Chinese Discrimination?
The effects of surname on perceptions of applicants' employability

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Biographic Note

Rita Daniela Martins Portugal was born on the 21st of May 1993 in Mortágua, Portugal, where she lived a non-eventful childhood and completed her secondary education in the Languages and Humanities area in 2011.

Passionate about travelling, politics and world history, and curious about understanding the world and how it is connected, in 2011 she moved to Porto to study Languages and International Relations at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto, completing her Bachelor in 2014.

Eager to expand her horizons and see more of the world than books can tell ~~you~~, Rita worked as an English teacher in Sao Paulo, Brazil, as part of a social business project (4YOU2) through the student association AIESEC, from February to July 2015.

In September 2015, Rita decided to continue her studies and to complement her Bachelor with a Master in International Business at the Faculty of Economics and Management of the University of Porto.

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Abstract

This study examines whether a surname connected to a local minority (Chinese) affects the perceived employability of candidates to an entry-level job in management/business in the Portuguese labour market by using an experimental between-subjects factorial design. A sample of 301 Portuguese working adults participated in the study by rating the employability skills, job suitability, co-workers' acceptability and promotability of one of eight fictitious résumés varying in ethnicity (Portuguese x Chinese), gender (male x female) and level of qualification (high education x non-high education). All candidates were applying to the same entry-level position in management/business. The findings do not show statistically significant signs of ethnic discrimination in terms of job suitability, co-workers' acceptability and promotability. Yet, and regarding employability skills, applicants with Chinese surnames were rated higher than applicants with Portuguese surnames on planning and organising skills, to a statistically significant level. Skilled résumés were rated higher than unskilled résumés on job suitability, despite gender and ethnicity. No statistically significant gender differences were found for any of the dependent variables. Results also suggest that respondents rated the résumés according to the level of similarity between the fictitious candidate and themselves. Overall, these results suggest that higher education levels are more important than gender or ethnicity in determining the employability in the Portuguese labour market. The evidence suggests that there might be an association of the Chinese applicants to the Asian culture known for its higher planning and organising skills. The contributions of this study are twofold. The first contribution is theoretical as this is one of the first studies examining ethnic discrimination against the Chinese minority in Portugal. The second contribution is methodological since this study employs a between subjects' experimental design, uncommon in related research.

Keywords: ethnic discrimination, Chinese discrimination, higher education, perceived employability, résumé screening, experimental design

Resumo

Este estudo analisa a possibilidade de um apelido ligado a uma minoria local (chinesa) afetar a empregabilidade percebida de candidatos a um emprego na área empresarial no mercado de trabalho português, usando um design experimental fatorial inter-sujeitos. Para o efeito, 301 adultos trabalhadores portugueses participaram na avaliação das competências de empregabilidade, adequação à função, aceitação por parte dos colegas e possibilidades de promoção de um de oito curricula fictícios que variavam em etnia (portuguesa x chinesa), género (masculino x feminino) e nível de qualificação (ensino superior x sem ensino superior). Todos os candidatos se apresentavam a uma primeira função na área de gestão. Os resultados não mostram evidências estatisticamente significativas de discriminação étnica quanto à adequação à função, aceitação por parte dos colegas e possibilidades de promoção. Relativamente às competências de empregabilidade, os candidatos com apelidos chineses foram melhor avaliados do que os candidatos com apelido português em competências de planeamento e organização, a um nível estatisticamente significativo. Os curricula qualificados foram melhor avaliados do que os curricula pouco qualificados em adequação à função, independentemente do género e etnia. Não foram encontradas diferenças de género estatisticamente significativas para nenhuma das variáveis dependentes. Os resultados sugerem ainda que os inquiridos avaliaram os curricula baseando-se no grau de semelhança consigo próprios. Os resultados sugerem que o nível de qualificação é mais determinante da empregabilidade no mercado de trabalho português do que o género e a etnia. As evidências sugerem que pode haver também uma associação entre a perceção dos candidatos chineses e a cultura asiática conhecida pelas suas caraterísticas de organização e planeamento. Este estudo apresenta duas contribuições essenciais. A primeira contribuição é teórica, ao ser um dos primeiros estudos a examinar a possibilidade de discriminação contra a minoria chinesa em Portugal. A segunda contribuição é metodológica, ao ser um dos primeiros, tanto quanto se sabe, a estudar a discriminação no mercado de trabalho português usando um design experimental.

Palavras-chave: discriminação étnica, minoria chinesa, educação superior, empregabilidade percebida, avaliação de curricula, design experimental

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1. Introduction

Considering the socio-economical context of the last decade, with increased mobility of labour and resources, it is of uttermost importance to understand what biases still exist regarding employability, since they may hinder the possibility of having a truly global workforce. Conducting this sort of research from Portugal will increase the existing understanding of the Portuguese context and will provide comparative evidence with existing research from the United States of America (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004), Sweden (Arai & Thoursie, 2009; Bursell, 2012), Netherlands (Blommaert, Coenders & van Tubergen, 2014), Italy (Fullin, 2016) or Norway (Midtboen, 2016), among others.

Even though there has been a steady decrease in the number of immigrants in Portugal since 2009, the pattern that has been observed since the 1980s is still of an increase in immigration when compared to the post-second war reality of Portugal being a country of emigrants rather than immigrants (Dias, Machado & Oliveira, 2016). Considering this evidence as well as the particularities of the Portuguese migration, this study focuses on candidates from Chinese speaking regions. While the most representative nationalities of immigrants residing in Portugal are those of Portuguese-speaking countries, such as Brazil, Cape Verde and Angola, and Eastern European countries, such as Ukraine and Romania, the Chinese population has seen a large increase in terms of population with legal status of residence, from around 1.6% in 2000 to approximately 5.4% of the total number of foreigners (for details see Appendix A and Dias *et al*. (2016;). This phenomenon has yet to be properly addressed, with most research done on discrimination focusing on immigrants from Portuguese-speaking African countries or the Romani population.

The main aim of this study is to expand the literature on discrimination in the Portuguese labour market, attempting to understand the potential consequences of this migration pattern in terms of employability. Therefore, the main research question addressed by this study is: *Is there a bias towards candidates based on their ethnic provenience in the Portuguese labour market?* Notably, *"Are Chinese applicants discriminated against in the labour market?"* Previous research has indicated that there is a bias in terms of the perceptions of professional competence and job suitability based

on the surname or name of a job candidate (e.g. Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Arai & Thoursie, 2009; Blommaert *et al.*, 2014). The main objective of this work is, therefore, to examine whether an applicant is perceived differently in the labour market when having a Portuguese or Chinese surname. Gender and qualification, i.e. whether the field of work the candidate is applying for is requiring high education (HE) or non-high education (NHE), must also be taken into account since the bias might be different depending on these variables. Previous research has also indicated a bias towards female candidates when compared to males, despite racial discrimination.

This study follows a quantitative methodological approach and a quasi-experimental design for the assessment of the perceived employability of the Chinese minority when compared to the Portuguese local majority, with data collected using an online survey aimed at Portuguese working adults. The respondents evaluated the job suitability, co-workers' acceptability, promotability, and employability skills of an applicant from a random résumé out of eight different experimental conditions: 2 (male vs female) x 2 (Portuguese vs Chinese surname) x 2 (high education x non-high education) design. Additionally, measures on applicant's transparency (Knouse, 1994) and similarity with the respondent (Deprez-Sims & Morris, 2010) as well as participants' demographics were asked and included as control variables.

This document is structured as follows: after this introduction, section 2 comprises a review of the relevant literature on the topics of Chinese Migration to Portugal, employability in the Portuguese Labour Market, Social Identity Theory and discrimination in the labour market, the use of field experiments or audit studies, as well as the qualification and education premium. Section 3 develops the theoretical model and hypotheses, while Section 4 provides an overview of the methodology. Section 5 presents the findings and overall results, followed by a discussion of the results, limitations and contributions on section 6. Finally, section 7 presents the conclusions.

2. Literature review

As tendencies of social and economic globalisation are witnessed, with the crescent liberalisation of markets, faster and better means of transport and communication and the consequent movement of not only goods but also people, it becomes of growing importance to investigate whether everyone is warranted the same opportunities in the labour market. The patterns of immigration differ greatly among continents, regions and countries. In Europe, Bail (2008) categorised 21 countries into three different configurations regarding their symbolic boundaries and attitudes towards immigrants. Bail (2008, pp. 54-55) describes the three sets of countries as: "Set A: New Immigration Countries on the European Periphery […] (Spain, Portugal, Italy, Finland, Poland, Czech Republic, Ireland, Greece, and Hungary) […] Set B: Old Immigration Countries in the Core of Western Europe […] (Britain, France, Austria, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Slovenia) […] Set C: Accommodating Isolationists […] (Switzerland, Norway, Denmark and Sweden)". Namely, Portugal along with Spain, Italy, Finland, Poland, the Czech Republic and Ireland were found to have a deeper concern for racial and religious boundaries, while having a weaker concern for cultural and linguistic boundaries, when compared to other European countries. Bail (2008) attributes these findings to different factors. On the one hand, the peripheral location in Europe when associated with the historical context of migration means that Portugal, along with the other similar aforementioned countries, started to experience a growth in immigration more recently than countries situated in the centre and north of Europe. These regions were, in fact, destinations for migrants from the more peripheral countries and even nowadays the immigrant population from these origins remain rather small, which does inflame a discourse regarding immigrant integration, contributing to the maintenance of already existing stereotypes and prejudices.

2.1. Chinese Migration to Portugal

While Portugal has long been considered an emigration country, in the last decades the importance of the inflow of migration has been steadily growing. While the most representative nationalities of immigrants residing in Portugal are those of Portuguese-speaking countries, the Chinese population has seen a big increase in terms

of population with legal status of residence, from around 1.6% in 2000 to approximately 5.4% of the total number of foreigners with legal status of residence (Appendix A), while the former have had either remained at constant levels or slightly decreased (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2016). While the literature on this particular phenomenon is still relatively scarce, some research has already analysed the different particularities of the Chinese migration to Portugal, and its growth.

Neves & Rocha-Trindade (2008) analysed the strategic role performed by the Diasporas in their countries of residence, by examining the case of the Chinese business community in Portugal. The heterogeneity of the community is highlighted as one of its important aspects, which can be divided it into three subgroups (Neves & Rocha-Trindade, 2008, p. 163): *"(a) entrepreneurs originating in Mozambique who arrived in Portugal during the 1970s; (b) Chinese entrepreneurs from the People's Republic of China (PRC) who constitute the dominant group and the majority of whom originate in the province of Zhejiang (just like in other European countries, particularly in Southern Europe), whose immigration began in the 1980s with two distinct waves; and (c) entrepreneurs coming from the Southern Chinese triangle during the 1990s (Macau, Hong Kong and Taiwan)*".

The three different groups would have different characteristics and follow different patterns. First, there would be a clear cultural difference, considering that groups (b) and (c) came from different regions of China, while group (a) had probably assimilated some aspects of the Mozambican culture. Second, and according to Neves & Rocha-Trindade (2008), one can identify different motivations in each group: while group (a) left Mozambique and came to Portugal for political reasons, following the process of decolonization in the 1970s, group (c) immigrated for reasons related to political tensions and economic instability in China, and group (b) in search of both better business opportunities and a desire to be reunited with family members who were already settled in Portugal. Neves & Rocha-Trindade (2008) concluded that the Chinese diaspora in Portugal could be characterised by its heterogeneity, high levels of entrepreneurship and considerable levels of mobility and internationalisation.

Following the introduction, in Portugal, of the Act 29/2012 (amending the Act 23/2007, and amended itself by Act 56/2015 and 63/2015), which established the Residence Permit for Investment Activity (ARI), commonly known as *"Golden Visa"*,

the incentives for the immigration of Chinese entrepreneurs became even greater, since it is now possible to acquire temporary residence by fulfilling some investment criteria. [1] This temporary residence is valid for one year but can be expanded for two more periods of two years, after which the individual becomes eligible for a permanent residence permit. Olejarova & Cajka (2016) studied this phenomenon, aiming at understanding both what has motivated this growing inflow and the potential risks and benefits associated with this program. The research proposed that the motivations for the Chinese investment in Portugal, added to the attractiveness of the *"Golden Visa",* could be varied and cumulative, such as: an increase in the number of countries that can be entered without a Visa (since Portugal is in a more favourable position regarding freedom of movement); a political stable country to live in, in the event of a political crisis in China; low-tax jurisdiction (while Portugal doesn't have exactly tax-haven qualities, it is still more favourable than China for entrepreneurs); high-quality of life

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[1] According to Act nº29/2012, as available at Immigration and Borders Service (SEF):

"i. Capital transfer with a value equal to or above 1 million Euros;

ii. The creation of, at least, 10 job positions;

iii. The purchase of real estate property with a value equal to or above 500 thousand Euros;

iv. The purchase of real estate property, with construction dating back more than 30 years or located in urban regeneration areas, for refurbishing, for a total value equal to or above 350 thousand Euros;

v. Capital transfer with a value equal to or above 350 thousand Euros for investing in research activities conducted by public or private scientific research institutions involved in the national scientific or technologic system;

vi. Capital transfer with a value equal to or above 250 thousand Euros for investing in artistic output or supporting the arts, for reconstruction or refurbishment of the national heritage, through the local and central authorities, public institutions, public corporate sector, public foundations, private foundations of public interest, networked local authorities, local corporate sector organizations, local associations and public cultural associations, pursuing activities of artistic output, and reconstruction or maintenance of the national heritage;

vii. Capital transfer with a value equal to or above 500 thousand Euros, for purchasing shares in investment funds or in venture capital geared to capitalise small and medium companies that, in turn, must present a feasible capitalization plan."

and healthy environment, in contrast to the extremely high levels of pollution in China; education or family reasons. Olejarova & Caika (2016) also considered relevant that, compared to other European countries which might provide similar levels of attractiveness when considering the motivations stated, Portugal has some historical and geographical advantages for Chinese business owners, namely the proximity to Africa, the ties to other Portuguese-speaking countries such as Brazil, and even the economic and historical connections between China and Portugal through the former colony of Macao.

