prevent the résumés used in this study from being associated with actual applicants, we used résumés that were retrieved from a different online résumé database than the two databases used in this experiment, two years prior to the data collection for this study. Names and contact details of the genuine job searchers were removed from the résumés. Furthermore, overly detailed information that would stand out too much was adjusted or removed in order to reduce similarity to actual job searchers. However, to preserve the realistic nature of the applicant profiles, the original overall content and form were maintained as much as possible.

The present study includes three occupational levels, namely jobs requiring intermediate vocational training, higher vocational training or a university degree. All fictitious candidates in the experiment were born and obtained their education in the Netherlands. Hence, the Arabic-named applicants in this study are so called 'second generation immigrants'. Moreover,

3 Depending on the website, costs range from 750 to 1000 euro per month for access to a résumé database.

this study covers five sectors: finances and accounting, human resources, transportation, marketing and production management, and health care. These sectors were chosen because they cover occupations that differ regarding the types of skills that are required, the amount of customer and co-worker contact involved, and the male-female ratio. Yet, sectors that include either predominantly male or predominantly female occupations were avoided. Furthermore, fictitious applicants lived in ten different areas of the Netherlands. These areas consist of the following municipalities and their surroundings: Amsterdam, Apeldoorn, Breda, The Hague, Eindhoven, Nijmegen, Roosendaal, Rotterdam, Utrecht and Zwolle. The municipalities vary in size but include the country's largest cities. The municipalities are located in seven of the twelve Dutch provinces. However, given that applicants' profiles indicated their willingness to move or commute, this study is in fact broader than these seven provinces; it potentially includes employers in the entire country.

All aspects of the résumés were registered. Specifically, for each fictitious applicant, we coded gender, age, level of education, number of years of work experience, whether or not the occupational career of the candidate was ever interrupted, whether the candidate followed additional courses, whether any competences were mentioned in the résumé, an internship was mentioned in the résumé, whether he or she had a job whilst studying, whether any hobbies were mentioned, and whether a partner was mentioned.

Identities for the fictitious job applicants were generated: names, telephone numbers, e-mail addresses, and postal addresses. The names are crucial to the experimental design because they need to signal the applicants' ethnic background. Lists of typically native Dutch and Arabic first names and surnames were compiled using registers of names given to children born in the Netherlands, phone books and the internet. Minority and majority names were then assigned randomly to the résumés. Although it is uncommon for Dutch employers nowadays to send positive reactions via postal mail (Andriessen et al., 2010; 2012), applicants do need postal addresses. Fictitious addresses were constructed using existing street names in the municipality of residence of the applicants but non-existing house numbers.⁴ Additionally, each fictitious applicant was assigned a unique, working phone number which was attached to a voicemail box. Each voicemail box had a similar, neutral outgoing message mentioning the number dialed and a request for the caller to leave a message. Messages were recorded. Finally, for each applicant, a working e-mail address was created.

The next step was to upload the résumés to online résumé databases and create applicant profiles. The data were collected in two waves. Data for the first wave were collected between May and

4 This means that if employers reacted via postal mail, these reactions are not included in our study.

July of 2011 and data for the second wave were collected between September and November of 2011. Two well-known and popular websites with a broad scope were used and websites that focus on a particular occupational level or sector were avoided. On the websites included in this study, employers can search for candidates by indicating preferences concerning a range of applicant features⁵ or by entering keywords. In order to avoid posting a large number of new résumés online at the same time, résumés were uploaded in smaller groups over the course of 3 weeks. We made sure that the groups consisted of fictitious applicants with different levels of education and across different sectors, to avoid that ‘clusters’ of new applicants appeared on the website at the same time. Résumés were online for 11 weeks. Afterwards, the résumés were removed from the résumé database in the same order as they were put online, so the exposure time for each résumé was the same.

Finally, employers’ responses to the fictitious applicants’ profiles and résumés were coded. We focus on two dependent variables corresponding to two types of responses. The first dependent variable is the number of times that more information about the candidate was requested by employers after seeing a short applicant profile consisting of a candidate’s name, educational level and current job title. Once job searchers have uploaded their résumé to one of these websites, they are able to see the number of times that their complete résumé was viewed. We made use of this feature of online résumé databases to collect information about this stage of the recruitment procedure. The second dependent variable is the number of times a candidate received a positive reaction from an employer via e-mail or phone. Employers’ decisions in this second stage are conditional on those in the first stage in the sense that one can only contact a candidate after having viewed the complete résumé and hence obtained the job searcher’s contact information. Although we have so far only mentioned positive reactions of employers, this study in fact also includes reactions of employment agencies. A positive reaction may be an invitation for an interview or a request for more information about the candidate by either an employer or an agency, but can also be an employment agency informing an applicant that they may have interesting jobs for him or her, or an employment agency asking for permission to include the applicant in their database. The issue of different types of reactions and reactions from different actors is considered in more detail in the next section of this chapter when we discuss the analyses and results. Descriptive statistics of all variables included in the analyses are presented in Table 2.1.

5 Namely: career level (e.g., ‘starter’, ‘experienced’), educational attainment, function type, type of contract (e.g., ‘temporary’), preference for fulltime or part-time, sector, availability (e.g., ‘directly available’), preferred salary, and the date at which a profile was last changed.

Table 2.1 Descriptive statistics

	Range	Mean	Std. Dev.
Dependent variables			
Views complete résumé	0 – 81	7.96	9.03
Positive reactions received	0 – 11	0.61	1.20
Independent variables			
Arabic-named	0 / 1	0.50	
Female	0 / 1	0.48	
Age	21 – 45	30.65	6.48
Education			
Intermediate vocational	0 / 1	0.50	
Higher vocational	0 / 1	0.31	
University	0 / 1	0.19	
Work experience (years)	0 – 26	7.13	6.32
Internship mentioned	0 / 1	0.47	
Additional competences mentioned	0 / 1	0.83	
Additional courses mentioned	0 / 1	0.57	
Interruptions occupational career	0 / 1	0.16	
Job during education mentioned	0 / 1	0.72	
Partner mentioned	0 / 1	0.25	
Hobby mentioned	0 / 1	0.55	
Sector			
Finances and accounting	0 / 1	0.20	
Human resources	0 / 1	0.20	
Marketing and production management	0 / 1	0.19	
Health care	0 / 1	0.20	
Transportation	0 / 1	0.20	
Region of residence applicant			
Amsterdam	0 / 1	0.13	
Apeldoorn	0 / 1	0.06	
Breda	0 / 1	0.09	
The Hague	0 / 1	0.09	
Eindhoven	0 / 1	0.09	
Nijmegen	0 / 1	0.13	
Roosendaal	0 / 1	0.07	
Rotterdam	0 / 1	0.16	
Utrecht	0 / 1	0.09	
Zwolle	0 / 1	0.09	
Wave	0 / 1	0.50	
Website	0 / 1	0.50	

Source: Internet-based field experiment ethnic discrimination in the Dutch labor market 2011; n = 636

2.2.2 Ethical considerations

Although field experiments have been widely-used in recent decades, such studies entail some ethical considerations. There are two ethical issues involved (c.f., McGinnity et al., 2009). The first issue is that participants are unaware of the fact that they are part of an experiment. This is a crucial feature of this type of research, as informing participants would invalidate the experiment. It is therefore not possible to attain informed consent as is generally required in social scientific research. A second issue is that field experiments involve deception, both in the fabrication of fictitious applicants' profiles and in applying for jobs. There are, however, several reasons that justify the use of field experimental techniques. First, the social damage caused by discrimination is considerable. Hence, it is important to monitor discrimination and gain a better understanding of this phenomenon. Second, the "superior accuracy and transparency of this technique" (Riach & Rich, 2004: 469) justifies the use of field experiments instead of other, less suitable ways to measure discrimination. We minimized possible inconveniences to employers or genuine applicants by responding to positive reactions quickly and politely. Finally, the outcomes of this study will be treated confidentially; no information about specific employers, agencies or websites will be disclosed (c.f., National Research Council, 2004; Riach & Rich, 2004).

2.3 ANALYSES AND RESULTS

2.3.1 Descriptive results

Before we move on to the multivariate analyses, we briefly discuss some descriptive results. Figure 2.1 presents an overview of the number of times that job searchers' complete résumés were viewed, distinguishing between Arabic-named and Dutch-named candidates. Compared to résumés of applicants with Dutch names, résumés of applicants with Arabic names are more likely to receive no views at all. Of the 72 candidates whose complete résumé was never requested 64% was Arabic-named.⁶ Compared to résumés of Dutch-named candidates, those of Arabic-named candidates are more likely to be viewed a very small number of times (1–5). Résumés of candidates with Dutch names are more likely to be viewed frequently (10 times or more). Arabic-named applicants are completely absent in the highest category of résumés that were viewed 46 times or more. Looking at the average number of views per group, Dutch-named candidates' full résumés were typically viewed 9.57 times, whereas Arabic-named applicants'

⁶ Furthermore, of this group of 72 applicants, 67% was female, 61% completed intermediate vocational training, 26% higher vocational training and 13% university.

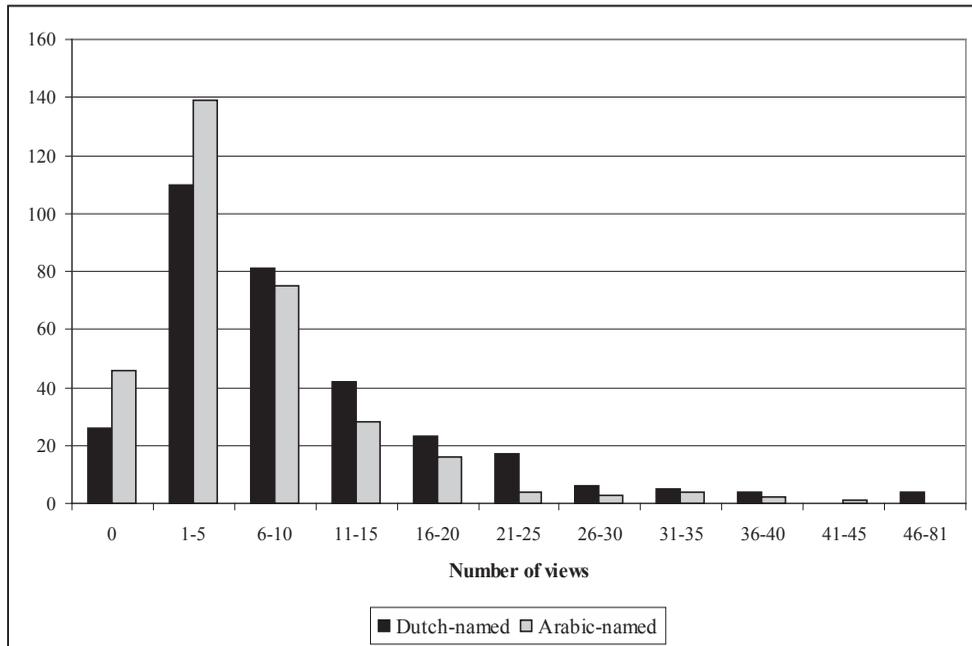


Figure 2.1 Number of times complete résumé viewed by applicants' name.

For presentation purposes the highest categories were combined (only in Figures 2.1 and 2.2).

Source: Internet-based field experiment ethnic discrimination in the Dutch labor market 2011; n = 636.

résumés were on average viewed 6.36 times. In other words, complete résumés of Dutch-named applicants are about 50% more likely to be viewed by employers or employment agencies than résumés of Arabic-named applicants⁷.

Figure 2.2 presents a similar overview for the number of times applicants received a positive reaction from employers or agencies. Note that this figure also includes the applicants whose complete résumé was never requested and who were consequently unable to receive any positive reactions.⁷

Although the share of applicants that received no reactions at all is considerable amongst both groups, Arabic-named candidates more often fall into this category than Dutch-named applicants. Conversely, Dutch-named applicants are more likely than Arabic-named candidates to receive one or more reactions. On average, Arabic-named applicants received 0.47 positive

⁷ By also including applicants who were in fact not 'at risk' of receiving a positive reaction, we are able to compare the descriptive results presented here to outcomes of prior field experiments which did not distinguish between different phases of the recruitment process. As mentioned before, these previous studies effectively lump together discrimination in both of these phases.

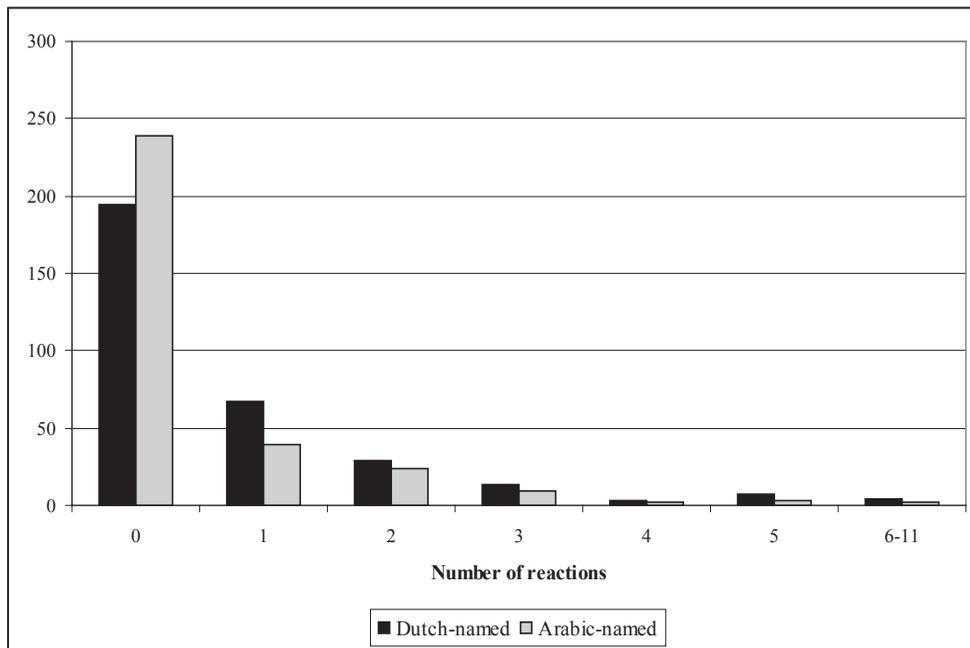


Figure 2.2 Number of positive reactions by applicants' name.

For presentation purposes the highest categories were combined (only in Figures 2.1 and 2.2).

Source: Internet-based field experiment ethnic discrimination in the Dutch labor market 2011; $n = 636$.

reactions compared to 0.76 for Dutch-named candidates. Hence, applicants with typically Dutch names are about 60% more likely to receive a positive reaction than Arabic-named candidates.

For comparison, based on their field experiment conducted in New York, Pager and colleagues (2009) concluded that African-Americans were half as likely as whites to receive a callback. In a study on discrimination of African-American job applicants in Boston and Chicago, Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) showed that applicants with white sounding names were about 50% more likely to receive a callback than those with black sounding names. Based on a field experiment in Ireland, McGinnity and others (2009) showed that Irish applicants were over twice as likely to be invited for an interview as candidates of African, Asian or German origin. Oreopoulos (2011) found somewhat lower discrimination rates in his study on discrimination of applicants with Chinese, Indian, Pakistani and Greek sounding names in the Toronto metropolitan area, showing that candidates with English sounding names were on average 39% more likely to receive a callback. Cediey and Feroni (2008), found a discrimination rate of 54% against applicants of North-African and Sub-Saharan-African origin in France. In

an experiment that was conducted in the Netherlands in the 1990s but focused on a different minority group, Bovenkerk and colleagues (1994) found a discrimination rate of 18% percent against candidates of Surinamese origin. Finally, Carlsson and Rooth (2007) conducted a study on discrimination against a minority group that can be considered similar to the minority group in the present experiment, namely applicants with Middle Eastern names, in Stockholm and Gothenburg. In line with results of many other field experiments, they found that applicants with Swedish names were about 50% more likely to receive a callback than those with Middle Eastern names. Hence, the degree of discrimination against applicants with Arabic-names found in this study is in line with findings from several previous experiments, focusing sometimes on similar groups and sometimes on very different minorities. This discrimination rate is higher than rates found in some experiments, but by no means as high as in others.

2.3.2 Regression analyses

For the multivariate models, we use negative binomial regression analyses. Both dependent variables are count variables and the data are strongly skewed to the right. Moreover, the distributions of both variables show signs of ‘overdispersion’; greater variance than might be expected in a Poisson distribution. Negative binomial regression analyses are therefore the most suitable method to analyze these data⁸ (Long & Freese, 2006).

Table 2.2 presents regression analyses for the number of times that fictitious applicants’ full résumés were viewed. In order to estimate the effects of applicants’ features and in particular applicants’ names as accurately as possible, all résumé features that were coded are incorporated in these analyses. The left-hand panel of Table 2.2 shows the outcomes of a model including only main effects. The results of this model underline the descriptive results. They show that applicants’ names have a highly significant effect on the number of times that their complete résumés are viewed. After seeing short applicant profiles which prominently feature applicants’ names, employers and employment agencies are considerably less likely to view the complete résumés of candidates’ with Arabic names than those of applicants with Dutch names. In other words, we find strong evidence of discrimination of Arabic-named applicants in this phase of the recruitment process.⁹

Table 2.3 presents regression analyses for the number of positive reactions that applicants received from employers and employment agencies. Note that because an employer must have

8 Vuong tests suggest that zero-inflated negative binomial models are not a significant improvement over standard negative binomial models.

9 A model which only includes applicants’ ethnicity leads to the same conclusion.

Table 2.2 Negative binomial regression analyses of number of views of complete applicant résumés

	Main effects		Interactions with names	
	Coef.	Std. Err.		Coef.
Constant	2.120	0.190	**	
Arabic-named	-0.416	0.072	**	
Female	-0.141	0.010	*	Ns
Age	0.024	0.010	*	Ns
Education (intermediate vocational = ref)				
Higher vocational	0.111	0.083		Ns
University	-0.251	0.105	*	Ns
Work experience (years)	-0.012	0.012		Ns
Internship mentioned	-0.018	0.083		Ns
Additional competencies mentioned	0.221	0.097	**	Ns
Additional courses mentioned	0.109	0.073		Ns
Interruption occupational career	0.079	0.099		Ns
Job during education mentioned	-0.037	0.085		Ns
Partner mentioned	-0.044	0.082		Ns
Hobby mentioned	-0.075	0.072		Ns
Sector (transportation = ref)				
Finances and accounting	-0.110	0.103		Ns
Human resources	-0.719	0.103	**	Ns
Marketing and production management	-0.738	0.103	**	Ns
Health care	-1.143	0.122	**	Ns
Region of residence applicant (Zwolle = ref)				
Amsterdam	0.188	0.157		Ns
Apeldoorn	-0.014	0.179		Ns
Breda	0.061	0.161		Ns
The Hague	-0.487	0.172	*	Ns
Eindhoven	0.009	0.157		Ns
Nijmegen	-0.124	0.153		Ns
Roosendaal	-0.041	0.171		Ns
Rotterdam	0.152	0.144		Ns
Utrecht	-0.130	0.154		Ns
Wave 2	-0.345	0.063	**	-0.298 *
Website 2	0.812	0.065	**	Ns
N		636		
Log likelihood		-1800.218		
Chi-square (df)		387.33 (28)		
Pseudo R-square		0.097		

Source: Internet-based field experiment ethnic discrimination in the Dutch labor market 2011.

Significance (2-tailed):** p = <.01; * p = <.05; ~ p = <.10; ns = not significant

Table 2.3 Negative binomial regression analyses of positive reactions from employers

	Main effects		Interactions with names	
	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	
Constant	-1.245	0.441		
Arabic-named	-0.099	0.136		
Female	-0.196	0.157	-0.492	~
Age	0.001	0.023		Ns
Education (intermediate vocational = ref)				
Higher vocational	0.049	0.175		Ns
University	-0.021	0.231		Ns
Work experience (years)	-0.009	0.026		Ns
Internship mentioned	0.008	0.179		Ns
Additional competencies mentioned	0.276	0.271		Ns
Additional courses mentioned	0.012	0.159		Ns
Interruption occupational career	-0.253	0.204		Ns
Job during education mentioned	-0.146	0.183		Ns
Partner mentioned	0.247	0.166		Ns
Hobby mentioned	0.007	0.150		Ns
Sector (transportation = ref)				
Finances and accounting	0.259	0.200	0.624	~
Human resources	0.126	0.225		Ns
Marketing and production management	-0.276	0.237		Ns
Health care	0.019	0.271		Ns
Region of residence applicant (Zwolle = ref)				
Amsterdam	0.420	0.321		Ns
Apeldoorn	0.385	0.380		Ns
Breda	-0.102	0.351		Ns
The Hague	-0.077	0.379	1.324	~
Eindhoven	0.242	0.338		Ns
Nijmegen	-0.299	0.342		Ns
Roosendaal	0.340	0.346	-1.160	~
Rotterdam	-0.029	0.310		Ns
Utrecht	-0.131	0.331		Ns
Wave 2	-0.138	0.137	-0.696	*
Website 2	-0.434	0.146		Ns
Number of views complete résumé	0.079	0.009		**
N		564		
Log likelihood		-543.564		
Chi-square (df)		184.80 (29)		
Pseudo R-square		0.145		

Source: Internet-based field experiment ethnic discrimination in the Dutch labor market 2011.

Significance (2-tailed): ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$; ~ = $p < .10$.

requested an applicants' entire résumé in order to be able to contact the candidate only those fictitious applicants whose résumé was viewed at least once are included in the analyses for this stage of the recruitment procedure. The 72 applicants whose résumé was not requested at all are excluded. This leaves 564 cases for the analyses for the second dependent variable (see Table 2.3).

Also, we control for the number of times that each applicant's complete résumé was viewed. This was done in order to accurately estimate the effect of applicants' names on the number of positive reactions (i.e., to assess whether candidates' names have an influence on the number of reactions they receive *over and above* the effect that these names may have on the number of times their résumé is requested). As in Table 2.2, the analyses presented here include all the résumé features that were coded.

The panel on the left side of Table 2.3 presents outcomes of a model including only main effects. This model shows that, holding the number of times that applicants' complete résumés was requested constant, there is no significant difference between Dutch-named and Arabic-named job seekers regarding the number of positive reactions they receive from employers or employment agencies. Hence, these results provide no evidence of discrimination in this phase of the recruitment procedure over and above any discrimination that may have occurred in the first phase.¹⁰

2.3.3 Robustness of the findings

To assess how robust these findings are we performed a series of additional analyses. First, we assessed whether the effects of applicants' names on the number of times their complete résumé was viewed and the number of reactions they received are similar across different categories of applicants, waves and websites. We estimated a series of models including interaction effects of names on the one hand and the other applicant features as well as the dichotomous variables for wave and website on the other hand. The right-hand panels of Table 2.2 and Table 2.3 present the statistical significance of these interaction effects and for significant effects also the interaction coefficient (complete results available on request).

The right hand panel of Table 2.2 shows that the findings concerning the effect of applicants' names on the number of views of complete résumés are very robust. All but one of the interaction effects are statistically insignificant. Hence, we can conclude that Arabic-named

¹⁰ Note that a model that does not control for the number of times that an applicant's full résumé was viewed leads to the conclusion that Arabic-named applicants are discriminated against in terms of the number of reactions they receive from employers or agencies. A model which only includes applicants' ethnicity also leads to this conclusion.

applicants are discriminated against on both websites, in all regions and sectors, and regardless of their level of education, gender, age, or other personal features. There is only one exception. Although the effect of applicants' names on views of the complete résumé is highly significant in both waves, discrimination of Arabic-named applicants is stronger in the second wave ($b = -0.569$, $p = 0.000$) than in the first wave ($b = -0.272$, $p = 0.003$). It is important to note here that the average number of times that résumés were viewed and the number of positive reactions applicants received is lower in the second wave (on average 6.5 views and 0.46 reactions) than in the first wave (9.4 views and 0.76 reactions) for *all* candidates. This indicates that the demand for labor at the time of the second wave was low compared to the demand during the first wave, a conclusion which is supported by the online Employment Index for the Netherlands that monitors online job opportunities¹¹ and information on unemployment in the Netherlands.¹² However, as the interaction coefficient in Table 2.2 shows, the decrease in views is more pronounced for applicants with Arabic names than for those with Dutch names.

For the second dependent variable, positive reactions, the conclusions based on the model with only main effects turn out to be fairly robust (see the right-hand panel of Table 2.3). In line with the main analysis, there is no evidence of discrimination of applicants with Arabic names (again: over and above any discrimination that occurred in the earlier stage) on either of the websites, at none of the educational levels, in none of the age categories. There are a few (mostly marginally) significant interaction effects, indicating some generally minor exceptions to the pattern of results described above. Most importantly, we again find a significant difference in the effect of applicants' names between waves. In this case, the interaction effect shows that there is no significant influence of applicants' names on the likelihood of receiving a positive reaction in the first wave ($b = 0.194$, $p = 0.302$, but there is in the second wave ($b = -0.502$, $p = 0.027$). In other words, these additional analyses reveal something that the main analyses did not show, namely that discrimination against Arabic-named applicants in this phase of the recruitment procedure did occur but *only* in the second wave. Recall that the second wave was characterized by lower numbers of positive reactions in general, pointing towards a lower demand for labor at the time of this wave. The decline in reactions was, however, stronger for Arabic-named applicants than for Dutch-named applicants. Apparently, in economically competitive times, applicants with Arabic names face additional discrimination in the later

11 Information retrieved from www.about-monster.com. The index is based on a large, representative selection of corporate career sites and job boards. It shows that in 2011 the online supply of vacancies was largest in May, remained relatively high throughout June and July (the first wave), and declined afterwards, falling particularly in September and November (the second wave).

12 Information on both unemployment rates and job vacancies, retrieved from Statistics Netherlands' website, also shows that unemployment rates were relatively stable in May, June and July of 2011 (the first wave) but inclined from August onwards, throughout October, September and November (the second wave) of that year.

phases of online recruitment procedures. Furthermore, the interaction effect of applicants' names and gender is significant at the .10 level. The difference between Arabic-named and Dutch-named candidates in the number of reactions they received is clearly not significant for male applicants ($b = 0.103$, $p = 0.565$), whereas it is marginally significant for female applicants ($b = -0.388$, $p = 0.073$). Hence, male applicants with Arabic names are not discriminated against in this stage of the recruitment procedure, but there does appear to be some discrimination of female Arabic-named applicants. Also, the outcomes are generally stable across sectors and geographical regions. Yet, the marginally significant interaction effect for the finances and accounting sector indicates that the disadvantage of Arabic-named applicants compared those with Dutch names is somewhat smaller in this sector than in the other sectors. Something similar can be said about The Hague and surroundings compared to other geographical regions, whereas in Roosendaal discrimination in this phase appears somewhat more pronounced. One must keep in mind, however, that these interaction effects are only marginally significant. For this reason and also considering the relatively large number of regions included in this study, we should be careful to attach too much importance to the differences across sectors and regions.

As a second robustness check, we examined whether the effect of applicants' names on their likelihood of receiving positive reactions is different for different types of positive reactions. We ran separate analyses for reactions from employers on the one hand and reactions from employment agencies on the other hand (results not presented but available on request). The outcomes of these additional analyses show that there is no significant difference between Arabic-named and Dutch-named candidates in either the number of positive reactions from employers or the number of positive reactions from employment agencies. In addition, we distinguished between invitations for interviews and other types of positive reactions (namely, requests for more information, requests to include the applicant in a database, and reactions mentioning possibly interesting jobs for an applicant). Again, the outcomes prove robust. For none of these types of positive reactions did we find a significant effect of applicants' names. Hence, the results of the main analyses are insensitive to different ways of defining positive reactions.

Finally, we ran additional analyses to address a potential problem resulting from the nature of these data: selectivity bias (Heckman, 1979). In the experiment, the chance that an applicant receives a positive reaction from an employer is conditional on the employer having requested the candidate's full résumé. As mentioned above, the 72 applicants whose complete résumé was never requested are left out of the analyses for the second dependent variable. This may imply that the applicants that are included in the analyses for the number of positive reactions candidates received are not a random selection from the total group of applicants. As a result

of this non-random selection, the estimates of the models for the second dependent variable may be biased, possibly leading to different outcomes and conclusions. Given that only 11.3% of all applicants are selected out of the analyses for the second dependent variable, we do not expect large biases to occur. Nonetheless, to formally assess this, we estimated Heckman two step sample selection models using the dichotomous variable for wave as the selection variable. An important disadvantage of such analyses is that no selection models using negative binomial regression exist. Therefore, instead of the count variables used in the main analyses, we used dichotomous versions of the dependent variables. That is, the variables now indicate whether résumés or applicants received no (0) or one or more (1) views or positive reactions. We then estimated probit regression models with sample selection and robust standard errors.¹³ The outcomes of these models (not presented here, but available upon request) confirm that applicants with Arabic names predominantly face discrimination in the first phase of the recruitment procedure and (at least) to a much lesser extent in the second phase. In these models, the main effect of having an Arabic name on the likelihood of receiving positive reactions turns out to be statistically significant. Yet, when we look at interaction effects, we find (like we did in the model including interactions with applicants' names) that Arabic-named applicants face discrimination in terms of reactions in the second but not in the first wave. Hence, these additional models underline the outcomes of the main analyses and models with interaction effects.

2.4 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The present study examined discrimination of Arabic-named job applicants during online recruitment procedures in the Netherlands. Previous studies often portray discrimination in recruitment as a single decision (c.f., Pager et al., 2009). In reality, discrimination may occur at multiple decision points across the recruitment process. We developed and implemented a new field experiment approach which entailed creating profiles and résumés of fictitious applicants on online résumé databases. A crucial difference between the approach used in this experiment and prior field experiments is that we were able to study two subsequent phases in employers' decision processes during recruitment procedures. Like previous field experiment studies, we examined whether or not an applicant received a positive reaction from employers via telephone or e-mail. But we also examined the step in the recruitment process that precedes this phase, namely whether employers decide to view an applicant's complete résumé after seeing a short profile prominently featuring the candidate's name. This approach allowed us to investigate

¹³ These models do show that there is some selectivity.

at which point during the recruitment process discrimination arises, and hence enabled us to shed more light on the mechanisms that underlie employers' recruitment decisions.

Results of this chapter provide strong evidence of discrimination against Arabic-named applicants in the first phase of the online recruitment procedure. After having seen short applicant profiles, employers are significantly less prone to view entire résumés of candidates with Arabic names than of candidates with Dutch names. To be specific, résumés of Dutch-named candidates are about 50% more likely to be viewed than those of Arabic-named candidates. In a series of additional analyses, this finding proved to be very robust. Evidence of discrimination against Arabic-named applicants in this very first phase of online recruitment procedures was found across all geographical regions, in the five different sectors of the labor market, in both waves and on both websites included in this experiment. Also, both male and female Arabic-named applicants of all ages, and at all educational levels face discrimination.

Less evidence of discrimination was found in the second phase of the recruitment process. Overall, we found no significant negative effect of having an Arabic name on the number of positive reactions applicants' received from employers when controlling for the number of times their complete résumé was viewed. That is, holding the number of times that their entire résumé was viewed constant, candidates with Arabic names are no less likely to be contacted by employers than candidates with Dutch names. It is important to note, however, that discrimination in the first phase we studied nevertheless translates into considerable differences in the number of positive reactions received by Arabic-named compared to Dutch-named job searchers. In additional analyses we found some evidence of discrimination in this phase, but only in the second wave of this study, when the demand for labor was lower.

In sum, a first important conclusion that can be drawn is that job seekers with Arabic names are discriminated against in recruitment procedures via résumé databases on the internet in the Netherlands. Second, it can be concluded that discrimination of job applicants with Arabic names arises mainly in the very first stage of online recruitment procedures. In other words, upon seeing an Arabic name, employers often directly decide not to look into a candidates' full résumé to obtain more information on their skills. These outcomes are consistent with the idea of a 'lexicographic search' by employers (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; McGinnity et al., 2009). When assessing applicants' profiles, employers use candidates' names as a quick heuristic upon which they base their decision.

A third important finding of this study was the uniformity of the degree of discrimination of Arabic-named applicants across waves, websites, regions, sectors, occupational levels, and categories of applicants. In that sense, the findings are comparable to those of for example

Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004: 1010) who found that the gap in callbacks between African-American and white applicants was rather uniform “across occupations, job requirements, and, to a lesser extent, [...] industries”. Likewise, McGinnity and colleagues (2009: 32) found “no difference in the incidence of discrimination by type of minority, time period, occupation or sector”. Such uniform ethnic gaps are difficult to explain in terms of one of the most prominent theoretical approaches on discrimination: Statistical Discrimination Models. Such models assume that employers have imperfect information about job applicants’ abilities. They cannot observe everything they wish to know about candidates based upon the information provided, for example in résumés. It is assumed that risk-averse employers therefore use group membership to try and improve their predictions (Phelps, 1972; Arrow, 1973). According to one class of Statistical Discrimination Models, employers use information or (stereotypical) beliefs they have about group traits to make inferences about individuals. If for example an ethnic minority group is known or believed to on average have a limited command of the host-country language, employers will assume that a candidate belonging to this group is less suitable for a job that requires good language skills. Another class of Statistical Discrimination Models focuses on the precision of the information that employers have about individual productivity (Altonji & Blank, 1999). In such models, employers believe that the same observable signal is more precise for the ethnic majority than for ethnic minority group members. Hence, even in the absence of clear beliefs or stereotypes about group averages, employers may treat minority candidates differently because they are better able to judge majority than minority workers (Aigner & Cain, 1977). In our study, the level and type of skills required varied considerably across occupational levels and sectors. For instance, in sectors involving frequent customer contact (such as human resources) language skills are much more important than in sectors in which contact with customers is much less frequent (for example transportation). Hence, according to Statistical Models of Discrimination, the degree of discrimination should vary across the occupational levels and sectors in the experiment. Yet, as mentioned above, no differences between sectors or occupational levels in the extent of discrimination were found. Moreover, under the second class of Statistical Discrimination Models, ethnic minority group members receive lower returns to observable characteristics than majority group members do (such as found in Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004). The insignificant interaction effects of applicants’ ethnicity with other productivity-related applicant features in our study, however, provide no support for this type of explanation.

An additional particularly interesting outcome of the present study was the difference between the two waves in the average number of times that résumés were viewed and applicants were contacted as well as in the extent to which Arabic-named applicants are discriminated

against. Specifically, results showed that, for *all* candidates, the number of times that résumés were viewed and the number of positive reactions applicants received was higher in the first wave than in the second wave. This reflects the economically poorer conditions and lower demand for labor in the Netherlands during the second wave of our study (from September to November 2011). Under such circumstances, employment opportunities are worse for both Dutch-named and Arabic-named applicants, but our results show that candidates with Arabic names are hit significantly harder by the economic downturn. It can thus be concluded that under economically poorer conditions, employers are more inclined to discriminate. A possible explanation for this result can be found in the Job Competition Model (Thurow, 1975). According to this model the labor market can be represented as consisting of two rows. One row contains jobs, with the most attractive jobs at the beginning and the least attractive jobs at the end of the row. The other row contains job seekers, ordered from the most suitable to the most unsuitable candidates. Job seekers try to obtain the most attractive jobs, whereas employers aim to hire the most suitable employees. Consequently, the job seekers that are considered least desirable by employers are forced to accept the less attractive jobs. In economically less prosperous times, when the demand for labor is low relative to the supply of labor, the job queue will be shorter and the least attractive job seekers may not be able to find a job at all. These findings may be interpreted as an indication that employers rank applicants with Arabic names more towards the end of the queue than Dutch-named candidates. According to this line of reasoning, the relative length of the job queue had decreased in the second wave, decreasing the employment chances of the less desired Arabic-named candidates.

The findings of this study have important practical implications. First of all, they suggest that anonymous applications may contribute to more equal chances for equally qualified ethnic majority and minority job searchers. This conclusion is in line with the outcomes of a recent pilot project conducted in Germany, in which anonymous applications were shown to lead to more equal chances of ethnic minority (and female) applicants (Krause, Rinne, Zimmermann, Böschén & Alt, 2012). This would not only increase the employment opportunities for these ethnic minority candidates, but would also benefit employers by leading to more efficient (i.e., more on characteristics directly related to the execution of a job) matching of candidates and jobs (c.f., McGinnity et al., 2009). Furthermore, these findings are particularly important in light of the fact that more and more employers search for suitable candidates via the internet. Recruitment via internet may increase the extent to which discrimination occurs. Some résumé databanks print candidates' names prominently in lists of possibly interesting applicants and provide very little other information about the applicants in these search results. Compared to written applications in which additional information about candidates is printed directly

under candidates' names in their résumé, online recruitment requires employers to carry out an extra step to gain access to such information; they have to actively request the entire résumé. Hence, the increased popularity of recruitment via online résumé databases may have a negative impact on the chances of minority job searchers, whereas in theory they have the potential to decrease the role of discrimination; it seems rather feasible to prominently display educational achievements and work experience (instead of names, indicating ethnic background or gender) when presenting first search results to employers searching for candidates on online databases.

This study has some limitations that should be mentioned. First, this study was conducted in the Netherlands and studied discriminatory behavior towards one particular group of minority applicants, namely those with Arabic names. The choice for this group, which holds a particularly disadvantaged position on the Dutch labor market and towards which minority attitudes are known to be especially negative, was made to arrive at an upper bound of the degree to which ethnic minorities in the Netherlands are discriminated against during online recruitment procedures. Future research is needed to assess to what extent other minority groups in the Netherlands and internationally face discrimination in online recruitment. Experiments that include multiple minority groups may also provide valuable insights on the mechanisms that underlie employers' discriminatory behavior towards minority applicants. For instance, if discrimination is motivated by ethnic prejudice one should expect native employers' in the Netherlands or other Western-European countries to display more discriminatory behavior towards ethnically dissimilar applicants (for example those of Asian or African origin) and less so towards applicants from other Western-European countries (like France, the United Kingdom, or Germany; *c.f.*, McGinnity et al., 2009).