2.2. Employability in the Portuguese Labour Market

While discrimination against minority groups can be observed in different settings, this study addresses the issue of discrimination in the labour market, notably related to résumé screening, which would impair the *employability* of the minorities. As mentioned by Vanhercke, De Cuyper, Peeters and De Witte (2014), the term employability may refer, quite simply, to the ability of a candidate to be employed. However, Vanhercke *et al.* (2014) also consider a narrower definition for the term, distinguishing the concept of perceived employability as "*the individual's perception of his or her possibilities of obtaining and maintaining employment*" (p. 593). Similarly, Fugate, Kinicki and Ashforth (2004, p. 15) define employability as "*a psycho-social construct that embodies individual characteristics that foster adaptive cognition, behaviour and affect and enhance the individual-work interface*". In short, it is widely accepted that employability does not refer merely to a particular set of skills or abilities, but rather to the perception that an individual (be it the candidate, the recruiter or the employer) has of those particular skills. This concept of employability has led to different attempts at measuring exactly which skills and abilities are more positively perceived by both employers and employees, and why.

Considering that the OECD (2015a) reports that even now the economies have not fully recovered from the economic crisis of 2007 and that this is particularly reflected in youth unemployment and lack of opportunities, this study focuses on the employability skills of young graduates. Particularly, there seems to be an imbalance between the skills that young people learn through their education, either at a basic or higher level, and the skills they need to employ in their jobs. On the one hand, many

young graduates finish their studies with very little to none work experience, and on the other hand, the high unemployment rates in qualified fields force young people to work jobs that they are overqualified for. In a long-term scenario, this has damaging effects for both the individuals, who lack opportunities for professional growth and financial stability, and also for the economies of the countries they are working at.

The "Bases of Competence" model (Evers, Rush & Berdrow, 1998) is a model of generic skills developed as part of a long-term project and aimed at analyzing both the self-perceived competencies of management and business university students and graduates and the perceptions of their employers. The model - containing four generic competencies (i.e. "Managing self", "Communicating", "Managing people and tasks" and "Mobilising innovation and change") and seventeen skills - was first established and tested from data collected in Canada but has received further empirical support from other samples including Portuguese business graduates and employers (Rocha, 2012; 2014; Gonçalves, 2010). Given its adequacy to examine the perceived employability skills of business students and graduates, this study incorporates three of the original skills as adequate measures of applicants' generic employability skills using the adaptation provided by Rocha (2012, 2014): interpersonal skills, from the generic competency group "communication"; planning and organising skills, from the generic competency group "managing people and tasks" and learning skills from the generic competency group "managing self". These three skills were selected to appraise the perceived employability of business applicants because one expects them to adequately apply to Portuguese and to other local minority groups (e.g. Chinese).

While earlier findings from Pinto & Ramalheira (2017) have shown no gender differences, when assessing the effect of academic performance and extracurricular activities on the perceived employability of Portuguese business graduates, Evers *et al*. (1998), Berdrow & Evers (2010) and Rocha (2012, 2014) consistently showed that female graduates are rated higher on the communication competency. Given these inconsistent findings, one hypothesises that:

H1: Female applicants will be more positively rated on employability skills, such as: (a) interpersonal skills; and (b) planning and organising skills, despite the ethnic group and qualification.

Conversely, results from Evers *et al.* (1998), Berdrow & Evers (2010) and Rocha (2012, 2014) also show that male graduates are rated consistently higher on mobilising innovation and change competencies. When this is conjugated with evidence for the persisting existence of a gender wage gap in favour of male employees and the fact that women are significantly less likely to be in top management positions (OCDE, 2016b), one can expect that:

H2: Male applicants will be more positively rated on promotability than female applicants despite the ethnic group and qualification.

2.3. Social Identity Theory and Discrimination in the Labour Market

According to the Social Identity Theory, each individual tends to define him or herself based on the groups they perceive to be part of (Ashford & Mael, 1989; Brewer & Gardner, 1996). Group membership influences the perception of the world by: a) segmenting and ordering the social environment, which provides the means to define others; and b) enables the definition of our place in this environment, by identifying ourselves with different social groups (Ashforth & Mael, 1989).

Similarly, Brewer & Gardner (1996), explain that the existence of a collective identity and a distinction between in-groups and out-groups serves the purpose of both providing a *"frame of reference for self-evaluation at the individual level and for selection of significant others at the interpersonal level"* (Brewer & Gardner, 1996, p. 85). It also facilitates *"comparisons between characteristics shared by in-group members in comparison to relevant out-groups"* (Brewer & Gardner, 1996, p. 85).

One may, therefore, presume that a strong in-group identification and sense of belonging, as defined by Social Identity Theory, may have an effect on the way people perceive anyone else as being part of an in-group or out-group, possibly leading to different types of discrimination (Brewer, 1999). A logical thought would be that when actively favouring in-group members one could, necessarily, disfavour out-group members, making the line between a lack of opinion or an active dislike towards out-group members a thin one. According to Brewer (1999), several factors, such as a feeling of moral superiority or a sense of perceived threat, as well as a feeling of

competition and general power politics, can accentuate this prejudice. It is safe to assume that many of these factors are typically present in the recruitment process and that a recruiter's perception about a candidate as an in-group or an out-group member might influence the candidate's evaluation and thereafter his or her employability.

The typical way of measuring discrimination in the labour market has been comparing the net earnings or wages of different segments of the population (Arai & Thoursie, 2009). However, that does not take into account more subtle discrimination that may occur before the actual employment. Nonetheless, it is possible to make valid conclusions about the ethnic discrimination using that method. For instance, Arai & Thoursie (2009) based on a sample of 641 Swedish immigrants who changed their Slavic, Asian or African origin name to a more Swedish-sounding one, analysed the effect estimation of name change on annual earnings. The findings showed that there was a substantial increase in the annual earnings related to the name change. This suggests that the use of distinct ethnic sounding names is an adequate proxy for a specific origin or ethnicity when attempting to study the phenomenon of discrimination in the labour market. The Arai and Thoursie (2009) quantitative study was followed by a qualitative one by Khosravi (2012), who looked at what caused immigrants with a Muslim name to change it to a Swedish-sounding name, as well as their general experience and expectations. The findings suggest that Muslims who have changed their name in Sweden felt unwelcome and discriminated against, even when their appearance did not fit that of a stereotypical Muslim and felt forced to choose between their identity and cultural heritage and a chance to take part in the Swedish labour market.

Other important contributions have supported the notion that names and surnames do not act merely as personal identifiers, but are also perceived by others as indicators of a particular culture, ethnicity or even social class (Wykes, 2015). In fact, through a qualitative study with thirty-one semi-structured interviews in Britain, Wykes (2015) found that a feeling of powerlessness in a racist society leads parents to pick names for their children that sound more like the white majority, in order to protect them from prejudice.

Relatedly, Almeida, Fernando, Hannif & Dharmage (2015) measured the perception of fit of different candidates in Australia, considering the attire, name, accent and religious affiliation of the potential candidate. The authors estimated that, following

the Social Identity Theory, the employers' perceptions of the candidates would be in line with the "similarity-attraction paradigm", meaning that (Almeida *et al.*, 2015, p. 2827): *"Candidates with attributes that are similar to those of the decision maker(s) or current employees are likely to be judged more favourably than those that do not possess similar attributes. [...]"* The study findings add to the existing literature on recruitment decision-making of skilled immigrants by demonstrating that, "*in addition to HCT[2], personal factors such as applicant's religion, accent, attire and non-Anglo names have an important bearing on recruitment decision-making outcomes*" (Almeida *et al.*, 2015, p. 2827)

The Social Identity Theory followed in this study by Almeida *et al.* (2015) can, therefore, explain the reason for the existence of discrimination in the labour market across the globe and towards different nationalities and ethnicities. The findings of Almeida *et al.* (2015) are in line with this, highlighting a significant difference between the perceptions of the candidates according to the earlier working experience of the decision-makers. The findings reveal that the decision makers who have worked mainly with Anglo/Celtic Australians expressed greater concern towards the job suitability of the candidates with heavier accents, non-Western attire or non-English-sounding names. This suggests that the background of the recruiters can influence the way they perceive a job applicant.

While the concept of people identifying themselves as part of an in-group and having a bias towards anyone they consider part of an out-group may in itself hinder the chances of applicants from ethnic minorities, it is also important to bring to this discussion how a certain level of prejudice or bias can turn into active discrimination in the presence of a perception of threat (Pereira, Vala & Costa-Lopes, 2010). In fact, people may perceive minorities or immigrants as being a threat to the local culture and values (symbolic threats) or to the general well-being and power of the in-group (realistic threats) for example, by affecting the economy and the labour market. Pereira et al. (2010) argue that a rise in the level of prejudice inevitably leads to a rise of the

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[2] Human Capital Theory, a concept popularised by Gary Becker, refers to the characteristics e.g. academic and professional experience, that may influence their personality.

perception of both symbolic and realistic threat, which ultimately lead to a greater active opposition to immigration and discriminatory acts.

Taking into account the economic situation of the country and the characteristics of the Portuguese labour market, which is slowly recovering from the 2007 economic crisis (OECD, 2017), another relevant aspect that should be considered is how economic downturns impact racist and discriminatory attitudes (Johnston & Lordon, 2016), and whether that may lead to worse labour market conditions for the minorities. Johnston & Lordon (2016) argue that prejudice in the labour market increases along with the unemployment rate, with particularly high penalties for high-skilled minority workers, especially black workers. The authors consider that one of the reasons this might happen lies in the fact that with a higher unemployment rate and a subsequent larger pool of white applicants for recruiters to hire, it becomes easier to discriminate against minorities.

2.4. Discrimination in the Labour Market: Field Experiments or Audit Studies

Field experiments, typically referred to as audit studies, have been used in previous literature as a mean of studying different types of discrimination not only regarding employment and recruitment of workers but also in other areas, being of particular relevance also in the housing market. While the focus of this literature review is the study of recruitment discrimination, it is still valuable to allocate some attention to other studies that provide insight into the methodology that has been used.

Regarding discrimination in the recruitment process, there are usually two different types of approaches that might provide different results, namely correspondence tests and in-person audits. Correspondence tests typically rely on fictitious résumés, containing specific and distinctive variables (e.g. names that are typically attributed to one minority), which are then submitted as applications to job offers, in an attempt to measure the reactions from the employers. Some limitations have been pointed out to this method, for example, that a name that signals a specific minority can also evoke an association with a lower or higher socioeconomic status, which might influence the employer. Besides that, it might be difficult to apply this method in a smaller market, since it relies on the number and types of job offers available (Pager, 2007). In-person audits, on the other hand, involve the use of actual

individuals posing as job candidates, typically matched in such a way that allows for, in theory, only one differential characteristic (e.g. skin colour or religious attire). This also poses some problems, namely the difficulty in supervising and implementing them in a way that ensures that no other variables might influence the employer. It remains, however, a clear method to signal race, for example (Pager, 2007).

While audit studies have been conducted in what can already be considered a relatively large number of countries, the findings about the degree of discrimination in those different markets show several differences. Although this may be explained by both cultural differences and the particularities of each country's history of immigration, can also be a reflex of the different methodological approaches that limit the comparability.

2.4.1. North America Studies

Bertrand & Mullainathan (2004) have been much influential in this field by using a correspondence test audit study methodology to assess the existence of discrimination against African-Americans in the USA job market. With a 2 (Name: African-American, White) x 2 (Quality of the resume: Low vs High) x 2 (Gender: Male vs Female) x 2 (City: Chicago vs Boston) design of fictitious résumés, sent to ads in both Chicago and Boston newspapers, the call-back rate was then measured. The results showed a statistically significant difference in the call-back rates of candidates with names typically associated with African-Americans when compared to names typically associated with Whites. While higher quality résumés increased the measured rates of call-backs for both candidates, the benefit for African-American candidates was lower than that of White candidates.

Considering the possibility of African-American names being directly associated with lower-income areas, Bertrand & Mullainathan (2004) examined the address associated with each résumé. It was, again, found that while there was indeed an influence on the call-back rate caused by an association with higher income neighbourhoods, African-American candidates did not benefit substantially from that influence. These findings can be interpreted as evidence of racial discrimination in the US labour since in the absence of any racial discrimination, two identical résumés only distinguished by having an African-American or White name attached to them should average the same rate of call-backs. There might be, however, some limitations to this

study. The African-American names that have been selected by Bertrand & Mullainathan (2004) might carry a connotation not only to a specific race but also to a specific social background, which might have made it more difficult to isolate the race variable in this specific study. In order to test this theory, a correlation test was then made between the chosen names and the mother's education suggesting a small evidence of a dependence of race gap and social background. The possibility of a difference in perception cannot automatically be discarded, though. On the other hand, one might argue that due to affirmative action policies employers might see skills attained by African-American candidates as having been easier to attain. A more reasonable explanation might be that due to a large number of candidates, employers use saving-time strategies that might lead them to only focus on the names and a few basic information about the candidates at a first pre-selection stage.

Other experiments following similar methodologies have provided deeper insights regarding racial prejudices in the North-American employment market. For instance, Pager, Western & Bonikowski (2009) included a variable for a Latino candidate, while also adding a control variable for a White candidate with a criminal record, performing an in-person audit with a focus on a low-wage labour market. It was found that there was a strong suggestion of a racial hierarchy, with the white tester receiving a call-back or job offer more often, followed by the Latino tester and finally by the black tester. While the ratio of call-back rates between the white tester without a criminal record and the black tester was considered statistically significant, the ratio between the white tester with a criminal record and the black tester was not statistically significant, indicating few differences in treatment between a white felon and a black man with no criminal record. This study was, however, based on a sample size of only 171 employers, with an over-representation of small firms that lack the resources to develop accurate recruitment processes. Additionally, the sample size was selected strictly from advertisements, which is the norm for audit studies, but ignores the reality of jobs being filled through referrals and walk-in applications, for example, which is even more relevant for the low-wages labour market.

Interestingly, a study conducted in Canada by Dietz, Joshi, Esses, Hamilton & Gabarrot (2015) focused on the differences between high-skilled and low-skilled jobs and their relation to discrimination, unveiling what was defined as "*the Skill Paradox*",

meaning that the bias against immigrant applicants might even be higher when they are highly-skilled workers. According to Dietz *et al.* (2015), this might be explained by a tendency to protect native workers as an in-group bias, and therefore wanting to employ a worker that is considered as being more similar, i.e. part of the group.

Considering that one of the main arguments regarding discrimination seems to suggest that racial prejudice might be eliminated or at least attenuated through an achievement of an equal education ground, Gaddis (2015) included a variable discriminating between elite and less selective universities, hoping to test the influence they might have on the employment of black and white candidates in three different regions in the US. He used, once again, fictitious résumés, that differed in race, university type, gender, social class and major, to measure the call-back rates associated with each variable. The findings revealed racial discrimination even in sectors that demand highly educated employees: while there is a significant correlation between having a degree from an elite university and a higher call-back rate, black candidates with that characteristic still had a lower call-back rate, with a very similar gap to the white candidate who had a degree from a less selective university. The findings suggest that education is still not able to erase racial discrimination.

Providing a different perspective, another study conducted in several cities in the US (Darolia, Koedel, Martorell, Wilson & Perez-Arce, 2016), found no statistically significant differences between response rates of white, black and Latino applicants, only finding small and inconsistent gender effects which also do not suggest a strong gender preference. The fact that the names associated with black applicants were not as distinctly African-American sounding as those used by Bertrand & Mullainathan (2004), for example, might provide an explanation for the differences in findings, suggesting that the social background effect might have been better controlled by Darolia *et al.* (2016). However, this fact does not provide an explanation for the lack of prejudice against Latino applicants when compared to similar studies. An optimistic interpretation offered by Darolia *et al.* (2016) is that these differences might suggest a decrease of the levels of discrimination in the US labour market.

Focusing on religious rather than racial discrimination, King and Ahmad (2010) used a mixed approach of both an in-person audit and a correspondence test as an attempt of measuring the level of employment discrimination against the Muslim

population. In addition to the religion variable, it was also measured the influence of the behaviour of the candidate in both of the studies (being Study 1 the in-person audit and Study 2 the correspondence test). The authors hypothesized that the candidate who appeared Muslim but conveyed a warm behaviour would be less likely to be discriminated against. The results of both studies showed that there was indeed a discriminatory behaviour against both women in religious attire (Study 1) and names associated with a Muslim identity (Study 2), and also that, as hypothesised, a warmer behaviour in an interview or, alternatively, mentions of volunteer work in the résumé, improved the odds of a call-back for individuals identified as Muslims.

Oreoupoulos (2011) took into account five different sets of names in the research design, testing prejudice for Chinese-Indian-Pakistani and Greek-sounding names in fictitious résumés when compared to identical ones with English-sounding names. The audit study conducted in Canada also considered the effect that the Canadian education and/or experience might have when compared to foreign ones. The findings showed that, in general, English-sounding names were statistically more likely to receive call-backs when compared to the tested foreign names. Regarding education and experience, while there was no evidence of a difference in the rate of response between a Canadian and a foreign education, there was a significant positive correlation between the existence of Canadian experience and the call-back rates of applicants. This might show the uncertainty of employers in hiring someone that they might not be sure to understand the specific context of the local labour market, or might lack the necessary language skills for the job. These findings were supported by the qualitative research done by Oreoupoulos (2011), by e-mailing a random sample of employers who had taken part in the audit study, asking what they believed could be some of the reasons for the results.

In sum, earlier North America studies about discrimination in the labour market show, in most cases, that candidates with names associated with certain racial or ethnic minorities tend to be disadvantaged against in the recruitment process (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Dietz *et al*., 2015; Gaddis, 2015; King & Ahmad, 2010; Oreoupoulos, 2011; Pager *et al.,* 2009), even when such candidates were highly educated (Gaddis, 2015) or pursuing highly-skilled positions (Dietz *et al.,* 2015). On the

other hand, however, more recent research has found no evidence of discrimination (Darolia *et al.*, 2016), which may suggest a decreasing tendency.

2.4.2. Europe Studies

Concerning the European context, earlier research has mostly focused religious discrimination over racial prejudice, which might be related to the geographical proximity and political debate surrounding the political instability and war climate in the Middle-East. For instance, Carlsson and Rooth (2007) developed an audit study in the Swedish labour market, using fictitious résumés of applicants having either a Swedish-sounding or a Middle Eastern-sounding male name. The findings showed significantly lower call-back rates for applicants with a Middle East name, but also a negative correlation between the call-back rate and the occupational skill level, suggesting a smaller degree of discrimination in highly-skilled occupations. A similar field experiment conducted in Germany by Kaas & Manger (2012) compared the call-back rates of candidates with Turkish-sounding names with candidates with German names. They also found a significant difference in call-backs though to a smaller degree when compared to other studies, which might be explained by the focus on a high-skill segment of the labour market and the fact that the résumés used indicated a German citizen with a migration background, born in Germany and with German as mother tongue rather than a first generation immigrant.

A similar audit study conducted in Norway (Midtboen, 2016) comparing the effect of a Norwegian name versus a Pakistani name, found a large and statistically significant difference in the response rates in gender-integrated occupations in the private sector, indicating that discrimination against that ethnic minority still exists. However, the same did not apply in the Norwegian public sector, where the difference could not be considered statistically relevant.

In the Netherlands, two different studies (Blommaert *et al.*, 2014; Derous, Ryan & Serlie, 2015) arrived at different conclusions. Controlling for two different phases of the recruitment process, Blommaert *et al.* (2014) found strong evidence of discrimination in the first phase of the online recruitment process, with employers opening and reading fewer résumés of candidates with Arabic-sounding names. However, there was no strong evidence of a different rate of call-backs or positive

reactions to Arabic candidates when compared to Dutch candidates in the next stage, taking into account the résumés that were actually being read, concluding that discrimination against Arab-named candidates was more prevalent in the first stage of résumé pre-screening than later on, when deciding whether or not to contact the applicants. Derous *et al.* (2015) also encountered an absence of effects of both unconscious and explicit prejudice against Arabs, finding that, however, Arab women were ranked higher than Arab men for both low and high-demand jobs.

More relevant for the Portuguese context as a peripheral European country with a recent history of immigration might be the studies conducted in Ireland (McGinnity & Lunn, 2011) and Italy (Fullin, 2016). Considering the challenge of developing a field experiment in the small Irish labour market, McGinnity & Lunn (2011) measured the level of discrimination of three different minorities in Ireland (African, Asian and German) matching only two résumés for each job position available, being one of them Irish and the other one alternated between the tree minorities, to a total of 240 pairs of matched job applications. This procedure lowered the chance of being detected and therefore compromising the experiment in the small Irish labour market. The findings indicated a clear difference in call-back rates between the Irish and the minority candidates in general. However, unlike hypothesised, a significant variation of discrimination between different minorities was not found, suggesting that there was not a higher level of prejudice against African or Asian candidates when compared to presumably white (German) minorities. A more extensive study done in Italy (Fullin, 2016) took into account not only variables of race and religion but also estimates of the quality of the network, female activity rate in the country of origin and knowledge of Italian language, based on assumptions about the country of origin. However flawed those assumptions could be, they provided some additional insight into the complexities of discrimination. The findings indicated that differences in terms of race had a wider impact on the probability of being unemployed, in people of both genders, while religion, namely the provenience from a Christian country, had a positive impact for women, while it had no effect on the odds of employability for men. The findings also suggested that there was no correlation between cultural similarity with the native population and the odds of being unemployed.

Following the predictions of the social identity theory and the consistent findings of a bias against résumés with a name connected to a racial or social minority not only in North America (e.g. Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Darolia et al., 2016; King & Ahmad, 2010; Oreoupoulos, 2011) but also in Europe (e.g. Kaas & Manger, 2012; Midtboen, 2016), and in particular in peripheral European countries with similarities with the Portuguese historical and social context (Fullin, 2016; McGinnity & Lunn, 2011), one can expect that:

H3: The résumés of Chinese applicants (local ethnic minority) will be more negatively rated than the résumés of the Portuguese applicants (local majority) on employability skills, such as: (a) interpersonal skills; (b) planning and organising skills; (c) learning skills, despite gender and qualification.

H4: The résumés of Chinese applicants (local ethnic minority) will be more negatively rated than the résumés of the Portuguese applicants (local majority) on: (a) job suitability; (b) coworkers acceptability and (c) promotability, despite the gender and qualification.

The earlier audit studies and field experiments of discrimination in the labour market share some limitations. Firstly, most studies considered only one stage of the recruitment process, being it the pre-selection of résumés or the interview. It remains possible that even if discrimination does not exist in that particular stage, it does exist later on a subsequent selection stage. Secondly, most studies used a convenience sampling and small samples (i.e. based on the advertisements that were available) often disregarding that in smaller or low-wage markets some employers might fill the job positions with referrals or spontaneous applications. Thirdly, there were also limitations related to the number of variables measured in each single study, making it difficult to isolate the variable under study since field studies or audits cannot control every possible variable that might also affect the results. Finally, because of the inherent nature of audit tests, which rely on some level of deception, there is also a question of ethics that needs to be carefully addressed by any research in this domain. Researchers are then requested to carefully ponder all these limitations and be sure that the study

being conducted is not overly harmful, for example, to applicants and to small firms which might not have the resources to analyse additional résumés.

2.5. Discrimination in the Labour Market: Qualification and Education premium

The positive influence of a high education on job prospects and potential earnings has long been documented and studied. This tends to hold true even when workers are higher-skilled than the job requires as noted by Daly, Büchel and Duncan (2000). The authors investigated the structural changes in the US labour market over the 1970s and 1980s and compared the rewards and penalties associated with having too much or too little schooling with the German labour market (Daly *et al.*, 2000). The findings revealed a consistent wage premium for those with higher education and a wage penalty for those with a deficit of education (Daly *et al.*, 2000). Consistently, Webber (2016) analysed the expected returns of attending higher education in the US, finding that even taking into account the higher cost of college education and subsequent student's debt in a North-American scenario, there was still a financial benefit associated with higher education in most scenarios. Cole, Rubin, Feild & Giles (2007), when studying the impact of academic qualifications, extracurricular activities and work experience in the perceived employability of recent US graduates, also observed that higher academic qualifications were still an important distinguishing factor from other applicants.

Similarly, and for the Portuguese labour market, Pinto & Ramalheira (2017) found that academic credentials combined with extracurricular activities can raise the perceived employability of local business graduates, both in terms of job suitability and employability skills. More specifically, OECD (2015b) reports that in all OECD countries there is an earnings premium for individuals who have completed tertiary education. Considering that *"in Portugal, the earnings premium of completing higher education is above the OECD average, with the average earning difference between tertiary educated adults and those with upper secondary education at 70 percentage points; 11 more than the OECD average"* (OECD, 2015b, p.120). Given this evidence, one expects that:

H5: Highly qualified résumés will be more positively rated than lower-qualified résumés on employability skills, such as (a) interpersonal skills; (b) planning and organising skills; and (c) learning skills, despite the gender and ethnic group.