Second, the field experiment approach via online résumé databases which we developed and implemented has important advantages, most notably the chance to study different stages of the recruitment procedure, but there are also some potential drawbacks. For example, due to the relatively high costs involved in buying access to these databases, this way of recruitment may be particularly popular amongst larger organizations. Additionally, the websites included in this study focus on all occupational levels. There are, however, also websites that focus specifically on recruitment of higher educated individuals. This might mean that the websites we used are less suitable to examine discrimination of higher educated candidates. Although we found evidence of discrimination at all occupational levels, future research may focus more specifically on discrimination of higher educated minority applicants. As most previous field experiments on discrimination in recruitment focus on the lower segments of the labor market (*e.g.*, McGinnity et al., 2009; Oreopoulos, 2011; Pager et al., 2009), this is in general (not only regarding recruitment via the internet) an issue that deserves more attention in further research.

Despite these limitations, the present study has increased our knowledge about how ethnic discrimination in recruitment comes about. Additional research on when and how discrimination arises is needed to further our understanding of the mechanisms that lead to discriminatory behavior.

3

Regional variation in discrimination of ethnic minority applicants and the role of regional features: A field experiment

This chapter was co-authored by Iris Andriessen, Eline Nievers (the Netherlands Institute for Social Research, SCP) and Marcel Coenders. Earlier versions of this chapter were presented at the 'Dag van de Demografie' 2011, November 2011, Utrecht, and the ECPR anniversary conference, December 2011, Dublin.

ABSTRACT

To study ethnic discrimination in recruitment, we use data from a field experiment in which 391 pairs of fictitious majority and minority applicants applied for real jobs in twenty-four regions in the Netherlands. In addition to determining whether employers discriminate against ethnic minority applicants we examine whether there are differences in such discrimination between geographical regions and whether regional differences in discrimination are related to ethnic minority group size and unemployment rates. Hence, this study attempts to further our understanding of the contextual conditions that foster or hamper ethnic discrimination in recruitment. Results show that employers discriminate against ethnic minority applicants; ethnic minority candidates are significantly less likely to be invited for job interviews than equivalent native candidates. Furthermore, regional differences in discrimination do appear to exist but are unrelated to minority group size or unemployment levels in the region. The theoretical implications of the findings are discussed.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Over the past decades, the population in the Netherlands has become increasingly ethnically diverse. The four largest ethnic minority groups are Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans. In 2011, these groups together made up 7.3 percent of the population (Gijsberts et al., 2012). As in many Western-European countries (Heath et al., 2008), ethnic minorities in the Netherlands generally hold less favorable positions in the labor market than natives. Compared to natives, they are more likely to be unemployed, to stay unemployed longer, and to have lower-status jobs, non-standard contracts or a lower income (Gijsberts et al., 2012).

While ethnic inequalities in labor market outcomes can partially be explained by ethnic differences in educational achievements, considerable gaps remain after controlling for such variations in human capital (Bassanini & Saint-Martin, 2008). Another possible explanation for ethnic gaps in labor market outcomes is discrimination. Ethnic discrimination in the context of the labor market is unequal treatment of ethnic minority job applicants or employees, compared to similar natives, by personnel workers or employers (National Research Council, 2004).

Field experiments are generally considered the most appropriate method to measure discrimination in recruitment (National Research Council, 2004; Pager, 2007; Riach & Rich, 2002). They allow researchers to isolate effects of applicants' ethnicity (and other applicant traits) on employers' recruitment decisions by using carefully constructed comparisons in which possibly confounding factors are controlled for or balanced out. At the same time, they consider real-world hiring procedures. Hence, field experiments combine the strengths of experiments with those of field-based research (Pager & Shepherd, 2008; Quillian, 2006).

Field experiment studies on ethnic discrimination in recruitment have been conducted in Europe (Allasino et al., 2004; Andriessen et al., 2010, 2012; Attström, 2007; Bovenkerk et al., 1994; Carlsson & Rooth, 2007; Cediey & Foroni, 2008; Dolfing & Van Tubergen, 2005; Kaas & Manger, 2012; McGinnity et al., 2009; Rooth, 2010; Zegers de Beijl, 2000), the United States (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Pager & Quillian, 2005; Pager et al., 2009), Australia (Riach & Rich, 1991) and Canada (e.g., Oreopoulos, 2011). These studies have consistently found strong evidence of ethnic discrimination – exceeding 25% – against ethnic minority applicants (Bassanini & Saint-Martin, 2008; Pager, 2007; Riach & Rich, 2002).

Although such studies provide crucial evidence on the pervasiveness of ethnic discrimination in recruitment, they leave important questions unanswered about the circumstances under which discrimination is more or less likely to occur (c.f., Quillian, 2006; Riach & Rich, 2002). Therefore, several researchers have emphasized the need to move beyond determining whether

ethnic discrimination is present in labor markets and study the conditions that foster or hamper discrimination (Reskin, 2000; Pager & Shepherd, 2008).

This study examines whether employers discriminate against ethnic minority job applicants using data from a field experiment in which fictitious ethnic majority and minority applicants reacted to real vacancies across twenty-four regions within the Netherlands. It contributes to existing insights on ethnic discrimination in recruitment by investigating which contextual conditions are conducive to discrimination. Specifically, we examine whether there are regional differences in the prevalence of ethnic discrimination in recruitment and whether characteristics of regions are related to discrimination. Drawing on research on determinants of interethnic attitudes, we focus on two regional features: ethnic minority group size and unemployment levels. In this literature, minority group size and economic circumstances have been the most important contextual factors taken into account (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; Zick et al., 2008). The size of ethnic minority groups relative to the majority population is generally considered an important factor influencing interethnic attitudes. Various studies have corroborated the idea that larger minority groups are associated with more negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities (e.g., Coenders et al., 2008; Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2009; Scheepers et al., 2002a; Schneider, 2008; Semyonov et al., 2006, 2008) though some others found no relationship (Hello et al., 2002; Hjern, 2007; Sides & Citrin, 2007; Strabac & Listhaug, 2008) or a negative relationship (Hjern, 2009). Similarly, economic circumstances are commonly seen as an important predictor of interethnic attitudes. Positive relationships between poorer economic circumstances and negative interethnic attitudes were found in several studies (e.g., Hello et al., 2002; Lahav, 2004; Schneider, 2008; Semyonov et al., 2006, 2008), though some research failed to find a significant association (Coenders et al., 2008; Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2009; Hjern, 2007; Scheepers et al., 2002a; Sides & Citrin, 2007; Strabac & Listhaug, 2008).

Previous field experiment studies on ethnic discrimination in recruitment typically cover a limited geographical area, focusing almost exclusively on one or two cities (c.f., McGinnity et al., 2009). Consequently, the role of contextual factors in shaping ethnic discrimination in recruitment has thus far been neglected. It therefore remains unclear if minority group size and economic circumstances are associated with discriminatory behavior of employers towards ethnic minority applicants. A notable exception is Bertrand and Mullainathan's (2004) field experiment in which they sent fictitious résumés with typically African-American and White names in response to help-wanted advertisements in Boston and Chicago (US). Information on zip-codes allowed them to take into account neighborhood features and particularly the proportion of African-Americans in neighborhoods. Although their results show that résumés with White names received about 50% more call-backs for interviews than those with African-

American names, they found no significant differences in discrimination across neighborhoods, occupations or sectors. Moreover, no meaningful influence of contextual factors like minority group size was found. Likewise, Carlsson and Rooth (2007) found no effect of the neighborhood in Sweden (Stockholm and Gothenburg).

This study builds upon these and other prior field experiments on ethnic discrimination in recruitment by examining geographical variation in discrimination and the influence of contextual features. We focus on the regional instead of the neighborhood level. A person's activity space, the area in which one develops (professional) activities, transcends the neighborhood and even the municipality level. Therefore, employers' hiring decisions are likely to be influenced by circumstances not just in their neighborhood but also in their environment more broadly defined, such as the region. Moreover, most previous field experiments are restricted to one ethnic minority group (c.f., Pager et al., 2009) and male job applicants. By contrast, the data used in this study include male and female candidates and the four largest non-Western ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands.

3.2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Based on different theories, different predictions can be formulated about the direction of the relationship between ethnic minority group size and unemployment on the one hand and ethnic discrimination on the other hand.

3.2.1 Interethnic threat

The approach used most often to select contextual features and theorize about their role in shaping interethnic relations is Ethnic Competition Theory (or closely related approaches focusing on interethnic competition and threat, such as 'Group Threat Theory'; Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; Scheepers et al., 2002a; Zick, et al., 2008). This theory predicts that relatively larger ethnic minority groups lead to more perceived interethnic threat amongst natives and *more* ethnic discrimination.

The central assumption of Ethnic Competition Theory is that intergroup competition over economic resources or conflicting values leads members of one group to perceive those of another group (out-group) as threatening.¹⁴ This leads to negative attitudes towards the

¹⁴ Theorists have differentiated between actual or realistic group threat (Bobo, 1983) and perceived group threat, where perceptions are not necessarily related to actual group interest (Blumer, 1958). Here, this distinction is irrelevant as larger minority groups and higher unemployment can lead to more actual and more perceived threat and our data do not allow us to disentangle the two.

out-group (McLaren, 2003; Riek, Mania & Gaertner, 2006). Hence, this theory sees negative interethnic relations as the result of a feeling that the interests of members of the own group are threatened by those of another group. Note that group interests are not necessarily linked to individual interests; negative interethnic attitudes may also arise when one's own, individual interests remain unaffected (Blumer, 1958; Quillian, 1995). Evidence of a positive relation between group threat and negative interethnic attitudes has been found in a variety of studies dealing with different contexts and group types (for a meta-analysis see: Riek et al., 2006). We therefore argue that (native) employers' hiring decisions may be affected by the extent to which they perceive the position and opportunities of natives to be threatened by ethnic minorities.

The size of minority groups relative to the native group and economic circumstances are considered key determinants of group threat. A relatively larger minority group poses more of a challenge to the interests of natives and therefore results in more intergroup competition over resources. Moreover, when economic circumstances are more precarious (e.g., unemployment levels are higher) real or perceived intergroup competition over resources is intensified (Blalock, 1967; Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; Coenders et al., 2008; Semyonov et al., 2006, 2008). Hence, we expect that employers will be more inclined to discriminate against ethnic minority job applicants in regions where minority groups are relatively larger and where unemployment levels are higher.

3.2.2 Interethnic contact

Another theoretical approach which is often applied in research on interethnic relations also links minority group size to interethnic attitudes and behavior: Contact Theory. Regarding the association between ethnic minority group size and interethnic attitudes, this theory predicts the exact opposite as Ethnic Competition Theory, namely that larger minority groups lead to *less* negative interethnic relations.

The central proposition of Contact Theory is that intergroup contacts lead to less negative intergroup relations (Allport, 1954). Corroborating this idea, numerous studies have found evidence of a negative relation between interethnic contacts and negative interethnic attitudes (for a meta-analysis see: Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Given that larger ethnic minority groups result in more opportunities for interethnic contacts, Contact Theory predicts that larger minority groups will result in less negative interethnic relations (Quillian, 1995). Hence, based on this theory, we expect that in regions where minority groups are relatively larger, employers will discriminate less often.

Summarizing, Contact Theory predicts that relatively larger ethnic minority groups are related to *less* discrimination of ethnic minority job applicants whereas Ethnic Competition Theory

predicts that larger minority groups are related to *more* ethnic discrimination. Based on Ethnic Competition Theory one would also expect a positive association between unemployment levels and ethnic discrimination.

3.3 DATA AND MEASURES

In this study, we use data from a field experiment on ethnic discrimination in the Dutch labor market conducted by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (Andriessen et al., 2010, 2012) and enrich these data with information on regional characteristics.

3.3.1 The field experiment methodology

Field experiments measure discrimination more accurately than non-experimental approaches because they maintain the key experimental features of matching and random assignment whilst occurring in a real-world setting (National Research Council, 2004). Two main types of field experiments to study employment discrimination exist: correspondence tests and in-person tests. *Correspondence tests* rely on fictitious matched résumés (and application letters) submitted to employers. Sets of résumés reflecting equal levels of education and experience are prepared. Fictitious applicants' ethnicity is randomly assigned to the résumés. Employers' reactions (written responses to mailing addresses or call-backs to voicemail boxes) are coded. *In-person tests* involve pairs of individuals (testers) who pose as job applicants. Equivalent résumés are constructed for applicant pairs and ethnicity is randomly assigned to the résumés. Testers approach employers via telephone or visit organizations. Employers' reactions during the conversation or later are registered and coded. Systematic differences in the treatment of equivalent fictitious applicants by ethnicity provide a measure of ethnic discrimination (National Research Council, 2004; Pager, 2007).

3.3.2 Data collection

We use data from a field experiment that involved 406 tests (sets of fictitious applicants who contact an employer) and 812 applicants. The present study is restricted to lower level positions, requiring intermediate vocational training at most. Part of the data was collected via a correspondence approach, the other part using a telephone-assisted in-person approach. This is in line with common practice in lower segments of the Dutch labor market, where job seekers often apply over telephone.

The first step in preparing the data collection was choosing jobs. Twelve job types (sales clerk, serving staff, employee municipal cleansing department, park keeper, dishwasher, caretaker, warehouseman, kitchen help, telephone operator, employee general and technical services, other municipal services, cleaner) in four sectors (municipal governments, retail, hospitality and catering, and health care) were chosen. Jobs vary regarding the degree of client contact involved. Instead of using a fully balanced design (with applicant, job, and sector features varied systematically), different combinations of job features and individual features were used and these features were incorporated in the analyses as controls (i.e., a ‘correlational approach’ was applied).

Second, templates for résumés and application letters were developed. The résumé templates provided information on date and place of birth, education, work experience and other activities. Applicants were between 17 and 24 years old. The résumés contained existing addresses and mobile telephone numbers. Residents of the addresses agreed to assist in the data collection and forwarded mail concerning the study to the researchers. The mobile telephones were connected to voicemail boxes with a standard, neutral announcement. Consistent with what is common for lower level jobs in the Netherlands, no elaborate application letters were written. Instead, short letters were used explaining the applicant’s interest in the vacant position, that a résumé was included and that the applicant hoped to be invited for an interview.

Names that identify fictitious applicants as belonging to a specific minority group (Turkish-Dutch, Moroccan-Dutch, Surinamese-Dutch or Antillean-Dutch) were found on the internet. Surinamese and Antillean names are less likely than Turkish and Moroccan names to be identified as typical for these groups. Therefore, the résumés of Surinamese and Antillean applicants in the correspondence part of the study mentioned municipalities in Suriname (Paramaribo) or the Antilles (Willemstad, Curacao) as birth place. The résumés did show that these applicants migrated at an early age and followed their education in the Netherlands. In the in-person part of the study, Surinamese and Antillean applicants spoke with a slight accent to signal the ethnicity of the applicant to employers. Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch applicants were assigned birth places in the Netherlands and spoke without an accent, as it was expected that their names would lead to direct recognition of the applicant as belonging to a minority group.

Finally, in preparation of the in-person tests, twelve professional actors were selected (two male and two female native Dutch actors playing native applicants, two male Surinamese-Dutch actors, two female Antillean-Dutch actors, 2 male native Dutch actors playing Turkish-Dutch applicants, and 2 female native Dutch actors playing Moroccan-Dutch applicants). Actors

were trained to appear interested in the job and answer questions politely whilst adjusting their wording to the fictitious applicants' level of education. Furthermore, actor pairs were trained to act comparably even if they were approached differently by employers. Finally, actors playing Moroccan-Dutch or Turkish-Dutch applicants were taught to pronounce the Turkish and Moroccan names convincingly.

The data were collected between May and November 2008. Job vacancies were found on job search websites and on websites of firms. Matched résumés were alternately assigned to either the ethnic minority or the majority applicants. In the correspondence test, letters and résumés were sent via mail, e-mail or online applications forms were filled out (depending on employers' preferences) on the same day for applicants who formed a pair. In the in-person tests, the order in which actors called and which résumé they used as a profile was varied systematically. Employers' reactions were registered and coded. Invitations for interviews were declined politely and as soon as possible to minimize the inconvenience to the employers. Thirteen tests were omitted due to incomplete or ambiguous information on employers' reactions.

The field experiment data were enriched with data on regional characteristics. We retrieved information on the size of ethnic minority groups and on unemployment rates within geographical regions in 2008 from Statistics Netherlands' website. We applied Statistics Netherlands' regional classification which divides the Netherlands into 40 regions consisting of multiple bordering municipalities (often a city and the surrounding area). The units form a level between municipalities and the twelve Dutch provinces. For the analyses, we combined several regions in which the number of observations was low, resulting in 24 regions (see Table 3.2). Two tests (4 cases) for which information on the region was missing were omitted from the analyses, bringing the number of tests and cases in the analyses to 782 and 391 respectively.

3.3.3 Measures

The *dependent variable* indicates whether a fictitious applicant was invited for a job interview (1) or not (0). The first of the *independent variables* is a dichotomous variable indicating whether an applicant was native Dutch (0) or belonged to one of the ethnic minority groups – Moroccan-Dutch, Turkish-Dutch, Surinamese-Dutch, or Antillean-Dutch – (1). At the regional level, the analyses include the percentage of non-Western ethnic minority group members¹⁵ amongst the population and the percentage of inhabitants of a region that received unemployment benefits in 2008.

¹⁵ A large share of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands is of non-Western origin. In 2008, 10.8% of the population was of non-Western origin and the four largest ethnic minority groups made up 7.2% of the population.

Table 3.1 Descriptive statistics

	Range	Mean	Std. Dev.
Invitation for job interview	0 / 1	0.38	
Applicant characteristics (level 1)			
Ethnic minority	0 / 1	0.50	
Female	0 / 1	0.50	
Job / test characteristics (level 2)			
Client contact	0 / 1	0.53	
Industry			
Hospitality and catering	0 / 1	0.26	
Health care	0 / 1	0.27	
Retail	0 / 1	0.31	
Municipal governments	0 / 1	0.16	
Region characteristics (level 3)			
% non-Western immigrants in 2008	3.06 – 25.37	14.24	7.99
% people with unemployment benefits in 2008	0.66 – 1.57	0.96	0.17

Source: Field experiment ethnic discrimination in the Dutch labor market 2008; n-applicant = 782; n-test = 391; n-region = 24.

Finally, we incorporate interaction terms of the regional features with the variable indicating applicants' ethnicity. Dichotomous variables indicating whether the applicant was male (0) or female (1), whether (1) or not (0) the job involved client contact and to which sector the job belonged (health care, retail, municipal governments, and hospitality and catering as reference category) were used as *control variables*.¹⁶ Table 3.1 presents descriptive statistics for all variables in the analyses.

3.4 ANALYSES AND RESULTS

3.4.1 Descriptive results

Before turning to the multivariate analyses, we take a look at employers' responses to the matched fictitious applicants. Given that candidates applied in pairs consisting of one native Dutch and one ethnic minority applicant, there are four possible outcomes to an application: (1)

¹⁶ We checked whether the way a test was conducted (via telephone or mail) affected applicants' chances of being invited or the effect of applicants' ethnicity. As neither was the case, this variable was omitted in further analyses. Also, we examined whether the level of competition for the different types of jobs (measured by the percentage of cases in which neither the native nor the minority applicant was invited per job type) affected the effect of applicants' ethnicity on their chances of being invited. We found no such interaction. Therefore, the level of competition was not included in further analyses.

both applicants were invited for a job interview, (2) neither of the two was invited, (3) only the minority candidate was invited and (4) only the native candidate was invited (c.f., Bovenkerk, 1992; Riach & Rich, 2002). Table 3.2 presents an overview of the responses per region.

Of the total number of 391 times that a set of applicants applied for a vacancy (that is, for the 391 tests), no response was received or both candidates were rejected in 206 tests (that is, in 53% of all tests). In 111 tests (28%) both applicants were invited for an interview. There were 19 tests (5%) in which the minority applicant was invited whilst the majority candidate was not. In 55 tests (14%) the majority candidate was invited whereas the minority candidate was not invited.

A common measure of discrimination used in this type of study is the ‘net discrimination’ (Bovenkerk, 1992) which is obtained by subtracting the number of times that the minority candidate was invited whilst the majority candidate was not (commonly called ‘positive discrimination’) from the number of times that the minority candidate was not invited whilst the majority candidate was (commonly called ‘discrimination’). In this case, net discrimination for the total study is $(55 - 19) = 36$. Another standard measure of the extent of discrimination is the ‘discrimination rate’ which is the net discrimination as a proportion of those instances where at least one candidate was invited for an interview. The overall discrimination rate in the present study is 19% $((36 / (111 + 19 + 55)) * 100)$. Some authors prefer the ‘odds ratio’ (e.g., McGinnity et al., 2009), defined as the odds that the majority applicant is invited relative to the odds that the minority applicant is invited, as a measure of discrimination. The overall odds ratio here is 1.28 $((111 + 55) / 391) / ((111 + 19) / 391)$. One intuitively appealing way of understanding this considers how many times candidates need to apply to receive one positive response from an employer. In this case, out of 391 applications, native candidates received 166 $(111 + 55)$ positive responses whilst the minority candidates received 130 $(111 + 19)$ positive responses. This means that majority candidates had to respond to about $(391 / 166) = 2.4$ and minority applicants to about $(391 / 130) = 3.0$ vacancies to receive *one* invitation. Hence, a first conclusion that can be drawn based on these descriptive results is that there is evidence of discrimination against ethnic minority job applicants. Finally, Table 3.2 shows that there are significant¹⁷ regional variations in ethnic discrimination in recruitment; regions differ significantly in the extent to which employers discriminate against ethnic minority applicants.

¹⁷ Chi-square tests and Fisher’s exact tests (to cope with empty cells) confirmed this conclusion ($p = 0.000$) both when including all regions and when including only regions with a larger n .

Table 3.2 Classification of outcomes of matched job applications

Region	n-tests	None invited	Both invited	Only minority invited	Only native invited	Net discrimination	Discrimination rate	Odds ratio
Groningen	6	5	1	0	0	0	0%	1.00
Friesland	5	4	1	0	0	0	0%	1.00
Drenthe	8	5	2	0	1	1	33%	1.50
Overijssel	5	2	2	0	1	1	33%	1.50
Twente	5	4	1	0	0	0	0%	1.00
Veluwe / Achterhoek	8	5	1	1	1	0	0%	1.00
South-West Gelderland	14	10	1	0	3	3	75%	4.00
Utrecht	51	20	23	3	5	2	6%	1.08
Kop van Noord-Holland	10	10	0	0	0	0	0%	a
Alkmaar region	12	9	2	0	1	1	33%	1.50
IJmond	5	3	0	0	2	2	100%	a
Haarlem / Zaanstad	21	12	8	0	1	1	11%	1.13
Amsterdam region	80	33	22	6	19	13	28%	1.46
Gooi and Vecht area	16	10	4	0	2	2	33%	1.50
Leiden region	21	11	5	1	4	3	30%	1.50
The Hague / Delft	30	9	13	3	5	2	10%	1.13
East South-Holland	13	9	1	3	0	-3	-75%	0.25
Rijnmond region	27	13	12	0	2	2	14%	1.17
Zeeland	5	3	2	0	0	0	0%	1.00
West / Central N. Brabant	11	9	1	1	0	-1	-50%	0.50
North-East Noord Brabant	9	4	2	1	2	1	20%	1.33
South-East Noord Brabant	9	5	2	0	2	2	50%	2.00
Limburg	6	4	2	0	0	0	0%	1.00
Flevoland	14	7	3	0	4	4	57%	2.33
Total	391	206	111	19	55	36	19%	1.28

Source: Field experiment ethnic discrimination in the Dutch labor market 2008; n-applicant = 782; n-test = 391; n-region = 24.
 Net discrimination = only native invited – only minority invited; Discrimination rate = (only native invited – only minority invited) / (both invited + only minority invited).
 Odds ratio = (both invited + only native invited) / (both invited + only minority invited); a: unable to calculate.

3.4.2 Multivariate analyses

For the multivariate analyses of applicants' chances of being invited for a job interview we use multilevel logistic regression analyses. The data include 782 individual job applicants (level 1) who applied for jobs in 391 sets of applicants or tests (level 2). The sets of applicants (tests) are in turn nested in 24 regions (level 3). The results of the multivariate analyses are presented in Table 3.3.

Model 1 includes only the dichotomous variable for applicants' ethnicity. This model substantiates the descriptive results; minority applicants are significantly less likely to receive an invitation for a job interview than native Dutch applicants. In other words, we again find evidence of ethnic discrimination in recruitment.

In Model 2 and 3 we add the control variables at the applicant and job level. This does not affect the influence of applicants' ethnicity on the likelihood of an invitation, which remains highly significant. Female applicants appear more likely to be invited for an interview than male applicants, but this difference disappears after controlling for sector and whether jobs involved client contact. Furthermore, candidates reacting to vacancies in retail or municipal governments are less likely to be invited than those who react to vacancies in hospitality and catering.

In Model 4, 5 and 6, we examine the role of regional features. In Model 4, the interaction term of the proportion of non-Western minorities and applicants' ethnicity is added. The interaction term of the unemployment rate and applicants' ethnicity is incorporated in Model 5. In Model 6, we include both interaction terms simultaneously. Note that models with only main effects of regional characteristics are not presented because we focus on the relation between regional features and ethnic discrimination and not the influence of these factors on applicants' chances of being invited in general.

The results presented in Model 4 show that the interaction term of the percentage of non-Western minorities with applicants' ethnicity yields no significant results. Hence, it can be concluded that the relative size of the ethnic minority population within regions is unrelated to ethnic discrimination in recruitment. Model 5 reveals a similar picture for unemployment rates. The share of a region's population receiving unemployment benefits is not significantly related to ethnic discrimination. Model 5 confirms this conclusion: neither the relative size of the ethnic minority population nor the unemployment rate within regions is significantly related to discrimination of ethnic minority job applicants.

Table 3.3 Multilevel logistic regression analyses of invitation for job interview

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6							
	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.						
Applicant characteristics (level 1)																		
Ethnic minority	-0.958	0.259	**	-0.956	0.258	**	-0.930	0.254	**	-0.901	0.254	**	-0.941	0.256	**	-0.915	0.255	**
Female				1.024	0.470	*	1.323	0.805		1.304	0.798		1.314	0.80		1.273	0.801	
Job / test characteristics (level 2)																		
Client contact							-0.519	0.851		-0.517	0.841		-0.465	0.860		-0.405	0.847	
Industry (Hospitality and catering = ref)																		
Health care							-0.051	0.620		0.061	0.608		-0.064	0.624		0.054	0.607	
Retail							-1.220	0.567	*	-1.240	0.561	*	-1.245	0.571	*	-1.295	0.564	*
Municipal governments							-3.297	0.830	**	-3.187	0.816	**	-3.344	0.838	**	-3.225	0.819	**
Region characteristics (level 3)																		
% non-Western immigrants										0.133	0.043	**				0.128	0.039	**
% unemployment													-0.614	1.869		-1.400	1.729	
Interaction effects																		
Minority * % non-Western immigrants										-0.028	0.030					-0.022	0.031	
Minority * % unemployment													-1.621	1.488		-1.391	1.525	
Wald chi ² (df)	13.72	(1)		17.42	(2)		32.79	(6)		38.92	(8)		33.52	(8)		41.16	(10)	
Log likelihood	-434.578			-432.136			-420.549			-415.764			-419.664			-414.574		

Source: Field experiment ethnic discrimination in the Dutch labor market 2008; n-applicant = 782; n-test = 391; n-region = 24.

Significance (2-tailed): ** = p<.01; * = p<.05.

Regional characteristics were centered around the mean.

3.4.3 Additional analyses

We examine how robust these findings are by conducting a series of additional analyses (results not presented here but available on request). First, to establish whether using other geographical classifications would lead to different conclusions, we use geographical units different from the regions in the main analyses. Specifically, we test whether there are differences in ethnic discrimination in recruitment between *municipalities* and whether ethnic minority group size and unemployment at the municipality level affect discrimination. The results of these analyses corroborate the outcomes of the main analyses; neither of the municipal features is significantly related to discrimination. Additionally, we contrast the three largest Dutch cities with the rest of the country. Outcomes show that the extent to which discrimination occurs does not differ significantly between the three largest cities and the rest of the country.

Second, to examine whether the findings concerning the role of the contextual features are robust, we conduct analyses distinguishing between applicants belonging to the four minority groups in the data (Moroccan-Dutch women, Turkish-Dutch men, Surinamese-Dutch men, Antillean-Dutch women). We include four dichotomous variables for ethnicity and interaction terms of applicants' ethnicity and the proportion of non-Western migrants or unemployment (and excluded gender). In line with the main analyses, results show that the proportion of non-Western minorities and unemployment in regions are unrelated to discrimination of applicants of Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese or Antillean origin. There is one exception: the chances of female Moroccan-Dutch applicants to be invited for job interviews are significantly lower in regions with higher levels of non-Western minorities.

Furthermore, we test whether discrimination of members of a specific minority group is only influenced by the size of this particular group. We include interaction terms of the four dichotomous variables for ethnicity with four separate variables measuring the relative size of each specific ethnic group. Outcomes of these analyses confirm the previous conclusions. Discrimination of applicants from the four minority groups is unrelated to the relative size of these groups within regions. Additionally, we conduct analyses in which we group together Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch applicants (as 'Mediterranean minorities') and Surinamese-Dutch and Antillean-Dutch applicants (as 'Caribbean minorities'). These sub-groups have many relevant features in common, such as religion (over 95% of the Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch population in the Netherlands is Muslim; Gijsberts et al., 2012), history (Suriname and the Antilles are former Dutch colonies; Moroccans and Turks initially came as guest workers) cultural elements and appearance. Consequently, employers may view them as similar and may not always be able to distinguish Moroccan-Dutch from Turkish-Dutch

applicants or Surinamese-Dutch from Antillean-Dutch applicants. Hence, we test whether discrimination of Moroccan-Dutch or Turkish-Dutch applicants is related to the percentage of these groups combined within regions and whether discrimination of Surinamese-Dutch and Antillean-Dutch candidates is associated with the size of these groups. Results, however, show no such associations.

In addition, we test if there are differences in the extent to which employers discriminate against male and female ethnic minority applicants. We run an analysis in which we include an interaction term of the dichotomous variable indicating whether an applicant is native Dutch or belongs to a minority group with the dichotomous variable indicating applicants' gender. Results indicate that although female applicants are more likely to be invited for a job interview than male applicants this gender gap does not vary significantly across ethnic groups. Subsequently, we incorporate three-way interactions to test whether minority group size is differently related to discrimination of male and female applicants. The outcomes demonstrate that no differential effects exist. Finally, we conduct similar analyses in which we distinguish between Mediterranean and Caribbean ethnic minorities. This does not alter the conclusions.

Finally, we test whether there are non-linear relations between the regional features and discrimination by including quadratic terms of minority group size and unemployment in the analyses. We find no evidence of a non-linear relationship between ethnic minority group size and applicants' likelihood of being invited for a job interview. For the unemployment rate, we do find a significant non-linear association such that with increasing levels of unemployment the relation between the unemployment rate and applicants' chances (in general) of being invited for a job interview becomes increasingly negative. We do not, however, find a non-linear association between unemployment and discrimination of ethnic minority applicants.

3.5 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, we examined whether employers discriminate against ethnic minority job applicants, to what extent ethnic discrimination in recruitment varies across geographical regions and whether regional features – namely ethnic minority group size and economic conditions – are related to discrimination. Hence, this study increases our knowledge about the conditions under which ethnic discrimination in recruitment is more or less likely to occur.

We tested predictions derived from Ethnic Competition Theory and Contact Theory using data from a field experiment in which fictitious ethnic majority and minority applicants responded to real vacancies in twenty-four regions within the Netherlands. This experiment included

fictitious applicants from the four largest non-Western minority groups in the Netherlands. The field experiment data were enriched with contextual information on the relative size of ethnic minority groups and the unemployment rate within regions.

Our results show that employers *do* discriminate against ethnic minority applicants; minority candidates are significantly less likely than equivalent native applicants to receive an invitation for a job interview. Moreover, we found that the extent to which ethnic discrimination occurs varies across regions. However, neither the relative size of non-Western ethnic minority groups nor the unemployment rate within regions is significantly related to discrimination of ethnic minority applicants. The latter conclusion proved robust in several additional analyses.

For one specific minority group, Moroccan-Dutch applicants, we did find a significant effect: in regions with a larger proportion of non-Western minorities, there was more discrimination of female Moroccan-Dutch applicants. Although future studies should investigate whether this also holds for Moroccan-Dutch men, we emphasize that Moroccans are the minority group that is most salient in the public discourse on migrants in the Netherlands, and Dutch natives hold more negative attitudes towards Moroccan-Dutch individuals compared to members of other ethnic minority groups.

Overall the hypotheses derived from Ethnic Competition Theory and Contact Theory are refuted. There are several possible interpretations for these findings. First, since we have no data on employers' interethnic attitudes and contacts, we could not directly test the threat and contact mechanisms put forward by these theories. The field experiment data do not contain individual-level variables like the extent to which employers experience interethnic threat or the frequency or quality of their interethnic contacts. Such information would have enabled us to gain insight in the mechanisms that do or do not affect employers' tendency to discriminate. In the absence of such controls, finding no relation between the size of ethnic minority groups and discrimination could actually be due to the fact that both threat and contact mechanisms are at work simultaneously but suppress each other (Pettigrew, Wagner & Christ, 2010; Schlueter et al., 2008).

Additionally, it might be that perceptions of interethnic threat are not so much determined by contextual characteristics at the regional level, but more so by factors at the national level, where negative portrayals of ethnic minorities are prevalent in the media and the public and political discourse. Likewise, the out-group size in the region is a proxy for interethnic contact *opportunities*, but not necessarily for actual contact. Including information on the ethnic composition of the work force at the firm level would provide a better test of the contact mechanism.

The absence of a relationship between ethnic minority group size and discrimination might also be due to other economic incentives of employers. In regions with a relatively larger out-group employers might be more inclined to hire ethnic minority applicants to reflect the ethnic profile of their customers (in that region). This could counterbalance the role of stronger interethnic threat perceptions in regions with a larger out-group size, causing us to find no relationship.

Also, we failed to find a relationship between regional unemployment rates and discrimination. In general, however, unemployment levels in the Netherlands were very low during the period in which the data were collected. This may have left employers with little choice concerning the applicants that they contacted. In economically less prosperous times, with less demand for and more supply of labor, employers are able to be pickier and have more opportunities to choose the most preferred candidates. This could imply a greater influence of employers' preferences or stereotypes and therefore more discrimination. Hence, given the current economic crisis, one might find an effect of unemployment rates on discrimination if one were to conduct a similar experiment today.

Hence, although obtaining such information is difficult in field experiments (as employers are generally unaware that they are participating in a study) future studies could find ways to include measures of employers' interethnic contacts, interethnic threat perceptions, and economics incentives. Also, further research could investigate other contextual conditions that may explain existing geographical variation in ethnic discrimination in recruitment, such as the presence of political parties with anti-immigration policies or coverage in regional or local media (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; Semyonov et al., 2006, 2008) which could make the presence of ethnic minorities more salient. Another aspect that merits more attention is religiosity and religious heterogeneity (Hello et al., 2002). In the Dutch context, religiosity has become a prominent element of the public discourse on immigration and integration; the two largest non-Western minority groups in the Netherlands are predominantly Muslim, while the native population is traditionally Christian. Hence, the religious composition of a region could play a role in interethnic relations.

Furthermore, in this field experiment, some minority applicants spoke with an accent or were born abroad. As such differences in language skills may be relevant criteria on which employers base their decisions the role that they play deserves attention in future research. Moreover, the data include fictitious applicants from four ethnic minority groups and both male and female candidates. However, not all combinations of ethnicity and gender were taken into account. Therefore, we can, strictly speaking, only draw conclusions about discrimination of female applicants of Moroccan or Antillean descent and male candidates with a Turkish or Surinamese

background. Because different stereotypes may exist about male and female members of the same ethnic group, future studies should focus on unraveling gender differences in ethnic discrimination and the mechanisms that produce them. Finally, although the four ethnic minority groups in this study are the largest non-Western groups in the Netherlands, they have in common that economic conditions in the country of origin are worse than in the host country. Theoretically interesting hypotheses can be formulated about group differences and these predictions may be tested by including different ethnic minority groups. For example, Gorodzeisky's (2011) results suggest that economic conditions may affect attitudes towards minorities from origin countries with varying levels of economic prosperity differently. Testing such hypotheses may provide new insights in the processes that lead to negative interethnic attitudes and discrimination.

4

Discrimination of ethnic minority applicants and decision makers' features: Evidence from experimental and survey data

This chapter was co-authored by Marcel Coenders and Frank van Tubergen.
A slightly different version of this chapter has been accepted
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ABSTRACT

This chapter examines which individual-level factors are related to people's likelihood of discriminating against ethnic minority job applicants. It moves beyond merely describing to what extent discrimination occurs by examining the role of individuals' interethnic contacts, and religious background in shaping their behavior towards minority job applicants. We derive expectations drawing on theories from the interethnic attitudes literature. Data are collected via (1) a laboratory experiment in which participants ($n = 272$) reviewed résumés of fictitious applicants who varied regarding ethnicity, gender, education and work experience and (2) a survey amongst the same participants. During the experiment, participants assess applicants' suitability for a job and select applicants for an interview. Additionally, participants complete a questionnaire including questions on several personal and background features. Results show that individuals who have more positive interethnic contacts, higher educational levels and higher educated parents are less likely to discriminate against ethnic minority applicants. Individuals whose parents are church members are more likely to discriminate, as are males. We find interesting differences regarding the role of decision makers' features between different stages of the recruitment process. First assessments of applicants' suitability for a job are predominantly affected by applicants' features; decision makers' characteristics are largely unrelated to these ratings. Eventual choices about which applicants to invite for a job interview, however, are affected by both applicants' and decision makers' features.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Ethnic minorities on average hold less favorable positions in European labor markets than natives. Sizeable ethnic gaps exist in both employment and earnings (Bassanini & Saint-Martin, 2008; Heath et al., 2008). Ethnic inequalities in economic outcomes can partly be explained by ethnic differences in human capital, social capital, or self-selection processes. First, compared to the ethnic majority, ethnic minorities generally have relatively low levels of education, less knowledge of labor market institutions, and are less proficient in the host-country language. This partially explains their unfavorable position on the labor market (Chiswick & Miller, 1995; Van Tubergen & Kalmijn, 2005). Yet, considerable gaps remain after controlling for these variations in human capital (Altonji & Blank, 1999; Bassanini & Saint-Martin, 2008). Second, ethnic differences in access to social capital play a role. In particular contacts with high-status individuals and majority group members can provide information or recommendations relevant for labor market opportunities (Aguilera & Massey, 2003; Kanas et al., 2011). Aside from having a direct effect on labor market outcomes, ethnic differences in human or social capital may lead to ethnic differences in work experience which can in turn affect labor market success later on in the career. Third, there may be self-selection of ethnic minorities into particular sectors and occupations (e.g., those in which they expect to face less discrimination) or into self-employment (e.g., as a solution to unemployment or poverty; Kanas et al., 2009).

Another potential explanation for ethnic inequality in the labor market is ethnic discrimination in recruitment. Unequal treatment of ethnic minority job applicants compared to similar natives by employers, personnel workers or recruiters (National Research Council, 2004) may lead to unequal chances to attain a (higher level) job. Although the factors mentioned above contribute to ethnic gaps in labor market outcomes, previous research has provided convincing evidence of ethnic discrimination in labor markets (Pager & Shepherd, 2008; Riach & Rich, 2002). Discrimination thus provides at least a partial explanation for ethnic differences in the labor market.

Discrimination is difficult to identify (National Research Council, 2004). To determine whether ethnic discrimination in recruitment has occurred, one needs to answer the counterfactual question 'what would have happened to the same person in the same situation if only his or her ethnicity would have been different?'. Experiments are a compelling way to examine the prevalence and causes of discrimination because they most closely approach such a counterfactual design (Pager & Shepherd, 2008; Quillian, 2006). Hence, experiments have important advantages compared to other methods.¹⁸ Specifically, analysis of observational

¹⁸ Although these methods have merits of their own (for an elaborate overview of available method and their strengths and weaknesses see National Research Council, 2004).

data using statistical decomposition cannot rule out that differences in outcomes (e.g., wages) are caused by characteristics unobserved by the researcher. Studies based on reports from majority or minority group members may suffer from social desirability problems or incorrect attributions of negative outcomes to discrimination (National Research Council, 2004; Pager, 2007).

Several previous studies have used field experiment data to study ethnic discrimination in recruitment (for overviews see: Pager, 2007; Pager & Shepherd, 2008; Riach & Rich, 2002). In these experiments, discrimination was examined using sets of fictitious job applicants who belonged to different ethnic groups but were otherwise similar. These applicants reacted to real job vacancies using either a written or in-person approach. When an ethnic minority applicant did not receive a positive reaction (e.g., invitation for an interview) but a comparable native applicant did this is seen as discrimination. Evidence of ethnic discrimination in recruitment was found in labor markets across Europe (e.g., Bovenkerk et al., 1994; Carlsson & Rooth, 2007; Dolfing & Van Tubergen, 2005; Rooth, 2010; Andriessen et al., 2010, 2012; Zegers de Beijl 2000), the United States (e.g., Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Pager & Quillian, 2005; Pager et al., 2009), Australia (Riach & Rich, 1991) and Canada (Henry & Ginzberg, 1985; Oreopoulos, 2011).

These field experiments have been of great importance, convincingly documenting the existence of ethnic discrimination in the labor market. They consistently found strong evidence of ethnic discrimination (in excess of 25%) against ethnic minority job applicants (Bassanini & Saint-Martin, 2008; Pager, 2007). Yet, these studies were not designed to examine predictions about the individual or contextual factors related to discrimination (Riach & Rich, 2002). Therefore, important questions regarding the sources of ethnic discrimination or the conditions under which it is more likely to occur remain unanswered (Pager, 2007; Reskin, 2000). For instance, the role of (potential) discriminators' features has received very little attention in this line of research. Consequently, it remains unclear which individual characteristics influence whether or not a person discriminates (c.f., Quillian, 2006).

Research on interethnic attitudes has provided more insight in the role of individual features. Numerous studies in this field have examined the determinants of such attitudes. Important theories in this body of literature focus on interethnic contact and interethnic competition or threat (Zick et al., 2008). Results have shown that interethnic contacts and (features related to) interethnic competition or threat are indeed important predictors of interethnic attitudes (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010).

But individuals' behavior is not always in line with their attitudes (c.f., Schuman et al., 1983; for meta-analyses of attitude-behavior relations see: Dovidio et al., 1996; Schütz & Six, 1996;

Talaska et al., 2008). Recently, Pager and Quillian's study 'Walking the Talk? What Employers Say Versus What They Do' (2005) clearly demonstrated the relevance of considering attitudes and behavior separately. In short, it remains unclear whether features that are known to affect interethnic attitudes are also related to ethnic discrimination in the labor market.

Compared to field experiments, laboratory experiments provide more opportunities to investigate the sources of discrimination (National Research Council, 2004). Yet, although there are several laboratory studies dealing with interethnic behavior, (discriminatory) behavior that may affect ethnic inequalities in important domains like the labor or housing market remains under-researched (Derous et al., 2009). Moreover, studies that do deal with ethnic discrimination in recruitment behavior and its determinants have so far neglected the role of decision makers' interethnic contacts and characteristics related to ethnic competition or threat (Quillian, 2006).

The present study moves beyond merely documenting to what extent discrimination exists in the labor market and examines the relationships between individuals' personal features and their likelihood of discriminating against ethnic minority job applicants. In doing so, we build upon existing insights that were gained from both field experiments and laboratory experiments. We derive predictions about the influence of people's interethnic contacts, education, socioeconomic position and religion on their behavior towards minority job applicants, using key theories from the interethnic attitudes literature – Contact Theory and Ethnic Competition Theory – as a starting point.

We apply a combination of experimental and survey data to obtain information on participants' personal and background characteristics as well as measures of the extent to which they discriminate. Specifically, information is collected via (1) a laboratory experiment in which participants reviewed résumés of fictitious applicants from different ethnic groups and (2) a survey amongst the same participants. During the recruitment experiment, participants assessed fictitious applicants' suitability for a job and selected candidates for an interview. The survey included questions on interethnic contacts, level of education, and religion. Hence, this approach allows us to gather more information about decision makers but at the same time maintains the methodological strengths of experimental methods to identify discriminatory behavior.

The design of this study has several (additional) advantages compared to non-experimental methods and field experiment data (c.f., Falk & Heckman, 2009; National Research Council, 2004). First, as mentioned above, experimental methods are particularly suitable to directly observe discrimination. Second, a crucial advantage of the present study compared to field experiments is that this design makes it possible to gather crucial information on personal and

background (i.e., parental) information of decision makers' features via a questionnaire. In addition, unlike in field experiments, we have information on the total applicant pool. Third, in contrast to some field experiments (e.g., Pager & Quillian, 2005; Rooth, 2010) this approach prevents non-response and ensures that the personal characteristics and behavior of the same person are measured. Finally, the design used in this study allows us to measure decisions at different phases during the recruitment procedure and examine possible differences between these stages. Specifically, we study the assessments of applicants' suitability as well as decisions on which applicants to invite for an interview.

It should be noted that this research design also has limitations. It does not provide information on real-life recruitment decisions made by employers or recruiters. It does, however, provide information about the relevant behavior (discrimination of ethnic minority job applicants). In fact, the procedure in our laboratory experiment closely resembles the reality of recruitment processes in the sense that first evaluations and decisions to invite applicants for interviews are based on résumés (instead of personal contact). Moreover, given their relatively high educational level, the participants in this study can be expected to be relatively tolerant towards ethnic minorities. Results of this study are therefore likely to be an underestimation compared to expected outcomes amongst employers. Finally, the participants in this study are a relatively homogeneous group (e.g., regarding education and religiosity). However, this experiment does provide information on characteristics of participants' parents, which offers insight in participants' living conditions during formative years and socialization experiences.

The context of this research is the Netherlands. We focus on discrimination of two ethnic minority groups: Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch. These are the largest non-Western ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands. Over 95% of members of these groups are Muslim. They have been at the center of the Dutch debate on the social and economic integration of ethnic minorities. Moreover, research has shown that natives' attitudes towards Moroccan-Dutch or Turkish-Dutch individuals are more negative than towards other ethnic minority groups (Gijsberts et al., 2012; Verkuyten, 2008; Verkuyten & Zaremba, 2005).

4.2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In this section, predictions on the relationships between individuals' characteristics and their likelihood of discriminating against ethnic minority applicants will be formulated. To arrive at these expectations, we will draw on two influential theories in research on interethnic attitudes: Contact Theory and Ethnic Competition Theory.

4.2.1 Interethnic contact

The central statement of what is now labeled as 'Contact Theory' was introduced when Allport (1954) formulated the 'contact hypothesis', arguing that contact between (ethnic) groups will reduce negative interethnic attitudes (when the contact situation involves equal status of the groups, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and support of authorities, law or custom). Since then, this theory has matured and inspired a large body of research covering various groups, societies and situations. A meta-analysis by Pettigrew and Tropp based on 515 studies confirmed that interethnic contact is typically related to less negative interethnic attitudes and "promotes positive intergroup outcomes" (2006: 765). Moreover, this study shows that, although the positive influence of contact on interethnic attitudes is stronger when Allport's conditions are fulfilled, the effect remains even when this is not the case. As interethnic contacts may also reduce the likelihood of discriminatory behavior, we predict that individuals who more frequently have interethnic contacts are less likely to discriminate.

In addition to individuals' current interethnic contacts, contact during formative years may affect interethnic behavior. In fact, contact during formative years may be particularly relevant because interethnic attitudes are formed at a young age (Aboud, 2008). An important factor determining the frequency of contact with ethnic minorities during this phase is parents' interethnic contacts. Moreover, parents' interethnic contacts will affect parental interethnic attitudes, which may in turn affect their children's attitudes through socialization processes. We therefore expect that the more often someone's parents had interethnic contacts during his or her formative years the less he or she is likely to discriminate.

It has been argued that, in addition to the frequency of interethnic contacts, the quality of such contacts influences people's interethnic attitudes (e.g., McLaren, 2003). The influence of interethnic contacts is expected to be stronger when contact is more positive and intimate. Positive contact experiences, i.e. contacts that are evaluated by those involved as positive, for instance involve helping behavior or interesting conversations (Pettigrew, 2008). Friendships are generally associated with the optimal conditions for positive contact effects; they typically involve cooperation, common goals and repeated equal-status contact. Negative contacts involve situations where a person feels threatened, abused, bullied or harassed (Pettigrew, 2008; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011) and are related more to involuntary contact (Pettigrew, 2008; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011, Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner & Christ, 2011). Previous research demonstrated that positive interethnic contacts indeed reduce interethnic attitudes, whereas negative contact tends to increase such negative attitudes. Also, it underlined the particular importance of interethnic friendships in promoting more positive interethnic relations (Johnson & Jacobson, 2005; Levin,

Van Laar & Sidanius, 2003; Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns & Voci, 2004; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Based on these considerations, we predict that individuals who have more positive interethnic contact experiences are less likely to discriminate.

4.2.2 Interethnic threat

Ethnic Competition Theory combines notions from Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1982) and Conflict Theory (Blalock, 1967; Bobo, 1988; Coser, 1956). It argues that interethnic relations are shaped by individual's fundamental need to perceive the own group as superior to other groups and the subsequent processes of identifying with the own group and not identifying with other groups, combined with actual competition over resources. Individual conditions (e.g., economic status) and contextual conditions (e.g., unemployment) are thought to influence to what extent a person experiences interethnic threat. Threat perceptions are in turn expected to lead to negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities (Scheepers et al., 2002a). The nature of the experienced competition or threat can be economic (e.g., over jobs) or cultural (e.g., over norms). Prior research has found support for the idea that perceived ethnic competition leads to negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities (e.g., Schlueter et al., 2008; Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2009; Scheepers et al., 2002a; Schneider, 2008).

In the context of this study, there may be differences in the level of ethnic competition between students in higher vocational education and those in university.¹⁹ In the Netherlands, the share of non-Western ethnic minority students in higher vocational education is higher (about 15%) than in university (Statistics Netherlands, 2011).²⁰ Natives in higher vocational education are therefore more likely to experience economic competition (e.g., over jobs they will seek in the near future) than their peers in university. Consequently, compared to those in higher vocational education, university students are less likely to hold negative interethnic attitudes and display negative interethnic behavior. Previous studies have shown education to be a key determinant of interethnic attitudes, with higher levels of education being associated with less negative attitudes (Coenders & Scheepers, 2003; Hello et al., 2002). To see whether the same holds for discrimination, we examine the expectation that individuals enrolled in higher vocational education are more likely to discriminate than those in university education.

19 In the Netherlands, graduates from both higher vocational education and university have access to prestigious occupations on the local and on the national (and perhaps international) level. Hence, those with higher vocational education often compete with university graduates for the same jobs.

20 In 2010–2011, non-Western ethnic minorities made up 15% of all students in higher vocational education and 13% of those in university; a difference of 2 percentage points and about 15%.

In addition to individuals' own educational level, parents' educational level could play a role. Parental education to a large extent determines the socio-economic position of individuals during their formative years. Moreover, parents' educational levels influence their interethnic attitudes via perceptions of ethnic competition. Due to socialization processes, parental attitudes may in turn affect children's interethnic attitudes and behavior. Hence, we expect that individuals whose parents are higher educated are less likely to discriminate.

Finally, a prominent theme in the Dutch debate on immigration and integration of ethnic minorities is religion. The vast majority (over 95%) of individuals from Moroccan or Turkish descent in the Netherlands is Muslim (Gijsberts et al., 2012) whereas the majority of native Dutch people have a Christian background. More religious native Dutch individuals will perceive more cultural competition and be more likely to discriminate against Muslims (c.f., Scheepers, Gijsberts & Hello, 2002). Although many younger native Dutch individuals do not attend religious services and are not registered as church members, religious identity, norms and values may still have been important in their upbringing. Information on parents' church membership is used to examine the role of religious socialization. Therefore, our last prediction is that individuals whose parents are church members are more likely to discriminate than those whose parents are non-members.

4.3 DATA AND MEASURES

4.3.1 Data collection

The data used in this study were collected using a combination of experimental and survey methods. First, a laboratory experiment was conducted to measure the extent to which participants discriminate against (fictitious) ethnic minority job applicants during recruitment procedures. Second, to gather information about participants' personal and background features, the individuals who participated in the experiment also filled out a questionnaire.

The data were collected amongst 288 students in the city of Utrecht (the Netherlands) in February and March 2010. Individuals born in Morocco or Turkey or of whom at least one parent was born in these countries ($n = 16$) were excluded.²¹ Consequently, the number of respondents in the analyses is 272. Of these respondents, 188 (69%) were female and 84 (31%) were male; 193 respondents (71%) were university students whereas 79 (29%) of them

²¹ These individuals are expected to hold less negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities and to be less likely to discriminate. Hence, they may affect overall outcomes. However, their number is too small to reliably test this expectation.

attended higher vocational education. University students were approached using the ORSEE recruitment system²² (Greiner, 2004); students in higher vocational education were recruited via posters on campus and school websites. Students were given a small monetary reward for participating.

There were two conditions in the experiment. One condition measured discrimination of Moroccan-Dutch applicants whereas the other assessed discrimination of Turkish-Dutch applicants. A between-subjects design was applied, meaning that some respondents ($n = 129$) were assigned to the condition measuring discrimination of Moroccan-Dutch applicants and others ($n = 143$) to the condition measuring discrimination of Turkish-Dutch applicants. These conditions were later combined so that this study deals with discrimination of applicants of either Moroccan or Turkish origin.

The first element of the study, the laboratory recruitment experiment, was designed to measure discrimination in recruitment. In this test, participants were asked to take on the role of employers or personnel managers during a recruitment procedure. They were provided with descriptions of two fictitious jobs and two accompanying sets of twenty-four fictitious résumés. One job opening was for a position as customer advisor at a bank, for which intermediate or higher vocational education was required. The other vacancy was a position as recruiter within a human resource management organization. For this job, a higher vocational or university degree was required. Participants were asked to read one job descriptions and the accompanying set of résumés and assess applicants in two ways. First, they indicated how suitable they thought candidates were for the job rating each résumé (0–10, 0 being very unsuitable and 10 very suitable). In addition, participants selected three applicants that they would invite for a (fictitious) job interview (c.f., Derous et al., 2009). Subsequently, participants read the other job description and accompanying set of résumés and completed the same tasks as for the first set. The order in which the job descriptions and sets of résumés were presented to the participants was randomized.

For each job, there was a set of twenty-four résumés. Within a set, there were sixteen résumés in which ethnicity, gender, level of education and work experience were varied systematically. These sixteen fictitious applicants represented all possible combinations of those four features (see Table A2, Appendix). Consequently, for each of the eight native Dutch applicants within the set, there was one Moroccan-Dutch or Turkish-Dutch applicant with the same gender, educational level and work experience.

²² Online Recruitment System for Economic Experiments, a widely used recruitment system for laboratory experiments.

In addition to the sixteen completely comparable résumés, another eight applicants were added to the set in order to make the division of ethnic majority and minority applicants more realistic. These eight résumés included several more native Dutch applicants as well as minority applicants belonging to different ethnic groups than the previous eight minority applicants in that particular set (Surinamese-Dutch, Antillean-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch in the condition measuring discrimination of Moroccan-Dutch applicants; Surinamese-Dutch, Antillean-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch in the condition measuring discrimination of Turkish-Dutch applicants, see Table A2). These extra résumés were not included in the analyses. During the experiment, the majority and minority applicants' résumés were presented to participants in mixed order.

The ethnicity of applicants was signaled through names on the résumés (included in the headers) and nationality. The applicants had the nationality of the parents' country of birth, although they themselves were born in the Netherlands.²³ Exceptions to this rule were Antillean-Dutch applicants. Individuals born on the Antilles automatically receive the Dutch nationality, making it impossible to use their nationality to signal ethnic background. Instead, the place of birth of applicants from this group was a municipality on the Netherlands' Antilles.

Applicants' educational levels varied between intermediate and higher vocational education for the advisor job, and between higher vocational education and university for the recruiter job. All applicants followed their education in the Netherlands. Work experience varied between no work experience (just completed education) and around one year of work experience after completing the educational career. Finally, résumés included information on date and place of birth. The applicants were 22 to 25 years old. All were 'second generation immigrants', born in the Netherlands (except for applicants from the Antilles, as mentioned above).

The data were inspected for cases that may disturb the results because of abnormal answer patterns. For example, participants could rate applicants' suitability or select them randomly instead of assessing the résumés features. Also, due to 'fatigue', participants might take their task seriously for the first résumés but lose their motivation or concentration later on. To identify such cases, the number of times participants assigned the same grade during the experiment was examined, as well as the possible effect of the order in which résumés were presented on suitability ratings (means and standard deviations) and the ratings that were assigned to the

²³ This is common in the Netherlands, where most individuals of Moroccan or Turkish origin keep their nationality when they obtain the Dutch nationality. In fact, Morocco does not allow renunciation of the Moroccan nationality.

résumés that were selected and those that were not selected.²⁴ Based on these tests, no cases were found that needed to be removed from the analyses.

The second element of this study, a survey amongst those who participated in the recruitment experiment, included items measuring the frequency and quality of participants' own as well as their parents' interethnic contacts, participants' and their parents' level of education, participants' gender, and parental church membership. To avoid participants' decisions during the recruitment experiment from being influenced by their answers to the questionnaire items, participants always completed the experiment first and filled out the questionnaire afterwards.

4.3.2 Measures

This chapter focuses on two dependent variables, both on the applicant or résumé level: (1) ratings indicating participants' evaluation of applicants' suitability and (2) invitations for job interviews. The dependent variable indicating suitability ratings (which is a discrete variable) ranges between 0 (not suitable) and 10 (very suitable) with an average of 7.08.²⁵

The mean score on the dichotomous variable indicating whether or not an applicant was invited for a job interview shows that 12.5% of the fictitious applicants were selected for an interview (note that this is the result of our instruction to participants to select three job applicants out of a pool of twenty-four, for each job).²⁶ Table 4.1 presents descriptive statistics for all variables in the analyses.

The analyses contain independent variables on two levels: the résumé or applicant level (level 1) and the participant level (level 2). To assess whether discrimination occurs, *effects of applicant or résumé features (level 1)* – and in particular applicants' ethnicity – on applicants' suitability ratings and chances of being invited for an interview were examined. Regarding applicants'

24 The mean suitability rating of those selected was 8.58 (Std. Dev. = 0.76) and for those not selected 6.86 (Std. Dev. = 1.27). This difference is significant ($p = 0.00$).

25 The average suitability rating was 7.11 for native Dutch applicants and 7.05 for minority applicants. A t-test showed that this difference in means is statistically significant ($p = 0.03$).

26 Some applicants (25%) were never selected; 69% were selected more than once. These figures are the same for both native and minority applicants. This may seem remarkable at first sight, but bear in mind that some kind of pattern is to be expected here, due to the obvious qualitative differences between applicants that result from varying the four applicant features systematically. There are applicants that have lower education and no work experience (weaker candidates), applicants with higher education who do have work experience (stronger candidates), candidates who have a higher level of education but no work experience, and candidates who have a lower level of education but who do have work experience (the latter two types both being intermediate quality candidates). Ethnic differences in the number of times that applicants were selected for a job interview do exist. For native Dutch applicants, the mean number of times that they were selected is 35.5, whereas for ethnic minority candidates it is 33.2. This difference in means is statistically significant ($p = 0.01$). The maximum number of times that an applicant was selected is 158 for native Dutch candidates and 142 for ethnic minority applicants.

Table 4.1 Descriptive statistics

	Range	Mean	Std. Dev.
Dependent variables			
Suitability ratings	0 – 10	7.08	1.35
Selected for interview	0 / 1	0.13	
Independent variables			
Résumé characteristics (level 1)			
Native Dutch	0 / 1	0.50	
Male	0 / 1	0.50	
Education	0 / 1	0.50	
Work experience	0 / 1	0.50	
Participant characteristics (level 2)			
Frequency of interethnic contact	0 – 6	1.64	1.42
Frequency of interethnic contact parents	0 – 6	1.95	1.91
Quality of interethnic contact	0 – 4	2.31	0.72
University education	0 / 1	0.71	
Level of education parents	0 – 9	4.85	2.66
Church membership parents	0 / 1	0.36	
Male	0 / 1	0.31	

Source: Laboratory Experiment of Hiring Practices amongst Dutch Students 2010; n-participant = 272; n-résumé = 8,704.

ethnicity, a distinction was made between native Dutch (1) and minority (0) applicants. Minority applicants are either Moroccan-Dutch or Turkish-Dutch. Furthermore, dichotomous variables representing applicants' gender, level of education and work experience were included as controls.

In order to assess the predictions formulated above, the role of *participant features (level 2)* was examined. First, to measure participants' *frequency of interethnic contact*, three questionnaire items were used which asked how often respondents came into contact with people with a Moroccan or Turkish background in their neighborhood, school or university and during leisure time. Answer categories for these three questions ranged from 'never' to '(almost) every day' on a seven-point scale. The mean score on these items was computed to obtain a measure of total interethnic contact. Second, *parents' interethnic contact frequency* was measured using two items about how often participants' parents came into contact with people with a Moroccan or Turkish background when respondents were about fifteen years old. Scores ranged from never (0) to (almost) every day (6). Next, the *quality of participants' interethnic contacts* was measured by means of two items asking how one evaluated contact experiences with Moroccan-Dutch or Turkish-Dutch individuals in general. Answers ranged from 'very negative' to 'very positive' on a five-point scale. Respondents who had no contact with members of these minority groups (about 28%) were combined with the neutral mid-point category 'not positive, not negative'.

Participants' *educational level* was taken into account, distinguishing between students in higher vocational education (0) and university (1). Moreover, information on *parental educational level* was incorporated. One variable for parents' education was constructed by computing the mean educational level of mother and father using two items that distinguished between ten categories. For respondents of whom the score on one of these items was missing, the score of the other parent was used. Participants of whom neither of the parents' educational level was known (1.8%) were assigned the mean score of parents' educational level within the data.²⁷ In addition, information on *parents' church membership* was included using a dichotomous variable indicating whether (1) or not (0) at least one parent was member of a church.

Finally, several previous studies have shown that *gender* has a significant influence on interethnic attitudes such that men on average hold more negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities than women (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010). One could expect a similar relation between gender and discrimination. Moreover, gender may be related to other independent variables in the analyses. Hence, a dichotomous variable indicating participants' gender was incorporated in the analyses as a control variable.

4.4 ANALYSES AND RESULTS

4.4.1 Modeling approach

We test our predictions using fixed effects multilevel regression analyses²⁸ of participants' assessment (rating) of the suitability of each applicant for the job and participants' choice concerning which applicants to invite for a job interview. The models involve two levels: the first level is the applicant or résumé level ($n = 8,704$) and the second the participant level ($n = 272$).²⁹ The advantage of fixed effects models is the ability to isolate within-participant variation in the grades they assigned to résumés and in the selection decisions they made and to estimate the effects of résumé features 'within' candidates. In other words, in this procedure the ratings assigned by a participant to one résumé are compared to those assigned to other résumés by the same participant (Verbeek, 2000). Because this study focuses on discrimination (i.e., differences between outcomes for minority and majority applicants) and its predictors,

²⁷ Analyses in which these participants were excluded did not lead to different outcomes.

²⁸ When we estimate standard multilevel regression models, results and conclusions remain unchanged.

²⁹ Strictly speaking, our data consist of three levels: the résumé, job, and applicant level. But as models controlling for the three-level structure led to the same results as two-level models, we omitted the job level from our analyses.

Table 4.2 Fixed effects multilevel linear regression analyses of suitability ratings

	Model 1			Model 2		
	Coef.	Std. Err.		Coef.	Std. Err.	
Constant	5.884	0.019		5.884	0.019	
Résumé features						
Native Dutch	0.054	0.017	**	0.142	0.077	*
Male	-0.056	0.017	**	-0.056	0.017	**
Education	0.877	0.017	**	0.877	0.017	**
Work experience	1.158	0.017	**	1.518	0.017	**
Interactions résumé ethnicity * participant features						
Native * Frequency interethnic contact participant				-0.000	0.014	
Native * Frequency interethnic contact parents				0.003	0.010	
Native * Quality interethnic contact participant				-0.011	0.025	
Native * University education				-0.067	0.039	*
Native * Level of education parents				-0.007	0.007	
Native * Church membership parents				-0.011	0.036	
Native * Male participant				0.052	0.037	~
F (df-participant, df-résumé)	2641.09 (4, 8428)			960.97 (11, 8421)		

Source: Laboratory Experiment of Hiring Practices amongst Dutch Students 2010; n-participant = 272; n-résumé = 8,704.
Significance (1-tailed): ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$; ~ = $p < .10$.

we are interested in the effect of applicants' ethnicity on outcomes of application procedures and in the influence that participants' characteristics have on this effect (not in main effects of participants' features on grades or the likelihood to be selected for a job interview). The fixed effects analyses allow us to do just this.

Table 4.2 presents the results of fixed effects multilevel linear regression analyses for the suitability ratings (grades) that were assigned to the résumés. Table 4.3 shows outcomes of fixed effects multilevel logistic regression analyses for whether or not a fictitious applicant was selected for a job interview.³⁰ We specified the models as follows. Model 1 includes all résumé characteristics, including applicants' ethnicity. Therefore, these models test whether – controlled for applicants' gender, educational level and work experience – applicants' ethnicity affects grades and decisions on selection for job interviews (i.e., whether there is evidence of ethnic discrimination). Model 2 includes interaction effects of applicants' ethnicity and participant

³⁰ For the multilevel linear and logistic regressions we used the `xtreg` and `xtlogit` commands in Stata 11, using the 'fe' option for fixed effects in both cases.

characteristics.³¹ These models examine whether the effect of applicants' ethnicity is moderated by features of the participants assigning the grades and making selection decisions. Hence, they form the test of our predictions.

4.4.2 Results

Looking at the outcomes for suitability ratings, the results presented in Model 1 of Table 4.2 show that, controlled for applicants' gender, level of education and work experience, there is a statistically significant relationship between applicants' ethnicity and the suitability ratings assigned to them. Native Dutch applicants are generally judged as more suitable than (equivalent) Moroccan-Dutch or Turkish-Dutch applicants. In other words, these results provide evidence of ethnic discrimination in terms of suitability ratings. Moreover, Model 1 shows that there are significant effects of fictitious applicants' gender, educational level and work experience on the suitability ratings assigned to the applicants. Candidates with higher educational levels and more work experience are considered more suitable. Note that education and particularly work experience seem more important in this regard than ethnicity. This indicates that while ethnicity plays a significant role it is not the most important feature upon which participants based their assessment of candidates' suitability.

Applicants' gender has a perhaps somewhat surprising effect. In this experiment, male applicants were on average judged as somewhat less suitable than female applicants. Keeping in mind that the majority of the participants are female, we ran additional analyses³² to check whether this could be explained by a preference of participants for applicants of their own gender. Results showed, however, that this is not the case; both male and female participants favor female over male applicants when assigning suitability ratings. One may argue that this is in contrast with evidence from previous research showing that women are underrepresented in higher level jobs and are on average less well paid than men for similar jobs (e.g., England, 2005). Experimental research on gender discrimination in recruitment, however, is relatively scarce and provides mixed results (e.g., Hosoda et al., 2003; for an overview see: Riach & Rich, 2002).³³

31 Note that using fixed effects models makes it unnecessary (and impossible) to include the main effects of participant features; only the interactions are entered into the analyses (Verbeek, 2000).

32 First, we conducted analyses including the interaction effect of participants' and applicants' gender in the model. Second, we ran separate models for male and female participants.

33 Additional analyses examining interaction-effects of different résumé characteristics showed that the positive relations between education and work experience on the one hand and suitability ratings and invitations for interviews on the other hand are generally somewhat stronger for minority applicants than for native applicants. No significant interactions between applicants' ethnicity and gender were found.

To test our predictions, the interaction effects of applicants' ethnicity and participant features are added in Model 2. Results show a significant interaction of applicants' ethnicity and participants' level of education. The difference in suitability ratings between native Dutch applicants and ethnic minority applicants, in favor of natives, is smaller amongst university students than amongst those in higher vocational education. Phrased differently, compared to university students, those in higher vocational education appear to be more prone to discriminate against ethnic minority applicants in terms of suitability ratings.

The analyses provide no support for the predictions on the role of interethnic contacts, parents' educational level and parents' church membership. These features appear unrelated to ethnic discrimination in terms of suitability ratings. Interestingly, the results do show that the interaction of applicants' ethnicity and participants' gender (which we included as a control variable) is statistically significant at the .10 level. The difference in suitability ratings between native Dutch candidates and ethnic minority candidates appears to be smaller amongst female than amongst male participants. In other words, men seem to be more likely to discriminate against ethnic minority applicants in terms of suitability ratings than women.

The results of the analyses for the selection of candidates for job interviews are presented in Table 4.3. First, the outcomes presented in Model 1 show that, controlled for applicants' gender, education and work experience, applicants' ethnicity has a significant effect on their chances of selection. native Dutch applicants were more likely to be selected for an interview than Moroccan-Dutch or Turkish-Dutch applicants. Hence, we conclude that ethnic discrimination in selection for job interviews did indeed occur amongst the participants in the experiment.³⁴

Applicants' educational level and work experience again turn out to be most influential. Yet, interestingly, the role of applicants' ethnicity compared to other applicant features seems somewhat more important for selection decisions than for suitability ratings. The effects of other applicant features on their chances of receiving an invitation show that those with higher educational levels or more work experience are more likely to be selected for an interview. Moreover, in line with the outcomes for suitability ratings, applicants' gender has a significant effect on their likelihood of being invited for an interview. Male applicants are less likely to be selected than female applicants. This time, however, additional analyses revealed that this effect is due to the fact that (only) female participants prefer female applicants when inviting candidates for an interview. Male participants in this study do not favor female over male applicants when inviting candidates for interviews.

³⁴ Additional analyses were conducted including suitability ratings as a control variable in the model for selection for an interview as an additional test for discrimination. Outcomes showed that this did not affect the results; the other associations remain the same.

Table 4.3 Fixed effects multilevel logistic regression analyses of selection for interview

	Model 1		Model 2			
	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.		
Résumé features						
Native Dutch	1.140	0.084	*	3.781	1.294	**
Male	0.768	0.057	**	0.766	0.057	**
Education	7.327	0.644	**	7.404	0.652	**
Work experience	78.214	17.792	**	79.083	17.997	**
Interactions résumé ethnicity* participant features						
Native * Frequency interethnic contact participant				0.942	0.057	
Native * Frequency interethnic contact parents				0.956	0.039	
Native * Quality interethnic contact participant				0.795	0.089	*
Native * University education participant				0.714	0.123	*
Native * Level of education parents				0.921	0.026	**
Native * Church membership parents				1.310	0.206	*
Native * Male participant				1.235	0.200	~
LR chi ² (df)	2113.03 (4)		2139.91 (11)			

Source: Laboratory Experiment of Hiring Practices amongst Dutch Students 2010; n-participant = 272; n-résumé = 8,704.

Significance (1-tailed): ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$; ~ = $p < .10$.

The outcomes presented in Model 2³⁵ show that there is a significant interaction effect of applicants' ethnicity and the quality of participants' interethnic contacts on applicants' chances of being selected. The relationship between applicants' ethnicity and their likelihood of being selected is weaker amongst participants who evaluate their contacts with members of other ethnic groups more positively. Phrased differently, individuals who have more positive interethnic contacts are less likely to discriminate against minority applicants in terms of selection.³⁶ This supports our expectation concerning the role of the quality of interethnic contacts. However, our predictions about the role of the frequency of one's own interethnic contacts and parents' interethnic contacts are not confirmed.

35 In addition to analyses that combined outcomes for Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch applicants, analyses were conducted to check whether results are comparable across these ethnic groups. Outcomes showed that the findings are robust and largely insensitive to ethnic group differences; patterns emerging from the results are the same for both ethnic minority groups. There are a few minor, non-systematic differences mainly due to some relations becoming insignificant when analyses are conducted for the groups separately. However, all relations remained in the expected directions. It is likely that these group differences are due to the relatively small number of participants in this experiment. They should, therefore, be interpreted with caution.

36 This conclusion remains the same if a dichotomous variable for interethnic contact quality (contrasting individuals who classify their interethnic contacts as (very) negative to those who perceive their contacts as neutral to (very) positive).

Furthermore, the results show a significant interaction effect of applicants' ethnicity and participants' level of education on selection. University students are less likely to discriminate against minority applicants in terms of selection than students in higher vocational education. This is in line with what we predicted. Moreover, there appears to be a significant interaction effect of applicants' ethnicity and the level of education of participants' parents. For those with higher educated parents the relationship between applicants' ethnicity and their chances of being selected is weaker; they are less likely to discriminate against Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch applicants in terms of invitations for job interviews. This corroborates our expectations. Also, there is a significant interaction effect between applicants' ethnicity and church membership of participants' parents. In line with our prediction, individuals whose parents are members of a church are more likely to discriminate against minority applicants when selecting candidates for a job interview. Finally, we again find a significant interaction effect of applicants' ethnicity and participants' gender. Male participants are more likely to discriminate against minority applicants in terms of selection for job interviews than female participants.³⁷

4.5 CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter examined which characteristics of individuals are related to their likelihood of discriminating against (fictitious) ethnic minority applicants during recruitment procedures. We set out to build upon previous experimental studies on ethnic discrimination in recruitment by examining under which conditions discrimination is more or less likely to occur. We did so by examining the role of decision makers' features, deriving expectations from well-known theories from the interethnic attitudes literature. The predictions were tested by means of data from both a laboratory experiment and a survey amongst those who participated in the experiment.