H6: Highly qualified résumés will be more positively rated than lower-qualified résumés on (a) job suitability and (b) promotability, despite the gender and ethnic group.

Given the findings of Carlsson & Rooth (2007) of a smaller degree of discrimination against the local minority in high-skilled positions when compared to low-skilled positions; as well as the conclusions from Derous *et al.* (2015) that minority female candidates are ranked higher than minority male candidates for both low and high-demand jobs, one can also hypothesize that:

H7: The résumés of lower-qualified male Chinese applicants (local minority) will be the lowest rated on (a) job suitability, and (b) promotability.

3. Theoretical Model and Hypothesis

The diagram below visually shows the theoretical model of this study and a summary of the hypotheses
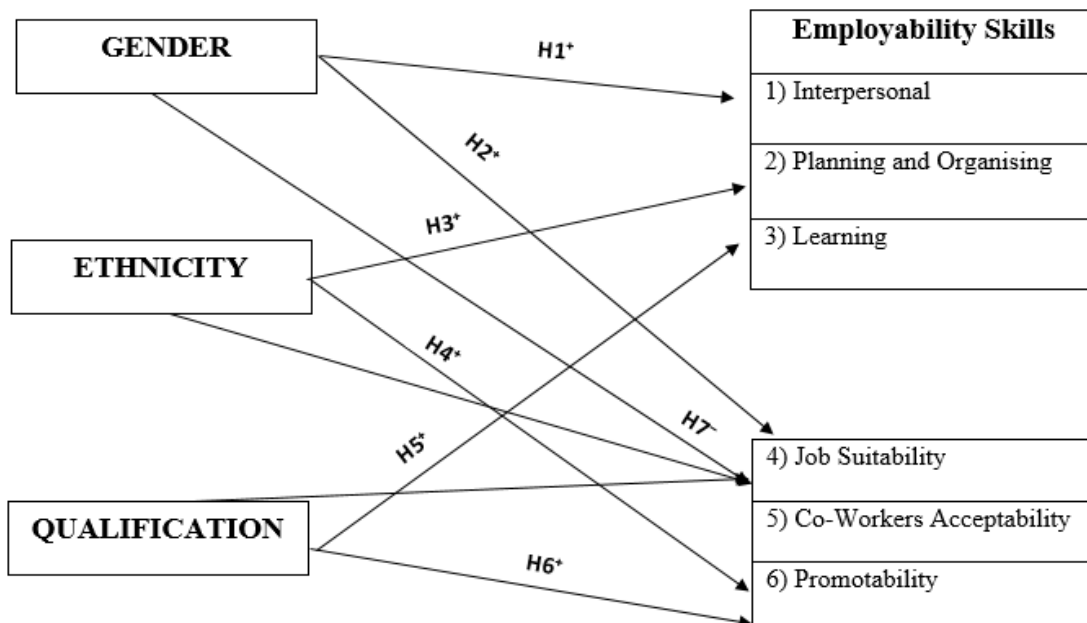
Figure 1 – Theoretical Model

Effects of Gender

Whereas earlier research is inconsistent regarding recruiters' preferences for male/female applicants, there is evidence that employers rate female business graduates higher in communicating skills (Evers et al., 1998; Gonçalves, 2010) while male graduates are rated higher on mobilising innovation and change competencies (Berdrow & Evers, 2010; Evers et al., 1998; Rocha, 2012, 2014). Given this evidence, one predicts:

H1: Female applicants will be more positively rated on employability skills, such as: (a) interpersonal skills; and (b) planning and organising skills, despite the ethnic group and qualification.

H2: Male applicants will be more positively rated on promotability than female applicants despite the ethnic group and qualification.

Effects of Ethnicity

Earlier research (e.g. Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Carlsson & Rooth, 2007; Gaddis, 2015; Kaas & Manger, 2012; King & Ahmad, 2010; McGinnity & Lunn, 2011; Midtboen, 2016; Oreoupoulos, 2011; Pager *et al.*, 2009) has shown that résumés with a name that is easily connected to a racial or ethnic minority received fewer call-backs and are seen as less fitted for the position when compared to résumés with an easily recognisable native name. Therefore, one proposes the following hypotheses:

H3: The résumés of Chinese applicants (local ethnic minority) will be more negatively rated than the résumés of the Portuguese applicants (local majority) on employability skills, such as: (a) interpersonal skills; (b) planning and organising skills; (c) learning skills, despite gender and qualification.

H4: The résumés of Chinese applicants (local ethnic minority) will be more negatively rated than the résumés of the Portuguese applicants (local majority) on: (a) job suitability; (b) co-workers acceptability and (c) promotability, despite the gender and qualification.

Effects of Qualification

Considering that in the Portuguese labour market there is a greater advantage in relation to earnings than average in OCDE countries to have completed higher education (OECD, 2015b), one would predict that respondents will grade high-skilled résumés higher than unskilled ones, especially in terms of employability skills and promotability. Therefore, the following hypotheses are proposed:

H5: Highly qualified résumés will be more positively rated than lower-qualified résumés on employability skills, such as (a) interpersonal skills; (b) planning and organising skills; and (c) learning skills, despite the gender and ethnic group.

H6: Highly qualified résumés will be more positively rated than lower-qualified résumés on (a) job suitability and (b) promotability, despite the gender and ethnic group.

Effects of Gender, Ethnicity and Qualification

As mentioned, the earnings premium for completing a tertiary level of education is above the OECD average in Portugal (OECD, 2015b). Additionally, earlier research points towards local minorities in low-skilled positions being associated with lower call-back rates than local minorities in high-skilled positions (Carlsson & Rooth, 2007), as well as minority males being ranked lower than minority female candidates (Derous *et al.,* 2015). This makes one expect that the low-skilled male minority will receive the lowest ratings among the conditions, therefore:

H7: The résumés of lower-qualified male Chinese applicants (local minority) will be the lowest rated on (a) job suitability, and (b) promotability.

4. Methodology

4.1. Procedure and sample

To test the hypotheses a 2 (male vs female) x 2 (Portuguese vs Chinese surname) x 2 (high education x non-high education) experimental between subjects design were used, employing fictitious résumés randomly sorted. This research approach and methodological design was used to overcome some of the limitations of the earlier studies in this domain and to test the effect of the independent variables (gender, ethnicity and qualification) on the dependent variables (employability skills: interpersonal, planning and organising, learning; job suitability; co-workers acceptability; and promotability). This means a total of eight résumés' variations, manipulated in the following experimental conditions:

Condition	Gender	Ethnicity	Qualification
A	Male	Portuguese surname	High Education
B	Female	Portuguese surname	High Education
C	Male	Portuguese surname	Non-High Education
D	Female	Portuguese surname	Non-High Education
E	Male	Chinese surname	High Education
F	Female	Chinese surname	High Education
G	Male	Chinese surname	Non-High Education
H	Female	Chinese surname	Non-High Education

Table 1 - Experimental Conditions

Data was collected through an online survey aimed at Portuguese working adults. The reasoning behind choosing working adults lies in the fact that the Portuguese entrepreneurial framework is composed of a large number of Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs), in which most employees develop some experience in recruitment, due to the lack of a sufficient number or employees to allocate a specific department to that function (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2017). After accepting the participation in the study, each respondent was presented with a résumé variation and

asked to read and answer a few related questions. The survey was in Portuguese and included some demographic questions, namely age, gender, education, birth country, ethnicity, earlier international residency and earlier recruitment experience, to control for potential respondents' bias (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Brewer & Gardner, 1996). All respondents were first contacted through email or social media (e.g. LinkedIn and Facebook) and asked to participate in a study aimed at better understanding the characteristics a résumé should have to make it more suitable for an entry-level position in the Portuguese labour market. Overall, 301 valid responses were obtained, distributed per experimental condition as shown in Table 2.

| Experimental Condition | N | Age | | Gender | | | Education | | Birth Country | | *Etnicity (White) | Earlier International Residence | Earlier Recruiting Experience |
		M	SD	Male	Female	NR	< HE	HE	Local	Non-Local			
Condition A (Male x PT x Skilled)	45	35,14	11,31	35,56%	64,44%	0,00%	11,11%	88,89%	84,44%	11,11%	85,29%	22,22%	55,56%
Condition B (Female x PT x Skilled)	38	32,58	9,38	47,37%	50,00%	2,63%	18,42%	81,58%	97,37%	2,63%	100,00%	42,11%	50,00%
Condition C (Male x PT x Unskilled)	35	31,20	8,05	34,29%	62,86%	2,86%	20,00%	80,00%	85,71%	14,29%	95,83%	31,43%	48,57%
Condition D (Female x PT x Unskilled)	36	30,61	8,58	44,44%	52,78%	2,78%	8,33%	88,89%	80,56%	11,11%	92,31%	44,44%	44,44%
Condition E (Male x CN x Skilled)	39	31,77	8,90	46,15%	48,72%	5,13%	5,13%	94,87%	89,74%	10,26%	97,14%	46,15%	35,90%
Condition F (Female x CN x Skilled)	36	31,42	8,64	41,67%	58,33%	0,00%	13,89%	86,11%	91,67%	5,56%	90,63%	22,22%	25,00%
Condition G (Male x CN x Unskilled)	32	30,03	6,37	37,50%	62,50%	0,00%	0,00%	100,00%	81,25%	12,50%	100,00%	28,13%	34,38%
Condition H (Female x CN x Unskilled)	40	31,32	7,97	45,00%	52,50%	2,50%	2,50%	97,50%	95,00%	5,00%	91,18%	35,00%	60,00%
Total	301	31,87	8,88	41,53%	56,48%	1,99%	9,97%	89,70%	88,37%	8,97%	93,90%	33,89%	44,85%

*Notes: PT - Portuguese surname; CN - Chinese surname; HE - Higher Education; *Percentages calculated upon valid responses*

Table 2 - Sample composition by experimental condition

Participants had an average age of 31.87 years old, and 56.48% identified as female. From those who have answered, the majority was white (93.90%), highly educated (89.70%) and born in Portugal (88.37%). Most had never lived abroad, with only 33.89% reporting a previous international residency. Yet, and consistent with earlier evidence (Pinto & Ramalheira, 2017), almost half of the sample (44.85%) has recruitment experience.

The analysis of potential demographic dissimilarities across the experimental conditions showed that there was an even distribution for most criteria, exception made for respondents' qualifications (HE). While 100% of the respondents for condition G reported holding a high education level, only 80% reported the same for condition C (the lowest) for a sample average of 89.70%.

4.2. Stimulus Materials

To operationalize the eight experimental conditions, eight fictitious résumés were created following the template of Pinto & Ramalheira (2017). Each résumé contained the usual and expected information, such as name and personal data (date of birth; address; phone number and e-mail), interest areas, availability and personal hobbies. In line with the previous literature, other features were controlled, such as: (a) college provenience and academic performance; and (b) extracurricular activities. Regarding college provenience and following Gaddis (2015), who showed that job applicants from "elite" universities or highly-ranked might be appraised distinctively by the recruiters, this variable was controlled by ascertaining that the "high-education" résumé's variation described a business graduate from the University of Porto, a highly-ranked university in Portugal. Also, no information about grade point average (GPA) was included to prevent potential bias according to academic performance (Pinto & Ramalheira, 2017). About extracurricular activities, all résumés' variations included the same reference to volunteer work because extracurricular activities are now commonly mentioned and King and Ahmad (2010) have shown that this information may lead to a warmer perception of the applicant, despite the ethnicity.

Other than that, the eight résumés looked as similar as possible, except for the variables that were manipulated. Gender and ethnicity variations were operationalized through the use of distinct names and surnames. The résumés with a Portuguese surname had a common and easily recognisable surname ("Martins Antunes"), conjugated with a fairly common name, "João" for the male résumés and "Joana" for the female résumés (as tested by Ramalheira, 2015). In the same way, résumés with a Chinese surname employed a common Chinese surname that can be easily identified as such – "Wei Wang" (and previously used by He, 2016). These surnames were used as proxies for the ethnicity manipulation in line with previous work that suggests that names and surnames are good indicators of race and ethnicity (Arai & Thoursie, 2009; Khosravi, 2012; Wykes, 2015). The qualification manipulation was operationalized through the academic credentials mentioned in the résumés: high-education mentioned by a bachelor's degree in management from the University of Porto, and the non-high-education conditions mentioned a technical course in accounting, equivalent to a secondary school diploma. All résumés also indicated complementary education in the

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area, with extra courses, and a skills section with an indication of both informatics and language skills. No previous working experience was mentioned, again to prevent additional biases and consistently with the age group of the applicants and the high unemployment rate for this group in Portugal.