Results showed, first of all, that discrimination of ethnic minority applicants occurs even amongst the participants in this study, who were students in higher education. Given that higher

³⁷ Additional analyses were conducted to verify if difficulties associated with estimating interaction effects in logistic regressions (such as described in Norton, Wang & Ai, 2004) may have affected our conclusions. These analyses were conducted using the `inteff` command in Stata which is explicated by Norton and colleagues. This command is, to the best of our knowledge, not available for multilevel or fixed effects regression analyses, which would be most suitable. Hence, we opted for logistic analyses with cluster controls. Outcomes of these additional analyses generally confirm the results presented in Model 2 of Table 4.3. In fact, some of the interaction effects in the additional analyses (those with parental church membership and participants' gender) are stronger than the ones presented in Table 4.3. Other effects (those with own and parents' interethnic contact frequency as well as interethnic contact quality) remain the same in size and significance level. One interaction effect (with participants' education) was slightly weaker but remained significant, and one interaction effect (with parental education) became insignificant.

educated individuals are generally relatively tolerant (Coenders & Scheepers, 2003) these results are most likely an underestimation of discrimination among real employers. This outcome indicates that even individuals who generally endorse ethnic equality might discriminate under certain conditions. A relatively new line of research focusing on one possible explanation for such phenomena deals with implicit or (partly) unconscious interethnic attitudes (see for example: Fiske & Molm, 2011; Quillian, 2008; and for research on the link between implicit interethnic attitudes and ethnic discrimination in the labor market see for example: Rooth, 2010). Such research deserves further attention in the future.

Second, findings from this study showed that interethnic contacts are related to individuals' likelihood to discriminate against ethnic minority applicants. However, only the quality (not the frequency) of interethnic contacts influences ethnic discrimination. Those who have more positive contacts are less likely to discriminate. This is in line with previous studies showing that high-quality contact experiences reduce negative interethnic attitudes (e.g., Johnson & Jacobson, 2005; Levin et al., 2003; Paolini et al., 2004). These results lend partial support to Contact Theory and in particular to scholars arguing that we need to take into account the types of interethnic contacts that people have in order to understand how such contacts lead to positive or negative interethnic attitudes and behaviors (e.g., McLaren, 2003). Note that most previous studies on the influence of interethnic contacts on interethnic attitudes focused on positive contact experiences (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Future research could enhance our understanding of how interethnic contacts affect interethnic relations (including discriminatory behavior) by further examining the role of "both positive and negative factors in the contact situation" (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006: 768) in shaping interethnic attitudes as well as (discriminatory) behavior.

Furthermore, this chapter showed that students in higher vocational education (and those whose parents have lower levels of education) are more likely to discriminate against ethnic minority applicants than university students and those whose parents are higher educated. This confirms previous research, which found more negative interethnic attitudes among the lower educated (e.g., Hello et al., 2002). Moreover, these findings are in line with Ethnic Competition Theory, which argues that individuals in higher socio-economic positions experience less ethnic competition and are therefore less likely to hold negative interethnic attitudes and display negative interethnic behavior. Note, however, that there are more interpretations of the role of education. For example, education is often argued to have a general 'liberalizing effect'; leading to "broader knowledge, increased reflexivity, a more critical stance, greater personal and familial security, substantial exposure to foreign cultures, higher acceptance of diversity" (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010: 319). Therefore, further research is needed to identify which

mechanisms underlie this relationship between education and ethnic discrimination. Studies combining experimental and survey data are required to answer this type of questions, as such an approach allows researchers to document discrimination in the most appropriate way (i.e., using experimental techniques; National Research Council, 2004) and at the same time collect information on individuals' personal features and attitudes.

Moreover, the present study showed that individuals whose parents are church members are more likely to discriminate against minority applicants with regard to invitations for job interviews. This is in line with the argument that individuals who are more religious perceive Muslim minorities as a cultural threat and are therefore more likely to behave negatively towards minority group members. However, based on this study, we do not know whether perceived cultural competition indeed mediates the relationship between church membership and discrimination or whether a different mechanism is at work. Moreover, previous research on the association between religion and interethnic attitudes is inconclusive and has emphasized the need to distinguish between different dimensions of religiosity (e.g., Scheepers et al., 2002). Therefore, the development and testing of predictions on the relationship between religion and interethnic behavior deserves more scholarly attention in the future.

A factor which was included in the analyses as a control variable but turned out to affect participants' likelihood to discriminate both in terms of suitability ratings and in terms of invitations for interviews is decision makers' gender. Although it should be noted that these effects are significant only at the .10 level and results should therefore be interpreted with some caution, the outcomes indicate that men discriminate more often than women. Such gender effects have been found in research on interethnic attitudes before (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010) but there seems to be little consensus on the interpretation of this relationship. One possible explanation is that men are generally more attached to the labor market and are therefore more aware of interethnic competition in this domain (Merens, Van den Brakel, Hartgers & Hermans, 2011). This would in turn lead to more negative interethnic attitudes and a stronger tendency to discriminate amongst men compared to women.

An important conclusion that can be drawn based upon the results of the present study relates to the fact that the design of the experiment allowed us to measure decisions at different stages of the recruitment procedure (i.e., assessments of applicants' suitability after first reviewing the résumés and subsequent decisions on whom to invite for an interview). The findings indicate that first judgments about applicants' suitability are predominantly determined by applicant features. The role of decision makers' features is relatively small at this stage; many relations are statistically insignificant. When it comes to deciding who to invite for a job interview, however,

characteristics of decision makers are also of influence. Moreover, although applicants' ethnicity has a significant effect in both phases of the selection process, it is relatively more important for invitations for interviews than for suitability ratings. One possible reason for this is that participants' ratings of the job applicants are not binding, whereas invitations for interviews are. Given that prejudice and discrimination are commonly condemned nowadays, one may assume that most individuals would like to be perceived as unprejudiced for as long as this is easily achievable. Assigning equal ratings to equivalent ethnic minority and majority candidates does not involve any real costs for a recruiter or organization. Confronted with the choice to choose potential employees for one's organization, however, one might consider the different options more seriously and perhaps let preferences prevail over social desirability concerns. This may lead to more pronounced differences between decision makers in later phases of the recruitment process. Alternatively, the difference between discrimination in suitability ratings and in selection could be interpreted in terms of the complexity of the task. Evaluating applicants' suitability for a job may be seen as a relatively straightforward task in which one has to process a limited amount of information (i.e., one applicant's educational level, work experience, gender and ethnicity). On the other hand, selecting a small number of applicants from a larger pool of candidates for a job interview can be seen as a more complex decision, which involves the comparison of a many multifaceted résumés. It therefore requires one to process a large amount of information simultaneously. This too could lead to larger differences between decision makers in the later stages of recruitment procedures. In any case, differences between phases in the hiring process merit attention on future research on discrimination in recruitment.

There are some drawbacks to the present study that deserve consideration. First, unlike field experiments on discrimination, this laboratory experiment does not measure recruitment decisions in real-life application procedures. It does, however, measure behavior. In effect, the tasks which participants carried out during this experiment closely resemble the first stages of actual recruitment procedures, where the initial assessment of applicants' suitability and decisions on who to invite for interviews are based on résumés. Second, participants in this study were students enrolled in higher education. One cannot be sure that their reactions to the (fictitious) applicants are similar to reactions of actual employers or personnel managers if they would have been confronted with the same résumés. Yet, there is evidence that similar effect sizes are found with actual recruiters as with students (Hosoda, Stone-Romero & Coats, 2003). Moreover, regarding key features, namely ethnicity and educational level, the participants in this study are quite similar to employers. For example, employers in the Netherlands are almost exclusively (91%) native Dutch, and predominantly (78%) higher educated (42% has a

university degree; 36% a higher vocational degree or university bachelor's degree). However, employers in the Netherlands are often (70%) male, whereas of the participants in this study only 30% was male.³⁸ Note, however, that both the rather strong over-representation of females and the much smaller over-representation of higher educated in these data will probably have led us to *underestimate* the extent to which discrimination actually occurs in real-life hiring settings. As mentioned above, women (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010) and higher educated individuals (Coenders & Scheepers, 2003) generally hold more positive attitudes towards minorities compared to men and those with lower levels of education. In light of this, finding significant effects of decision makers' features on discrimination even for this relatively tolerant group provides strong support for our ideas. Research amongst decision makers in real-world recruitment procedures is required to assess whether stronger effects will indeed be found amongst employers or personnel managers.

Another drawback of the present study is that, although we have so far assumed that more positive (and more frequent) interethnic contacts lead to a lower likelihood to discriminate, the causality of this relationship might in fact be reversed. That is, individuals who hold negative interethnic attitudes may experience interethnic contacts as more negative (and may be more prone to discriminate). This research design does, strictly speaking, not enable us to determine the causality of the association we found between the quality of interethnic contact on the one hand and discrimination regarding invitations for job interviews on the other hand. Future research could address this matter.

Moreover, the relatively low number of participants in this study may have caused some of the results to be insignificant. Further research based on larger numbers of cases could provide more conclusive evidence. Finally, this study focused on discrimination of Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch individuals. Whether the results hold for other (e.g., non-Muslim or Western) ethnic minority groups and in other settings remains a question for future research.

Despite these limitations, this study can be seen as a step towards more systematic (experimental) research on ethnic discrimination that moves beyond describing to what extent discrimination occurs and *contributes* to our understanding of the conditions under which discrimination is more or less likely to occur. Such research is vital to both the scientific community seeking to better understand which mechanisms underlie ethnic discrimination as well as policy makers and organizations trying to reduce the role of prejudice and discrimination in the current labor market.

³⁸ Own calculations based on labor force survey micro data ('Enquête Beroepsbevolking') retrieved from Statistics Netherlands; a representative sample of the population of the Netherlands aged fifteen and older.

5

Implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes and discrimination of ethnic minority applicants

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ABSTRACT

In this chapter we study effects of explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes on ethnic discrimination in hiring. Unlike explicit attitudes, implicit attitudes are characterized by reduced controllability, awareness or intention. Effects of implicit interethnic attitudes on ethnic discrimination in the labor market remain under-researched, despite a growing awareness of the potential influence of implicit attitudes on behavior. Moreover, previous experiments on the effects of explicit interethnic attitudes on discrimination have important drawbacks. To address these matters, we use data from a laboratory experiment ($n = 272$), consisting of an Implicit Association Test, a questionnaire and a recruitment test in which participants reviewed résumés representing fictitious applicants who varied regarding ethnicity, gender, education and work experience. Participants graded applicants and selected applicants for an interview. Results show that only explicit interethnic attitudes affect discrimination in grades, but both explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes increase discrimination in selection. Furthermore, we also find evidence of positive discrimination in selection which turns out to be influenced only by explicit and not by implicit attitudes.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

A large body of sociological literature has examined prejudiced interethnic attitudes and its causes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000; Riek et al., 2006). This emphasis on attitudes is often justified by means of the argument that negative interethnic attitudes and negative intergroup behavior are closely related. Many studies assume that harboring negative interethnic attitudes leads to more negative intergroup behavior. Allport (1954: 14), for example, wrote that “It is true that any negative attitude tends somehow, somewhere to express itself in action. Few people keep their antipathies entirely to themselves”. Even more clearly, Levin and Levin (1982: 81) stated: “We are interested in prejudice only to the extent that it is related to actual discrimination”.

However, the assumption that negative interethnic attitudes lead to corresponding discriminatory behavior is not undisputed. On the one hand, there are several studies showing that people’s behavior towards ethnic out-group members is *not* always in line with their (self-reported) attitudes towards ethnic out-groups (see for example: LaPiere, 1934; Pager & Quillian, 2005). On the other hand, there are studies that *do* find significant effects of interethnic attitudes on interethnic behavior (e.g., Brannon et al, 1973; Plant & Devine, 2001). Meta-analyses (Dovidio et al., 1996; Schütz & Six, 1996; Talaska et al., 2008) have shown that the average correlation between negative interethnic attitudes and negative interethnic behavior is positive but not very strong. Social scientists are confronted with the issue of how to make sense of these low correlations. A relatively new line of research that could contribute to gaining a better understanding of this matter is based on the distinction between *explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes*. Explicit attitudes are controllable and expressed with awareness. Implicit attitudes, on the other hand, can be activated without conscious awareness (e.g., Nosek, 2007)

That studying implicit attitudes may help us to better understand the relationship between interethnic attitudes and interethnic behavior has to do with two types of difficulties regarding explicit attitudes. First, explicit attitudes face social desirability problems; respondents may not want to reveal their interethnic attitudes. Second, people may be unable to report their interethnic attitudes accurately because they might not be aware of the attitudes they hold nor of the impact that these attitudes may have on their actions (Nosek, 2005). Hence, analyzing implicit interethnic attitudes can help us understand when and how attitudes shape behavior.

The aim of this chapter is to examine the effects of explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes on discriminatory behavior towards ethnic minority applicants during hiring procedures. We build upon existing research in several ways. First, studies on ethnic labor market discrimination have largely relied on field experiments (e.g., Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Pager et al., 2009) in which sets of similar résumés or individuals representing fictitious applicants with

different ethnic backgrounds are sent to real-life employers in reaction to job vacancies. Differential treatment of the minority and the majority applicant within a set is seen as a case of discrimination. Although these studies provide crucial and convincing evidence about whether and to what extent ethnic labor market discrimination occurs, they offer little insight in the mechanisms that lead to discriminatory behavior. The present study aims to contribute to our understanding of the causes of discrimination by examining the role of interethnic attitudes.

Second, it is generally assumed that both explicit and implicit attitudes may have important implications for actions (e.g., Nosek, 2005; Quillian, 2008). In the past few years, a number of psychological studies have examined the influence of implicit interethnic attitudes on interethnic behavior (for an overview see: Greenwald et al., 2009). However, these studies dealt with the effect of implicit attitudes on subtle behavior such as individuals' speech time, speech errors and hesitations, eye contact, smiling, social comments, ignition of conversation, hand and body movements or position and seating distance whilst interacting with an ethnic minority group member, as well as generosity (Dovidio et al., 2002; McConnell & Leibold, 2001; Rudman & Ashmore, 2007; Sekaquaptewa et al., 2003; Stepanikova et al., 2011). Together, these studies have shown that people's implicit attitudes towards ethnic minorities can indeed affect their behavior (see also Dasgupta, 2004). However, the effects of implicit attitudes on discriminatory behavior *in the labor market* remain under-researched, despite the fact that scholars have advocated the integration of these attitudes into sociological research on discrimination. For example, sociologist Quillian (2006: 299) argued: "research on implicit prejudice, largely developed by psychologists, provides an important new understanding of the basis of discrimination and should be incorporated in sociological accounts". Thus, another way in which the present research contributes to existing insights is by examining the effect of implicit interethnic attitudes on a type of behavior which is of key concern to sociologists and economists: discrimination during hiring procedures. So far, only a few studies (Deros et al., 2009; Rooth, 2010; Son Hing et al., 2008) have investigated the effects of explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes on ethnic discrimination in the labor market. In the next section we elaborate on how this chapter builds upon these studies.

Finally, we study discrimination during two phases of hiring procedures: (1) the first evaluation of applicants' résumés upon seeing them for the first time (in terms of grades), and (2) the eventual decision on which applicants to invite for a job interview. Explicit and implicit attitudes may be differently related to these grading and selection processes.

We focus on the Netherlands and in particular on attitudes and discriminatory behavior towards two ethnic minority groups: Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch. These groups form

an interesting case because they are the two largest non-Western ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands, and the vast majority (over 95%) of these groups are Muslim. These groups have been the center of attention in the ongoing debate on the integration of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands. Moreover, previous research has shown that attitudes towards immigrants of Moroccan or Turkish origin are more negative than attitudes towards other ethnic minority groups (Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2009; Verkuyten & Kinket, 2000).

5.2 PREVIOUS RESEARCH, THEORY AND HYPOTHESES

5.2.1 Explicit interethnic attitudes and discriminatory behavior

As mentioned above, although many sociological studies are based on the assumption that prejudiced interethnic attitudes lead to corresponding discriminatory behavior this is a much debated issue and has been so for a long time. There are several publications which have shown that people's behavior towards out-group members is not always in accordance with their self-reported interethnic attitudes. A classical study revealing attitude-behavior inconsistencies was conducted by LaPiere (1934), a Stanford sociology professor. In the 1930s, he travelled through the United States with a Chinese couple to see whether they would gain admittance to different types of establishments (e.g., hotels and restaurants). They were accepted in all but one of the 251 businesses that were approached. Six months later, questionnaires asking among other things whether people of the Chinese race would be accepted were sent to the same establishments. Over 91% of them replied that they would not allow Chinese customers to enter.

A more recent demonstration of attitude-behavior inconsistency is Pager and Quillian's (2005) study in the United States. This study linked employers' attitudes towards Black and White applicants to their hiring decisions in real-life. The authors conducted an experimental audit study of entry-level jobs and matched the information from this field experiment to a telephone survey of the same employers. The results showed that there was no significant correspondence between employers' racial attitudes as expressed in the survey and their actual discriminatory behavior. Although the survey results showed no difference in the likelihood of hiring Black versus White applicants, results from the field experiment showed large differences by race (Pager & Quillian, 2005). Note that in the LaPiere study respondents discriminated less than they said they would, conform to the norm in those days which did not denounce discrimination but instead saw differentiation between individuals of different races as normal or even desirable. By contrast, in the Pager and Quillian study, respondents discriminated more than they said they would, which is in line with modern social norms which condemn discriminatory behavior.

On average the picture which emerges from the body of research on the relations between interethnic attitudes and interethnic behavior is mixed. Meta-analytical evidence has shown that there are large variations between the effect sizes found in different studies, but that overall there is a weak but positive association between interethnic attitudes and interethnic behavior. Average correlations were found of .32 (Dovidio et al., 1996), .29 (Schütz & Six, 1996), and .26 (Talaska et al., 2008) respectively.

5.2.2 Explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes

Different explanations have been suggested for the fact that the relationship between self-reported interethnic attitudes and interethnic behavior varies greatly and is generally weak. Well-known theoretical models, for instance, are Ajzen and Fishbein's 'Theory of Planned Behavior' (Ajzen, 1991), and Fazio's 'MODE model' (Fazio, 1990).

In this chapter, however, we draw on a new line of research, largely developed by psychologists, which distinguishes between *explicit* and *implicit* interethnic attitudes. Explicit attitudes can be controlled and are expressed consciously, with intent and awareness. They are the attitudes that sociologists have long studied by means of items in questionnaires. Over the past years, researchers have increasingly stressed the importance of distinguishing between explicit attitudes and another type of attitude: implicit attitudes (Wittenbrink & Schwartz, 2007). How exactly to interpret implicit attitudes and the way they differ from explicit attitudes is still much debated. Providing a summary of the different interpretations that have been suggested in the literature, Nosek (2007: 65) states that implicit attitudes differ from explicit attitudes "by having at least one of the following characteristics: (a) reduced controllability; (b) lack of intention; (c) reduced awareness of the origins, meaning, or occurrence of a response; or (d) high efficiency of processing".

More specifically, one interpretation is that implicit attitudes reflect accumulated experience that is not available to introspection and may not be wanted or endorsed but is nevertheless attitudinal because of its potential effect on individual perception, judgment, or action (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). In other words, this explanation entails that people are unaware of their implicit interethnic attitudes and therefore unable to report them accurately. A second interpretation is that explicit self-reports are often affected by social desirability concerns, whereas implicit attitudes are not, or to a much lesser extent (e.g., Fazio & Olson, 2003). A third possible explanation is that explicit and implicit attitudes tap two independent representations that differ with regard to the cognitive effort that is required for their retrieval from memory. The latter interpretation is related to Dual Attitudes Models (Wilson et al., 2000). Finally,

some argue that implicit attitudes are influenced by cultural – i.e., extra-personal – knowledge which is distinct from explicit attitudes as such but can still influence behavior (Karpinski & Hilton, 2001).

A small number of studies have examined the soundness of different interpretations regarding implicit attitudes and the way they differ from explicit attitudes (e.g., Gawronski et al., 2006). Although there is not enough evidence to provide definitive support for one of the above explanations, there are some indications as to which of these explanations come closer than the others. First, evidence from several meta-studies supports the idea that implicit and explicit attitudes are distinct but related concepts and both attitudinal. These analyses show that implicit and explicit attitudes were generally positively related, but there is considerable variability in the strength of the correlation (Lane, Banaji, Nosek & Greenwald, 2007). For example, a meta-analysis by Hofmann and colleagues (Hofmann, Gawronski, Gschwendner, Le & Schmitt, 2005) reported that implicit-explicit correlations varied between .01 and .47, with a mean correlation of .24. Nosek (2005) and Greenwald et al. (2009) found mean implicit-explicit correlations of .36 and .21, respectively. In addition to this empirical evidence, there is another, intuitively appealing argument which supports the idea that implicit attitudes are distinct from explicit attitudes: participants are often genuinely surprised by their scores on tests measuring their implicit attitudes (c.f., Monteith, Ashburn-Nardo, Voils & Czopp, 2002).

The distinction between explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes could contribute to explaining discrepancies between self-reported interethnic attitudes and interethnic behavior because implicit attitudes are less susceptible to problems of social desirability or limited accessibility that affect explicit attitudes (Nosek, 2005). If implicit interethnic attitudes are thus able to capture something that explicit attitudes do not, implicit attitudes could form a valuable contribution to studies on the relations between interethnic attitudes and discriminatory behavior. In line with Quillian (2008), we do not expect implicit attitudes to replace explicit attitudes in this regard, but argue that both may influence action.

Since the second half of the 1990s, when psychologists first started publishing about implicit attitudes (e.g., Greenwald et al., 1998), a large body of research on implicit attitudes, their origins and consequences has been accumulating (Wittenbrink & Schwartz, 2007). Studies have repeatedly confirmed that the attitudes that individuals express upon being asked explicitly are not always in line with their attitudes as measured in more indirect, implicit ways (e.g., Greenwald et al., 2009; Hofmann et al., 2005; Lane et al., 2007).

5.2.3 Implicit interethnic attitudes and discriminatory behavior

Despite the rapidly growing body of research on implicit attitudes, only a few studies have addressed the effects of implicit attitudes on ethnic discrimination in the labor market. In a pioneering Swedish study, Rooth (2010) examined the effect of implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes on discrimination in real-life hiring situations by conducting two field experiments and afterwards assessing the employers' attitudes. Results show strong and consistent negative associations between implicit attitudes and stereotypes and the probability that an Arab-Muslim-named applicant was invited for an interview. For explicit attitudes hardly any significant effects were found. Despite forming a major contribution to existing knowledge, this study also has some drawbacks. First, when using field experiment data it is generally difficult to ensure that the measures of discriminatory behavior and attitudes – collected at different points in time – belong to the same person. Indeed, in Rooth's experiment (as well as in Pager and Quillian's 2005 study) this is an issue. Furthermore, the Rooth study suffered from considerable non-response. Only a small fraction of the recruiters who were part of the field experiments participated in the follow-up study to measure their explicit and implicit attitudes; many of those who participated in the field experiments were never reached, refused or were not able to participate (Rooth, 2010). In the present study, we conducted a laboratory experiment which has some key advantages compared to field experiments (National Research Council, 2004; Falk & Heckman, 2009). In the laboratory setting we are able to circumvent non-response and ensure that we measure the attitudes and behavior of the same person. As such, the present research forms a stricter test of the classical hypothesis that attitudes affect discriminatory behavior in the labor market.

In addition to the field experiments by Rooth and Pager and Quillian, a small number of laboratory experiment studies examined effects of implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes on evaluations of fictitious job candidates (Deros et al., 2009; Son Hing et al., 2008). Deros and colleagues (2009) examined hiring discrimination against Arab minorities in the United States and the Netherlands. They found no effect of explicit prejudice on job suitability ratings and only in the Netherlands an effect of implicit prejudice. Son Hing et al. (2008) analyzed the effects of explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes on hiring recommendations for a single Asian applicant in Canada. They showed that in ambiguous situations participants higher in implicit prejudice gave lower hiring recommendations for the Asian candidate whereas in non-ambiguous situations, implicit prejudice had no significant effect. Again, no effect of explicit prejudice was found.

This chapter builds upon these prior field and laboratory experiment studies on the link between implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes and hiring behavior in several ways. First,

the previous studies were restricted to either job suitability ratings for a limited number of applicants or hiring recommendations of a single applicant. We examine the effects of implicit and explicit attitudes on both suitability ratings and selecting applicants, two measures of ethnic labor market discrimination that correspond to different phases in the hiring procedure. As opposed to the suitability ratings, the selection task forces subjects to choose between applicants. This situation not only closely resembles such decisions in actual hiring procedures. Also, the relation between explicit and implicit attitudes and discriminatory behavior may be different for the latter type of decision compared to assigning suitability ratings.

Secondly, participants in this experiment are exposed to a much larger number of ethnic minority and majority applicants which differ systematically regarding their gender, level of education and work experience. Whereas Derous et al. (2009) used four applicant résumés and Son Hing et al. (2008) used one or two applicant résumés, subjects in our recruitment test have to evaluate 24 different résumés for one job opening, providing a much more realistic setting that corresponds with actual recruitment procedures. Finally, in the present study we apply a larger sample size than previous studies.

5.3 DATA AND MEASURES

5.3.1 Data collection

The laboratory experiment was conducted amongst 288 students in Utrecht, the Netherlands, in February and March 2010. Of these participants, 203 were university students and 85 attended higher vocational education. Students of whom at least one parent was born in Morocco or Turkey or who were born in these countries themselves ($n = 16$) were excluded from the analyses. Thus, 272 respondents were included in the analyses.

The study consisted of three elements: (1) a recruitment test measuring discriminatory behavior; (2) a questionnaire to measure explicit interethnic attitudes; and (3) an Implicit Association Test (IAT) to measure implicit interethnic attitudes. In all cases, the recruitment test was the first element, followed by the other two elements. To overcome design effects, we randomized the order of the survey and the IAT.

The recruitment test assessed discrimination of applicants of either Moroccan or Turkish origin, in comparison to native Dutch applicants. We applied a between-subjects design; respondents were either assigned to the condition measuring discrimination of Moroccan-Dutch applicants ($n = 129$) or the condition measuring discrimination of Turkish-Dutch applicants ($n = 143$).

However, because of the small number of subjects in each condition, we combined these two conditions for the analyses.

5.3.2 Ethnic discrimination in hiring procedures

The recruitment test measures discriminatory behavior towards Moroccan-Dutch or Turkish-Dutch applicants during hiring procedures. In this test, participants were presented with descriptions of two fictitious jobs and two sets of 24 fictitious résumés. There were two types of jobs with different educational requirements. One vacancy was for a position as a customer advisor at a bank, for which either intermediate or higher vocational education was required. The other vacancy was for a position as recruiter of a human resource management organization. For this job, higher vocational education or a university degree was required.

Participants were asked to read one of the job descriptions and the accompanying set of résumés and assess the applicants in two ways. First they assigned a grade representing the candidates' suitability for the job to each résumé (on a scale of 0 to 10) and then they selected three applicants that they would like to invite for a (fictitious) job interview (cf., Derous, 2007). Subsequently, participants were asked to read the other job description and accompanying set of résumés and complete the same tasks as for the first set. The order in which the two job descriptions and accompanying sets of résumés were presented to the participants was randomized.

For each job, there was a set of 24 résumés. Within each set, there were 16 résumés in which ethnicity, gender, level of education and work experience were varied systematically. These 16 applicants represent all possible combinations of these four features (see Table A2, Appendix). In other words, 8 of these résumés belonged to native Dutch applicants and 8 of them belonged to either Moroccan or Turkish applicants. For each Moroccan or Turkish applicant, there was one native Dutch applicant who is completely comparable in all respects but ethnicity.

In addition to these 16 completely comparable résumés, another 8 applicants were added to the set in order to make the division of ethnic majority and minority applicants more realistic. These last 8 résumés included several more native Dutch applicants, as well as minority applicants belonging to a different ethnic group than the previous 8 minority applicants in that particular set. The other ethnic minority groups were: Surinamese, Antillean and (depending on the Moroccan or Turkish condition) either Turkish-Dutch or Moroccan-Dutch (see Table A2, Appendix). Note that the purpose of adding these résumés was merely to avoid suspicion about the division between minority and majority applicants amongst the participants. They were not considered in the analyses. During the experiment, the majority and minority applicants' résumés were presented to participants in mixed order.

The ethnicity of the applicants was signaled by means of the applicants' names (which were included in the headers of the *résumés* as follows: "CV first name family name") and their nationality; all applicants had the nationality of the country from which their parents came, although all of them were born in the Netherlands. The only exception to the latter rule were the Dutch Antillean applicants. Because people born on the Dutch Antilles automatically receive the Dutch nationality, these applicants' place of birth was a municipality on the Dutch Antilles.

The applicants' educational levels varied between intermediate vocational education and higher vocational education (in case of the advisor job) or between higher vocational education and university (in case of the recruiter job). All of them followed their education in the Netherlands. Work experience varied between none (just completed education) and around one year of work experience after having completed the educational career. Finally, the *résumés* included information on date and place of birth. The applicants for the advisor job were between 22 and 24 years old; the applicants for the recruiter job were between 23 and 25 years old. All of them were born in the Netherlands, and thus belonged to the 'second generation' (except for the applicants from the Dutch Antilles, as mentioned above).

Before constructing the dependent variables, we checked the data for any possible cases which might disturb the results because of odd answer patterns. For example, participants might have assigned grades or selected *résumés* on a random basis instead of looking at the *résumés* features. Alternatively, due to 'fatigue', participants might take their task serious for the first number of *résumés* but lose their motivation or concentration later on. To identify such cases, we examined how often participants assigned the same grade during the experiment, the possible effect of the order in which *résumés* were presented on the average grades and their standard deviation, and the grades that were assigned to *résumés* that were selected or not. We found no cases that would need to be removed from the analyses.

Based on the recruitment test, we constructed two measures of discriminatory behavior towards Moroccan-Dutch or Turkish-Dutch applicants. The first measure was based on the grades that participants assigned to the completely comparable *résumés*. The variable was constructed by conducting an Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression analysis of the grades on the ethnicity of the 'applicants'. This was done for each participant separately. Because of the design of the *résumés* (i.e., all combinations of applicant features being represented in each set of *résumés*) the effects of ethnicity were already controlled for gender, education, and work experience. The coefficients for the Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch dummy variables (compared to native Dutch, the reference category) were saved. The variable was coded in such a way that a higher score represents a larger effect of ethnicity on grades or, in other words, more ethnic discrimination.

The second measure of discriminatory behavior was based on whether or not an applicant was selected for a job interview (in this case, all *résumés* were taken into account). Per respondent we counted the number of Moroccan-Dutch or Turkish-Dutch applicants that were selected. Because participants were asked to select six applicants in total (three per set of *résumés*; two sets of *résumés*) and one-third of the applicants were of Moroccan or Turkish origin, we coded situations in which less than two Turkish or Moroccan applicants were selected as 'discrimination'. Situations in which two Turkish or Moroccan applicants were selected were coded as 'no discrimination'. Finally, situations in which more than two Turkish-Dutch or Moroccan-Dutch applicants were selected were coded as 'positive discrimination'.

5.3.3 Explicit interethnic attitudes

We measured explicit interethnic attitudes by means of two sets of questions in the questionnaire. The first measure is based on two questions containing 'feeling thermometers', which are intended as global measures of out-group attitudes (e.g., Verkuyten, 2005). These questions asked participants to indicate how warm or cold they feel towards Moroccans or Turks on a scale from 0 to 100 (0 being very cold or negative; 100 being very warm or positive).

The second measure of explicit interethnic attitudes was computed as the mean score on nine questions which assessed attitudes towards Muslims. Participants were asked to indicate on a 5-point scale (ranging from 'totally disagree' to 'totally agree') to what extent they agree with 9 statements about Muslims or Islam (e.g., 'Most Muslims have no respect for gay people', 'Islam is a backward religion', 'Muslim women who wear head scarves do not adjust to our society'). These items form a reliable scale (Cronbach's alpha: 0.85). Considering that the vast majority of the Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch population are Muslim (Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2009) this is a relevant measure of explicit attitudes towards members of the Moroccan and Turkish minorities in the Netherlands (cf., Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007).

Note that the feeling thermometer is a more affective measure which reflects respondents' *feelings* towards Turks and Moroccans. By contrast, the attitudes towards Muslims scale is based on stereotypical images. In this respect these two measures of explicit attitudes complement each other.

5.3.4 Implicit interethnic attitudes

To measure implicit interethnic attitudes, an Implicit Association Test was used (e.g., Wittenbrink & Schwartz, 2007). The IAT is the most widely used method to assess implicit

attitudes and has proven to be a valid measure (e.g., Greenwald et al., 2009). We used a 7-stage version of the test which was translated into Dutch and adapted so that it referred to the ethnic minority groups on which this chapter focuses.

As was the case for the recruitment test, there were two versions of the IAT, assessing implicit attitudes towards either Turks or Moroccans. Half of the participants in the study were presented with a native Dutch versus Moroccan-Dutch IAT and the other half with a native Dutch versus Turkish-Dutch IAT.

Implicit Association Tests assess the strengths of associations between concepts by observing response latencies in a (computer-administered) categorization task. The basic principle of an IAT is that stimuli (words, symbols, or pictures) which are exemplars of contrasted concepts appear on the computer screen. In this case, the contrasted concepts were native Dutch versus Moroccan or Turkish (represented by male names³⁹), and positive versus negative (represented by words with positive or negative valence). Subjects rapidly classify these stimuli by pressing one of two keys on a computer keyboard.

During the test, participants were presented with several blocks in which the pairings of the concepts differ. In some blocks, the pairings were *stereotype-consistent*, meaning that Moroccan or Turkish stimuli were paired (i.e., share a response key) with negative stimuli, whereas native Dutch stimuli were paired with positive stimuli. In other blocks, the pairings were *stereotype-inconsistent*: Moroccan or Turkish stimuli were paired with positive stimuli and native Dutch stimuli were paired with negative stimuli.

Subjects' responses will be faster and more accurate when categories that are closely associated share a response (key) as compared to when they do not. The IAT measure is based on differences in average latency between stereotype-consistent and stereotype-inconsistent tasks. In this case, faster responses for the *native Dutch + positive* and *Moroccan or Turkish + negative* pairing task than for the *Moroccan or Turkish + positive* and *native Dutch + negative* pairing task indicate a stronger association of Moroccan or Turkish than native Dutch with negative valence, or – in other words – a negative attitude towards Moroccan or Turkish minority group members. We computed a measure of implicit attitudes using the improved scoring algorithm described in Greenwald, Nosek and Banaji (2003). Higher scores on this variable indicate a stronger negative attitude towards Moroccans or Turks compared to native Dutch.

³⁹ The native Dutch names were: Stijn, Jan, Jaap, Klaas, Joost, Piet, Sander, Maarten, Jeroen, Michiel; the Moroccan names were: Ibrahim, Achmed, Mustafa, Abdul, Mohammed, Aziz, Youssef, Tarik, Rachid, Adil; and the Turkish names were: Ali, Ahmet, Mehmet, Bülent, Hakan, Fatih, Levent, Haydar, Murat, Hasan.

Table 5.1 Descriptive statistics

	Range	Mean	Std. Dev.
Ethnic discrimination in grades	-0.50 – 2.00	0.10	0.26
Discrimination in selection for job interview	-1.00 – 1.00	0.04	0.75
Implicit interethnic attitudes	-0.69 – 1.43	0.49	0.37
Thermometer	0.00 – 90.00	52.66	19.99
Attitudes towards Muslims	0.22 – 3.67	1.86	0.67

Source: Laboratory Experiments of Hiring Practices amongst Dutch Students 2010; n = 272.

Table 5.1 presents the descriptive statistics for all variables in the analyses. Scores for ethnic discrimination in grades vary between -0.50 and 2.00, with a mean score of almost 0.10. This indicates that ethnic minority applicants on average were given about 0.10 grade point lower than comparable native Dutch applicants. The fact that the minimum score is below zero indicates that there were also respondents who, on average, gave higher grades to minority applicants than to native Dutch applicants. In other words, *positive* discrimination in grading also occurred. For discrimination in selection, no discrimination (0) is the reference category. In addition to respondents who discriminated (and were assigned the value of 1 on this variable) the data showed that there were respondents who favored ethnic minority applicants over native Dutch applicants when inviting candidates for interviews. In other words, in addition to discrimination in selection we found evidence of positive discrimination in selection (these cases were assigned a score of -1). In the subsequent analyses, positive discrimination in selection will be treated as a separate outcome, distinct from ‘no discrimination’ and ‘discrimination’. Note that the mean value is about 0.04, indicating that discrimination occurred more often than positive discrimination.

Scores for implicit interethnic attitudes vary between -0.69 and 1.43, with a mean score of about 0.50. This indicates that respondents on average showed moderate to strong negative implicit attitudes towards Moroccans or Turks. There were, however, large variations between respondents. Some of them displayed strong *positive* implicit interethnic attitudes; others strong *negative* interethnic attitudes. Moving on to the measures of explicit interethnic attitudes, the descriptive statistics for the feeling thermometer show that scores vary between 0 and 90, indicating that both extremely negative and rather positive feelings towards Turks and Moroccans were reported. The average score was about 53, which represents a somewhat positive attitude. The scores for attitudes towards Muslims vary between 0.22 and 3.67 on a

scale ranging from 0 (most positive) to 5 (most negative). The mean score is 1.86, indicating that on average the respondents' explicit attitudes towards Muslims are neither extremely positive nor extremely negative.

5.4 ANALYSES AND RESULTS

Before we turn to the effects of explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes on discriminatory behavior, we will briefly look at the relationships between explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes.

5.4.1 The relationship between explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes

Table 5.2 presents the correlations between explicit and implicit attitudes. The correlation between implicit interethnic attitudes and the (explicit) thermometer is weakly negative (keep in mind that a higher score on the thermometer represents a more positive attitude). The association between implicit interethnic attitudes and negative attitudes towards Muslims is weakly positive. These findings are in line with the modest correlations which have been found in several meta-analytical studies (e.g., Greenwald et al., 2009; Hofmann et al., 2005) as well as with the values found in the previously mentioned study by Rooth (2010).