After pre-testing the résumés with a group of ten experts in human resource management, they were perfected by adding a section with the languages spoken by each candidate. To highlight the ethnicity manipulation since all résumés featured a local citizen and included the Portuguese as a native language, the résumés with a Portuguese surname featured Spanish as a second language at an advanced level, while the résumés with a Chinese surname featured an advanced level of Mandarin. The résumés were then printed and pre-tested again with a group of twelve Portuguese working adults, who were asked how adequate the candidate seemed for an entry-level position in management/business and how plausible the information seemed. Additionally, they were also asked their general first impressions of the résumés, as a way to establish whether the manipulations (gender x ethnicity x qualification) were noticed. The pre-test showed that all manipulations were noticeable, so only minor amendments were made to turn the résumés more plausible, specifically regarding the e-mail server and the dates of birth.

4.3. Measures

Interpersonal Skills: This variable was measured by a five-item scale using the Portuguese adaptation of Rocha (2012; 2014) of the original scale by Evers *et al.* (1998), assessing the ability of the candidate portrayed to *"working well with others"*, *"understanding their needs"*, and *"being sympathetic to them."* Replies were provided in a five-point Likert scale, from (1) = very low competence/ability level to (5) = very high competence/ability level. The Cronbach alpha for this scale was .89, which is slightly higher than the original reliability of .80 (Berdrow & Evers, 2011).

Planning and Organising Skills: Following Evers *et al.* (1996), this skill encompasses the ability to *"determine the tasks to be carried out toward meeting objectives, perhaps assigning some of the tasks to others, monitoring the process made against the plan, and revising the plan to include new information"* (Berdrow & Evers, 2011, p. 415). The Portuguese adaptation of Rocha (2012; 2014) was used and replies

were provided along a five-point Likert scale (1 = very low competence/ability level; 5 = very high competence/ability level). The Cronbach alpha for this scale was .86, which compares adequately to the original score of .83 (Evers *et al.,* 1998) and to the score of .88 from Pinto and Ramalheira (2017).

Learning Skills: This variable was measured on a two-item scale, using the Portuguese adaptation by Rocha (2012; 2014), and includes the items: *"the ability to gain knowledge from everyday experiences*" and *"the ability to keep up-to-date on developments in one's field."* The respondents answered on the same five-point Likert scale (1 = very low competence/ability level; 5 = very high competence/ability level). The Spearman-Brown coefficient for this variable was 0.659, which is lower than the reliability of 0.723 reported by Pinto & Ramalheira (2017) and the original Cronbach Alpha of .67 from Evers et al. (1998). Given this reliability is still acceptable for a two item scale (Pestana & Gageiro, 1998) the measure was used.

Job Suitability: Following McElroy, Summers & Moore (2014), the sample items included: *"I would consider the applicant as qualified for this position"*, *"I would like to interview this person for this position"*, *"This applicant is a good match for this position", "I would not hire this person for this position"* and *"This person has a good chance of making a 'short list' of candidates for this position"*. The Portuguese adaptation from Pinto & Ramalheira (2017) was used and replies were provided on a seven-point Likert scale (1 = completely disagree; 7 = completely agree). The Cronbach alpha for this scale was .89, comparing adequately with the original scale (McElroy *et al.,* 2014) with a reliability of .89 for sample 1 (university students) and .97 for sample 2 (working adults) and the Portuguese adaptation of .86 (Pinto & Ramalheira, 2017).

Co-Workers Acceptability. This variable measures the perception of acceptability by existing co-workers using a five-item scale adapted from Pinder & Schroeder (1987). Sample items included: *"The co-workers will be available to help this new colleague when things got tough at work"* and *"The co-workers will take some time to accept this new colleague (reverse coded)"*. The answers were provided on a five-point Likert scale (1 = completely disagree; 5 = completely agree). However, the Cronbach alpha for this scale was .513, which is admittedly low, and deemed inadmissible (Pestana & Gageiro, 1998, p. 543) comparing to an original Cronbach

alpha of .77 by Pinder & Schroeder (1987). While the statistical analysis was run for this variable, the results should be interpreted with caution.

Promotability: Measures applicants' potential ability to be promoted on a one-item scale, inspired by the scale developed by Shockley, Ureksoy, Rodopman, Poteat & Dullaghan (2016) that states: *"What is the probability that the applicant will be promoted in one year from now?"* using a five-point Likert scale (1 = Very low; 5 = Very high).

Target Transparency: Measures respondents' perception of the veracity of the information included in the résumé by using a two items scale based on Knouse (1994), using a five-point Likert scale (1 = totally disagree; 5 = totally agree). The measure consists of: *"In my opinion, the information present on the résumé of this candidate is true"* and "*In my opinion, the candidate has deliberately altered the information present on this résumé to raise more interest (reverse coded)"*. This is a control variable that scored low on reliability, with a Spearman Brown coefficient of 0.49.

Target Similarity: Is a one-item scale based on Deprez-Sims & Morris (2010) that asked: *"In your opinion, how similar is this candidate with you?"* using a five-point Likert scale (1 = Very low similarity; 5 = Very high similarity).

Other measures: All respondents were asked about their age, gender, education, birth country, ethnicity, earlier international residency and earlier recruiting experience, in order to control for possible respondents' biases. Age was computed in years, while gender was dummy-coded (0 = Female; 1 = Male), as well as Education (0 = Less than higher education; 1= Higher Education), birth country (0 = Other countries; 1 = Portugal), Ethnicity (0 = Other ethnicities; 1 = White), earlier international residence (0 = No; 1 = Yes) and earlier recruiting experience (0 = No; 1 = Yes).

5. Results

5.1. Sample Differences by Experimental Conditions

Participants were randomly assorted to one of the eight experimental conditions to answer the survey. To determine potential demographic dissimilarities across conditions several one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) were run comparing the demographics for each experimental condition. Table 3 shows that there are no statistically significant differences for most demographic variables, except for respondents' qualification (HE), which shows statistically significant differences between experimental conditions to a .05 significance level. In particular, Condition C has much fewer respondents reporting a High Education level while more of the respondents that were show Condition G report holding a high education level.

Variable	*F*	Sig
Respondents' Demographics		
Age	1.256	0.272
Gender (1=Male)	0.798	0.590
Education (1=HE)	2.151	0.039*
Birth Country (1=Local)	0.807	0.582
Ethnicity (1=White)	1.488	0.172
Earlier International Residence (1=Yes)	1.550	0.150
Earlier Recruiting Experience (1=Yes)	1.857	0.077
* p < 0.05		

Table 3 - ANOVA results for differences between experimental conditions

These results confirm the adequacy of the experimental manipulation and support the decision to use respondents' demographics as covariates in the following data analysis.

5.2. Descriptive Analysis

The descriptive statistics for the dependent variables per experimental condition can be seen in Table 4.

Experimental Condition	N	Interpersonal Skills		Planning & Organizing Skills		Learning Skills		Job Suitability		Provision of Coworkers Support		Promotability		Target Transparency		Target Similarity with Respondent	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Condition A (Male x PT x Skilled)	45	3,72	0,56	3,53	0,75	3,74	0,71	5,22	1,14	3,20	0,58	2,80	0,73	3,59	0,65	2,36	1,07
Condition B (Female x PT x Skilled)	38	3,34	0,54	3,22	0,65	3,36	0,56	5,34	0,89	3,24	0,35	2,66	0,94	3,39	0,59	2,24	1,05
Condition C (Male x PT x Unskilled)	35	3,42	0,69	3,21	0,72	3,24	0,68	4,79	1,28	3,32	0,44	2,60	0,85	3,37	0,63	1,89	0,83
Condition D (Female x PT x Unskilled)	36	3,44	0,58	3,29	0,72	3,44	0,69	4,58	1,27	3,11	0,45	2,53	0,88	3,31	0,59	2,06	0,92
Condition E (Male x CN x Skilled)	39	3,44	0,78	3,40	0,74	3,49	0,79	4,99	1,12	3,23	0,49	2,33	0,96	3,38	0,66	1,87	0,89
Condition F (Female x CN x Skilled)	36	3,86	0,61	3,73	0,59	3,65	0,64	5,52	0,89	3,19	0,53	2,78	0,96	3,51	0,64	2,28	1,09
Condition G (Male x CN x Unskilled)	32	3,43	0,50	3,32	0,58	3,39	0,68	4,34	1,16	3,16	0,46	2,25	0,92	3,34	0,61	1,81	0,69
Condition H (Female x CN x Unskilled)	40	3,45	0,63	3,33	0,54	3,55	0,69	4,90	1,01	3,19	0,52	2,65	0,83	3,31	0,50	2,03	0,95
Amostra Total	301	3,52	0,63	3,38	0,68	3,49	0,69	4,98	1,15	3,20	0,48	2,58	0,89	3,41	0,61	2,08	0,96

Notes. PT - Portuguese surname, CN - Chinese surname

Table 4 - Descriptive statistics for the dependent variables per experimental condition

The data shows means above the mid-point scales for all dependent variables, except for promotability. In addition, correlations analysis were also computed, as shown in Table 5. All dependent variables are significantly correlated, suggesting that they consistently contribute to describing the perception of employability of the candidates. Since the correlations also allow the identification of potential confounding effects of the respondents' demographics, namely for the variables significantly correlated with the dependent variables, such as gender, HE, earlier international residence and earlier recruiting experience, these variables entered into the analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) as covariates.

Variable	N	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Respondents' Demographics																		
1. Age	300	31,87	8,88		0,161**	0,137*	-0,075	-0,073	0,010	0,129*	0,047	0,064	0,051	-0,021	0,072	0,002	0,090	-0,085
2. Gender (1 = Male)	301	0,46	0,537			-0,048	-0,061	-0,028	0,054	0,085	0,144*	-0,092	-0,077	-0,118*	0,049	-0,015	-0,058	0,003
3. Education (1 = HE)	300	0,90	0,301				-0,069	0,088	0,127*	0,073	-0,073	-0,087	-0,052	0,041	-0,071	-0,146*	0,005	-0,138*
4. Birth Country (1 = Local)	293	0,91	0,290					0,093	0,340**	-0,013	0,018	0,023	0,000	0,106	0,003	0,076	0,012	0,034
5. Etnicity (1 = White)	246	0,94	0,240						0,044	0,059	-0,041	0,042	-0,035	-0,009	-0,060	-0,106	-0,091	-0,102
6. Earlier International Residence (1 =Yes)	295	0,35	0,476							0,024	-0,111	-0,095	-0,119*	-0,035	-0,004	-0,086	-0,027	-0,027
7. Earlier Recruiting Experience	270	0,50	0,501								-0,078	-0,159**	-0,120*	-0,158**	-0,175**	-0,09	-0,098	-0,113
Criterion																		
8. Interpersonal Skills	301	3,517	0,632									0,709**	0,690**	0,360**	0,224**	0,324**	0,339**	0,297**
9. Planning & Organizing Skills	301	3,384	0,678										0,725**	0,486**	0,260**	0,388**	0,300**	0,394**
10. Learning Skills	301	3,493	0,694											0,450**	0,292**	0,395**	0,261**	0,336**
11. Job Suitability	301	4,981	1,146												0,223**	0,309**	0,219**	0,319**
12. Provision of Coworkers Support	301	3,204	0,483													0,299**	0,227**	0,150**
13. Promotability	301	2,580	0,889														0,103	0,470**
14. Target Transparency	301	3,407	0,613															0,125*
15. Target Similarity with Respondent	301	2,08	0,961															

Notes. HE = Higher Education
*p < .05. **p < .01. n = 301

Table 5 - Correlations among the study variables

5.3. Test of Hypothesis

5.3.1. Effects of Gender

Hypothesis 1 predicted that female applicants would be more positively rated on employability skills, such as (a) interpersonal skills and (b) planning and organising skills, despite the ethnic group and qualification. No gender differences were expected for the learning skills. As observed in Tables 6 and 7, the ANCOVAs using respondents' gender, higher education, earlier international residency, earlier recruiting experience as covariates and target transparency and similarity as control variables, do not exhibit significant effects. Contrary to what was expected the results show no statistically significant differences between the male and female conditions, which do not support hypothesis 1.

Between subject effects	N	Interpersonal Skills					
		M	SD	df	F	p	Partial η^2
Gender effect							
Male Conditions (EGIK)	134	3,54	0,66	1	0,026	0,873	0,000
Female Conditions (FHJL)	136	3,52	0,61				

Table 6 - ANCOVA results for interpersonal skills (Hypothesis 1)

Between subject effects	N	Planning & Organizing Skills					
		M	SD	df	F	p	Partial η^2
Gender effect							
Male Conditions (EGIK)	134	3,38	0,72	1	0,001	0,974	0,000
Female Conditions (FHJL)	136	3,38	0,65				

Table 7 - ANCOVA results for planning and organising skills (Hypothesis 1)

Hypothesis 2 predicted that male applicants would be more positively rated on promotability than female applicants, despite the ethnic group and qualification. No gender differences were expected for either job suitability or co-workers' acceptability. Once again, no statistically significant differences were found that could suggest a gender effect, after including respondents' gender, higher education, earlier international residency, and earlier recruiting experience as covariates, and target

transparency and with the respondent as control variables. In fact, the mean values for promotability were slightly higher for females though not statistically significant, as shown in Table 8.