5.4.2 Effects of explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes on discrimination

Turning to the effects of explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes on discrimination, we will first discuss the results for discrimination in *grades* and subsequently those for discrimination in *selection* for a job interview. To analyze the effects of interethnic attitudes on discrimination in grades, we conducted Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression analyses. The results of these analyses are presented in Table 5.3, which displays standardized effects.

Table 5.2 Pearson's correlations between implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes

	1	2	3
1 Negative implicit interethnic attitudes			
2 Thermometer	-0.154 *		
3 Negative attitudes towards Muslims	0.116 *	-0.502 **	

Source: Laboratory Experiments of Hiring Practices amongst Dutch Students 2010; n = 272.

Significance: ** = p<.01; * = p<.05; ~ = p<.10 (2-tailed).

Table 5.3 Ordinary least squares regression analyses of ethnic discrimination in grades: standardized effects (t-values in brackets)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Negative implicit interethnic attitudes	0.039 (0.639)			0.007 (0.117)
Thermometer		-0.152 (-2.523) **		-0.040 (-0.578)
Negative attitudes towards Muslims			0.242 (4.091) **	0.221 (3.220) **
R-square	0.002	0.023	0.058	0.060

Source: Laboratory Experiments of Hiring Practices amongst Dutch Students 2010; n = 272.

Significance: ** = $p < .01$; * = $p < .05$; ~ = $p < .10$ (1-tailed).

In Model 1 to Model 3, the predictors were included one at a time. Results show, first of all, that implicit interethnic attitudes do not have a significant effect on ethnic discrimination in grades.⁴⁰ By contrast, both measures of explicit interethnic attitudes do have a significant effect on ethnic discrimination in grades. Respondents with a lower score on the thermometer (indicating more negative feelings towards Moroccans or Turks) are more likely to assign lower grades to ethnic minority applicants than to comparable native Dutch applicants. Similarly, respondents who hold more negative attitudes towards Muslims are more likely to discriminate against ethnic minority applicants in terms of grades.

In Model 4, all predictors were included simultaneously. Results show that only the effect of attitudes towards Muslims remains significant, although the other effects are still in the expected directions. In sum, implicit interethnic attitudes appear not to affect ethnic discrimination in the first phase of the hiring procedure in which applicants' suitability is rated, whilst explicit attitudes do.⁴¹

40 IAT scores confound anti-minority and pro-majority group attitudes. They may therefore affect the grading of minority group members, majority group members or both. To examine this, we conducted an additional analysis in which we estimated the effect of attitudes on grades separately for majority and minority applicants. Results of this analysis provide a similar picture: implicit interethnic attitudes do not have a significant effect on the grades that were assigned to either the majority or the minority applicants.

41 The R-square values in Table 5.3 (in particular) and Table 5.4 are rather low. Note however that our models are very parsimonious; we focus solely on interethnic attitudes (explicit and implicit). Furthermore, the differences between participants' scores on both dependent variables are relatively modest, which is most likely related to the fact that our participants form a rather homogeneous group of students in higher education that are generally rather tolerant. This may mean that our results are an underestimation of the differences in discriminatory behavior as well as the predictive power of interethnic attitudes which one would find amongst the general public.

Regarding discrimination in the *selection* of applicants for a job interview, we analyzed the likelihood that respondents discriminated against ethnic minority applicants *and* the likelihood that they positively discriminated ethnic minority applicants (i.e., favored minority applicants compared to native Dutch applicants) by means of multinomial logistic regression analyses. The results of these analyses are shown in Table 5.4.

In Model 1 to Model 3, we included the predictors one by one. Results show that, in contrast to discrimination in grades, both implicit *and* explicit interethnic attitudes have a significant effect on discrimination in selection. Stronger negative implicit interethnic attitudes increase the likelihood of discrimination, but do not significantly decrease the likelihood of positive discrimination in selection (Model 1). Stronger negative explicit interethnic attitudes (as indicated by lower scores on the thermometer or higher scores on the attitudes towards Muslims measure) increase the likelihood of discrimination *and* decrease the likelihood of positive discrimination in selection (Model 2 and 3).

In Model 4, we included all attitudinal measures simultaneously. For discrimination, the effects of all three predictors remain significant and in the expected direction. Negative implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes (again, indicated by lower scores on the thermometer or higher scores on the attitudes towards Muslims scale) increase the likelihood of ethnic discrimination in selection for a job interview. For positive discrimination, however, the effect of attitudes towards Muslims – although in the expected direction – is no longer significant; the effect of the thermometer does remain significant. In sum, when looking at discrimination in selection, there is an important difference between discrimination as such (which is influenced by both implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes) and positive discrimination (which is only affected by explicit attitudes).⁴²

5.5 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

This paper examined the effects of explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes on ethnic discrimination in hiring, by means of a laboratory experiment. We tested the classical hypothesis that interethnic attitudes affect this specific type of interethnic behavior and improved upon

⁴² In addition to the analyses that combined the outcomes for the Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch condition, we conducted separate analyses in which we checked whether the results are comparable across these ethnic groups. These analyses showed that the findings are robust; the analyses reveal similar patterns for both conditions. There are some minor and non-systematic differences, mainly due to some relationships becoming insignificant when the analyses are conducted for the groups separately. Specifically, the effect of implicit interethnic attitudes is non-significant and the effect of (explicit) attitudes towards Muslims on discrimination in selection is somewhat larger in the Turkish-Dutch condition. These differences are likely the result of the relatively small number of participants in our experiment. Therefore, they should be interpreted with caution.

Table 5.4 Multinomial logistic regression analyses of ethnic discrimination (D) and positive discrimination (PD) in selection for job interview: odds ratios (Wald statistic between brackets)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	D	PD	D	PD	D	PD	D	PD
Negative implicit interethnic attitudes	2.304 (4.110)	* 0.705 (0.751)					2.053 (2.843)	* 0.905 (0.057)
Thermometer			0.979 (8.454)	** 1.040 (16.228)			0.986 (2.850)	* 1.036 (10.862)
Negative attitudes Muslims					1.842 (7.352)	** 0.495 (7.817)	1.449 (2.108)	~ 0.705 (1.549)
Nagelkerke Pseudo R-square	0.030			0.162		0.100		0.194
Cox and Snell Pseudo R-square	0.027			0.143		0.088		0.171
McFadden Pseudo R-square	0.013			0.072		0.043		0.088
Chi-square (df)	7.418 (2)			41,850 (2)		25.190 (2)		51.153 (6)

Source: Laboratory Experiments of Hiring Practices amongst Dutch Students 2010; Reference category: No discrimination; n = 272.
Significance: ** = p<.01; * = p<.05; ~ = p<.10 (1-tailed).

previous research in several ways. First, in contrast to most previous field experiments on ethnic discrimination in the labor market, this study aimed to increase our knowledge about the causes of ethnic discrimination in the labor market, by looking at the influence of interethnic attitudes. Second, in addition to explicit attitudes, we looked at the influence of *implicit* attitudes on ethnic discrimination in hiring decisions in the labor market, a type of discriminatory behavior which has so far received little attention in psychological studies on effects of explicit and implicit attitudes on behavior. For explicit interethnic attitudes, we put the above mentioned hypothesis to a more rigorous test than previous studies based on field experiment data had done so far. Third, compared to previous laboratory experiments, the subjects had to evaluate a much larger number of résumés. What is more, we examined discrimination in two different phases of the hiring procedure: in job suitability ratings or *grades* as well as in *selecting* candidates for a job interview. Taken together, these characteristics of this recruitment test provide a more realistic portrayal of an actual recruitment procedure.

Our results showed that discriminatory behavior towards ethnic minority applicants in terms of grades is influenced only by explicit interethnic attitudes. Implicit interethnic attitudes do *not* play a role at this stage of the hiring procedure. A different pattern emerges when we look at discrimination in a later phase in the procedure: selection for a job interview. Both explicit and implicit negative interethnic attitudes are related to discrimination of ethnic minority applicants in terms of invitations for a job interview. Remarkably, we also found *positive* discrimination in selection; sometimes ethnic minority applicants were over-represented amongst those who were invited for a job interview. Moreover, we found that positive discrimination in selection was influenced by explicit but *not* implicit interethnic attitudes. The latter result forms an interesting puzzle to focus on in future studies.

Previous studies found little evidence of an effect of explicit interethnic attitudes on discriminatory behavior in the labor market. Deros et al. (2009) and Son Hing et al. (2008) found no effect of an explicit Modern Racism Scale on respectively job suitability ratings and hiring recommendations. Rooth (2010) found positive, but mostly not significant, effects of employers' explicit attitudes and stereotypes on call-back rates for a job interview. In the present study, however, we found moderate yet significant effects of explicit attitudes on discrimination, both in grading and selection. These different results across studies may be due to differences in context, the applied measures for explicit attitudes, or sample sizes.⁴³ Additionally, the

43 The sample size in the studies of Deros et al. (2009), Son Hing et al. (2008) and Rooth (2010) were smaller than that in the present study. Rooth (2010: 529) reports that the point estimates of some of the effects of explicit measures are large, indicating that explicit attitudes might be important, but the effects were estimated with a low precision.

recruitment test, in which subjects had to evaluate a large number of résumés and thereafter select the best candidates, differs from previous laboratory studies in which subjects had to evaluate only one or two (Son Hing et al., 2008) or four résumés (Derous et al., 2009). When subjects have to grade a single résumé of a minority applicant, or have to compare a few résumés that only differ in ethnicity, subjects may be more inclined to display socially desirable behavior. Hence, their (lack of) discriminatory behavior may not be in line with their negative attitudes. In the present recruitment test subjects also had to evaluate strictly comparable minority and majority applicants, but since we presented subjects with 24 résumés, we were able to systematically vary other applicant characteristics (educational level, work experience, and gender) as well. Social desirability may therefore be less of a concern in measurement of discriminatory behavior, which might explain the relationship between explicit negative attitudes and discriminatory behavior.

Next we turn to the effect of implicit interethnic attitudes. We found no significant relation between implicit attitudes and discrimination in grading of applicants. Derous et al. (2009) likewise found no effect in the United States. They did find an effect in the Netherlands, but only when the job position was a lower social status job with no client contact (i.e., sorter). In our study, the job positions were of intermediate or higher social status. Hence, our results are in line with findings from Derous and colleagues. Our results are also in line with Son Hing et al. (2008) who found that implicit prejudice was not related to hiring recommendations when the applicant was well qualified for the position, as was the case in our recruitment test. Son Hing and colleagues only found an effect of implicit attitudes when the applicant was neither obviously qualified, nor clearly unqualified.

One of the most interesting results of this study is that implicit attitudes are related to discrimination in selection for a job interview, but not to discrimination in suitability ratings of applicants. Several theoretical models could possibly explain these findings. For example, both the MODE model (Fazio, 1990) and the dual-attitudes model (Wilson et al., 2000) predict that explicit and implicit attitudes will affect behavior differently because conscious processes only shape the attitude-behavior relationship if an individual has both the opportunity and the motivation to control his or her behavior. Support for these predictions has been provided by several laboratory experiments which found that explicit attitudes typically predict more deliberative behavior such as verbal friendliness whereas implicit attitudes predicted more spontaneous behavior like nonverbal friendliness (e.g., Dovidio et al., 2002; McConnell & Leibold, 2001). On the other hand, however, there is evidence showing that implicit attitudes also predict more deliberative actions (e.g., Greenwald et al., 2009). One possible reason for this is that complex behavior may involve both automatic and controlled processes which

may interact with each other (c.f., Son Hing et al., 2008). According to this line of reasoning, relatively undemanding deliberate actions may be affected only by explicit attitudes and more complex decisions will be influenced by both explicit and implicit attitudes. One could interpret the difference between discrimination in grades and in selection in the experiment in terms of the complexity of the task. Evaluating applicants' suitability for a job may be seen as a relatively straightforward task in which one has to take a limited amount of information into account (i.e., *one* applicant's educational level, work experience, gender and ethnicity). Conversely, selecting a small number of applicants from a larger pool of candidates for an interview can be seen as a more complex decision. Comparing a large number of multifaceted résumés involves processing a large amount of information simultaneously. If we follow this line of reasoning, the results of the present study neatly follow the prediction formulated above.

Furthermore, we found interesting differences in the effects of implicit attitudes on discrimination and positive discrimination in selection. Whereas discrimination was related to both explicit and implicit attitudes, positive discrimination was only affected by explicit attitudes. A possible interpretation in line with the abovementioned argumentation is that those who are inclined to positively discriminate consider their behavior more consciously and deliberately. Despite the fact that negative stereotypes regarding ethnic minorities are rather common in the public and political debate, these subjects chose to favor minority applicants over native Dutch applicants. If one considers this as a more deliberative action, this could explain why positive discrimination was not related to implicit attitudes, but only to (less negative) explicit attitudes.

We see this study as a starting point for more systematic research on the impact of explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes on discriminatory behavior in the labor market. There are several ways to build upon this study. First, there are still many questions regarding the exact role of explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes. Little is known about the conditions under which implicit and explicit attitudes play a role and how explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes may interact in shaping behavior under different circumstances. Future research should try to derive and test more specific hypotheses about the effects of these two types of attitudes on interethnic behavior (cf., Son Hing et al., 2008) in order to improve our understanding of the attitudinal mechanisms that underlie discrimination in the labor market.

Second, follow-up studies are needed amongst employers or recruiters. The data in the present study were collected amongst students attending higher education. Previous research (e.g. Coenders & Scheepers, 2003) has shown that higher educated people generally hold less negative attitudes towards minority groups. The fact that we found significant effects of explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes on discrimination in hiring even amongst a relatively tolerant

group provides strong support for our line of reasoning. We expect that research amongst employers or recruiters will yield even stronger effects.

Third, our laboratory experiment had the clear advantage that it enabled us to control and manipulate résumé characteristics and to link an individual's discriminatory behavior to one's interethnic attitudes. However, the recruitment test took place in an artificial setting without any real-life consequences for employers or organizations. Under these circumstances, respondents may react differently (e.g., in a more tolerant way) than in real life. Given that the researcher addresses the difficulties associated with field experiment designs such as used by Rooth (2010) another option for future research is to conduct a field experiment which combines measures of explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes with behavior during real-life hiring procedures.

Fourth, in this study, decisions about which applicants to invite for a job interview were made by each participant independently. Yet, in real life such decisions are often made by groups of individuals (e.g., selection committees). Therefore, an interesting addition to the present design would be to have participants form small groups which have to reach agreement about which candidates to invite for a job interview. This could shed light on how group decision making processes moderate the effects of personal explicit and implicit attitudes towards ethnic minorities.

Finally, the present study focused on positions for which either an intermediate or higher vocational degree or a higher vocational or university degree was required. Previous field experiments on labor market discrimination (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Pager et al., 2009) have mostly focused on entry-level or manual jobs. A field experiment in the Netherlands (Andriessen et al., 2010, 2012) indicated that ethnic discrimination occurs more often within the lower levels of the labor market. Results from this study may thus be regarded as a conservative estimation of the prevalence of ethnic discrimination in the labor market as a whole. Moreover, effects of explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes on discriminatory behavior may be stronger when lower level jobs are concerned. In the lower level segments of the labor market, the résumés of minority applicants are more in line with the stereotypical image of minorities as lower educated and of lower social class. Therefore, résumés of lower educated ethnic minority applicants provide more stereotype-consistent information which may increase the salience of interethnic stereotypes and attitudes (cf., Wheeler & Petty, 2001). Future research could examine such predictions.

To conclude, findings from this investigation support Allport's (1954) statement that attitudes have consequences for actions. However, we are able to draw more specific conclusions with regard to the role of different types of attitudes in shaping behavior. As Nosek (2005) and

Quillian (2006) argued: not only *explicit* interethnic attitudes influence actions; *implicit* attitudes have important behavioral consequences as well. Hence, the results from this chapter underscore Quillian's (2008: 7) statement that "rather than replacing explicit attitudes, implicit attitudes form a second level of attitudes that become manifest in certain behaviors and contexts".

6

Sources of implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes: The role of socioeconomic features, interethnic threat, and interethnic contact

This chapter was co-authored by Frank van Tubergen and Marcel Coenders. A slightly different version of this chapter is currently under review.

ABSTRACT

In this chapter we examine whether interethnic threat and interethnic contact are similarly related to implicit interethnic attitudes as to explicit interethnic attitudes. Unlike explicit attitudes, implicit attitudes are characterized by reduced controllability, awareness or intention. Data are collected via (1) an Implicit Association Test to assess implicit interethnic attitudes of participants ($n = 272$) and (2) a survey amongst the same participants including questions on explicit interethnic attitudes, interethnic contacts, interethnic threat, and socioeconomic and demographic features. Results underscore existing insights about the factors that are associated with explicit interethnic attitudes, but show that almost none of these 'usual suspects' are related to implicit interethnic attitudes. This underlines the distinctiveness of implicit and explicit attitudes and highlights the importance of taking this distinction into account when studying interethnic attitudes (and behavior).

6.1 INTRODUCTION

An extensive body of sociological research has documented the pervasiveness and sources of negative interethnic attitudes. Prominent theoretical approaches in this literature focus on the role of (1) ethnic competition or threat related to either economic resources or values (e.g., Quillian, 1995; Scheepers et al., 2002a) and (2) interethnic contacts (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). Results of numerous studies have confirmed that socioeconomic features related to the likelihood of (actual) interethnic competition, perceptions of interethnic threat, and interethnic contacts are indeed related to interethnic attitudes (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; Zick et al., 2008).

Whereas sociological studies on interethnic attitudes are primarily based on (explicit) attitudes, psychologists have increasingly distinguished between ‘explicit’ and ‘implicit’ attitudes (c.f., Quillian, 2006, 2008; Pager & Shepherd, 2008). Explicit attitudes can be controlled and are expressed consciously, with intent and awareness. They are generally measured via survey questions. Implicit attitudes, in contrast, can influence thoughts and actions without intention or conscious awareness (e.g., Nosek, 2007).⁴⁴ They are commonly measured via reaction time tasks or priming methods (Wittenbrink & Schwartz, 2007).

Since the first publications on implicit attitudes appeared (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Greenwald et al., 1998) the number of studies on the nature, prevalence and consequences of implicit attitudes has grown rapidly. Jointly these investigations have firmly established that implicit bias is pervasive across demographic groups and subject matters, that the strength of implicit bias varies across individuals, that the relation between implicit and explicit attitudes is on average positive but differs considerably between studies or situations, and that implicit attitudes can influence perception and behavior (Greenwald et al., 2009; Hofmann et al., 2005; Lane et al., 2007).

By contrast, the origins of implicit attitudes have received much less attention. Only a small number of psychological studies have studied which factors predict negative implicit attitudes (c.f., Rudman 2004a; Rudman et al., 2007). Using large-scale data collected via demonstration websites, Nosek and colleagues (2007) investigated whether the strength of implicit attitudes varies according to gender, ethnicity, age, and political orientation. Not only interethnic attitudes but a wide range of attitudes and preferences were examined. Results showed that men,

44 There is still some debate about the nature of implicit attitudes and in particular about whether these attitudes are fully ‘nonconscious’ (Fazio & Olson, 2003; Gawronski, Hofmann & Wilbur, 2006). Most scholars agree that, although people may not be completely unable to identify their implicit attitudes, they are often unaware of the sources of their implicit attitudes or of the influence that their implicit attitudes have on their perceptions and behavior (c.f., Quillian, 2008; Rudman, 2004b).

older individuals (over sixty), conservatives, and Whites and Asians generally hold stronger implicit preferences for higher-status social groups than women, younger people, liberals, and other ethnic groups do. Furthermore, a few studies examined the role of factors such as early experiences, affective experiences, and cultural biases (Rudman, 2004a). Outcomes provide support for the idea that implicit attitudes arise from experiences in the past whereas explicit attitudes arise from more recent experiences (e.g., Rudman et al., 2007), the notion that implicit attitudes are more strongly linked to affective experiences or emotional reactions than explicit attitudes are (e.g., Phelps et al., 2000), and the idea that implicit attitudes are influenced by individuals' cultural environment (i.e., societal evaluations of ethnic groups) more so than explicit attitudes are (e.g., Livingston, 2002).

Notwithstanding these investigations, much remains unknown about the sources of implicit attitudes. In particular, as most research on this topic was conducted by psychologists, the role that predictors commonly studied by sociologists play in shaping implicit attitudes is still very much unclear (c.f., Quillian, 2006). Hence, it is unknown whether key sociological approaches of explicit interethnic attitudes that focus on the effects of interethnic threat and interethnic contact are also applicable to implicit interethnic attitudes. Even the influence of individuals' demographic features on implicit interethnic attitudes is still very much under-researched. Consequently, as argued before by sociologist Lincoln Quillian (2006: 324), "implicit prejudice theories need sociological input".

At the same time, because implicit attitudes can affect decisions and actions (Greenwald et al., 2009) research on implicit attitudes may be seen as highly relevant to sociologists (c.f., Pager & Shepherd, 2008; Quillian, 2006, 2008) and related disciplines such as economics (Bertrand, Chugh & Mullainathan, 2005; Chugh, 2004). Perhaps most important in this regard is the influence that implicit attitudes have on behavior that is related to social inequality, such as decisions to hire, promote, rent, or offer a loan. Implicit attitudes may provide an important new way to understand the processes that underlie discrimination in these areas (Pager & Shepherd, 2008; Quillian, 2006; Reskin, 2000). Moreover, investigating similarities and differences in the sources underlying implicit and explicit attitudes may shed more light on the nature of implicit bias and the relationship between implicit and explicit attitudes (Rudman et al., 2007).

The aim of this chapter is therefore to examine whether individual-level features that have been used by sociologists to account for explicit interethnic attitudes also influence implicit interethnic attitudes. Drawing on two key theoretical approaches in the sociological literature on explicit interethnic attitudes, we investigate the following research question: *are interethnic threat and interethnic contacts related to implicit interethnic attitudes in the same way as they*

are related to explicit interethnic attitudes? To answer this research question, we use data from a study ($n = 272$) consisting of an Implicit Association Test measuring implicit interethnic attitudes and a questionnaire measuring explicit interethnic attitudes, interethnic contacts, perceived interethnic threat, and demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. Participants in this study are students in higher vocational education and university. Previous studies (e.g., Coenders & Scheepers, 2003; Hello et al., 2002) have shown that higher educated individuals generally hold less negative interethnic attitudes. Hence, these participants can be expected to be relatively tolerant towards ethnic minority groups. Also, given the positive relation between socioeconomic background and enrolment in higher education (e.g., Sieben & De Graaf, 2003) the participants in this study may be expected to form a relatively homogeneous group in terms of socioeconomic background features. These factors may negatively affect the generalizability of these results (although they are likely to lead to an underestimation of effects). We therefore see this study as a starting point for more systematic sociological research on the sources of explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes.

The setting of the present study is the Netherlands. We focus on natives' attitudes towards two ethnic minority groups: Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch. These groups form an interesting case because they are the two largest non-Western ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands. The vast majority of these groups (over 95%) are Muslim. These groups have been the center of attention in the ongoing debate on the integration of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands. Moreover, previous research has shown that attitudes towards immigrants of Moroccan or Turkish origin are more negative than attitudes towards other ethnic minority groups (Gijsberts et al., 2012).

6.2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In this section, we first introduce the two theoretical approaches on which this chapter focuses: Ethnic Competition Theory and Contact Theory. Subsequently, we discuss whether the predictors of interethnic attitudes are expected to operate in a similar fashion for implicit and for explicit attitudes.

6.2.1 Interethnic threat

Ethnic Competition Theory combines notions from Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1982) and Conflict Theory (Blalock, 1967; Bobo, 1988; Coser, 1956). It argues that interethnic relations are shaped by individuals' need to perceive their own group as superior to other groups,

combined with competition over scarce resources. Individual factors (such as educational attainment or economic status) and contextual factors (like unemployment rates) are assumed to influence the extent to which a person experiences interethnic threat. Threat experiences are in turn expected to lead to negative interethnic attitudes. The nature of the (experienced) threat can be economic, for example over jobs, or cultural, for instance over norms or customs (Scheepers et al., 2002a). A variety of studies have provided evidence of a positive association between interethnic threat and explicit negative interethnic attitudes (e.g., Schlueter et al., 2008; Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2009; Scheepers et al., 2002a; Schneider, 2008; for a meta-analysis see Riek et al., 2006).

Drawing on Ethnic Competition Theory we formulate and test expectations about the effect of individual demographic or socioeconomic features as well as the effect of perceptions of interethnic threat on interethnic attitudes. The first individual characteristics on which we derive predictions are *education* and *socioeconomic background*. Because ethnic minorities are overrepresented in the lower educational levels and lower strata of the labor market (Gijssberts et al., 2012) natives who are higher educated and those who hold higher socioeconomic positions can be expected to face less interethnic competition over resources such as valuable educational degrees and jobs and to experience less interethnic threat than natives with lower levels of education and a lower socioeconomic status. We therefore first of all expect higher educated natives to be less likely to develop negative interethnic attitudes than lower educated natives. Previous studies have repeatedly confirmed that educational attainment is indeed an important determinant of interethnic attitudes such that higher levels of education are generally associated with more positive interethnic attitudes (Coenders & Scheepers, 2003; Hello et al., 2002). To be sure, interethnic threat is not the only possible explanation for this effect of education. A second interpretation holds that education has a general ‘liberalizing effect’ and leads to “broader knowledge, increased reflexivity, a more critical stance, greater personal and familial security, substantial exposure to foreign cultures, higher acceptance of diversity” (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010: 319). Third, it is possible that the higher educated individuals are more aware of social norms that condemn prejudice and discriminatory behavior than the lower educated (Jackman & Muha, 1984). As a result, higher educated individuals’ responses to questions about their interethnic attitudes or behavior may be distorted by social desirability concerns to a larger extent than responses from lower educated individuals are.

In addition to people’s own educational attainment, *parental education* may play a role. The socioeconomic position of individuals during their formative years, and hence the extent to which interethnic threat is experienced during this phase, is largely determined by parental educational attainment. Moreover, parental education is expected to affect parents’ interethnic

attitudes through perceptions of interethnic threat. As a result of socialization processes, parental interethnic attitudes may in turn influence their children's attitudes. We therefore predict that individuals whose parents are higher educated are less likely to hold negative interethnic attitudes.

Furthermore, for individuals' socioeconomic background, measured by *parental socioeconomic status*, a similar argument applies. Given that ethnic minorities on average hold relatively low socioeconomic positions (are unemployed more often, hold lower level jobs, and have lower incomes) compared to natives (Gijsberts et al., 2012), a higher socioeconomic position during formative years is expected to be associated with less perceived interethnic threat during this period. Also, because parents in higher socioeconomic positions are assumed to experience less interethnic threat, these parents are expected to hold less negative interethnic attitudes and to transfer these attitudes to their children via socialization processes. Previous research has confirmed that socioeconomic status affects interethnic attitudes (e.g., Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2009; Schneider, 2008) in the expected way. We therefore predict that individuals whose parents occupy higher socioeconomic positions are less likely to hold negative interethnic attitudes.

Another feature that can be expected to be related to interethnic attitudes is *religiosity* (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010). Unlike the predictions on the influence of education, which is assumed to run via perceived economic interethnic threat, religiosity is expected to be associated with perceptions of cultural threat. An important theme in the debate on immigration and integration of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands is religion. While most native Dutch people have a Christian background, the vast majority (over 95%) of people of Moroccan or Turkish origin in the Netherlands is Muslim (Gijsberts et al., 2012). Assuming that Christians perceive Muslims as being religiously and culturally distinct from themselves, one may expect more religious natives to experience more cultural interethnic threat and therefore to develop more negative interethnic attitudes than non-religious natives (c.f., Scheepers et al., 2002b). Even though most younger natives in the Netherlands do not attend religious services regularly and many are not registered as church members, Christian norms and values may nevertheless have played a role during their upbringing if their parents were church members. Information on parental church membership is used as a proxy for religious socialization. We predict that people whose parents are church members are more likely to hold negative interethnic attitudes than those whose parents are not.

Our next prediction based on Ethnic Competition Theory concerns the influence of perceptions of interethnic threat. As mentioned above, this theory states that individuals have a fundamental

need to perceive the own group as superior to other groups, and that this propensity combined with perceptions of competition between ethnic groups over certain resources shapes interethnic attitudes (Scheepers et al., 2002a). Threat perceptions may pertain to one's individual situation; a person may feel that his or her position in for example the labor or housing market is threatened by the presence of ethnic minority group members with whom he or she has to compete. Alternatively, the threat perception may concern the group to which one belongs; an individual whose own, direct interests are not at stake may still have the feeling that the position or wellbeing of the group to which he or she belongs is being undermined by the presence of ethnic minorities. For example, individuals may have the idea that the norms and values of their group are being threatened by the presence of another group that holds different norms. In line with this distinction, we take into account *perceptions of interethnic individual threat* as well as *perceptions of interethnic group threat* and predict that both will lead to more negative interethnic attitudes.

In a number of previous investigations, *gender* effects on interethnic attitudes were found; men on average hold more negative interethnic attitudes and are more likely to discriminate than women (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010). Yet, there seems to be little consensus in the literature on the interpretation of this association. One potential explanation is that men are generally more active on and thus more strongly attached to the labor market (Merens et al., 2011). Consequently, they may be more aware of any interethnic threat in this domain. This could then lead men to develop more negative interethnic attitudes than women. In any case, as gender might be related to both other independent variables in this study and to the dependent variables, we include this factor as a control variable.

6.2.2 Interethnic contact

The second sociological theoretical approach from which we derive predictions is Contact Theory. The central statement of what is now known as 'Contact Theory' was introduced by Allport (1954) who formulated the 'contact hypothesis'. This hypothesis stated that contact between (ethnic) groups decreases negative intergroup attitudes when the contact situation satisfies certain conditions (namely equal group status, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and support of authorities, law or custom). Allport's hypothesis inspired an extensive body of research dealing with various groups, societies and circumstances. By now the 'hypothesis' has matured enough to deserve the label of 'theory'. A meta-analysis by Pettigrew and Tropp based on 515 studies showed that interethnic contact is typically associated with less negative interethnic attitudes and "promotes positive intergroup outcomes" (2006: 765). In addition, this

meta-study indicated that, though the influence of contact on intergroup attitudes is stronger if Allport's conditions are met, the effect remains even when this is not the case. Hence, we predict that people who have interethnic contact more frequently are less likely hold negative interethnic attitudes.

Not only people's current interethnic contacts may influence their interethnic attitudes, *interethnic contact during formative years* could also play a role. In fact, contacts during these years may be of particular importance, given that interethnic attitudes are formed at a young age (Aboud, 2008). Parents' interethnic contacts can be assumed to have an important impact on the frequency of native's contacts with ethnic minorities during formative years. Also, parental interethnic contacts are likely to shape parental interethnic attitudes, which may subsequently influence their children's interethnic attitudes via socialization processes. Hence, we expect that the more frequently a person's parents had interethnic contacts during this person's formative years the less this person is likely to hold negative interethnic attitudes.

In addition to contact frequency, the *quality of interethnic contacts* has been argued to influence individuals' interethnic attitudes (e.g., McLaren, 2003; Pettigrew, 2008). The effect of interethnic contacts on interethnic attitudes is thought to be more positive when contact is experienced as more positive. Positive contact experiences for example involve helping behavior or interesting conversations. Friendships are generally associated with the optimal conditions for positive contact effects; they typically involve cooperation, common goals and repeated equal-status contact. Negative contacts might involve situations where an individual feels threatened, abused, bullied or harassed and are often related to involuntary contact (Pettigrew, 2008; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011, Pettigrew et al., 2011). Previous studies have confirmed that positive interethnic contacts reduce negative intergroup attitudes while negative intergroup contact increases prejudiced attitudes. Also, prior research underscored the significance of intergroup friendships in promoting positive intergroup relations (Johnson & Jacobson, 2005; Levin et al., 2003; Paolini et al., 2004; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). We therefore predict that more positive interethnic contact experiences are associated with a lower likelihood to develop negative interethnic attitudes.

6.2.3 Predictors of implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes

We now discuss whether the abovementioned predictions are expected to be the same for implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes. In order to arrive at expectations about the predictors of explicit attitudes and implicit attitudes one needs to consider the mechanisms that underlie the expected relations. The assumptions about these mechanisms in turn depend on how explicit and implicit attitudes are conceptualized and the way one perceives of the manner in which

they differ from each other. Therefore, we will first provide a brief overview of the literature on the nature of implicit attitudes and their relation to explicit attitudes.

In one of the pioneering publications on implicit and explicit attitudes, Greenwald and Banaji (1995: 8) conceptualized implicit attitudes as “introspectively unidentified (or inaccurately identified) traces of past experience”. Defined as such, implicit attitudes and the way they arise are very similar to explicit attitudes and their formation. Explicit prejudice has been defined as an association in long-term memory between social objects and positive or negative valence (Fazio, 1990). Similarly, explicit stereotypes have been described as well-learned associations between social objects and attributes. The idea that implicit and explicit attitudes are both reflections of *one* attitudinal construct is perhaps best illustrated by the idea that means of the iceberg metaphor, “with explicit attitudes residing above the surface of conscious control and implicit attitudes residing below it” (Karpinski & Hilton, 2001: 774). If both implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes are shaped by past experiences that are stored in memory as a link between an object and an evaluation or association, and given that the only difference is whether the attitude is introspectively identified or not, one may expect implicit and explicit attitudes to have the same sources and to be associated to predictors in the same way. This expectation will serve as the null-hypothesis.

As mentioned above, however, not all scholars agree with Greenwald and Banaji’s (1995) definition of implicit attitudes. There is debate about how exactly to interpret implicit attitudes, the extent to which they are unconscious, and the way they are related to explicit attitudes. Summarizing the different interpretations that can be found in the literature, Nosek (2007: 65) states that implicit attitudes differ from explicit attitudes “by having at least one of the following characteristics: (a) reduced controllability; (b) lack of intention; (c) reduced awareness of the origins, meaning, or occurrence of a response; or (d) high efficiency of processing”. Phrased differently, the main point of disagreement is whether implicit attitudes represent something that individuals are *unwilling* to reveal when explicit attitudes are measured because of social desirability concerns (Fazio & Olson, 2003) or whether they represent something that people are *unable* to report explicitly because they are unaware of the attitudes itself, its origins or its influence (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). Support for the first interpretation has been provided by studies which found a stronger association between implicit and explicit attitudes among respondents who were not motivated to appear unprejudiced, compared with those who were motivated to be unprejudiced (Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Fazio, Jackson, Dunton & Williams, 1995). The second interpretation implies that implicit and explicit attitudes tap two attitudes that exist simultaneously. This explanation is closely related to dual-attitudes models (Wilson et al., 2000). Different ideas exist on the formation of dual attitudes. It is often assumed that

implicit attitudes are formed first and explicit attitudes are adopted at a later point in time. For example, whilst growing up someone may acquire negative interethnic attitude via parents or other family members. Later, this person may develop less prejudiced explicit attitudes that do not fully replace the attitudes which were formed first (and continue to exist as implicit attitudes). Other sequences of events are, however, also possible. It is conceivable that individuals first develop explicit attitudes based on a more abstract idea or theory about the attitude object without having personal experience with it. When they then gain direct experience with the object implicit attitudes develop before explicit attitudes change. Yet another option is that implicit and explicit attitudes develop at the same time. For instance, people may learn cultural rules at an explicit level while simultaneously forming a different implicit attitude towards the same object based on their direct experiences with it (Wilson et al., 2000).⁴⁵

What do these different interpretations mean for the expectations regarding predictors of implicit and explicit attitudes? If it is true that implicit attitudes reflect something that individuals are unwilling to express because of self-presentation motives, this could lead us to expect that factors which are thought to be related to social desirability have a different influence on implicit interethnic than on explicit interethnic attitudes. In the context of this study, and based on the idea that education leads to a stronger awareness of what is socially acceptable and what is not (Jackman & Muha, 1984), one may expect the influence of education to be less strong for implicit than for explicit interethnic attitudes. If, on the other hand, one considers implicit attitudes a second 'layer' of attitudes, coexisting alongside explicit attitudes, which individuals are unable to report because they are unaware of the attitude itself or its workings, then expectation about their predictors depend upon the idea about their development. Summarizing the abovementioned ideas about the formation of dual attitudes, implicit attitudes are the product of either early socialization (as opposed to more recent experiences) or direct, personal experiences with the object itself (as opposed to more abstract considerations or general cultural norms). In line with the first argument, one may expect that parental features, which largely determine socialization experiences, will exert a stronger influence on implicit than on explicit attitudes. Moreover, in line with the second argument, one may predict that (personal) interethnic contacts might affect implicit attitudes more so than explicit attitudes because they represent personal experiences.

Summarizing, the literature provides grounds on which we may expect the sources of implicit and explicit attitudes to be similar, but it also provides reasons to expect that their predictors

⁴⁵ This interpretation put forward by Wilson & Schooler (2000) is contradictory to the notion that implicit attitudes reflect cultural, extra-personal knowledge instead of individuals' own attitudes, even though this knowledge can influence behavior (as put forward by Karpinski & Hilton, 2001).

are different. As mentioned above, we will consider the prediction that implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes are shaped by the same predictors as our null-hypothesis.

6.3 DATA AND MEASURES

6.3.1 Data collection

The data were collected amongst 288 students in Utrecht, the Netherlands, in February and March 2010. Individuals who were born in Morocco or Turkey or of whom at least one parent was born in these countries ($n = 16$) were excluded from the analyses.⁴⁶ This brings the number of respondents in the analyses to 272. Of those, 188 participants were female and 84 male participants. Moreover, 193 participants were university students and 79 attended higher vocational education. University students were approached using the ORSEE recruitment system⁴⁷ (Greiner, 2004). Students from higher vocational education were recruited via posters on campus and websites. Participants were given a small monetary reward for participating.

The data were collected by means of (1) an Implicit Association Test (IAT) to measure implicit interethnic attitudes and (2) a questionnaire including measures of explicit interethnic attitudes, questions on perceived interethnic threat and interethnic contacts, and items measuring demographic and socioeconomic features. To prevent design effects, the order of the survey and the IAT was randomized. The separate elements of the data collection will be discussed below.

In both elements of the data collection, a between-subjects design was used, meaning that some respondents ($n = 129$) were assigned to the condition measuring attitudes towards Moroccan-Dutch persons while others ($n = 143$) were assigned to the condition measuring attitudes towards Turkish-Dutch persons. These conditions were combined so that this chapter deals with attitudes towards either Moroccan-Dutch or Turkish-Dutch individuals.

6.3.2 Implicit interethnic attitudes

To measure implicit interethnic attitudes we used an IAT (Greenwald et al., 1998; Wittenbrink & Schwartz, 2007). IATs are the most widely used method to assess implicit attitudes and have proven to be valid measures (e.g., Greenwald et al., 2009; Nosek, Greenwald & Banaji, 2005).

⁴⁶ These individuals are expected to hold less negative attitudes towards (other) ethnic minority group members. However, their number is too small to reliably test this expectation.

⁴⁷ Online Recruitment System for Economic Experiments, a widely used recruitment system for laboratory experiments within economics.

We used a seven-stage version of the test (Lane et al., 2007) which was translated into Dutch and adapted so that it referred to the ethnic minority groups that are the focus of this chapter. There were two versions of the IAT; half of the participants in the study completed a native Dutch versus Moroccan-Dutch test whereas the other half completed a native Dutch versus Turkish-Dutch IAT.

Implicit Association Tests assess the strengths of associations between concepts by observing participants' reaction time in a computer-administered categorization task. The basic principle of these tests is that stimuli (words, symbols, or pictures) which are exemplars of contrasted concepts appear on the computer screen. In this study, the contrasted concepts were native Dutch versus Moroccan-Dutch or Turkish-Dutch (represented by typically Dutch, Moroccan, and Turkish male first names), and positive versus negative (represented by words with positive or negative valence). Subjects rapidly classify these stimuli by pressing one of two keys on a computer keyboard.

During an IAT, participants are presented with several blocks in which the pairings of the concepts differ. In some blocks, the pairings are *stereotype-consistent*. That is, Moroccan or Turkish names are paired (share a response key) with words with negative valence, while native Dutch names are paired with positive words. In other blocks, the pairings are *stereotype-inconsistent*. Moroccan or Turkish names are then paired with positive words and native Dutch names are paired with negative words.

Participants' responses will be faster and more accurate when categories which are closely associated share a response key compared to when they do not. The measure of implicit attitudes derived from the IAT is based on differences in reaction times between stereotype-consistent and stereotype-inconsistent tasks. In this study, faster responses when *native Dutch* and *positive* and *Moroccan* or *Turkish* and *negative* are paired than when *Moroccan* or *Turkish* and *positive* and *native Dutch* and *negative* are paired signify a stronger association of Moroccan or Turkish compared to native Dutch with negative valence. In other words, this indicates negative attitudes towards Moroccan or Turkish minorities. A measure of implicit attitudes was computed using the improved scoring algorithm described in Greenwald, Nosek and Banaji (2003). Higher scores on this variable designate stronger negative attitudes towards persons of Moroccan or Turkish origin compared to native Dutch individuals.

6.3.3 Explicit interethnic attitudes

Explicit interethnic attitudes were measured by means of two sets of questions in the second element in the data collection, the questionnaire. The first of these measures is based on two

'*feeling thermometer*' questions. Feeling thermometers produce global measures of attitudes towards other groups (Verkuyten, 2005). These questions asked participants to indicate how warm or cold they feel towards individuals of Moroccan or Turkish origin on a scale from 0 to 100 (0 being very cold or negative; 100 being very warm or positive).

Our second measure of explicit interethnic attitudes was computed as the mean score on nine items that assessed *negative attitudes towards Muslims*. Participants indicated on a five-point scale, ranging from 'totally disagree' to 'totally agree', to what extent they agree with statements regarding Muslims or Islam. Examples of these statements are 'Most Muslims have no respect for gay people', 'Islam is a backward religion', and 'Muslim women who wear head scarves do not adjust to our society'. These items form a reliable scale (Cronbach's alpha: 0.85). As the vast majority of the Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch population are Muslim (Gijsberts et al., 2012) this can be viewed as a relevant measure of explicit attitudes towards Moroccan and Turkish minorities in the Netherlands.

Notice that thermometers are a more affective measure, reflecting participants' *feelings* concerning individuals of Moroccan or Turkish origin. The scale measuring attitudes towards Muslims assesses stereotypical images regarding these ethnic minority groups. In this respect, these two measures of explicit interethnic attitudes complement each other.

6.3.4 Independent variables

First, participants' *educational level* was taken into account, distinguishing between students in higher vocational education (0) and university (1). Moreover, information on the level of *parental educational level* was incorporated. One variable for parents' education was constructed by computing the mean educational level of mother and father using two items that distinguished between ten categories. For respondents of whom the score on one of these items was missing, the score of the other parent was used. Participants of whom neither of the parents' educational level was known (1.8%) were assigned the mean score of parents' educational level within the data. Furthermore, the measure of *parental socioeconomic status* was based on five dichotomous items assessing whether mother and father had a paid job, whether the parents owned a house, whether their house was (semi) detached, and whether they went on holidays twice or more a year. Scores on these items were added up, resulting in a scale ranging from 0 (lower status) to 5 (higher status). Information on *parents' church membership* was included using a dichotomous variable indicating whether (1) or not (0) at least one parent was member of a church. Finally, a dichotomous variable indicating participants' *gender* (male = 1) was incorporated in the analyses as a control variable.

To measure participants' *frequency of interethnic contact*, three questionnaire items were used that asked how often respondents came into contact with people with a Moroccan or Turkish background in their neighborhood, school or university and during leisure time. Answer categories for these three questions ranged from 'never' to '(almost) every day' on a seven-point scale. The sum of the scores on these items was computed to obtain a measure of total interethnic contact. Second, the *quality of participants' interethnic contacts* was measured by means of two items asking how one evaluated contact experiences with Moroccan-Dutch or Turkish-Dutch individuals in general. Answers ranged from 'very negative' to 'very positive' on a five-point scale. Respondents who had no contact with members of these minority groups (about 28%) were combined with the neutral mid-point category 'not positive, not negative'.

Finally measures of perceived interethnic threat are included. First, we constructed a scale indicating to what extent *perceived interethnic individual threat* was experienced by computing the mean score on three items measuring fear of the deterioration of one's personal financial situation or living area or the fear that one may have to adjust one's life style to ethnic minorities. Participants indicated on a five-point scale (ranging from 'totally disagree' to 'totally agree') to what extent they agree with the statements. Second, *perceived interethnic group threat* was measured using mean scores on five statements such as 'the arrival of ethnic minorities is bad for the Dutch economy', or 'Dutch people are forced to adapt to the ways of ethnic minorities too often'. Again, participants indicated to what extent they agree with the statements on a five-point scale ('totally disagree' to 'totally agree'). Table 6.1 presents the descriptive statistics for all variables in our analyses.

6.4 ANALYSES AND RESULTS

Before discussing the relations between individuals' socioeconomic features, perceptions of interethnic threat, and interethnic contacts on the one hand and their explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes on the other hand, we briefly discuss the pervasiveness of and associations between explicit and implicit negative interethnic attitudes.

6.4.1 Descriptive results

Table 6.1 shows that the scores for implicit interethnic attitudes vary between -0.69 and 1.43, with a mean score of about 0.50. This indicates that the participants on average hold moderate to strong negative implicit attitudes towards Moroccan-Dutch or Turkish-Dutch individuals. There are, however, large differences between individuals. Some participants showed strong positive

Table 6.1 Descriptive statistics

	Range	Mean	Std. Dev.
Dependent variables			
Implicit negative interethnic attitudes	-0.69 – 1.43	0.49	0.37
Feeling thermometer	0 – 90	52.66	19.99
Negative attitudes towards Muslims	0.22 – 3.67	1.86	0.67
Independent variables			
Male	0 / 1	0.31	
University education	0 / 1	0.71	
Parents' level of education	0 – 9	4.85	2.66
Parents' socioeconomic status	0 – 5	3.53	1.18
Parents church member	0 / 1	0.36	
Frequency interethnic contact	0 – 18	4.93	4.27
Quality interethnic contact	0 – 4	2.31	0.72
Parents' frequency interethnic contact	0 – 6	1.93	2.18
Perceived interethnic individual threat	0.33 – 3.50	1.56	0.6
Perceived interethnic group threat	0 – 4	1.11	0.76

Source: Laboratory Experiments of Hiring Practices amongst Dutch Students 2010; n = 272.

implicit interethnic attitudes, whereas others showed (very) strong negative interethnic attitudes. The descriptive statistics for the first measure of explicit attitudes, the feeling thermometer, show that scores vary between 0 and 90 on a scale ranging from 0 (most negative) to 100 (most positive). These figures indicate that both extremely negative and rather positive feelings towards Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch individuals were reported. The average score was 52.66, which represents a moderately positive attitude. Scores for the second measure of explicit attitudes, negative attitudes towards Muslims, vary between 0.22 and 3.67 with a mean of 1.86 on a scale ranging from 0 (most positive) to 5 (most negative). This shows that participants' attitudes towards Muslims are generally neither extremely positive nor extremely negative.

Table 6.2 presents Pearson's correlations between implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes. The association between negative implicit interethnic attitudes and the (explicit) feeling thermometer is modest (-0.15, remember that higher scores on the thermometer represent more positive attitudes). The correlation between implicit attitudes and (explicit) negative attitudes towards Muslims is small as well (0.12). These findings are in line with results from several meta-analytical studies, showing that the correlations between implicit and explicit attitudes are on average small but positive, though there is considerable variation in the strength of the associations. A meta-analysis by Hofmann and colleagues (2005) found that implicit-explicit

Table 6.2 Pearson's correlations between implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes

	1	2	3
1 Negative implicit interethnic attitudes			
2 Thermometer	-0.154 *		
3 Negative attitudes towards Muslims	0.116 *	-0.502 **	

Source: Laboratory Experiments of Hiring Practices amongst Dutch Students 2010; n = 272.

Significance: ** = p<.01; * = p<.05; ~ = p<.10 (2-tailed).

correlations ranged between 0.01 and 0.47, with a mean of 0.24. Nosek (2005) and Greenwald and others (2009) found mean correlations of 0.36 and 0.21.

6.4.2 Regression analyses

For the multivariate analyses, we use seemingly unrelated regression models (Zellner, 1962). Seemingly unrelated regression analyses can be applied to estimate multiple equations at the same time, for example when one wants to consider multiple dependent variables and the equations contain the same set of predictors (e.g., Cameron & Trivedi, 2010). Estimating multiple equations simultaneously then provides researchers with the possibility to determine whether the influence of a specific predictor is the same for different dependent variables, using Wald test.⁴⁸ Hence, seemingly unrelated regression analyses allow us to address the research question and formally test the predictions formulated above. The results of the seemingly unrelated regression analyses are presented in Table 6.3.

Model 1 includes demographic and socioeconomic (background) features as well as information on the frequency and the quality of interethnic contacts.⁴⁹ First, these outcomes provide no evidence of a statistically significant relation between any of the demographic or socioeconomic features on implicit interethnic attitudes, but show that these characteristics *are* related to explicit interethnic attitudes in the expected ways. Specifically, although the association between individuals' gender on the one hand and the feeling thermometer on the other hand is not

48 'Test' in Stata.

49 We also estimated a model in which only demographic and socioeconomic (background) features were included. This model yielded results that were very similar to those in Model 1. The only difference was that in a model with only demographic and socioeconomic features the relationship between individuals' education and the feeling thermometer did not reach significance. Effect sizes were also very similar. Minor differences were that the effects of own and parental education were somewhat smaller in the model with only demographic and socioeconomic features, whereas the effects of parental socioeconomic status and church membership were somewhat larger.

Table 6.3 Seemingly unrelated regression analyses of negative implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes

	Model 1						Model 2					
	Negative implicit interethnic attitudes		Feeling thermometer		Negative attitudes towards Muslim		Negative implicit interethnic attitudes		Feeling thermometer		Negative attitudes towards Muslim	
	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.
Constant	0.460	0.118 **	22.140	5.464 **	2.432	0.196 **	0.251	0.143 ~	44.304	6.172 **	1.049	0.186 **
Male	0.041	0.048	-1.176	2.237	0.199	0.080 *	0.029	0.048	-0.965	2.089	0.170	0.629 **
University education	-0.024	0.009	4.735	2.375 *	-0.242	0.085 **	-0.001	0.052	1.031	2.269	-0.029	0.068
Parents' level of education	-0.009	0.009	0.925	0.410 *	-0.042	0.015 **	-0.006	0.009	0.486	0.385	-0.017	0.012
Parents' socioeconomic status	0.026	0.020	-1.762	0.930 ~	0.072	0.333 *	0.017	0.020	-0.889	0.874	0.016	0.026
Parents' church membership	-0.008	0.047	-5.523	2.154 *	0.221	0.077 **	-0.023	0.047	-2.973	2.032	0.076	0.061
Frequency interethnic contact	-0.008	0.006	-0.168	0.275	-0.011	0.010	-0.008	0.006	-0.217	0.255	-0.009	0.008
Quality interethnic contact	0.010	0.033	13.438	1.514 **	-0.224	0.054 **	0.032	0.033	11.298	1.446 **	-0.088	0.044 *
Parents' frequency interethnic contact	0.008	0.011	0.715	0.510	-0.133	0.018	0.011	0.011	0.509	0.475	0.001	0.014
Perceived interethnic individual threat							-0.015	0.037	-5.270	1.588 **	0.224	0.048 **
Perceived interethnic group threat							0.116	0.047 *	-6.488	2.050 **	0.494	0.062 **
R-square	0.017		0.286		0.179		0.043		0.388		0.502	

Source: Laboratory Experiments of Hiring Practices amongst Dutch Students 2010; n = 272; Significance: ** = p<.01; * = p<.05; ~ = p<.10 (2-tailed).
Breusch-Pagan test of independence of residuals rejected at 1% for both models.

significant, we do find a significant relation between gender and attitudes towards Muslims. In accordance with results from prior studies, females hold less negative attitudes towards Muslims than males do.

Furthermore, individuals' level of education has the expected effect. Those enrolled in higher vocational education report less positive feelings towards Moroccan-Dutch or Turkish-Dutch individuals and hold more negative attitudes towards Muslims than university students. Moreover, we find significant associations between parental education, parental socioeconomic status, and parental church membership on the one hand and both measures of explicit interethnic attitudes on the other hand (higher scores on the thermometer represent more warm or positive feelings). In line with the expectations, higher levels of parental education are associated with more positive explicit interethnic attitudes, and parental church membership is related to more negative explicit interethnic attitudes. Contrary to our predictions, however, higher parental socioeconomic status is associated with more negative explicit interethnic attitudes.

Second, similar to the findings for demographic and socioeconomic features, we find no evidence of a statistically significant relationship of interethnic contacts with implicit attitudes whilst there is proof that interethnic contacts affect explicit interethnic attitudes. As expected, the quality of individuals' interethnic contacts is related to both measures of explicit interethnic attitudes. Interethnic contacts that are experienced as more positive are associated with less negative explicit interethnic attitudes. Controlling for interethnic contact quality, however, the frequency of individuals' interethnic contacts and interethnic contacts of parents turns out to be unrelated to explicit interethnic attitudes.

In Model 2, perceptions of interethnic threat are incorporated in the analyses. For explicit interethnic attitudes we find significant relations with perceptions of both individual and of group threat. People who experience more threat report more negative explicit interethnic attitudes. Importantly, when we control for perceived interethnic threat, the effects of the socioeconomic features and parental church membership becomes insignificant. This provides support for the assumption that people from higher socioeconomic strata and those who belong to a religious community experience more interethnic threat and that this explains the fact that they hold more negative interethnic attitudes. Another important result is that we do find a significant association between perceived interethnic group threat and negative implicit interethnic attitudes. Individuals who experience more interethnic group threat hold more negative interethnic attitudes. Perceived individual threat is unrelated to implicit interethnic attitudes.

Post-hoc tests⁵⁰ were used to examine whether differences in coefficients between the model for implicit attitudes and those for explicit attitudes are statistically significant. Results of these tests confirm that the coefficient estimates of all but one of the independent variables (that were significantly related to explicit attitudes) differ significantly between the models for the explicit attitudes on the one hand and the model for implicit attitudes on the other hand. The only exception is parental socioeconomic status, for which we could not confirm that the coefficients (significant at the .10 and .5 level respectively) for the measures of explicit attitudes are significantly stronger than the (non-significant) coefficient for implicit attitudes. Concerning perceived interethnic group threat, the only factor in the analyses that is related to both explicit and implicit attitudes, tests reveal that the coefficients for explicit attitudes are significantly stronger than the coefficient for implicit attitudes. Overall, the null hypothesis that the same factors predict implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes has to be rejected.

6.5 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

We examined whether individual-level features that have been shown in sociological research to affect explicit interethnic attitudes are similarly related to implicit interethnic attitudes. The distinction between explicit and implicit attitudes has been the topic of a rapidly growing body of research (Greenwald et al., 2009). Whilst explicit attitudes are controllable and expressed with awareness, implicit attitudes are characterized by greater automaticity and reduces awareness or intent (Nosek, 2007). Although research on implicit attitudes has so far predominantly been conducted by psychologists, these attitudes form a potentially important source of social inequality in domains that are of crucial interest to sociologists, such as education, labor markets, and housing markets (Pager & Shepherd, 2008; Quillian, 2006). Yet, sociologists (and economists) are only beginning to take note of this new line of research (e.g., Pager & Quillian, 2005; Rooth, 2010). The role of factors commonly used in sociological research to account for explicit interethnic attitudes in predicting implicit interethnic attitudes therefore remains very much under-researched. This study contributes to filling this gap by addressing the following research question: are interethnic threat and interethnic contact related to implicit interethnic attitudes in the same way as they are related to explicit interethnic attitudes?

The outcomes of this study can be summarized in three important conclusions. First, the results confirmed insights from prior sociological research by showing that interethnic threat and interethnic contacts indeed predict explicit interethnic attitudes (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010;

⁵⁰ Both tests for linear and for non-linear hypotheses were conducted (using 'test' and 'testnl' in stata, respectively). Non-linear tests were used to take the differences in scaling between the dependent variables into account.

Zick et al., 2008). Individuals with higher levels of education and those with higher educated parents turn out to be less likely to hold negative explicit interethnic attitudes. Conversely, those whose parents are church members on average hold more negative explicit interethnic attitudes. These relations are in line with the predictions we derived from Ethnic Competition Theory. Perceptions of interethnic threat were also found to have a significant impact on explicit interethnic attitudes. Moreover, the effects of the demographic and socioeconomic features on explicit interethnic attitudes decrease after controlling for perceived interethnic threat. This provides clear support for Ethnic Competition Theory. Alternative lines of reasoning concerning the influence of these factors are unable to explain our outcomes. Specifically, our pattern of results cannot be explained by the notion that higher levels of education are associated with less negative interethnic attitudes because education leads to a greater familiarity with social norms that condemn prejudice. Also, an alternative line of reasoning concerning the role of religiosity is that (religiously active) Christians may feel connected to Muslims because of the importance they attach to religiosity, something that distinguishes both religious communities from non-religious individuals. Yet, the results of this chapter are not in line with this argument. Instead they clearly underscore the idea that church membership is associated with increased perceived interethnic threat. Interestingly, although the influence of parental socioeconomic status was in the opposite direction as predicted, with higher socioeconomic backgrounds being associated with more negative interethnic attitudes, this effect does disappear when controlled for perceived interethnic threat. This indicates that, whereas the fact that ethnic minorities are overrepresented in lower socioeconomic positions led us to assume that natives from higher socioeconomic strata face less (actual) interethnic competition than natives in lower strata, a higher socioeconomic position in fact appears to lead to more *perceived* threat. These perceptions in turn lead natives in higher socioeconomic positions to hold more negative interethnic attitudes. A possible explanation for this unexpected finding may be found in theories that put a stronger emphasis on the idea that those in higher socioeconomic layers strive to maintain their advantageous positions, such as Social Dominance Theory (Sidanius, Pratto, Van Laar & Levin, 2004) or System Justification Theory (Jost, Banaji & Nosek, 2004). Future research could test such expectations derived from such theories. Furthermore, in line with the predictions derived from Contact Theory, outcomes of this chapter indicated that interethnic contacts are related to individuals' explicit interethnic attitudes. However, the results showed that only the quality of interethnic contacts and not the frequency of one's own or parental interethnic contacts affect explicit interethnic attitudes. This is in line with prior research showing that high-quality intergroup contact experiences reduce negative intergroup attitudes (Johnson & Jacobson, 2005; Levin et al., 2003; Paolini et al., 2004). Such findings in general demonstrate the need to consider the types of interethnic contacts that individuals have

in order to understand how these contacts lead to positive or negative interethnic attitudes or behaviors (c.f., McLaren, 2003).

The second and perhaps most important conclusion that can be drawn based upon these analyses is that implicit interethnic attitudes turn out to be unrelated to all but one of the predictors included in our study. Only perceived interethnic group threat has a significant effect on negative implicit interethnic attitudes, such that individuals who experience more interethnic threat hold more negative implicit interethnic attitudes. Interestingly, however, these outcomes are also generally not in accordance with the other possible lines of reasoning concerning the predictors of explicit and implicit attitudes, discussed in the theory section, which expected the influence of the predictors in this study to differ between implicit and explicit attitudes. Specifically, our results refute the idea that implicit attitudes are more strongly affected by early socialization experiences whereas explicit attitudes are shaped more by recent experiences. In fact, the outcomes showed that none of the parental features which represent socialization mechanisms had any effect whatsoever on implicit attitudes. Similarly, the notion that implicit attitudes are formed based on personal experience whereas explicit attitudes are influenced by more general (theoretical) information present in society is contradicted by the finding that our measures of personal interethnic contacts are unrelated to implicit interethnic attitudes. One argument that was not clearly refuted by the results is the idea that implicit interethnic attitudes are not or at least to a much lesser extent influenced by social desirability concerns.

A third important conclusion, which follows from the previous two, is that the results indicate that explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes spring from different sources. Hence, these findings contribute to existing knowledge on the nature of and relationship between implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes. There has been a tendency in the literature on explicit and implicit attitudes to blame any observed dissociation between two types of attitudes on the untrustworthiness of explicit, self-reported attitudes. Yet, the conclusion that implicit and explicit attitudes are shaped by different factors points to a different possible explanation for dissociations between the two, namely: both types of attitudes may be 'true' (c.f., Rudman, 2004b). Furthermore, the findings help explain why implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes (sometimes) influence evaluations and behavior in different ways or to a different extent (e.g., Pager & Quillian, 2005). Hence, the outcomes underline Quillian's statement that "research on implicit prejudice, largely developed by psychologists, provides an important new understanding of the basis of discrimination and should be incorporated in sociological accounts" (2006: 299).

We see this study as a starting point for more sociological research on the sources of both implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes. Future research could build upon this study in

several ways. First, the most obvious and pressing question that arises from the investigation is: if individual socioeconomic and demographic features, interethnic threat and interethnic contacts are (largely) unrelated to implicit interethnic attitudes, which other factors are capable of explaining the existing individual variation in implicit ethnic bias? Existing theories in the social sciences still provide opportunities to derive and test new hypotheses in this respect. For example, we have paid some attention to cultural interethnic threat which is thought to be an important factor in addition to competition over economic resources (Sides & Citrin, 2007) by taking into account religion. Yet, future research may test hypotheses on the role of cultural versus economic competition more directly by measuring cultural and economic threat perceptions separately. Also, perceptions of interethnic threat may also be influenced by media or contacts with relevant others (Schlueter & Davidov, 2011). Media consumption and processes of social influence thus merit attention in future research. Furthermore, this study examined the role of individual characteristics. Yet, perceived interethnic threat may also be influenced by macro-level conditions, such as unemployment and immigration rates (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010). In future research on the predictors of implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes, contextual features therefore deserve attention as well.

Second, similar studies should be conducted amongst the general public. The data in our study were collected amongst students attending higher vocational education or university. Moreover, the participants in this study are a relatively homogeneous group, for example with regard to education and religiosity. Previous studies (e.g., Coenders & Scheepers, 2003) have shown that higher educated individuals generally hold less negative interethnic attitudes. Although these restrictions potentially limit the generalizability of the results, it is important to note that the outcomes showed that negative interethnic attitudes are prevalent even amongst a group that is likely to be relatively tolerant. Moreover, we replicated outcomes of previous studies regarding predictors of explicit interethnic attitudes. In that sense, these findings provide clear support for our line of reasoning. One might, however, find stronger effects in research amongst the general public.

Third, and in a somewhat different vein, existing questions on the circumstances under which implicit and explicit attitudes do or do not match remain important. Of particular interest for sociologists and economists is the relation between the content of implicit and explicit attitudes to group characteristics, as this may help us understand racial inequality (c.f., Quillian, 2006). Likewise, the impact of implicit and explicit attitudes on outcomes relevant to sociologists and economists deserve further attention. Sociologists and economist have only recently begun to investigate the consequences of implicit bias on actions that may affect inequality in domains such as education or the labor market. For example, considering that implicit and explicit

interethnic attitudes spring from different wells, research should aim to uncover why they sometimes predict evaluations or behavior in similar ways, such as in Chapter 5, and sometimes have a very different impact (Rooth, 2010). We need to understand under which circumstances they operate in a comparable manner and when they operate.

7

Conclusion and discussion

7.1 AIMS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

In the present research, we studied ethnic discrimination in recruitment. The main aim of this study was twofold. The first goal was descriptive; we assessed whether ethnic discrimination plays a role in recruitment via online résumé databases in the Netherlands. By doing so, we shed more light on the role of discrimination in recruitment processes via a channel which has become increasingly important in the contemporary Dutch labor market. Moreover, we examined multiple phases of the recruitment process, providing insight into the very first decision moments during such processes which had up till now received no attention in discrimination research. The second aim of this study was explanatory. We investigated which individual and contextual conditions foster or hamper ethnic discrimination in recruitment. Phrased differently, this study investigated when and where ethnic discrimination in recruitment is more likely to occur, which decision makers are more prone to discriminate, and which job applicants have a higher risk of being discriminated against.

We brought together elements from different lines of prior research on ethnic discrimination and interethnic attitudes: (1) field experiments on the prevalence of ethnic discrimination in recruitment, mostly applied within economics and sociology; (2) laboratory experiments on the conditions that affect ethnic discrimination, predominantly conducted by psychologists; (3) survey research on interethnic attitudes and their sources, predominantly conducted by sociologists; and (4) research on the distinction between explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes, developed within the psychological literature. We designed and applied a new field experiment approach to answer the descriptive question. Moreover, we combined the laboratory approach with theories from the sociological and psychological literature to derive and test predictions on the conditions that foster or hamper ethnic discrimination in recruitment. Specifically, we used two key theoretical approaches from the (mostly sociological) literature on determinants of interethnic attitudes – Contact Theory and Ethnic Competition Theory – to derive hypotheses on the predictors of discrimination. Moreover, we drew from a relatively new line of research within the psychological literature that focuses on the distinction between explicit and implicit attitudes. We derived and tested predictions on the influence of these two types of attitudes on ethnic discrimination in recruitment. In addition, to improve our understanding of the nature of implicit interethnic attitudes, their relation to explicit attitudes and eventually their role in shaping discrimination, we examined the sources of implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes. More precisely, we examined whether factors that have been shown by sociologists to affect explicit interethnic attitudes, namely interethnic contacts and interethnic threat, also influence implicit interethnic attitudes.

In this concluding chapter, we first (in paragraph 7.2) summarize the results of the empirical chapters in this study thereby providing answers to these research questions this investigation addressed. Subsequently, in paragraph 7.3, we discuss this pattern of findings and formulate suggestions for future research. Finally, in paragraph 7.4, we briefly discuss some practical implications of the present study.

7.2 ANSWERING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

7.2.1 Prevalence of ethnic discrimination in recruitment procedures in the Netherlands

The first research question on which this study focused was: *to what extent does ethnic discrimination in recruitment occur in the Netherlands?* This question was addressed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. Chapter 2 investigated to what extent Arabic-named applicants (of Moroccan origin) were discriminated against during recruitment procedures via online résumé databases in the Dutch labor market in 2011. We used field experiment data which we collected via the internet in 2011. Two different phases of hiring processes were distinguished by registering two types of outcomes: (1) the number of times (fictitious) applicants' full résumés were requested after employers saw short applicant profiles, and (2) the number of positive reactions, for example invitations for job interviews, received by applicants from employers via e-mail or telephone. Furthermore, this experiment examined discrimination against male and female applicants of different ages and with different credentials in five sectors, three occupational levels and ten municipalities (and their surroundings) across the Netherlands.

Results of Chapter 2 provided strong evidence of discrimination in recruitment via online résumé databases in the Netherlands in 2011. During the first stage of the recruitment procedure, after employers had seen a short profile of the applicants, full résumés of Arabic-named applicants were requested significantly less often than those of Dutch-named applicants. The difference between Arabic-named and Dutch-named candidates was considerable. Arabic-named applicants' résumés were on average viewed 6.36 times, whereas Dutch-named candidates' full résumés were typically requested 9.57 times. That is, complete résumés of Dutch-named applicants were about 50% more likely to be viewed by employers than résumés of Arabic-named applicants. Regarding the second stage of the recruitment procedure, in which employers decide whether or not to invite candidates for a job interview, there was less evidence of discrimination. Controlling for the number of times applicants' résumés were viewed, we found no overall significant effect of having an Arabic name on the number of

positive reactions candidates received. Hence, there was no evidence of discrimination in the second phase of the recruitment procedures *over and above* any discrimination that had already occurred in the first phase. Yet, discrimination in the first phase of the recruitment process does translate into a considerable difference in the average number of positive reactions received by Arabic-named and Dutch-named applicants. Arabic-named applicants on average received 0.47 positive reactions compared to 0.76 for Dutch-named candidates. In other words, the cumulative difference between ethnic majority and ethnic minority applicants after these two stages is such that Dutch-named job seekers are about 60% more likely to receive a positive reaction from employers than their Arabic-named counterparts. Previous field experiments that focused solely on positive reactions were unable to provide information about when exactly differences between minority and majority applicants arise. Addressing this hiatus in the literature, this chapter has provided insight in what happens between the moment an employer first sees information about an applicant and the moment he or she decides whether to contact an applicant. Hence, we have shed more light on the processes that lead to disparities in outcomes of recruitment procedures between ethnic minority and majority job seekers.

Additional analyses in Chapter 2 that served as robustness checks led to two striking conclusion. The first of these two is the consistency of discrimination of Arabic-named applicants across websites, regions, sectors, occupational levels, and categories of applicants. Apparently, Arabic-named applicants of all kinds face discrimination and they do so in all contexts that were examined in this chapter. A second striking result of the robustness checks was the difference between the two waves of this study in the average number of times that résumés were viewed, the average number of times applicants were contacted *and* the extent to which Arabic-named applicants are discriminated against. That is, for *all* candidates the number of times that résumés were viewed and the number of positive reactions applicants received was higher in the first wave (May through July 2011) than in the second wave (September through November 2011) of our field experiment. This reflects the economically poorer conditions and lower demand for labor in the Netherlands during the second wave compared to the first wave, a conclusion that was confirmed by information from other sources. But additional analyses showed that the decline in the number of views of résumés and the number of positive reactions was stronger for candidates with Arabic names than for Dutch-named applicants. Hence, Arabic-named job seekers are hit significantly harder by the economic downturn, indicating that employers are more inclined to discriminate under economically poorer conditions.

Chapter 3 also provided information on the pervasiveness of ethnic discrimination in recruitment processes in the Dutch labor market and hence formed an additional test of RQ1 (*to what extent does ethnic discrimination in recruitment occur in the Netherlands?*). This

chapter investigated the prevalence of discrimination against male and female applicants of Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese and Antillean origin during applications for intermediate or lower level jobs via postal mail or telephone. We used existing field experiment data collected by the Netherlands' Institute for Social Research (SCP) in 2008. In line with the findings from Chapter 2, results from this chapter showed that ethnic minority applicants were significantly less likely to receive positive reactions from employers than native Dutch candidates. Out of 391 applications, native candidates received 166 positive responses whilst the minority candidates received 130 responses. This means that native candidates are about 28% more likely to receive a reaction than ethnic minority candidates.

In sum, and providing an answer to RQ1, findings from Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 convincingly showed that discrimination in recruitment does indeed occur in the Netherlands. This is true for both recruitment via traditional channels (using mail or telephone) and for more modern forms of recruitment (via online résumé databases).

7.2.2 Contextual conditions: interethnic contact and interethnic threat

The third research question on which this study focused dealt with the role of contextual conditions in shaping ethnic discrimination in recruitment and was: *is there an effect of the unemployment rate or the size of ethnic minority groups in the region on ethnic discrimination in recruitment?* This question was addressed in Chapter 3. As mentioned above, we used existing data from a field experiment conducted by the Netherlands' Institute for Social Research (SCP) for this chapter. To answer RQ3, we first assessed whether regions in the Netherlands differ regarding the prevalence of ethnic discrimination in recruitment. Subsequently, we examined the relationship between ethnic minority group size and unemployment at the regional level on the one hand and discrimination on the other hand. Predictions on the role of these contextual conditions in shaping discrimination were derived from Ethnic Competition Theory and Contact Theory. Results showed that ethnic discrimination in recruitment does occur (as discussed above) and provided indicated that regional differences in discrimination may indeed exist. However, ethnic discrimination in recruitment turned out to be unrelated to ethnic minority group size or unemployment within the region. Hence, findings from Chapter 3 do not provide support for either Ethnic Competition Theory or Contact Theory. As such, we cannot confirm RQ3.

Although geographical differences and the role of contextual conditions do not form the main focus of Chapter 2, the field experiment data used in that chapter do cover multiple regions, namely ten municipalities with their surrounding areas across the Netherlands. As such, the

analyses performed in Chapter 2 provide additional information on the question whether geographical regions in this country differ regarding the extent of ethnic discrimination in recruitment that occurs. As mentioned above, results from Chapter 2 showed that the prevalence of discrimination is rather consistent across regions. Hardly any significant interaction effects of applicants' ethnicity and regions were found. Hence, findings from Chapter 2 seem to contradict those in Chapter 3 when it comes to the existence of geographical variations in discrimination.

7.2.3 Individual conditions: interethnic contact and interethnic threat

The role of individual level conditions in shaping ethnic discrimination in recruitment was examined in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. Chapter 4 focused on individual conditions related to interethnic contacts and interethnic threat. More precisely, this chapter examined the influence of demographic and socioeconomic features of decision makers and those of potential victims of discrimination respectively. Accordingly, two research questions were addressed in this chapter. The first of these two (RQ4) was: *is there an effect of demographic or socioeconomic (background) features related to interethnic threat or of interethnic contacts of decision makers on ethnic discrimination in recruitment?* The other research question addressed in Chapter 4 (RQ5) was: *is there an effect of features of applicants (other than ethnicity) on their chances during recruitment procedures?* Predictions on the role of features of decision makers were again derived from Contact Theory and Ethnic Competition Theory. Hypotheses were formulated on the relationships between decision makers' (as well as their parents') interethnic contacts and socioeconomic and demographic features related to ethnic competition (like education and church membership) on the one hand and their likelihood of discriminating against applicants of Moroccan or Turkish origin on the other hand. Also, this chapter examined the influence of applicants' (potential victims') gender, education and work experience as compared to the influence of their ethnicity on their chances of success during recruitment procedures. In Chapter 4, we used data from a laboratory study which we conducted in 2010. This study included a discrimination experiment in which participants (students) assessed the suitability of fictitious applicants of Moroccan or Turkish origin for two types of jobs and in which they chose applicants that they wanted to invite for an interview. Hence, this experiment again distinguished between two phases of recruitment procedures. In addition, the laboratory study involved a survey including questions measuring socioeconomic and demographic features of participants and their parents.

Results of Chapter 4 revealed that participants discriminated against Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch applicants both in terms of suitability ratings and in terms of decisions on

whom to interview. That is, compared to equivalent native Dutch applicants, applicants of Moroccan or Turkish origin were seen as less suitable and were less likely to be invited for an interview. Concerning the research question regarding the role of applicant features posed in this chapter (RQ5), results revealed that candidates with higher educational levels and more work experience are deemed more suitable and are more likely to be invited for an interview. Moreover, candidates' education and particularly work experience turn out to be more important in this regard than ethnicity. This indicates that while applicants' ethnicity plays a significant role, providing evidence of discrimination, ethnicity is not the most important feature upon which participants based their assessment of candidates' suitability. Regarding the role of applicants' gender, results show that male candidates were on average judged as somewhat less suitable than female applicants, although the role of gender is small compared to that of other applicant features. In sum, the answer to RQ5 turns out to be affirmative.