Between subject effects	N	Promotability					
		M	SD	*df*	*F*	*p*	Partial η^2
Gender effect							
Male Conditions (EGIK)	134	2,51	0,86	1	*0,571*	*0,451*	0,002
Female Conditions (FHJL)	136	2,62	0,88				

Table 8 - ANCOVA results for promotability (Hypothesis 2)

5.3.2. Effects of Ethnicity

Hypothesis 3 predicted that the conditions with a Chinese surname, corresponding to a local ethnic minority would be more negatively rated than the conditions with a Portuguese surname on employability skills, such as (a) interpersonal skills; (b) planning and organising skills and (c) learning skills, despite the gender and qualification. While no statistically significant results were found for the ratings on interpersonal skills and learning skills (Tables 9 and 11), it was found a statistically significant difference among the ethnic conditions for planning and organising skills (F $(1,262) = 4,467$, $p < 0.05$, $\eta p^2 = 0.017$). Surprisingly, however, were the conditions with a Chinese surname that were more positively rated in this skill, contradicting H3b, as shown in Table 10.

Between subject effects	N	Interpersonal Skills					
		M	SD	*df*	*F*	*p*	Partial η^2
Ethnicity effect							
Portuguese Conditions (EFGH)	142	3,50	0,60	1	*2,346*	*0,127*	0,009
Chinese Conditions (IJKL)	128	3,57	0,67				

Table 9 - ANCOVA results for interpersonal skills (Hypothesis 3)

Between subject effects	N	Planning & Organizing Skills					
		M	SD	df	F	p	Partial η^2
Ethnicity effect							
Portuguese Conditions (EFGH)	142	3,33	0,71	1	*4,467*	*0,036**	0,017
Chinese Conditions (IJKL)	128	3,44	0,64				

Table 10 - ANCOVA results for planning and organising skills (Hypothesis 3)

Between subject effects	N	Learning Skills					
		M	SD	df	F	p	Partial η^2
Ethnicity effect							
Portuguese Conditions (EFGH)	142	3,46	0,69	1	*1,469*	*0,227*	0,006
Chinese Conditions (IJKL)	128	3,52	0,71				

Table 11 - ANCOVA results for learning skills (Hypothesis 3)

Hypothesis 4 predicted that the résumés of applicants with a Chinese surname would be more negatively rated than the résumés of applicants with a Portuguese surname on (a) job suitability; (b) co-workers' acceptability and (b) promotability, despite the gender and qualification. As shown in Tables 12, 13 and 14 this hypothesis was not supported. Although the Portuguese résumés scored higher in job suitability (M1 = 5.03) than the Chinese résumés (M2 = 4.99) this difference was not statistically significant, after taking into consideration the respondents' demographics as covariates and the control variables. Yet, in this case, the results are to a great degree explained by the level of perceived target similarity. The highest the perceived target similarity (despite the gender and ethnicity) the higher the (a) job suitability ($F_{(1,262)} = 28.995$, $p < 0.01$, $\eta p2 = 0.100$) and (c) promotability ($F_{(1,262)} = 64.863$, $p < 0.01$, $\eta p2 = 0.198$).

Between subject effects	N	Job Suitability					
		M	SD	df	F	p	Partial η^2
Ethnicity effect							
Portuguese Conditions (EFGH)	142	5,03	1,20	1	*0,038*	*0,845*	0,000
Chinese Conditions (IJKL)	128	4,99	1,10				

Table 12 - ANCOVA results for job suitability (Hypothesis 4)

Between subject effects	N	Co-Workers Acceptability					
		M	SD	*df*	*F*	*p*	Partial η²
Ethnicity effect							
Portuguese Conditions (EFGH)	142	3,22	0,48	1	*0,313*	*0,576*	0,001
Chinese Conditions (IJKL)	128	3,19	0,47				

Table 13 - ANCOVA results for co-workers' acceptability (Hypothesis 4)

Between subject effects	N	Promotability					
		M	SD	*df*	*F*	*p*	Partial η²
Ethnicity effect							
Portuguese Conditions (EFGH)	142	2,62	0,86	1	*0,141*	*0,708*	0,001
Chinese Conditions (IJKL)	128	2,51	0,88				

Table 14 - ANCOVA results for promotability (Hypothesis 4)

5.3.3. Effects of Qualification

Hypothesis 5 predicted that highly qualified résumés would be more positively rated than lower-qualified résumés on employability skills, such as (a) interpersonal skills, (b) planning and organising skills and (c) learning skills, despite the gender and ethnic group. While, indeed, highly qualified résumés were overall better evaluated on all employability skills, none of the differences was statistically significant, as shown in Tables 15, 16 and 17, after taking into account the respondents' demographics as covariates and the control variables. In fact, the preference can be largely explained by the perceived target similarity with the respondent and the perceived transparency of the résumé for all the dependent variables.

Between subject effects	N	Interpersonal Skills					
		M	SD	*df*	*F*	*p*	Partial η²
Qualification effect							
Skilled Conditions (EFIJ)	143	3,59	0,65	1	*0,932*	*0,335*	0,004
Unskilled Conditions (GHKL)	127	3,47	0,61				

Table 15 - ANCOVA results for interpersonal skills (Hypothesis 5)

Between subject effects	N	Planning & Organizing Skills					
		M	SD	*df*	*F*	*p*	Partial η²
Qualification effect							
Skilled Conditions (EFIJ)	143	3,45	0,70	1	*0,745*	*0,389*	0,003
Unskilled Conditions (GHKL)	127	3,31	0,65				

Table 16 - ANCOVA results for planning and organising skills (Hypothesis 5)

Between subject effects	N	Learning Skills					
		M	SD	*df*	*F*	*p*	Partial η²
Qualification effect							
Skilled Conditions (EFIJ)	143	3,56	0,68	1	*1,108*	*0,293*	0,004
Unskilled Conditions (GHKL)	127	3,41	0,70				

Table 17 - ANCOVA results for learning skills (Hypothesis 5)

Hypothesis 6 predicted that highly qualified résumés would be more positively rated than unskilled résumés on (a) job suitability and (b) promotability, despite the gender and ethnic group. Highly qualified résumés were considered more suitable for the job they were applying for (M = 5.28) when compared to lower-qualified résumés (M = 4.70) and this difference was statistically significant (F $(1,262)$ = 15,010, p < 0.01, ηp2 = 0,054), therefore supporting *Hypothesis 6(a)*. While candidates with highly-qualified résumés were also considered more likely to be promoted within a year (M = 2.64) than candidates with lower qualified résumés (M = 2.49), this difference was not statistically significant and therefore *Hypothesis 6(b)* is not supported (Tables 18 and 19).

Between subject effects	N	Job Suitability					
		M	SD	*df*	*F*	*p*	Partial η²
Qualification effect							
Skilled Conditions (EFIJ)	143	5,28	1,01	1	*15,01*	*0,000***	0,054
Unskilled Conditions (GHKL)	127	4,70	1,22				

Table 18 - ANCOVA results for job suitability (Hypothesis 6)

Between subject effects	N	Promotability					
		M	SD	*df*	*F*	*p*	Partial η²
Qualification effect							
Skilled Conditions (EFIJ)	143	2,64	0,868	1	*0,341*	*0,560*	0,001
Unskilled Conditions (GHKL)	127	2,49	0,863				

Table 19 - ANCOVA results for promotability (Hypothesis 6)

5.3.4. Effects of Gender, Ethnicity and Qualification

Hypothesis 7 predicted that the résumés of lower-qualified male Chinese applicants (local minority) would be the lowest rated on (a) job suitability and (b) promotability. Post-hoc comparison tests, comparing the averages for these dependent variables for Condition G, with all the others conditions, showed that the low-qualified male Chinese applicant (Condition G) scored significantly lower on job suitability than the highly qualified male (Conditions A) and female Portuguese applicants (Conditions B), respectively M_{diff} = -0.99; SD = 0.25; p < 0,05 and M_{diff} = -1,00; SD = 0,25; p < 0.01. Also, the low-qualified male Chinese applicant scored lower than the highly qualified female Chinese applicant from Condition F (M_{diff} = -1.18; SD = 0.27; p < 0.01). However, Condition G was not rated significantly lower than other low-qualified candidates or than the résumé of the high-qualified male Chinese applicant, therefore *Hypothesis 7(a)* cannot be supported by the findings. The post-hoc tests show no statistically significant differences between the evaluation of the low-qualified male Chinese applicants when compared to all the other applicants when it comes to the probability of being promoted within a year, and therefore *Hypothesis 7(b)* is also not supported.

6. Discussion

The main objective of this study was determining whether there is a bias towards candidates based on their ethnicity in the Portuguese labour market, notably whether Chinese applicants are discriminated against in the labour market. More specifically, one analysed how different résumés with either a Portuguese or a Chinese surname (meant to signal ethnicity) were evaluated in terms of employability skills, such as (a) interpersonal, (b) planning and organising and (c) learning skills; and job suitability, co-workers' acceptability and promotability. The results are summarised in the table below:

Hypothesis	Result
H1. Female applicants will be more positively rated on employability skills, such as: (a) interpersonal skills; and (b) planning and organising skills, despite the ethnic group and qualification.	Not Supported
H2. Male applicants will be more positively rated on promotability than female applicants despite the ethnic group and qualification.	Not Supported
H3. The résumés of Chinese applicants (local ethnic minority) will be more negatively rated than the résumés of the Portuguese applicants (local majority) on employability skills, such as: (a) interpersonal skills; (b) planning and organising skills; (c) learning skills, despite gender and qualification.	Not Supported
H4. The résumés of Chinese applicants (local ethnic minority) will be more negatively rated than the résumés of the Portuguese applicants (local majority) on: (a) job suitability; (b) co-workers acceptability and (c) promotability, despite the gender and qualification.	Not Supported
H5. Highly qualified résumés will be more positively rated than lower-qualified résumés on employability skills, such as (a) interpersonal skills; (b) planning and organising skills; and (c) learning skills, despite the gender and ethnic group.	Not Supported
H6. Highly qualified résumés will be more positively rated than lower-qualified résumés on (a) job suitability and (b) promotability, despite the gender and ethnic group.	Partially Supported (H6a)
H7. The résumés of lower-qualified male Chinese applicants (local minority) will be the lowest rated on (a) job suitability, and (b) promotability.	Not Supported

Table 20 - Overall results from the test of hypothesis

As shown in the table, most of the hypothesis were not supported. Particularly, none of the hypothesis related to an ethnicity effect were supported, which was the main objective of the study. However, several results are worth discussing.

First, résumés of applicants that had pursued higher education were perceived as more suitable for the position, to a significant level, which is consistent with previous studies (Cole *et al.,* 2007; Pinto & Ramalheira, 2017; Webber, 2016) suggesting a *qualification and education premium*. While these candidates were not perceived as having more chances of being promoted within a year, all highly educated candidates scored lower than the mid-point level on promotability, suggesting that, in general, Portuguese working adults do not find it likely that a candidate will have a chance of being promoted within a year from being hired. Even though highly qualified résumés were not rated statistically higher on employability skills (interpersonal, planning and organising, and learning skills), the observed means pattern is indicative of such a preference.

Second, contradicting earlier findings (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Blommaert *et al.,* 2014; Carlsson & Rooth, 2007; Kaas & Manger, 2012; Midtboen, 2016; Oreopoulos, 2011; Pager et al., 2009), no statistically significant evidence of ethnic discrimination against a Chinese minority was found. In fact, while there was a slight difference in favour of Portuguese applicants in terms of job suitability and promotability, that difference was residual and cannot even suggest a pattern. Curiously, Chinese applicants were rated higher on all employability skills, and especially to a statistically significant level on planning and organising skills. While this might mean that the local Chinese minority is not a prejudiced group in the Portuguese labour market, it still contradicts the predictions of the social identity theory according to which the in-group favouritism would be strong enough to even act in favour of a local majority against a prestigious minority (McGinnity & Lunn, 2011).

Third, and contrary to the predictions, instead of a gender and a qualification effect, one found that the results can be mostly explained by the degree of target similarity with the respondents. Not surprisingly, this highly educated Portuguese sample considered the highly qualified conditions to be more similar to them, and that has proven to influence their evaluation of the candidates, despite their gender and ethnicity. Even though this effect was not predicted, this variable was included as a

control variable, and this result is somewhat consistent with the predictions of the Social Identity Theory (Ashford & Mael, 1989; Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Brewer, 1999), suggesting that respondents considered themselves to be part of an in-group of highly educated individuals before considering themselves to be part of an in-group of Portuguese individuals.