With regard to the research question on the influence of decision makers' features (RQ4), the findings from Chapter 4 revealed that almost none of these features had a significant effect on the extent to which decision makers discriminate in terms of suitability ratings assigned to applicants (the first phase of the recruitment procedures). Only potential discriminators' level of education and their gender had a significant influence on these ratings, such that higher educated and female decision makers were less likely to discriminate. Results for the second phase of the recruitment procedure, in which decision makers choose applicants to invite for an interview, revealed a different picture; decision makers' characteristics do affect which applicants they choose to invite for a job interview. Males and individuals whose parents are church members discriminate more, whereas those who are higher educated, those whose parents are higher educated, and those who have more positive interethnic contacts discriminate less. These findings are in line with the hypotheses that we formulated based on Contact Theory and Ethnic Competition Theory, although the conclusion regarding the latter theory should be interpreted with some caution because the assumed mechanisms were not tested directly in this chapter. Hence, we conclude that the answer to RQ4 is positive, but this applies predominantly to the second phase of the recruitment procedure (in which applicants are selected for an interview) and much less to the first phase (in which applicants' suitability is rated).

7.2.4 Individual conditions: implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes

Chapter 5 is the second chapter that examined the role of individual conditions in shaping ethnic discrimination in recruitment. In this chapter we focused on the influence of interethnic attitudes on ethnic discrimination, distinguishing between explicit and implicit interethnic

attitudes. The following research question (RQ6) was addressed: *is there an effect of explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes of decision makers on ethnic discrimination in recruitment?* To answer this question, we again used laboratory data from a study that we conducted in 2010 and that comprised of a discrimination experiment, a survey including questions on explicit interethnic attitudes and an Implicit Association Test to measure implicit interethnic attitudes. Again, the discrimination experiment studied discrimination against applicants of Moroccan or Turkish origin in two phases of recruitment procedures: initial assessments of candidates' suitability and the decision on whom to interview. Drawing from the idea that not only explicit but also implicit attitudes are capable of influencing individuals' evaluations and actions, we predicted that both individuals' explicit and their implicit interethnic attitudes will affect their likelihood to discriminate against ethnic minority applicants.

In line with this prediction, findings from Chapter 5 showed that both implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes affect decision makers' behavior during recruitment procedures, albeit not in exactly the same way. Concerning the first phase of the recruitment process, results revealed that only decision makers' explicit interethnic attitudes are related to discrimination in terms of suitability ratings; implicit interethnic attitudes do not affect discrimination in decision makers' evaluations of candidates' suitability. For the second phase of the recruitment process, however, findings showed that both explicit *and* implicit interethnic attitudes affect discrimination in the eventual selection of applicants for a job interview. Interestingly, Chapter 5 also revealed evidence of positive ethnic discrimination in recruitment for the second phase of the recruitment process. That is, although on average decision makers preferred native Dutch applicants over those of Moroccan or Turkish origin, *some* decision makers' favored ethnic minority applicants over native Dutch applicants when inviting candidates for job interviews. What is more, positive ethnic discrimination in the selection of candidates for job interviews turned out to be influenced only by explicit and not by implicit interethnic attitudes.

In sum, we can conclude that explicit *and* implicit interethnic attitudes affect ethnic discrimination in recruitment. Therefore, the answer to RQ6 is positive. However, it should be noted that different types of recruitment decisions are affected by implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes in different ways.

7.2.5 Explaining implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes

In Chapter 6 we took a closer look at the explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes that were used in Chapter 5 to explain ethnic discrimination in recruitment. We did so by examining the sources of implicit and explicit interethnic attitudes. Drawing from the (sociological)

literature on explicit interethnic attitudes, we investigated whether factors that have previously been shown to be related to explicit attitudes also affect implicit attitudes. Predictions on the conditions shaping explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes were derived from Contact Theory and Ethnic Competition theory. Specifically, we examined the role of individual demographic and socioeconomic features related to ethnic competition, perceived interethnic threat, and interethnic contacts. This chapter thus addressed the following research question (RQ7): *do demographic and socioeconomic features, interethnic threat and interethnic contact affect implicit interethnic attitudes and explicit interethnic attitudes similarly?* To answer this question we used data that we collected by means of a laboratory study consisting of a questionnaire and an Implicit Association Test in 2010. As in Chapter 4 and 5, the focus was on attitudes towards minorities of Moroccan and Turkish origin.

Findings from this chapter confirmed insights from prior sociological research (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; Zick et al., 2008), showing that interethnic threat and interethnic contact predict explicit interethnic attitudes and that threat perceptions explain the effects of demographic and socioeconomic features on explicit interethnic attitudes. To be specific, individuals with higher levels of education or with higher educated parents held less negative explicit interethnic attitudes. Conversely, individuals whose parents are church members held more negative explicit interethnic attitudes. Individuals who have more positive interethnic contacts held less negative interethnic attitudes, whereas those who experience more interethnic threat held more negative explicit interethnic attitudes. The effects of these demographic and socioeconomic features on explicit interethnic attitudes disappear after controlling for perceived interethnic threat, indicating that threat experiences explain the effects of the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. Hence, our findings regarding the sources of explicit interethnic attitudes generally support Contact Theory and Ethnic Competition Theory.

Conversely, implicit interethnic attitudes turned out to be unrelated to all but one of the predictors included in the analyses in this chapter. Only perceived interethnic *group* threat was significantly related to negative implicit interethnic attitudes such that individuals who experienced more interethnic group threat held more negative implicit interethnic attitudes. Apparently, Contact Theory and Ethnic Competition Theory are unable to explain individual variance in implicit interethnic attitudes.

In sum and answering RQ7, we conclude that demographic and socioeconomic features related to interethnic threat, perceptions of interethnic threat and interethnic contacts do influence explicit interethnic attitudes in the expected way but do not affect implicit interethnic attitudes.

7.2.6 Differences between different phases of recruitment procedures

The last research question to be answered concerns differences between phases of recruitment procedures. This research question (RQ2): *are there any differences between different phases of recruitment procedures in the prevalence of ethnic discrimination or the sources of discrimination?* This research question was addressed in Chapter 2, Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

In addition to studying the prevalence of ethnic discrimination in recruitment procedures via online résumé databases, Chapter 2 examined whether different stages of such recruitment procedures differ regarding the extent of discrimination. As mentioned, this chapter was based on field experiment data on discrimination against Arabic-named (Moroccan-Dutch) applicants that we collected using the internet. We distinguished between the number of times that fictitious applicants' complete résumés were viewed (phase 1) and the number of times that applicants received positive reactions from employers (phase 2). Results from this chapter showed that discrimination occurs mainly in the first phase of the recruitment procedure. After seeing short applicant profiles, employers were about 50% more likely to request the complete résumé of Dutch-named candidates than they were to view the résumé of Arabic-named candidates. Hence, there is clear evidence of discrimination in this first stage. In the second phase of the procedure, we found much less evidence of an effect of having an Arabic name on the number of reactions applicants receive *over and above* any discrimination that occurred in the first phase. Nevertheless, discrimination in the first phase of the recruitment process did translate into a sizable difference in the average number of positive reactions received by Arabic-named and Dutch-named applicants. Consequently, Arabic-named applicants were on average 60% less likely to receive a positive reaction from an employer than Dutch-named applicants. Hence, and providing a first answer to RQ2, we concluded that there are indeed clear differences in the extent to which discrimination occurs between phases of recruitment procedures. The pattern of findings in Chapter 2 suggests that if employers have to assess large numbers of candidates, they may use simple heuristics to make a first selection (i.e., apply a 'lexicographic search'). Apparently, they often "simply read no further" when they see an ethnic minority name (Betrand & Mullainathan, 2004: 1011). This is something that prior field experiments had so far been unable to demonstrate, as they effectively lumped together discrimination in positive reactions and in earlier phases.

Chapter 4 forms an additional test of RQ2 by providing information on differences between phases of recruitment procedures in the conditions under which ethnic discrimination in recruitment is more or less likely to occur. More specifically, this chapter provides insight in the influence of individuals' interethnic contacts and personal features related to interethnic

competition on discrimination in different stages. In this chapter, we used data from a laboratory study consisting of a discrimination test and a questionnaire that we conducted and focused on discrimination against fictitious applicants of Moroccan or Turkish origin. We distinguished between two types of selection decisions: first evaluations of applicants' suitability for a job and the eventual decision on whom to select for a job interview. Outcomes of this chapter showed that first evaluations of applicants' suitability are predominantly affected by applicants' features. Not only applicants' ethnicity but also their education, work experience and gender are important in this respect. Decision makers' characteristics are largely unrelated to discrimination in this first phase of the recruitment procedure. By contrast, choices about which applicants to invite for a job interview are affected by both applicants' and decision makers' features. For example, decision makers' interethnic contacts and level of education affect their likelihood to discriminate in terms of invitations for interviews. In sum, Chapter 4 showed that ethnic discrimination in different phases of recruitment procedures are affected differently by individuals' interethnic contacts and individual conditions related to interethnic threat.

Finally, Chapter 5 formed an extra test of RQ2 by providing information on the influence of decision makers' explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes on their chances to discriminate against (fictitious) ethnic minority job seekers. In this chapter, we used data from a laboratory study, conducted within the framework of this study, that consisted of a discrimination experiment as well as a survey and an Implicit Association Test. Like Chapter 4, this chapter distinguished between first evaluations of applicants' suitability and eventual decisions on which applicants to interview. Results showed that only decision makers' explicit interethnic attitudes are related to discrimination in first evaluations of applicants' suitability, whereas both explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes affect discrimination in the selection of applicants for a job interview. Hence, comparable to our conclusions for Chapter 4, we find that discrimination in different phases of recruitment procedures is shaped differently by decision makers' explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes.

In sum, based on the combined findings of Chapter 2, Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, we conclude that the answer to RQ2 is positive. Differences between phases of recruitment procedures exist both regarding the extent to which discrimination occurs and regarding the conditions that affect discrimination.

7.3 DISCUSSION AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In this section, we discuss the pattern of findings described above in light of this study's point of departure and aims. Also, we formulate suggestions for future research.

7.3.1 Interethnic contact and interethnic threat

Bringing together more descriptive experimental research on discriminatory behavior and more theory-driven survey research on interethnic attitudes, we derived expectations on the influence of individual and contextual features on ethnic discrimination in recruitment from Ethnic Competition Theory and Contact Theory. To test these expectations, we combined experimental data with data from other sources (i.e., information on regional features in Chapter 3 and survey data in Chapter 4). As discussed in this concluding chapter, results from this study (and mainly from Chapter 4) supported many of these hypotheses. This indicates that these sociological theories can be valuable tools when predicting not only interethnic attitudes but also interethnic behavior. However, we found some puzzling results as well and these raise new questions regarding the role of contextual features in shaping ethnic discrimination in recruitment.

Outcomes from Chapter 3 showed some evidence of variation between *geographical* regions in the extent to which ethnic discrimination in recruitment occurred. But results from this chapter provided no support for the predictions that the size of the ethnic minority group and the unemployment rate within a region are related to the prevalence of discrimination in that region. These findings should be interpreted with some caution because of the relatively low number of cases per region and the absence of direct measures of the assumed mechanisms (e.g., perceived interethnic threat) in this study. Still, these results appear to refute the expectations derived from Ethnic Competition Theory and Contact Theory. By contrast, findings from Chapter 2 provided clear evidence of *temporal* variations in ethnic discrimination in recruitment, namely between the two waves of this study. What is more, results from this chapter indicated that these variations are in line with changes in economic circumstances; worse economic conditions are associated with more discrimination. Thus, although the aim of Chapter 2 was not to test predictions of this kind, findings from this chapter do appear to be in line with Ethnic Competition Theory.

The contradictory findings in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 form an interesting puzzle for future research. It deserves recommendation to systematically derive and test theory-based predictions on the role of contextual factors in shaping discrimination in recruitment. When designed carefully, field experiments potentially form a very suitable method to test such predictions. Specifically, to address questions of this kind, field experiments should cover multiple geographical units or a longer time-span.

Furthermore, future studies could derive and test predictions on other contextual factors that may explain geographical variations in ethnic discrimination in recruitment, for example the presence of political parties with anti-immigration policies or coverage in regional or local media

(Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; Semyonov et al., 2006, 2008) which could make the presence of ethnic minorities more salient. Another aspect that merits attention is religiosity and religious heterogeneity (Hello et al., 2002). In the Netherlands, religiosity has become an important topic in the public and political discourse on immigration and immigrant integration. The two largest non-Western minority groups in the Netherlands, those of Moroccan and Turkish origin, are almost exclusively Muslim, while the ethnic majority group is traditionally Christian. Therefore, the religious composition of a region could be expected to play a role in shaping interethnic relations, attitudes and behavior.

7.3.2 Explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes

A second way in which we enriched experimental research with elements from other types of research in order to study the conditions under which ethnic discrimination in recruitment is more or less likely to occur, was by examining interethnic attitudes. Hence, we built upon insights from the relatively new and rapidly expanding psychological literature on the distinction between implicit and explicit attitudes. In Chapter 5 we examined the relationships between interethnic attitudes and interethnic behavior. To do so, we made use of a combination of laboratory experiment data and Implicit Association Tests. The outcomes of Chapter 5 confirmed that both explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes influence decision makers' likelihood of discriminating against ethnic minority applicants. This underlines the conclusion that we need to take both explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes into account in sociological (and economical) research on discriminatory behavior (e.g., Quillian, 2006). Yet, new questions on the workings of explicit versus implicit attitudes have come up in the course of this study and some interesting questions are still standing.

Chapter 5 showed that explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes are both related to discriminatory behavior, but that they do not operate in the exact same way. Also, this chapter demonstrated that, in addition to ethnic discrimination in recruitment, positive discrimination of ethnic minority applicants occurs as well *and* that this type of behavior is influenced by explicit but not implicit interethnic attitudes. We argue that future research should try to uncover how explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes may interact in shaping different types of behavior. One fruitful course of action could be to derive and test more specific hypotheses about the interplay between these two types of attitudes on interethnic behavior in order to improve our understanding of the attitudinal mechanisms that underlie discrimination. Interestingly, interaction effects of explicit and implicit attitudes have, to the best of our knowledge, so far received very little attention (but see Son Hing et al., 2008).

Chapter 6 zoomed in on the explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes that we used on Chapter 5 to explain discrimination by investigating the sources of these two types of attitudes. Results from Chapter 6 showed that unlike explicit interethnic attitudes, implicit interethnic attitudes were not at all predicted by interethnic contacts and only to some extent by perceptions of interethnic competition. The combination of the conclusion that implicit attitudes do play a role in shaping ethnic discrimination in recruitment (Chapter 5) but that we know very little about what conditions influence these implicit interethnic attitudes (Chapter 6) presents a puzzle that is potentially of interest to both scholars and policy makers. A pressing question that remains open is thus: which other factors are capable of explaining the existing individual variation in implicit ethnic bias? Given the influence of implicit attitudes on outcomes relevant to sociology and economics, this question merits attention within these scientific disciplines as well. As Chapter 6 showed that perceptions of interethnic group threat do affect implicit interethnic attitudes, a fruitful direction for future research could be to examine the influence of more symbolic forms of ethnic competition. For example, implicit interethnic attitudes may be influenced by perceptions of the size of ethnic out-groups or by media content (Schlueter & Davidov, 2011).

7.3.3 Statistical discrimination

In this study, we mainly drew from theories from the sociological and psychological literature to derive and test hypotheses on the conditions that affect ethnic discrimination in recruitment. A prominent theoretical approach within the (economical) literature on discrimination is formed by Statistical Discrimination Models. We used this approach for ad-hoc interpretations of the results in Chapter 2, but did not systematically formulate and test hypotheses based on Statistical Discrimination Models. Strict tests of this theoretical approach are not easy to devise, (partly) due to the difficulties involved in disentangling the effects of individuals' preferences ('tastes'), and beliefs and knowledge about ethnic minority group traits on discriminatory behavior. Nevertheless, it deserves recommendation to apply models of Statistical Discrimination in future experiments on discrimination in the labor market. For example, researchers may expand upon the few studies that have tested predictions on the effect of the available information about ethnic minority group members on decision makers' actions (e.g., Castillo & Petrie, 2010). More systematic research on such mechanisms is needed, especially regarding effects on behavior in the context of the labor market (e.g., recruitment decisions). Including variations in the amount of information about applicants in *field* experiments may help validate the available evidence from *laboratory* studies. Moreover, laboratory studies could be devised to *combine experimental data with survey data* in order to test the assumed underlying mechanisms.

7.3.4 Combining methods

In this study, we applied a combination of methods, using field experiment data to study the prevalence of ethnic discrimination in recruitment and combining laboratory experiment data with survey data and information from Implicit Association Tests to examine under which conditions such discrimination is more likely to occur. The objective of this approach was to move beyond merely describing to what extent ethnic discrimination in recruitment occurs and also focus on the mechanisms that underlie such discrimination (c.f., Pager & Shepherd, 2008; Quillian, 2006; Reskin, 2000).

This approach has proven fruitful, as it has enabled us to not only accurately determine the extent to which discrimination occurs but to also shed light on the conditions that foster discriminatory behavior. It deserves recommendation to apply such combinations of methods in future research as well. In this light, there are several issues that could be taken into consideration.

First, the laboratory experiment approach used in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 had the clear advantage that it enabled us to control and manipulate résumé characteristics and to link an individual's discriminatory behavior to this person's interethnic attitudes. However, the recruitment test took place in an artificial setting without actual consequences for any real-life employers or organizations. Under these circumstances, individuals making decisions may react differently (e.g., in a more tolerant way) than they would during recruitment processes in real life. Given that the researcher addresses the difficulties concerning non-response and the matching of measurements that are associated with field experiment designs such as used by Rooth (2010), an option for future research is to conduct a field experiment that combines measures of explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes with behavior during real-life hiring procedures. Something similar applies to collecting data that enable the researcher to directly test the mechanisms underlying discriminatory behavior. For example, although obtaining such information is difficult in field experiments (as employers are generally unaware that they are participating in a study), future studies could find ways to include measures of employers' intergroup contacts, threat perceptions, and economics incentives in field experiment data.

Moreover, the field experiment approach via online résumé databases which was used in Chapter 2 has important advantages, for example the chance to study different stages of the recruitment procedure. Yet, there are also some potential drawbacks to such an approach. For example, due to the relatively high costs involved in buying access to these databases, this way of recruitment may be particularly popular amongst larger organizations. Additionally, the websites included in our experiment focus on all occupational levels. There are, however, also websites that focus specifically on recruitment of higher educated individuals. This might mean that the websites

used in this study are less suitable to examine discrimination of higher educated candidates. It deserves recommendation to apply field experiments that use the internet in future research and to expand upon the current study (for instance in the abovementioned ways).

7.3.5 Cumulative disadvantages and discrimination in different domains

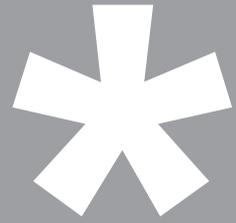
This study has clearly shown that ethnic discrimination in recruitment does occur in the Dutch labor market and that the disadvantage of ethnic minority applicants is, at least at times, considerable. It is important to emphasize that processes of discrimination can contribute to ethnic inequalities in the labor market not just during recruitment procedures, but at different stages of individuals' careers (National Research Council, 2004; Reskin, 2000). The influence that ethnic discrimination may have during other stages or on different elements of occupational careers, such as wages or promotions, was not subject of the present study. Neither did we examine to what extent credentials that are crucial for a person's labor market success, such as education or work experience obtained via internships, are affected by ethnic discrimination earlier in life. To be able to fully grasp the role that discrimination plays in shaping ethnic disparities in the labor market, researchers will have to address the (potentially) cumulative effects of discrimination in different phases of the occupational career and indeed even before individuals enter the labor market (during education). Whereas research on ethnic or racial discrimination during education is relatively well established in the United States, such studies are scarce in the Netherlands and other European countries.

7.4 PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

The findings of this study have important practical implications. First of all, our results suggest that anonymous applications may contribute to more equal chances for equally qualified ethnic majority and minority job searchers. This conclusion is in line with the outcomes of a recent pilot project conducted in Germany, in which anonymous applications were shown to lead to more equal chances of ethnic minority (and female) applicants (Krause, et al., 2012). This would not only increase the employment opportunities for these ethnic minority candidates, but would also benefit employers by leading to more efficient (i.e., more merit-based) matching of candidates and jobs (c.f., McGinnity et al., 2009).

Furthermore, our findings are particularly important in light of the fact that more and more employers search for suitable candidates via the internet. The increased importance of recruitment via internet may affect the extent to which discrimination occurs. Some *résumé*

databanks print candidates' names prominently in lists of possibly interesting applicants and provide very little other information about the applicants in these search results. Compared to written applications in which additional information about candidates is printed directly under candidates' names in their résumé, online recruitment requires employers to carry out an extra step to gain access to such information. That is, employers search for candidates via online résumé databases have to actively request the entire résumé. This may lead to more ethnic discrimination, whilst recruitment via online résumé databases could just as easily reduce the likelihood of discrimination by not presenting information about applicants' ethnicity (or gender and age, for that matter) when displaying (at least first) search results.



Appendix
Additional Tables

Table A1 Randomization check: mean scores on independent variables by applicants' name in wave 1^a (Chapter 2)

	Dutch-named	Arabic-named
Female	0.47	0.50
Age	30.42	30.88
Education		
Intermediate vocational	0.49	0.50
Higher vocation	0.32	0.31
University	0.19	0.19
Work experience (years)	6.71	7.54
Internship mentioned	0.53	0.40
Additional competences mentioned	0.81	0.85
Additional courses mentioned	0.49	0.64
Interruption occupational career	0.10	0.21
Job during education mentioned	0.73	0.70
Partner mentioned	0.32	0.19
Hobby mentioned	0.58	0.52
Sector		
Finances and accounting	0.20	0.20
Human resources	0.20	0.20
Marketing and production management	0.19	0.19
Health care	0.20	0.20
Transportation	0.20	0.20
Region of residence applicant		
Amsterdam	0.06	0.19
Apeldoorn	0.09	0.03
Breda	0.08	0.11
The Hague	0.09	0.09
Eindhoven	0.10	0.09
Nijmegen	0.15	0.10
Roosendaal	0.09	0.05
Rotterdam	0.18	0.14
Utrecht	0.11	0.06
Zwolle	0.05	0.14

Source: Internet-based field experiment ethnic discrimination in the Dutch labor market 2011; n = 318.

^a Every résumé to which an Arabic name was assigned name in wave 1 was assigned a Dutch name in wave 2 and visa versa. Therefore, all features are automatically fully balanced across ethnic groups for wave 1 and 2 combined. For that reason, this table presents mean scores for one wave.

Table A2 Overview of fictitious applicants and their characteristics (Chapter 4 and Chapter 5)

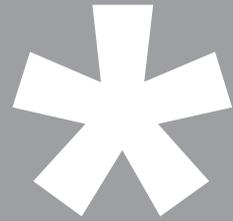
Nr	Recruiter job								Advisor job							
	Name	Ethnicity	Gender	Education	Experience	Name	Ethnicity	Gender	Education	Experience	Name	Ethnicity	Gender	Education	Experience	
1	Sanne de Groot	Dutch	Female	High	Little	Fleur Timmer	Dutch	Female	High	None	Fleur Timmer	Dutch	Female	High	None	
2	Marieke Zijlstra	Dutch	Female	High	None	Anke Meijerink	Dutch	Female	High	None	Anke Meijerink	Dutch	Female	High	Little	
3	Maartje Janssen	Dutch	Female	Low	Little	Marloes van Dijk	Dutch	Female	Low	Little	Marloes van Dijk	Dutch	Female	Low	None	
4	Femke van Leeuwen	Dutch	Female	Low	None	Lotte Smits	Dutch	Female	Low	None	Lotte Smits	Dutch	Female	Low	Little	
5	Jeroen Willemse	Dutch	Male	High	Little	Sander Vos	Dutch	Male	High	None	Sander Vos	Dutch	Male	High	None	
6	Daan Kuipers	Dutch	Male	High	None	Thijs Aalbers	Dutch	Male	High	None	Thijs Aalbers	Dutch	Male	High	Little	
7	Bas de Wit	Dutch	Male	Low	Little	Maarten De Vries	Dutch	Male	Low	Little	Maarten De Vries	Dutch	Male	Low	None	
8	Michiel van den Broek	Dutch	Male	Low	None	Wouter Brinkman	Dutch	Male	Low	None	Wouter Brinkman	Dutch	Male	Low	Little	
9a	Zeynep Topal	Turkish-Dutch	Female	High	Little	Ayşe Güven	Turkish-Dutch	Female	High	Little	Ayşe Güven	Turkish-Dutch	Female	High	None	
10a	Nesrin Ünsal	Turkish-Dutch	Female	High	None	Öslem Karan	Turkish-Dutch	Female	High	None	Öslem Karan	Turkish-Dutch	Female	High	Little	
11a	Gizem Ayhan	Turkish-Dutch	Female	Low	Little	Nuray Çörüz	Turkish-Dutch	Female	Low	Little	Nuray Çörüz	Turkish-Dutch	Female	Low	None	
12a	Elvan Oktay	Turkish-Dutch	Female	Low	None	Yıldız Erdem	Turkish-Dutch	Female	Low	None	Yıldız Erdem	Turkish-Dutch	Female	Low	Little	
13a	Ümit Korkmaz	Turkish-Dutch	Male	High	Little	Emre Çetin	Turkish-Dutch	Male	High	None	Emre Çetin	Turkish-Dutch	Male	High	None	
14a	Engin Öcalan	Turkish-Dutch	Male	High	None	Serhan Erkin	Turkish-Dutch	Male	High	None	Serhan Erkin	Turkish-Dutch	Male	High	Little	
15a	Mehmet Yalçın	Turkish-Dutch	Male	Low	Little	Erdal Aydogdu	Turkish-Dutch	Male	Low	Little	Erdal Aydogdu	Turkish-Dutch	Male	Low	None	
16a	Fatih Okur	Turkish-Dutch	Male	Low	None	Bülent Cosar	Turkish-Dutch	Male	Low	None	Bülent Cosar	Turkish-Dutch	Male	Low	Little	
9b	Fatima Haddou	Moroccan-Dutch	Female	High	Little	Hakima Alaoui	Moroccan-Dutch	Female	High	Little	Hakima Alaoui	Moroccan-Dutch	Female	High	None	
10b	Bahar Abdellah	Moroccan-Dutch	Female	High	None	Zainab Alami	Moroccan-Dutch	Female	High	None	Zainab Alami	Moroccan-Dutch	Female	High	Little	
11b	Naima Tahiri	Moroccan-Dutch	Female	Low	Little	Samira Yacoubi	Moroccan-Dutch	Female	Low	Little	Samira Yacoubi	Moroccan-Dutch	Female	Low	None	
12b	Safia Bakkali	Moroccan-Dutch	Female	Low	None	Aisha Ben Allal	Moroccan-Dutch	Female	Low	None	Aisha Ben Allal	Moroccan-Dutch	Female	Low	Little	
13b	Kamal Idrissi	Moroccan-Dutch	Male	High	Little	Samir Mahimoud	Moroccan-Dutch	Male	High	None	Samir Mahimoud	Moroccan-Dutch	Male	High	None	
14b	Munir Amrani	Moroccan-Dutch	Male	High	None	Rashid Adlouni	Moroccan-Dutch	Male	High	None	Rashid Adlouni	Moroccan-Dutch	Male	High	Little	
15b	Driss Bennani	Moroccan-Dutch	Male	Low	Little	Adil Hamdaoui	Moroccan-Dutch	Male	Low	Little	Adil Hamdaoui	Moroccan-Dutch	Male	Low	None	
16b	Mohammed Yassir	Moroccan-Dutch	Male	Low	None	Murad El Morabet	Moroccan-Dutch	Male	Low	None	Murad El Morabet	Moroccan-Dutch	Male	Low	Little	

Table A2 continues on next page

Table A2 *Continued*

Nr	Recruiter job						Advisor job					
	Name	Ethnicity	Gender	Education	Experience	Name	Ethnicity	Gender	Education	Experience		
17	Renske Toorenburg	Dutch	Female	High	Little	Roos van Veen	Dutch	Female	High	None		
18	Ronda Domacasse	Antillean	Female	High	None	Kathelijne Blom	Dutch	Female	High	Little		
19	Jasmijn Hamer	Dutch	Female	Low	Little	Emine Uzülmmez / Rabiah El Zhar	Turkish- / Moroccan-Dutch	Female	Low	None		
20	Letitia Grootfaam	Surinamese	Female	Low	None	Boukje Kramer	Dutch	Female	Low	Little		
21	Roel van den Brink	Dutch	Male	High	Little	Bryan Debisarun	Surinamese	Male	High	None		
22	Hakan Buruk / Yunis Ammi	Turkish- / Moroccan-Dutch	Male	High	None	Matthijs Jonkers	Dutch	Male	High	Little		
23	Teun Schipper	Dutch	Male	Low	Little	Devon Janga	Antillean	Male	Low	None		
24	Joris Ouwehand	Dutch	Male	Low	None	Remco Meijer	Dutch	Male	Low	Little		

Participants in the Turkish-Dutch condition were presented with résumés 1–8, 9a–16a and 17–24; participants in the Moroccan-Dutch condition were presented with résumés 1–8, 9b–16b and 17–24.



**Samenvatting
(Summary in Dutch)**

Inleiding

Etnische minderheden (allochtonen) nemen in Nederland en in andere Europese landen gemiddeld een slechtere positie in op de arbeidsmarkt dan autochtonen. Er zijn aanzienlijke verschillen tussen etnische minderheden en de meerderheidsgroep (autochtonen) wat betreft arbeidsmarkt-uitkomsten zoals werkloosheid, beroepsniveau en inkomen.

Eerder onderzoek heeft laten zien dat deze verschillen deels te verklaren zijn door verschillen in ‘menselijk kapitaal’ en ‘sociaal kapitaal’ tussen allochtonen en autochtonen. Vergeleken met autochtonen zijn allochtonen gemiddeld lager opgeleid. Ook kennen allochtonen gemiddeld minder personen die hen kunnen helpen op de arbeidsmarkt, bijvoorbeeld door advies te geven over vacatures of het schrijven van een sollicitatiebrief. Omdat opleiding en hulp van familie, vrienden of kennissen belangrijk zijn bij het vinden van een baan, leiden deze verschillen tot een grotere kans op werkloosheid, een baan op een lager niveau en een lager inkomen voor allochtonen in vergelijking met autochtonen. Een gedeelte van de ongelijkheden tussen autochtonen en allochtonen op de arbeidsmarkt blijft echter bestaan nadat er gecontroleerd is voor verschillen in menselijk en sociaal kapitaal. Deze factoren bieden dus geen volledige verklaring.

Er is nog een andere mogelijke verklaring voor verschillen tussen allochtonen en autochtonen op de arbeidsmarkt: discriminatie. De meest eenvoudige definitie van discriminatie is ‘de ongelijke behandeling van individuen of groepen op basis van hun etnische achtergrond’. Discriminatie op de arbeidsmarkt verwijst dan specifiek naar de ongelijke behandeling van allochtonen (vergeleken met autochtonen met vergelijkbare kwalificaties en persoonlijke kenmerken) door bijvoorbeeld werkgevers, managers, personeelsfunctionarissen, of collega’s. Een belangrijk element van alle definities van discriminatie is dat het gaat over *gedrag* ten opzichte van allochtonen en dus niet over negatieve *houdingen* ten opzichte van of *denkbeelden* over allochtonen.

In dit boek staat discriminatie van allochtone sollicitanten centraal. Ons onderzoek heeft twee hoofddoelen. Het eerste hoofddoel is: *achterhalen in hoeverre allochtonen inderdaad gediscrimineerd worden op de huidige Nederlandse arbeidsmarkt*. Daarbij richten we ons op discriminatie tijdens sollicitatie-procedures waarbij gebruik wordt gemaakt van CV-databanken op internet. Bij zulke procedures zijn het niet de werkzoekenden die reageren op vacatures (via e-mail, post of telefoon), maar gaan werkgevers actief op zoek naar potentiële werknemers. Deze werkwijze vervangt steeds vaker de traditionele manier van solliciteren. Vanwege deze groeiende populariteit is het belangrijk dat wordt onderzocht in hoeverre discriminatie voorkomt bij dit soort sollicitatie-procedures. Ook kijken we naar verschillende fases van sollicitatie-procedures, om te achterhalen wanneer discriminatie precies plaatsvindt. Het tweede hoofddoel van dit onderzoek

is: *bestuderen welke kenmerken van individuen en welke omstandigheden (omgevingsfactoren) ervoor zorgen dat er meer of juist minder discriminatie plaatsvindt.* Met andere woorden, we onderzoeken *waar* en *wanneer* er vaker wordt gediscrimineerd, *wie* een grotere kans heeft om te discrimineren en *wie* een grotere kans heeft om gediscrimineerd te worden.

Om meer te weten te komen over de mate waarin discriminatie van allochtone sollicitanten voorkomt en over de oorzaken van dit soort discriminatie, brengen we in dit onderzoek vier bestaande lijnen van wetenschappelijk onderzoek samen. Deze onderzoekslijnen hebben elk hun sterke en minder sterke kanten. Door kenmerken van verschillende lijnen te combineren, boeken we vooruitgang op bestaande onderzoeken en inzichten. De eerste lijn van onderzoek waarbij we aansluiten bestaat uit veld-experimenten over discriminatie op de arbeidsmarkt, die voornamelijk uitgevoerd zijn door economen en sociologen. Zulke veld-experimenten zijn van cruciaal belang geweest bij het in kaart brengen van de mate waarin allochtone sollicitanten in verschillende landen gediscrimineerd worden. Een nadeel van veld-experimenten is dat ze minder geschikt zijn voor het onderzoeken van de oorzaken van discriminatie.

De tweede lijn van onderzoek waarop wij voortbouwen bestaat uit laboratorium-experimenten naar ‘interetnisch gedrag’ (de manier waarop autochtonen zich ten opzichte van allochtonen gedragen). Deze zijn tot nu toe met name uitgevoerd door psychologen. Dit soort onderzoek is zeer geschikt om te onderzoeken welke individuele kenmerken of omstandigheden het meer waarschijnlijk maken dat discriminatie plaatsvindt. Een nadeel van bestaande laboratorium-experimenten is echter dat daarin tot nu toe zeer weinig aandacht besteed is aan gedragingen (zoals beslissingen om iemand aan te nemen als werknemer) die gevolgen hebben voor ongelijkheden op de arbeidsmarkt, een voor sociologen en economen belangrijk domein. Ook is door de psychologische aard van bestaande laboratorium-experimenten het soort voorspellende factoren dat van groot belang is voor sociologen of economen (zoals demografische en sociaal-economische kenmerken) grotendeels buiten beschouwing gebleven.

Een derde lijn van onderzoek waarop wij voortbouwen wordt gevormd door studies naar interetnische houdingen (houdingen van autochtonen ten opzichte van allochtonen) en de voorspellers daarvan. Zulk onderzoek is vooral uitgevoerd door sociologen. Dit soort onderzoek is over het algemeen meer theorie-gestuurd dan veld-experimenten en heeft belangrijke kennis opgeleverd over de oorzaken van negatieve interetnische houdingen. Uit eerder onderzoek weten we echter ook dat het gedrag van een individu niet altijd aansluit bij de houdingen die hij of zij rapporteert. Personen die aangeven dat zij een negatieve houding ten opzichte van allochtonen hebben, discrimineren niet altijd. Omgekeerd discrimineren personen die zeggen positief ten opzichte van allochtonen te staan soms wel. Daarom kunnen we er niet

zonder meer vanuit gaan dat factoren die negatieve interetnische houdingen voorspellen ook discriminatoir gedrag beïnvloeden.

De vierde onderzoekslijn waarop wij voortbouwen bestaat uit psychologisch onderzoek naar impliciete en expliciete houdingen. Onder expliciete houdingen verstaan we houdingen waarvan de houder zich bewust is en die hij of zij met opzet uit. Impliciete houdingen daarentegen zijn houdingen waarvan de houder zich niet (altijd of volledig) bewust is of die (deels) buiten het bewustzijn van de houder om van invloed kunnen zijn op diens gedrag.

De manier waarop we in dit onderzoek elementen uit de vier bovenstaande onderzoekslijnen combineren is als volgt. We voeren eerst een veld-experiment uit om nieuwe beschrijvende vragen over de mate van discriminatie van allochtone werkzoekenden te beantwoorden. Daarover rapporteren we in Hoofdstuk 1. We achterhalen in dit hoofdstuk of allochtonen worden benadeeld tijdens sollicitatieprocedures via online CV-databanken. Ook besteden we aandacht aan de vraag of er verschillen zijn tussen afzonderlijke fases van deze procedures. Daarmee sluiten we aan bij ons eerste hoofddoel.

Vervolgens richten we ons op ons tweede hoofddoel en dus op vragen over de individuele kenmerken en omstandigheden die ervoor zorgen dat discriminatie van allochtone werkzoekenden vaker voorkomt. Daarmee zetten we een stap vooruit ten opzichte van veldexperimenten die voornamelijk laten zien *of* (en hoe veel) discriminatie voorkomt maar ons weinig vertellen over onder welke omstandigheden (of, wat vrijer vertaald, *waarom*) discriminatie eerder voorkomt.

Om voorspellingen te kunnen doen over de kenmerken en omstandigheden die discriminatie meer waarschijnlijk maken, 'lenen' we theorieën binnen de sociologie en psychologie. Ten eerste putten we uit twee belangrijke theorieën uit de (vooral sociologische) literatuur over houdingen ten opzichte van allochtonen: de Etnische Competitie Theorie (ECT) en de Contact Theorie (CT). Die theorieën worden doorgaans gebruikt om verwachtingen te formuleren over de factoren die negatieve *houdingen* ten opzichte van allochtonen voorspellen. In dit onderzoek gebruiken we deze theorieën echter om verwachtingen te formuleren over de factoren die *gedrag* (discriminatie van allochtone sollicitanten) voorspellen. We gebruiken de ECT en de CT om voorspellingen af te leiden over de invloed van omgevingskenmerken (in Hoofdstuk 3) en individuele kenmerken (in Hoofdstuk 4) op de kans dat discriminatie voorkomt.

Ten tweede formuleren we verwachtingen over factoren die discriminatie van allochtone sollicitanten voorspellen op basis van de (psychologische) theoretische stroming die onderscheid maakt tussen expliciete en impliciete houdingen. In Hoofdstuk 5 onderzoeken we de invloed van iemands impliciete en expliciete houdingen ten opzichte van allochtonen op de kans dat deze persoon allochtone werkzoekenden zal discrimineren. Daarnaast onderzoeken we in

Hoofdstuk 6 of impliciete en expliciete houdingen dezelfde oorzaken of bronnen hebben. Dat doen we om meer te weten te komen over hoe deze twee typen houdingen (en uiteindelijk ook hun effecten) van elkaar verschillen. Voorspellingen over de individuele kenmerken die van invloed zijn op deze beide typen houdingen leiden we wederom af uit de ECT en de CT.

Om onze verwachtingen over de voorspellers van discriminatie van allochtone sollicitanten (en van impliciete en expliciete houdingen ten opzichte van allochtonen) te toetsen, combineren we verschillende soorten onderzoeksmethoden en -gegevens. We voeren laboratorium-experimenten uit waarin we onderzoeken in hoeverre de deelnemers discrimineren. De gegevens uit die experimenten combineren we in de verschillende hoofdstukken met andere soorten gegevens zodat we onze afzonderlijke verwachtingen kunnen toetsen. In Hoofdstuk 3 combineren we een laboratorium-experiment met bestaande gegevens over omstandigheden (namelijk regio-kenmerken). In Hoofdstuk 4 combineren we een laboratorium-experiment met informatie over demografische en sociaal-economische kenmerken uit vragenlijsten ingevuld door de deelnemers aan het experiment. In Hoofdstuk 5 combineren we een laboratorium-experiment met een vragenlijst (om expliciete houdingen te meten) en een reactietijd-test (om impliciete houdingen te meten) onder de deelnemers aan het experiment. Ten slotte combineren we in Hoofdstuk 6 informatie uit vragenlijsten met gegevens van een reactietijd-test onder dezelfde personen, om de oorzaken van impliciete en expliciete houdingen te kunnen onderzoeken.

Samenvattend is de opbouw van dit boek als volgt. Hoofdstuk 1 is een inleidend hoofdstuk, waarin de achtergrond en relevantie van dit onderzoek worden toegelicht, de hoofddoelen worden besproken en onderzoeksvragen worden geformuleerd. Hoofdstuk 2 sluit aan bij het eerste hoofddoel van dit onderzoek en laat zien in hoeverre allochtone sollicitanten gediscrimineerd worden. Hoofdstuk 2 tot en met Hoofdstuk 5 gaan we vervolgens in op het tweede hoofddoel van dit onderzoek. In elk van deze hoofdstukken richten we ons op een ander soort mogelijke voorspeller van discriminatie. In Hoofdstuk 3 zijn dat omgevingskenmerken, in Hoofdstuk 4 demografische en sociaal-economische kenmerken van individuen en in Hoofdstuk 5 houdingen van individuen ten opzichte van allochtonen. Hoofdstuk 6 gaat ten slotte dieper in op de twee typen houdingen die in Hoofdstuk 5 als potentiële voorspellers van discriminatie werden onderzocht. Dit hoofdstuk onderzoekt door welke individuele factoren impliciete en expliciete houdingen op hun beurt worden beïnvloed. Hoofdstuk 7 van dit boek bevat een algemene conclusie waarin de bevindingen van de afzonderlijke hoofdstukken en de implicaties daarvan worden besproken. Ook formuleren we in dit hoofdstuk aanbevelingen voor vervolgonderzoek. Hieronder worden per hoofdstuk de achtergrond, opzet en de belangrijkste bevindingen op een rijtje gezet.

Discriminatie van allochtonen tijdens sollicitatieprocedures in Nederland

In Hoofdstuk 2 van dit boek onderzoeken we in hoeverre discriminatie van allochtone werkzoekenden voorkomt op de Nederlandse arbeidsmarkt. We richten ons op sollicitatieprocedures die gebruik maken van relatief nieuwe technologieën, namelijk procedures waarbij werkzoekenden hun CV op internet plaatsen, waarna geïnteresseerde werkgevers contact met hen kunnen opnemen. Ook bekijken we of de mate waarin discriminatie voorkomt verschilt tussen fases van sollicitatieprocedures. Daarbij maken we onderscheid tussen het moment waarop een werkgever er wel of niet voor kiest om het hele CV van een werkzoekende te bekijken (fase 1) en de fase waarin de uiteindelijke beslissing wordt genomen om contact op te nemen met de werkzoekende om die uit te nodigen voor een sollicitatiegesprek of om meer informatie op te vragen (fase 2). Belangrijk om te weten is dat werkgevers alleen contact op kunnen nemen met personen van wie ze het volledige CV hebben opgevraagd, omdat ze alleen dan de benodigde contactinformatie hebben.

We gebruiken in dit hoofdstuk gegevens die zijn verzameld via een veldexperiment dat we in het kader van dit onderzoek hebben uitgevoerd in 2011. De gegevens werden verzameld door CV's van fictieve (niet-bestaande) werkzoekenden te plaatsen op twee CV-databanken op internet. Vervolgens hebben we gemeten hoe vaak elk CV werd bekeken en hoe vaak elke werkzoekende een positieve reactie kreeg van een werkgever. Dit experiment is uitgevoerd in twee etappes; tussen mei en juli en tussen september en november 2011. In het experiment werd informatie verzameld over discriminatie van werkzoekenden met typisch Arabische namen, dat zijn in Nederland vooral personen met een Marokkaanse achtergrond, vergeleken met sollicitanten met typische (autochtone) Nederlandse namen. Er werden gegevens verzameld over tien regio's in Nederland, vijf sectoren, drie beroepsniveaus, twee websites en over zowel mannelijke als vrouwelijke werkzoekenden van allerlei leeftijden.

Uit de resultaten van dit hoofdstuk kunnen we afleiden dat er inderdaad sprake is van discriminatie van werkzoekenden met een Arabische naam binnen sollicitatieprocedures via CV-databanken op internet. Verschillen tussen sollicitanten met een typisch Arabische naam en sollicitanten met een typisch Nederlandse naam ontstaan vooral in de fase waarin werkgevers al dan niet besluiten om het volledige CV van een werkzoekende op te vragen. De kans dat het hele CV van iemand met een Nederlandse naam wordt opgevraagd is 50% groter dan de kans dat het CV van iemand met een Arabische naam wordt opgevraagd. In de fase waarin werkgevers besluiten of ze contact opnemen met de werkzoekenden waarvan ze het hele CV hebben gelezen is er minder sprake van discriminatie. Gegeven dat een werkgever het CV van een werkzoekende met een Arabische naam heeft gezien, heeft deze werkzoekende ongeveer

evenveel kans op bijvoorbeeld een uitnodiging voor een sollicitatiegesprek als een werkzoekende met een Nederlandse naam waarvan het hele CV was opgevraagd. Toch vertaalt het verschil dat wordt gemaakt in de eerste fase van het sollicitatieproces zich uiteindelijk in een aanzienlijk verschil tussen werkzoekenden met een Arabische of een Nederlandse naam wat betreft hun kansen op een reactie (fase 2). De kans dat een werkzoekende met een Nederlandse naam wordt benaderd door een werkgever is ongeveer 60% groter dan de kans dat een werkzoekende met een Arabische naam wordt benaderd.

Een opvallende uitkomst van dit hoofdstuk is dat er bewijs van discriminatie werd gevonden op beide onderzochte websites, in alle onderzochte regio's en sectoren en voor zowel mannelijke als vrouwelijke werkzoekenden van alle opleidingsniveaus en leeftijden. We kunnen dus concluderen dat discriminatie van allochtone sollicitanten bij sollicitatieprocedures via online CV-databanken wijdverspreid is. Een andere opvallende bevinding van dit hoofdstuk is dat er een verschil is tussen de twee etappes waarin gegevens werden verzameld. In beide etappes (mei – juli *en* september – november 2011) werd bewijs van discriminatie gevonden. In de tweede etappe van de dataverzameling bleek er echter meer gediscrimineerd te worden dan in de eerste etappe. Ten tijde van de tweede etappe waren de economische omstandigheden minder gunstig dan tijdens de eerste etappe. Dat is een indicatie dat er meer gediscrimineerd wordt wanneer het slechter gaat met de economie.

Regionale verschillen in discriminatie van allochtonen tijdens sollicitatieprocedures en de rol van regio-kenmerken

Hoofdstuk 3 is het eerste hoofdstuk in dit boek waarin we onderzoeken onder welke omstandigheden discriminatie van allochtone werkzoekenden meer voorkomt. Dit hoofdstuk richt zich op kenmerken van de omgeving (omgevingsfactoren) en om preciezer te zijn op kenmerken van de regio. Eerst achterhalen we of er verschillen zijn tussen regio's in Nederland in de mate waarin discriminatie voorkomt. Daarna onderzoeken we of eventuele regio-verschillen verklaard worden door het werkloosheidspercentage in de regio of de grootte van allochtone groepen in de regio.

De keuze voor die twee regio-kenmerken sluit aan bij twee belangrijke sociologische theorieën binnen onderzoek naar houdingen ten opzichte van allochtonen. De eerste van die twee theorieën is de eerdergenoemde ECT. Die theorie stelt dat leden van een groep (in dit geval autochtonen) het gevoel kunnen hebben dat hun belangen bedreigd worden door de aanwezigheid van leden van andere groepen (in dit geval allochtonen). Het kan bijvoorbeeld zo zijn dat leden van één groep het gevoel hebben dat banen die zichzelf of hun groepsgenoten

zouden moeten krijgen, gaan naar leden van een andere groep. Dit leidt dan volgens de ECT tot negatieve houdingen van de ene groep ten opzichte van de andere en vervolgens mogelijk tot meer onderlinge discriminatie. Belangrijk in dit hoofdstuk is dat een dergelijk gevoel van dreiging sterker kan zijn onder bepaalde omstandigheden op regionaal niveau. Zo zou het gevoel dat de belangen van de eigen groep bedreigd worden sterker kunnen zijn wanneer de economische omstandigheden slechter zijn, waardoor het aantal banen schaarser is en competitie over die banen sterker. Daarnaast kan het zo zijn dat het gevoel van dreiging sterker is als de andere groep, in dit geval de allochtone groep, groter is. Op basis van de ECT zou je dus ten eerste verwachten dat in regio's waar de economische omstandigheden slechter zijn er meer discriminatie van autochtonen ten opzichte van allochtone werkzoekenden is. Ten tweede zou je op basis van deze theorie verwachten dat er meer discriminatie zal zijn in regio's waar de groep allochtonen groter is.

Er is echter nog een tweede sociologische theorie die hier kan worden gebruikt, de eerder genoemde CT. Die theorie voorspelt juist het tegenovergestelde van wat de ECT voorspelt over het effect van de grootte van de groep allochtonen in de regio. Deze theorie zegt namelijk dat hoe meer contact er is tussen de leden van verschillende groepen, des te beter de relatie tussen die twee groepen zal zijn. Om precies te zijn is de verwachting dat meer contact tussen groepen leidt tot minder negatieve houdingen van de leden van de groepen ten opzichte van elkaar en ook tot minder discriminatie. Wanneer er meer allochtonen zijn in een regio dan is er ook meer gelegenheid voor autochtonen en allochtonen om met elkaar in contact te komen. Daarom voorspelt de CT juist dat er *minder* discriminatie zal zijn in regio's waar de groep allochtonen groter is. In dit hoofdstuk onderzoeken we op basis van de ECT het effect van de economische omstandigheden in regio's op de mate waarin er in die regio discriminatie van allochtone werkzoekenden is. Daarnaast spelen we de ECT en de CT tegen elkaar uit wanneer we kijken naar het effect van de grootte van de allochtone groep in de regio op discriminatie.

We maken in dit hoofdstuk gebruik van bestaande gegevens die zijn verzameld door het Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau (SCP) middels een veldexperiment in 2008. Dit was een klassiek veldexperiment waarbij de onderzoekers namens fictieve sollicitanten reageerden op vacatures via post, e-mail of telefoon. Vervolgens werd gemeten hoe vaak een fictieve sollicitant een positieve reactie (bijvoorbeeld met een uitnodiging voor een sollicitatiegeprek) kreeg van een werkgever. Dit experiment richtte zich op sollicitanten van Marokkaanse, Turkse, Surinaamse en Atilliaanse afkomst. Er werd onderzoek gedaan naar discriminatie in 24 regio's in Nederland. Aan de informatie uit het veldexperiment koppelden wij gegevens over het werkloosheidspercentage (als maat voor de economische omstandigheden) en de grootte van de allochtone

groep in die regio's. Deze informatie verkregen we via de website van het Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS).

De resultaten van dit hoofdstuk laten zien dat er verschillen lijken te zijn tussen regio's in de mate waarin allochtone werkzoekenden worden gediscrimineerd. Deze verschillen blijken echter niet te kunnen worden verklaard door het werkloosheidspercentage of de grootte van de allochtone groep in de regio's. Die twee regio-kenmerken blijken geen van beiden een significant effect te hebben op de kans dat allochtone sollicitanten gediscrimineerd worden. De bevindingen van dit hoofdstuk bieden dus geen ondersteuning voor de voorspellingen die we afleidden uit de ECT en de CT, hoewel we vanwege het relatief kleine aantal sollicitaties per regio enigszins voorzichtig moeten zijn met deze conclusie.

Discriminatie van allochtonen tijdens sollicitatieprocedures en de rol van kenmerken van beslissing-nemers

Hoofdstuk 4 gaat wederom in op de vraag onder welke omstandigheden discriminatie van allochtone werkzoekenden meer voorkomt, maar waar het vorige hoofdstuk zich richtte op de invloed van omgevingsfactoren, onderzoeken we in dit hoofdstuk de rol van kenmerken van individuen. We bestuderen in dit hoofdstuk ten eerste welke personen meer geneigd zijn om te discrimineren en welke personen minder. Ten tweede besteden we aandacht aan de vraag hoe het effect van de etniciteit van een sollicitant (allochtoon of autochtoon) zich verhoudt tot de invloed van andere kenmerken van sollicitanten, zoals opleiding, ervaring en geslacht. Daarbij onderscheiden we, net als in Hoofdstuk 2, verschillende fases van sollicitatieprocedures. We maken onderscheid tussen de fase waarin, op basis van hun CV's, een eerste oordeel wordt geveld over de geschiktheid van de sollicitanten (fase 1) en de fase waarin wordt besloten welke sollicitanten worden uitgenodigd voor een sollicitatiegesprek (fase 2).

We leiden wederom voorspellingen af uit de ECT en de CT. Zoals gezegd veronderstelt de ECT dat autochtonen die het idee hebben dat hun belangen gevaar lopen door de aanwezigheid van allochtonen meer negatieve houdingen hebben ten opzichte van allochtonen en een grotere kans om te discrimineren. Hoe sterk autochtonen het gevoel hebben dat hun belangen worden bedreigd door allochtonen hangt niet alleen af van omgevingskenmerken (die we in Hoofdstuk 3 bestudeerden) maar ook van hun eigen sociaal-economische positie. Omdat allochtonen over het algemeen een lagere sociaal-economische positie hebben (ze zijn gemiddeld lager opgeleid en werken vaker in lagere beroepen) wordt verwacht dat autochtonen in vergelijkbare posities meer concurreren met allochtonen en dus meer dreiging ervaren van allochtonen. Op basis daarvan verwachten we dat personen met een hoger opleidingsniveau

en personen waarvan de ouders een hoger opleidingsniveau hebben minder geneigd zijn om te discrimineren. Ook kan men op basis van de ECT verwachten dat religieuze autochtonen meer dreiging ervaren van allochtonen. In dat geval gaat het niet om de bedreiging van economische belangen (concurrentie tussen autochtonen en allochtonen bij het vinden van een baan of een woning) maar om de bedreiging van meer 'culturele' belangen. De aanname hier is dat religieuze autochtonen het gevoel hebben dat hun op het Christendom gestoelde normen en waarden in het gedrang komen door de aanwezigheid van (islamitische) allochtonen. Daarom verwachten we dat autochtonen met een meer christelijke achtergrond een grotere kans hebben om te discrimineren. Ten slotte verwachten we op basis van de CT dat autochtonen die meer en positievere contacten hebben met allochtonen een kleinere kans hebben om te discrimineren.

Om deze verwachtingen te toetsen, maken we gebruik van gegevens die we verzamelden in 2010. Dat deden we middels een laboratorium-experiment waarin studenten werden gevraagd zich in te leven in de rol van werkgevers en om CV's van fictieve sollicitanten te beoordelen. Daarnaast lieten we dezelfde studenten een vragenlijst invullen om informatie te verzamelen over hun sociaal-economische positie en achtergrond en over hun contacten met allochtonen. We richten ons in dit hoofdstuk op discriminatie van (fictieve) sollicitanten met een Marokkaanse of Turkse achtergrond.

De resultaten van dit hoofdstuk laten zien dat autochtonen die positievere contacten hebben met allochtonen een kleinere kans hebben om te discrimineren. Hoe vaak personen contacten hebben met autochtonen heeft geen effect. Dit biedt (gedeeltelijke) ondersteuning voor de CT. Verder laten de uitkomsten zien dat personen die zelf hoger opgeleid zijn of waarvan de ouders een hoger opleidingsniveau hebben een kleinere kans hebben om te discrimineren. Personen van wie de ouders kerklid zijn hebben juist een grotere kans om te discrimineren. Dit biedt ondersteuning voor de ECT. Een opvallende bevinding is verder dat ook mannen een grotere kans hebben om te discrimineren. Een andere belangrijke uitkomst is dat er verschillen zijn tussen fases van sollicitatieprocedures. Kenmerken van beslissing-nemers hebben nagenoeg geen effect op beslissingen in de fase waarin een eerste oordeel wordt geveld over de geschiktheid van sollicitanten. Dat is anders voor de fase waarin wordt besloten welke sollicitanten worden uitgenodigd voor een sollicitatiegesprek. Daarin zijn de verschillen tussen beslissing-nemers groter en spelen hun kenmerken een grotere rol. Verder zijn in de eerste fase het geslacht, de opleiding en werkervaring van sollicitanten belangrijker vergeleken met hun etniciteit dan in de tweede fase het geval is.

Discriminatie van allochtonen tijdens sollicitatieprocedures en de rol van impliciete en expliciete interetnische houdingen

Net als Hoofdstuk 4 gaat Hoofdstuk 5 over de vraag welke personen meer geneigd zijn om allochtone werkzoekenden te discrimineren en welke personen dat minder doen. Dit keer onderzoeken we de rol van houdingen die autochtonen hebben ten opzichte van allochtonen. We bouwen hierbij voort op een relatief nieuwe lijn van onderzoek waarbij onderscheid wordt gemaakt tussen expliciete – bewuste – en impliciete – (deels) onbewuste houdingen. We verwachten dat beide typen houdingen van invloed zullen zijn op discriminatie, in de zin dat negatievere expliciete *en* impliciete houdingen leiden tot een grotere kans om te discrimineren. Net als in Hoofdstuk 4 onderzoeken we daarbij zowel de fase van de sollicitatieprocedure waarin een eerste oordeel over de sollicitanten wordt geveld (fase 1) als de fase waarin een beslissing wordt genomen over de sollicitanten die zullen worden uitgenodigd voor een sollicitatiegesprek (fase 2).

We maken in dit hoofdstuk gebruik van gegevens die we in 2010 verzamelden door middel van een laboratorium-experiment om discriminatie te meten (zoals eerder toegelicht), een vragenlijst om expliciete houdingen te meten en een reactietijd-test (een Impliciete Associatie Test, IAT) om impliciete houdingen te meten. Dit hoofdstuk richt zich opnieuw op (fictieve) Marokkaans-Nederlandse of Turks-Nederlandse sollicitanten.

De resultaten van dit hoofdstuk laten zien dat zowel expliciete als impliciete houdingen van beslissing-nemers hun kans om te discrimineren beïnvloeden. Ze doen dat echter niet precies op dezelfde manier. Alleen expliciete negatieve houdingen ten opzichte van allochtonen vergroten de kans op discriminatie in de eerste fase van sollicitatieprocedures. Impliciete houdingen spelen in deze fase geen significante rol. We kunnen dus concluderen dat discriminatie in oordelen over de geschiktheid van sollicitanten (gedeeltelijk) het gevolg is van expliciete (bewuste) negatieve houdingen ten opzichte van allochtonen. In de tweede fase spelen zowel expliciete als impliciete houdingen een rol. Blijkbaar is discriminatie van allochtone kandidaten bij de keuze voor sollicitanten die op gesprek mogen komen (gedeeltelijk) het gevolg van expliciete (bewuste) en impliciete (meer onbewuste) negatieve houdingen ten opzichte van allochtonen. Opvallend is dat sommige beslissing-nemers positief discrimineren bij de keuze voor sollicitanten die ze willen uitnodigen op gesprek. Hoewel discriminatie vaker voorkomt, zijn er dus ook beslissing nemers met een voorkeur voor allochtone sollicitanten. Bovendien blijkt die positieve discriminatie alleen beïnvloed te worden door expliciete (bewuste) houdingen ten opzichte van allochtonen.

Voorspellers van impliciete en expliciete interetnische houdingen

Hoofdstuk 6 gaat dieper in op de expliciete (bewuste) en impliciete (meer onbewuste) houdingen ten opzichte van allochtonen die in Hoofdstuk 5 werden bestudeerd als mogelijke voorspellers van discriminatie van allochtone werkzoekenden. We proberen in dit hoofdstuk een beter beeld te krijgen van wat nu precies het verschil is tussen deze twee soorten houdingen en de manier waarop ze discriminatoir gedrag (kunnen) beïnvloeden. Dat doen we door te onderzoeken of expliciete en impliciete houdingen dezelfde oorzaken hebben.

Hoewel de afgelopen decennia veel onderzoek is gedaan naar het bestaan en de gevolgen van impliciete houdingen, is over de bronnen van deze houdingen nog zeer weinig bekend. Uit (met name) sociologische onderzoek weten we, zoals gezegd, dat contacten tussen allochtonen en autochtonen en ervaren dreiging van allochtonen belangrijke voorspellers zijn van expliciete houdingen ten opzichte van allochtonen. In dit hoofdstuk 'lenen' we daarom de twee eerder genoemde belangrijke theorieën uit onderzoek naar expliciete houdingen, de ECT en de CT, en formuleren op basis daarvan verwachtingen over de voorspellers van impliciete houdingen. We kijken, net als in Hoofdstuk 4, naar de rol van contacten tussen autochtonen en allochtonen en naar de rol van demografische en sociaal-economische factoren. Dit keer bestuderen we daarnaast de rol van ervaren dreiging van of competitie met allochtonen. Daarbij onderscheiden we het gevoel dat iemands persoonlijke belangen bedreigd worden en het gevoel dat de belangen van de groep waartoe iemand behoort bedreigd worden.

De gegevens die we in dit hoofdstuk gebruiken, verzamelden we in 2010 middels een vragenlijst (om expliciete houdingen, demografische en sociaal-economische kenmerken, ervaren dreiging of competitie en contacten met allochtonen te meten) en een IAT (om impliciete houdingen te meten). We kijken naar houdingen ten opzichte van personen van Marokkaanse of Turkse herkomst.

De uitkomsten van dit hoofdstuk sluiten wat betreft de bevindingen voor expliciete houdingen aan bij eerder onderzoek. Personen die hoger opgeleid zijn of van wie de ouders hoger opgeleid zijn en personen die positievere contacten met allochtonen hebben, hebben gemiddeld minder negatieve expliciete houdingen ten opzichte van allochtonen. Personen van wie de ouders kerklid zijn en mannen hebben juist negatievere expliciete houdingen ten opzichte van allochtonen. Ook vinden we dat gevoelens van dreiging leiden tot meer negatieve expliciete houdingen ten opzichte van allochtonen. Bovendien verklaren die gevoelens van dreiging de effecten van de demografische en sociaal-economische kenmerken. Deze bevindingen bieden sterke ondersteuning voor de CT en de ECT. Voor impliciete houdingen zijn de resultaten heel anders. Opvallend genoeg heeft bijna geen enkele van de bovengenoemde kenmerken

een significant effect op impliciete negatieve houdingen ten opzichte van allochtonen. Alleen het gevoel dat de belangen van de eigen groep in het gedrang komen door allochtonen zorgt voor meer negatieve impliciete houdingen ten opzichte van allochtonen. We kunnen dus concluderen dat expliciete en impliciete houdingen ten opzichte van allochtonen niet dezelfde oorzaken hebben.

Conclusies

Terugkijkend op de twee hoofddoelen die we ons aan het begin van dit onderzoek stelden – onderzoeken in welke mate allochtone sollicitanten in Nederland gediscrimineerd worden en welke individuele kenmerken en omgevingsfactoren ervoor zorgen dat dergelijke discriminatie waarschijnlijker is – kunnen we nu de volgende conclusies trekken.

Wat betreft het eerste hoofddoel van dit onderzoek is er duidelijk bewijs van discriminatie van allochtone werkzoekenden bij sollicitatieprocedures via CV-databanken op internet (Hoofdstuk 1). Zulke discriminatie blijkt wijdverspreid te zijn. We kunnen verder concluderen dat het grootste verschil in kansen op succes tussen allochtone en autochtone sollicitanten al ontstaat in de eerste fase van de sollicitatieprocedure. Dat wil zeggen, werkgevers besluiten regelmatig al direct na het zien van een allochtone naam om de betreffende sollicitant buiten beschouwing te laten. Het volledige CV en daarmee de (precieze) kwalificaties van allochtone werkzoekenden worden dus vaak niet in de beslissing meegewogen. Een laatste opvallende bevinding uit Hoofdstuk 1 is dat er in tijden waarin het economisch slechter gaat meer discriminatie voorkomt.

Met betrekking tot het tweede hoofddoel van dit onderzoek kunnen we concluderen dat de verwachtingen die we op basis van de ECT en de CT formuleerden over de voorspellers van discriminatie niet werden ondersteund voor omgevingsfactoren (Hoofdstuk 3). Opvallend is dat we in Hoofdstuk 2, dat niet als hoofddoel had om regionale verschillen in kaart te brengen maar daarover wel enige informatie verschaftte, nagenoeg geen significante verschillen tussen regio's vonden in de mate waarin gediscrimineerd werd. Die verschillen leken we wel te vinden in Hoofdstuk 3. Het moet overigens worden opgemerkt dat het kleine aantal sollicitaties per regio in Hoofdstuk 3 ervoor gezorgd kan hebben dat we geen significante effecten vonden terwijl die er mogelijk toch waren. We vonden wel ondersteuning voor de verwachtingen over de rol van individuele kenmerken die we op basis van de ECT en de CT formuleerden (Hoofdstuk 4). Op dat vlak bleken deze theorieën dus nuttig bij het voorspellen van discriminatie.

Verder vonden we in Hoofdstuk 5 dat zowel expliciete als impliciete negatieve houdingen ten opzichte van allochtonen de kans op discriminatie van allochtone werkzoekenden vergroten. Met andere woorden, discriminatie is niet alleen het gevolg van bewuste denkprocessen, ook

meer onbewuste beelden die een persoon heeft van allochtonen kunnen zijn of haar gedrag ten opzichte van allochtone sollicitanten beïnvloeden. Ten slotte bleken de verwachtingen die we, eveneens op basis van de ECT en de CT, formuleerden over de voorspellers van expliciete en impliciete houdingen ten opzichte van allochtonen wel uit te komen voor expliciete maar (grotendeels) niet voor impliciete houdingen.

Samenvattend kunnen we nu stellen dat expliciete houdingen ten opzichte van allochtonen op de verwachte manier discriminatie beïnvloeden. Expliciete houdingen worden op hun beurt beïnvloed door contacten met allochtonen, demografische en sociaal-economische kenmerken die samenhangen met ervaren dreiging en percepties van dreiging. Die contacten en demografische en sociaal-economische kenmerken hebben ook effect op discriminatie, waarbij dit effect (ten minste deels) via expliciete houdingen loopt. Tot zo ver bevestigen onze bevindingen de verwachtingen die men kan afleiden uit belangrijke theoretische stromingen binnen de sociale wetenschappen (de ECT, de CT en het idee dat houdingen gedrag beïnvloeden). Echter, naast de bovengenoemde factoren spelen ook impliciete houdingen ten opzichte van allochtonen een rol. Deze beïnvloeden discriminatie, maar doen dat niet op precies dezelfde manier als expliciete houdingen dat doen. Bovendien blijven de bronnen van die impliciete houdingen vooralsnog grotendeels onbekend. Impliciete houdingen ten opzichte van allochtonen vormen dus een voorspeller van discriminatie van allochtonen die we nog maar in beperkte mate begrijpen.

Hoe nu verder?

Op basis van ons onderzoek kunnen enkele aanbevelingen worden geformuleerd voor vervolgstudies. Ten eerste is het 'lenen' van de ECT en de CT om daaruit voorspellingen af te leiden over discriminatie enerzijds succesvol gebleken; de voorspellingen over met name de rol van individuele kenmerken werden ondersteund door onze bevindingen. Anderzijds hebben bevindingen in dit onderzoek ook nieuwe vragen opgeroepen, vooral over de invloed van omgevingskenmerken op discriminatie waarover we eveneens op basis van de ECT en de CT verwachtingen formuleerden. De tegenstrijdige bevindingen in Hoofdstuk 2 en Hoofdstuk 3 over regionale verschillen in discriminatie vormen een interessante puzzel voor verder onderzoek. Bovendien zouden in toekomstig onderzoek andere voorspellingen kunnen worden afgeleid uit de CT en de ECT om meer helderheid te krijgen over de rol van omgevingskenmerken. Zo zou gekeken kunnen worden of negatieve media-berichtgeving over allochtonen of de aanwezigheid van politieke partijen met anti-immigranten-standpunten een effect hebben op discriminatie. Dit zijn beiden voorbeelden van factoren die tot een groter gevoel van dreiging of competitie kunnen leiden.

Ten tweede kunnen we concluderen dat het aanbeveling verdient om in verder onderzoek naar discriminatie dieper in te gaan op de effecten van zowel expliciete als impliciete houdingen ten aanzien van allochtonen. Aandachtspunten daarbij zijn bijvoorbeeld de volgende vragen. Worden verschillende soorten beslissingen verschillend beïnvloed door impliciete en expliciete houdingen? Hoe interacteren deze typen houdingen met elkaar bij de beïnvloeding van discriminatie? En, algemener, wat is precies het verschil tussen expliciete en impliciete houdingen, bijvoorbeeld wat betreft de manier waarop ze tot stand komen?

Ten derde zijn er ook theoretische stromingen die in dit onderzoek minder uitgebreid aan bod zijn gekomen. Dat geldt met name voor de Statistische Discriminatie Theorie, die populair is binnen de economische literatuur. Deze theorie testen is niet eenvoudig. Toch verdient het aanbeveling om in toekomstig onderzoek te trachten verwachtingen uit deze theorie af te leiden en te toetsen. Op die manier zouden we de voorspellende kracht van deze economische theorie kunnen vergelijken met die van sociologische en psychologische theorieën.

Verder hebben we in dit onderzoek elementen uit verschillende onderzoekslijnen gecombineerd om niet alleen uitspraken te kunnen doen over in hoeverre discriminatie voorkomt maar ook over de oorzaken van discriminatie. Die combinatie van onderzoekslijnen was terug te vinden in het feit dat we meer beschrijvend experimenteel onderzoek naar discriminatie verrijkten door te putten uit meer theoretisch onderzoek naar houdingen, maar ook in het combineren van onderzoeksmethoden. We kunnen nu concluderen dat deze combinatie van methoden inderdaad meer inzicht heeft opgeleverd in de kenmerken en omstandigheden die ervoor zorgen dat er meer wordt gediscrimineerd. Het is daarom aan te bevelen om ook in toekomstig onderzoek methoden te combineren. Daarbij zijn enkele suggesties te formuleren. In ons onderzoek hebben we de combinatie van experimentele en andere soorten gegevens hoofdzakelijk uitgevoerd in een laboratorium-omgeving. Studenten zijn echter geen werkgevers of personeels-managers. Vervolgonderzoek onder echte beslissing-nemers bij sollicitaties is daarom aan te bevelen. Dat is echter niet eenvoudig uitvoerbaar. Het is namelijk niet gemakkelijk om gegevens over het gedrag van een werkgever uit een veld-experiment te combineren met gegevens over persoonlijke kenmerken of houdingen van deze werkgever als de betreffende persoon niet op de hoogte is van zijn of haar deelname aan het experiment. Als onderzoekers er toch in slagen om deze verschillende soorten informatie te combineren, zou dit belangrijke inzichten kunnen opleveren in de mechanismes die aan discriminatie ten grondslag liggen.

Een laatste aanbeveling voor verder onderzoek heeft betrekking op het mogelijk 'cumulatieve karakter' van de impact van discriminatie op de loopbaan van allochtonen. We hebben in dit

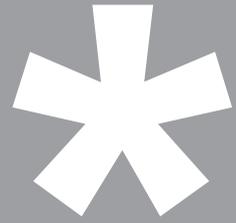
onderzoek aangetoond dat de invloed van discriminatie op de kansen van allochtone sollicitanten aanzienlijk is (bij sollicitatieprocedures via internet). We konden daarbij echter alleen uitspraken doen over de invloed van discriminatie op de carrière van allochtone sollicitanten *op één moment*. De invloed die discriminatie mogelijk tijdens eerdere fases van hun loopbaan had, hebben we niet onderzocht. Toch kan het zo zijn dat allochtonen al gediscrimineerd worden tijdens hun opleiding of zoektocht naar een stageplaats. Als dat het geval is, dan kan discriminatie in eerdere fases ervoor hebben gezorgd dat allochtone studenten of scholieren een lager opleidingsniveau hebben behaald of minder (relevante) werkervaring hebben opgedaan. Dat zou vervolgens hun kansen in de verdere loopbaan negatief beïnvloeden. Kortom, als discriminatie voorkomt tijdens meerdere fases van loopbanen van allochtonen, dan kunnen de negatieve effecten daarvan op het vervolg van hun carrière zich 'opstapelen'. Om daarin inzicht te krijgen zou er meer onderzoek gedaan moeten worden naar discriminatie tijdens opleidingen of bij het zoeken naar stages.

Praktische implicaties van deze bevindingen

De bevindingen van ons onderzoek hebben enkele belangrijke praktische implicaties. Ten eerste wijzen de uitkomsten van ons veld-experiment er op dat anoniem solliciteren zou kunnen zorgen voor meer kansen-gelijkheid tussen (gelijkwaardige) allochtone en autochtone sollicitanten. Dat sluit aan bij de bevindingen van een recent, groot pilot-project naar de effecten van anoniem solliciteren in Duitsland. Anoniem solliciteren zou niet alleen voordeel opleveren voor allochtone sollicitanten maar ook voor bedrijven. Voor bedrijven is het immers efficiënter om sollicitanten te selecteren op basis van hun kwaliteiten en niet op basis van hun achtergrond. Dat lijkt juist in tijden van economische crisis van groot belang.

Ten tweede wijzen onze resultaten erop dat sollicitatieprocedures via CV-databanken op internet de kans op discriminatie wellicht vergroten ten opzichte van klassieke sollicitatieprocedures. Werkgevers en personeelsfunctionarissen moeten immers bij het zoeken naar kandidaten via deze CV-databanken een extra handeling uitvoeren om meer informatie over werkzoekenden in te winnen. Bij klassieke sollicitaties is die informatie direct onder de naam van een persoon in het CV te vinden. Bij sollicitatieprocedures via online CV-databanken kan de werkgever, na het zien van een kort profiel van een sollicitant, op de naam van de sollicitant klikken om diens volledige CV te zien te krijgen. Ons veld-experiment toont aan dat die extra stap vaak niet wordt gezet als het om allochtone sollicitanten gaat. Daarmee hebben sollicitatieprocedures via CV-databanken op internet een negatieve impact op de kansen van allochtone werkzoekenden, terwijl ze ook gemakkelijk tot meer gelijke kansen

zouden kunnen leiden. Het lijkt immers relatief eenvoudig uitvoerbaar om tijdens (de eerste stappen van) sollicitatieprocedures via online CV-databanken informatie over de etnische achtergrond (en over het geslacht) van een sollicitant niet direct weer te geven, maar in plaats daarvan te focussen op kwalificaties.



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Curriculum Vitae

Lieselotte Blommaert was born in Venlo, the Netherlands, on the 16th of November 1983. In 2006 she obtained a Bachelor's degree in Sociology at the Radboud University Nijmegen. She then enrolled in the Research Master program Social and Cultural Science at the same university, obtaining her Master's degree cum laude in 2008. In September of that year she started her PhD project at the Interuniversity Center for Social Science Theory and Methodology (ICS) at the Department of Sociology at Utrecht University. There she conducted the present research from 2008 to 2012. In 2011, she was a visiting scholar at the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP) in The Hague. Currently, she is employed as a postdoctoral researcher at the Department of Sociology / ICS at Utrecht University.



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