Finally, the findings suggest no gender differences not only for the candidates' employability skills (interpersonal and planning and organising skills) but also for job suitability and promotability. While this result contradicts the observable trend of persisting gender discrimination in the labour market (OECD, 2016), it is in line with similar studies done in Portugal (Gonçalves, 2010; Pinto & Ramalheira, 2017). Moreover, although the results were not statistically significant, post-hoc tests showed that the low-qualified male Chinese candidates ranked worse among all conditions in terms of job suitability, in line with the work of Derous *et al.* (2015). More surprisingly, one can also see a similar pattern in that the sample considered the skilled female Chinese applicant as the most suitable for the position. While this result was also not statistically significant, it shows an interesting tendency that could be further researched.

6.1. Limitations and Future Research

Some limitations must be considered when interpreting the findings of this study. First, this study targets Portuguese citizens with both a Chinese versus a Portuguese ethnic background. Hence, and contrary to earlier research, the applicants were not immigrants and had studied in Portugal. Therefore, future research might take the manipulation further and examine the impact of a foreign education, since it is known to make a difference (Oreoupoulos, 2011), as well as examine whether discrimination exists against recent immigrants that may not be considered as well-adjusted to the local community.

Second, all conditions featured business/management applicants. While ethnic discrimination in this field was not found, the same cannot be assumed for other fields and jobs, such as manufacturing, artistic or medical work. Further research should take this into consideration and examine other fields to determine whether prejudice and discrimination may exist among different occupations.

Third, and to stress the manipulation effect, differences in the languages spoken by Portuguese and Chinese candidates were included after the pilot-test, with Portuguese conditions showing Portuguese as a native language and Spanish at a fluent level, while Chinese conditions showed Portuguese as a native language and Mandarin at a fluent level. Though both Spanish and Mandarin are highly demanded languages in management/business that are useful to access different markets, the perception of the difficulty of each language by Portuguese working adults may not be the same, which may have had an impact on the evaluations.

Moreover, some measures had lower reliability scores than expected (co-workers acceptability and transparency), while others consisted of one-item scales (promotability and target similarity), which caution the interpretation of these specific results. Additionally, only a few set of employability skills from Evers *et al.* (1998), were used, intentionally thought to be relevant. Yet, further research should look into developing more robust scales or strengthening existing ones, as well as testing different dimensions. Also, while the sample has proven to be adequate and experienced in terms of recruitment, it is a convenience sample, and therefore homogenous in several aspects, such as education, ethnicity, nationality, social status that might explain the findings. Future research might further extend this research by collecting data with more diversified samples.

Additionally, Portuguese workers report lower levels of quality of the working environment, earnings quality and higher levels of labour market insecurity than the OECD average (OECD, 2016), which presumably is also reflected on fewer promotions in general, which may have influenced our consistently low ratings in promotability, despite gender, ethnicity or qualification.

Lastly, respondents could only observe the résumé once before answering the survey. This has been pointed out as a limitation in the suggestion box by some of the respondents. While this was done intentionally, because one aimed to measure the first impressions rather than a deep analysis, further research could take that feedback into account. Moreover, as also pointed out by some respondents, an in-person interview would be needed by the recruiters to adequately determine whether the candidate was suitable for the position. A future in-person audit study, while holding its own

limitations, may provide additional insights about the ethnic discrimination in the Portuguese labour market.

6.2. Theoretical implications

In line with the Social Identity Theory, Ashforth & Mael (1989) argue that individuals classify themselves and others in different social categories, defining themselves accordingly. Brewer (1999) points out that this phenomenon in itself may motivate discrimination. This led us to believe that an ethnic minority could be discriminated against in the recruitment process in the Portuguese labour market, and gave us an opportunity to add to the scarce literature on discrimination in Portugal, particularly against the Chinese local minority.

However, this study contributes to this discussion in unexpected ways. The findings do not show ethnicity differences in perceptions of job suitability, and in fact provide evidence that applicants with Chinese surnames are rated higher in planning and organising skills, contradicting previous studies (e.g. Bertrand and Mullainathan, 2004; Blommaert *et al.,* 2014; Oreopoulos, 2011). Moreover, there were also no significant gender differences. On the other hand, the findings reveal a significant premium to high education, with highly qualified applicants being perceived more suitable for the position than the less qualified, despite their gender and ethnicity. While this is in line with previous literature (Cole *et al.,* 2007; Pinto & Ramalheira, 2017), it does, to some level, contradict some earlier audit studies that showed the existence of a *skill paradox*, with highly skilled minorities being more discriminated against than unskilled minorities (Oreopoulos, 2011).

Interestingly, one explanation for the findings was found in the way one of the control measures used as a covariate interacted with the results. Respondents were asked to rate how similar they perceived the applicant to themselves, and this degree of target similarity often correlated and explained the variance of the dependent variables. This suggests that it is possible that a sample of (mainly highly-educated) Portuguese working adults considered themselves as part of an in-group of highly-educated individuals, rather than considering themselves as part of an in-group of Portuguese citizens. Further research should examine this phenomenon further.

Moreover, while previous studies about discrimination in the labour market have mostly measured call-back rates (e.g. Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Carlsson & Rooth, 2007), this is one of the first, up to our knowledge, to rate the candidates in a wide range of employability skills, and variables and control for potential respondents' biases. Future research should aim to include such a detailed analysis including a short evaluation of the candidates regarding different aspects in order to better comprehend why there seem to be lower call-back rates for certain minorities in some countries where similar research has been done.

6.3. Practical Implications

The findings of this study suggest that obtaining a tertiary education has a greater effect on the perception of job suitability in the Portuguese labour market than gender or ethnicity. Additionally, Chinese applicants were positively discriminated by being perceived as more skilled in planning and organising. This has some practical implications for different stakeholders.

First, job-seekers of both ethnicities should consider the perceived importance and premium attributed to a higher education in the Portuguese labour market, and invest in pursuing that level of education, particularly in the management/business field. It was not observed by any means what has been described as a "Skill Paradox" with minorities being more discriminated in highly educated fields (Oreopoulos, 2011), and therefore one can conclude that a high level of education is beneficial for all candidates. Such a result is positive for the Chinese companies investing in Portugal since it shows that a high level of professionalism and know-how is valued regardless of ethnic background or foreign provenience.

Second, for both Portuguese and foreign Multinational Enterprises (MNEs), this study might serve as a foundation for some strategic decisions. On the one hand, there seems to be no evidence of strong discrimination against a Chinese local minority, which means that a smart decision for Portuguese MNEs looking to expand their business to China or other Asian markets could consider hiring in Portugal the candidates that are already more familiar with the culture and values of the destination, without risking the reputation and work dynamics of the company. In fact, the findings

show that Chinese candidates are perceived as having better planning and organising skills, which might facilitate their inclusion in a multicultural team. On the other hand, the fact that higher education is more valued than gender and ethnicity, this could mean that Portugal is a market open to the expansion of foreign MNEs, as long as they are high qualification investors.

Lastly, the effect of target similarity with the respondent was also present in the results. This suggests that the recruiters tend to project their own background and expectations in the selection process, particularly regarding high education levels. This might be important to take into account when putting together a recruitment team since a less diverse team might be more biased when compared to a more diverse one.

7. Conclusion

This study intended to add to the literature on discrimination in the Portuguese labour market by examining the separate and combined effects of gender, ethnicity and qualification on the perceived employability of management/business applicants. The main goal was examining whether there is a bias towards candidates based on their ethnic provenience in the Portuguese labour market, by studying how fictitious résumés containing either a Portuguese or a Chinese surname were evaluated in terms of employability skills, such as: a) interpersonal skills, b) planning and organising skills, c) learning skills; and job suitability, co-workers' acceptability and promotability.

Contrary to what was expected, we did not find any statistically significant evidence of discrimination against the Chines minority in the Portuguese labour market. In fact, applicants with a Chinese surname scored significantly higher than applicants with a Portuguese surname on planning and organising skills. This could suggest that our sample associates such skills with the Chinese culture, believing that Chinese individuals have more structured and organised working methods.

As expected, even though it was not the main goal of this study, the findings reinforce the importance of a higher education in the Portuguese labour market, considering that this was clearly the biggest determining factor of job suitability. Additionally, one could not discern any sort of pattern that suggested gender differences.

Moreover, perhaps the most interesting finding of this study that is consistent with the predictions of Social Identity Theory (eg. Ashford & Mael, 1989; Brewer & Gardner, 1996) is the fact that respondents tended to give higher ratings to candidates they considered more similar to themselves, regardless of gender or ethnicity. Considering that our findings show significant differences in the way highly-educated applicants were evaluated when compared to non-highly-educated candidates, this may suggest that our sample of highly-educated Portuguese workers identifies themselves as belonging to a group of highly-educated individuals, more than to a certain nationality or gender.

In addition to contributions to the literature on discrimination, particularly in the Portuguese labour market as well as the Chinese minority, the findings may also provide useful implications to international enterprises and their recruiters.

References

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Appendixes

Appendix A: Foreign population with legal status of residence: Chinese Population

Statistical table extracted on January 04, 2017 (16:45:04) from **http://www.ine.pt**

Data reference period	Foreign population with legal status of residence (No.) by Nationality ; Annual	
	Nationality	
	Total	China
	No.	No.
2015	383759	20815
2014	390113	21042
2013	398268	18445
2012	414610	17186
2011	434708	16595
2010	886110	31200
2009	451742	14373
2008	436020	13313
2007	401612	9689
2006	332137	8081
2005	274631 *	5551 *
2004	263322 *	5278 *
2003	249995 *	4810 *
2002	238929 *	4529 *
2001	223997 *	3953 *
2000	207587 *	3282 *
Foreign population with legal status of residence (No.) by Place of residence		
Conventional signs:		
*: Rectified value		
This data last updated:september 09, 2016		

Experimental Condition A:

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∴ (+351) 932 255 555
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∴ Português
∴ Licença de Condução Europeia

Áreas de Interesse
Procuro uma experiência profissional desafiante numa das seguintes áreas: **Contabilidade, Gestão Financeira, ou Auditoria**

Disponibilidade
Possuo disponibilidade para começar a trabalhar em full-time a partir de Setembro de 2017, tendo total mobilidade nacional e internacional.

Tempos Livres
Leitura, Música, Televisão, e Desporto.

Educação

Universidade do Porto – Licenciatura em Gestão 2014-2017

Data Prevista de Conclusão: Julho de 2017
Principais Disciplinas: *Contabilidade Geral e Analítica, Cálculo Financeiro e Estatística Aplicada, Economia, Matemática .*

Atividades Extracurriculares

Associação de Estudantes 2014-2017

Departamento Financeiro | *Gestão diária das operações de tesouraria*

V.OU. – Universidade do Porto 2014-2017

Voluntariado Universitário | *Ações e projetos de solidariedade, ações de promoção da saúde em escolas do 1º ciclo e acompanhamento social de idosos e pessoas que vivem em contexto de solidão*

Andebol – Universidade do Porto 2014-2017

Membro da equipa

Formação Complementar

Curso Folha de Cálculo – Funcionalidades Avançadas 2016
Formação 360º Graus | *20 horas*

Curso de Orçamentação e Gestão Financeira 2015

Vantagem Formativa | *30 horas*

Competências

Informática
Microsoft Office | *Utilizador Avançado*

Línguas

Português | *Língua Nativa*

Espanhol | *Avançado*

Data: Março de 2017

A

Experimental Condition B:

Educação

Universidade do Porto – Licenciatura em Gestão   2014-2017

Data Prevista de Conclusão: Julho de 2017
Principais Disciplinas: *Contabilidade Geral e Analítica, Cálculo Financeiro e Estatística Aplicada, Economia, Matemática .*

Atividades Extracurriculares

Associação de Estudantes   2014-2017

Departamento Financeiro | *Gestão diária das operações de tesouraria*

V.OU. – Universidade do Porto   2014-2017

Voluntariado Universitário | *Ações e projetos de solidariedade, ações de promoção da saúde em escolas do 1º ciclo e acompanhamento social de idosos e pessoas que vivem em contexto de solidão*

Andebol – Universidade do Porto   2014-2017

Membro da equipa

Formação Complementar

Curso Folha de Cálculo – Funcionalidades Avançadas   2016
Formação 360º Graus | *20 horas*

Curso de Orçamentação e Gestão Financeira   2015
Vantagem Formativa | *30 horas*

Competências

Informática
Microsoft Office | *Utilizador Avançado*

Línguas
Português | *Língua Nativa*
Espanhol | *Avançado*

Data: Março de 2017

JOANA MARTINS ANTUNES

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Áreas de Interesse

Procuro uma experiência profissional desafiante numa das seguintes áreas: **Contabilidade, Gestão Financeira, ou Auditoria**

Disponibilidade

Possuo disponibilidade para começar a trabalhar em full-time a partir de Setembro de 2017, tendo total mobilidade nacional e internacional.

Tempos Livres

Leitura, Música, Televisão, e Desporto.

Experimental Condition C:

JOÃO MARTINS ANTUNES

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∴ Português
∴ Licença de Condução Europeia

Áreas de Interesse

Procuro uma experiência profissional desafiante numa das seguintes áreas: **Contabilidade, Gestão Financeira, ou Auditoria**

Disponibilidade

Possuo disponibilidade para começar a trabalhar em full-time a partir de Setembro de 2017, tendo total mobilidade nacional e internacional.

Tempos Livres

Leitura, Música, Televisão, e Desporto.

Educação

Escola de Comércio do Porto – Curso Técnico de Contabilidade
Equivalência ao 12º ano de escolaridade   2014-2017
Data Prevista de Conclusão: Julho de 2017
Principais Disciplinas: *Contabilidade Geral e Analítica, Cálculo Financeiro e Estatística Aplicada, Economia, Matemática .*

Atividades Extracurriculares

Associação de Estudantes   2014-2017
Departamento Financeiro | *Gestão diária das operações de tesouraria*

ECP – Escola Solidária   2014-2017
Voluntariado na Escola | *Ações e projetos de solidariedade, ações de promoção da saúde em escolas do 1º ciclo e acompanhamento social de idosos e pessoas que vivem em contexto de solidão*

Andebol – Desporto Escolar   2014-2017
Membro da equipa

Formação Complementar

Curso Folha de Cálculo – Funcionalidades Avançadas   2016
Formação 360º Graus | *20 horas*

Curso de Orçamentação e Gestão Financeira   2015
Vantagem Formativa | *30 horas*

Competências

Informática
Microsoft Office | *Utilizador Avançado*

Línguas
Português | *Língua Nativa*
Espanhol | *Avançado*

Data: Março de 2017

Experimental Condition D:

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∴ Licença de Condução Europeia

Áreas de Interesse

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Disponibilidade

Possuo disponibilidade para começar a trabalhar em full-time a partir de Setembro de 2017, tendo total mobilidade nacional e internacional.

Tempos Livres

Leitura, Música, Televisão, e Desporto.

Educação

Escola de Comércio do Porto – Curso Técnico de Contabilidade
Equivalência ao 12º ano de escolaridade   2014- 2017
Data Prevista de Conclusão: Julho de 2017
Principais Disciplinas: *Contabilidade Geral e Analítica, Cálculo Financeiro e Estatística Aplicada, Economia, Matemática .*

Atividades Extracurriculares

Associação de Estudantes   2014- 2017
Departamento Financeiro | *Gestão diária das operações de tesouraria*

ECP – Escola Solidária   2014- 2017
Voluntariado na Escola | *Ações e projetos de solidariedade, ações de promoção da saúde em escolas do 1º ciclo e acompanhamento social de idosos e pessoas que vivem em contexto de solidão*

Andebol – Desporto Escolar   2014- 2017
Membro da equipa

Formação Complementar

Curso Folha de Cálculo – Funcionalidades Avançadas   2016
Formação 360º Graus | *20 horas*

Curso de Orçamentação e Gestão Financeira   2015
Vantagem Formativa | *30 horas*

Competências

Informática
Microsoft Office | *Utilizador Avançado*

Línguas
Português | *Língua Nativa*
Espanhol | *Avançado*

Data: Março de 2017

Experimental Condition E:

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∴ Português/Chinês
∴ Licença de Condução Europeia

Áreas de Interesse

Procuro uma experiência profissional desafiante numa das seguintes áreas: **Contabilidade, Gestão Financeira, ou Auditoria**

Disponibilidade

Possuo disponibilidade para começar a trabalhar em full-time a partir de Setembro de 2017, tendo total mobilidade nacional e internacional.

Tempos Livres

Leitura, Música, Televisão, e Desporto.

Educação

Universidade do Porto – Licenciatura em Gestão   2014-2017

Data Prevista de Conclusão: Julho de 2017
Principais Disciplinas: *Contabilidade Geral e Analítica, Cálculo Financeiro e Estatística Aplicada, Economia, Matemática .*

Atividades Extracurriculares

Associação de Estudantes   2014-2017

Departamento Financeiro | *Gestão diária das operações de tesouraria*

V.OU. – Universidade do Porto   2014-2017

Voluntariado Universitário | *Ações e projetos de solidariedade, ações de promoção da saúde em escolas do 1º ciclo e acompanhamento social de idosos e pessoas que vivem em contexto de solidão*

Andebol – Universidade do Porto   2014-2017

Membro da equipa

Formação Complementar

Curso Folha de Cálculo – Funcionalidades Avançadas   2016
Formação 360º Graus | *20 horas*

Curso de Orçamentação e Gestão Financeira   2015
Vantagem Formativa | *30 horas*

Competências

Informática
Microsoft Office | *Utilizador Avançado*

Línguas
Português | *Língua Nativa*
Mandarim | *Avançado*

Data: Março de 2017

Experimental Condition F:

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∴ Portuguesa/Chinesa
∴ Licença de Condução Europeia

Áreas de Interesse

Procuro uma experiência profissional desafiante numa das seguintes áreas: **Contabilidade, Gestão Financeira, ou Auditoria**

Disponibilidade

Possuo disponibilidade para começar a trabalhar em full-time a partir de Setembro de 2017, tendo total mobilidade nacional e internacional.

Tempos Livres

Leitura, Música, Televisão, e Desporto.

Educação

Universidade do Porto – Licenciatura em Gestão	2014-2017

Data Prevista de Conclusão: Julho de 2017
Principais Disciplinas: *Contabilidade Geral e Analítica, Cálculo Financeiro e Estatística Aplicada, Economia, Matemática* .

Atividades Extracurriculares

Associação de Estudantes	2014-2017

Departamento Financeiro | *Gestão diária das operações de tesouraria*

V.OU. – Universidade do Porto	2014-2017

Voluntariado Universitário | *Ações e projetos de solidariedade, ações de promoção da saúde em escolas do 1º ciclo e acompanhamento social de idosos e pessoas que vivem em contexto de solidão*

Andebol – Universidade do Porto	2014-2017

Membro da equipa

Formação Complementar

Curso Folha de Cálculo – Funcionalidades Avançadas	2016
Formação 360º Graus	*20 horas*	
Curso de Orçamentação e Gestão Financeira	2015
Vantagem Formativa	*30 horas*	

Competências

Informática
Microsoft Office | *Utilizador Avançado*

Línguas
Português | *Língua Nativa*
Mandarim | *Avançado*

Data: Março de 2017

Experimental Condition G:

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Áreas de Interesse

Procuro uma experiência profissional desafiante numa das seguintes áreas: **Contabilidade, Gestão Financeira, ou Auditoria**

Disponibilidade

Possuo disponibilidade para começar a trabalhar em full-time a partir de Setembro de 2017, tendo total mobilidade nacional e internacional.

Tempos Livres

Leitura, Música, Televisão, e Desporto.

Educação

Escola de Comércio do Porto – Curso Técnico de Contabilidade
Equivalência ao 12° ano de escolaridade   2014-2017
Data Prevista de Conclusão: Julho de 2017
Principais Disciplinas: *Contabilidade Geral e Analítica, Cálculo Financeiro e Estatística Aplicada, Economia, Matemática .*

Atividades Extracurriculares

Associação de Estudantes   2014-2017
Departamento Financeiro | *Gestão diária das operações de tesouraria*

ECP – Escola Solidária   2014-2017
Voluntariado na Escola | *Ações e projetos de solidariedade, ações de promoção da saúde em escolas do 1° ciclo e acompanhamento social de idosos e pessoas que vivem em contexto de solidão*

Andebol – Desporto Escolar   2014-2017
Membro da equipa

Formação Complementar

Curso Folha de Cálculo – Funcionalidades Avançadas   2016
Formação 360° Graus | *20 horas*

Curso de Orçamentação e Gestão Financeira   2015
Vantagem Formativa | *30 horas*

Competências

Informática
Microsoft Office | *Utilizador Avançado*

Línguas
Português | *Língua Nativa*

Mandarim | *Avançado*

Data: Março de 2017

Experimental Condition H:

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∴ Portuguesa/Chinesa
∴ Licença de Condução Europeia

Áreas de Interesse

Procuro uma experiência profissional desafiante numa das seguintes áreas: **Contabilidade, Gestão Financeira, ou Auditoria**

Disponibilidade

Possuo disponibilidade para começar a trabalhar em full-time a partir de Setembro de 2017, tendo total mobilidade nacional e internacional.

Tempos Livres

Leitura, Música, Televisão, e Desporto.

Educação

Escola de Comércio do Porto – Curso Técnico de Contabilidade
Equivalência ao 12° ano de escolaridade   2014-2017
Data Prevista de Conclusão: Julho de 2017
Principais Disciplinas: *Contabilidade Geral e Analítica, Cálculo Financeiro e Estatística Aplicada, Economia, Matemática .*

Atividades Extracurriculares

Associação de Estudantes   2014-2017
Departamento Financeiro | *Gestão diária das operações de tesouraria*

ECP – Escola Solidária   2014-2017
Voluntariado na Escola | *Ações e projetos de solidariedade, ações de promoção da saúde em escolas do 1° ciclo e acompanhamento social de idosos e pessoas que vivem em contexto de solidão*

Andebol – Desporto Escolar   2014-2017
Membro da equipa

Formação Complementar

Curso Folha de Cálculo – Funcionalidades Avançadas   2016
Formação 360° Graus | *20 horas*

Curso de Orçamentação e Gestão Financeira   2015
Vantagem Formativa | *30 horas*

Competências

Informática
Microsoft Office | *Utilizador Avançado*

Línguas
Português | *Língua Nativa*
Mandarim | *Avançado*

Data: Março de 2017

Annex C – Survey

Empregabilidade Contabilidade/Gestão

A EMPREGABILIDADE EM CONTABILIDADE/GESTÃO   O presente inquérito, dirigido a trabalhadores portugueses, insere-se numa investigação sobre Empregabilidade desenvolvida pela Faculdade de Economia da Universidade do Porto.   O tempo de resposta às questões é de cerca de 10 minutos. É garantida a total confidencialidade sobre os dados fornecidos e os resultados obtidos serão apenas utilizados para efeito de investigação. Se desejar, poderá pedir informações e esclarecimentos adicionais através do contacto: Rita Portugal (FEP_UP) - rita.d.portugal@gmail.com e/ou Patrícia Viana (FEP_UP) - pmartinsviana@gmail.com. Muito obrigado pela sua participação.   Aceita prosseguir?

○ Sim
○ Não

Em baixo apresentamos o Curriculum Vitae de um candidato a uma função júnior na área de Economia/Gestão, o qual solicitamos que observe e leia atenta e cuidadosamente.

1. Competências do Candidato: Responda por favor às seguintes questões, sabendo que (1) corresponde a um nível de competência/capacidade Muito baixo, (2) a um nível de competência/capacidade Baixo, (3) a um nível de competência/capacidade Médio, (4) a um nível de competência/capacidade Elevado e (5) a um nível de competência/capacidade Muito Elevado.

	Muito baixo (1)	Baixo (2)	Médio (3)	Elevado (4)	Muito elevado (5)
Este candidato é capaz de se relacionar bem com colegas de trabalho.	○	○	○	○	○
Este candidato é capaz de se relacionar bem com os seus superiores.	○	○	○	○	○
Este candidato é capaz de se relacionar bem com os seus subordinados.	○	○	○	○	○
Este candidato é capaz de ser compreensivo com os outros.	○	○	○	○	○
Este candidato é capaz de compreender as necessidades dos outros.	○	○	○	○	○
Este candidato é capaz de estabelecer prioridades.	○	○	○	○	○
Este candidato é capaz de gerir o tempo de forma eficiente.	○	○	○	○	○
Este candidato é capaz de gerir/supervisionar várias tarefas em simultâneo.	○	○	○	○	○
Este candidato é capaz de cumprir	○	○	○	○	○

prazos.					
Este candidato é capaz de adquirir conhecimentos através de experiências do quotidiano.	○	○	○	○	○
Este candidato é capaz de se manter atualizado sobre os desenvolvimentos na sua área profissional.	○	○	○	○	○
Este candidato demonstra estar bem informado e ser prudente nas suas avaliações.	○	○	○	○	○
Este candidato demonstra ser honesto relativamente a algum viés por ele motivado, sendo capaz de reconsiderar as suas posições.	○	○	○	○	○
Este candidato é claro e sistemático relativamente a matérias sensíveis ou difíceis.	○	○	○	○	○
Este candidato é diligente na procura de informação relevante.	○	○	○	○	○

2. Apoio dos Colegas: Tendo em conta toda a informação que leu sobre o candidato e na eventualidade do mesmo ser selecionado para a função, como ajuíza o comportamentos dos colegas de trabalho? Para cada um dos itens, assinale a opção que melhor corresponde à sua opinião, sabendo que (1) significa Discordo Totalmente e (5) significa Concordo Totalmente

	Discordo Totalmente (1)	Discordo (2)	Não concordo nem discordo (3)	Concordo (4)	Concordo Totalmente (5)
Os colegas de trabalho modificarão a sua forma habitual de fazer as coisas para facilitarem o trabalho a este novo colaborador.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Será difícil para este novo colaborador falar com os colegas de trabalho.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Os colegas de trabalho estarão disponíveis para este novo colaborador quando as coisas lhe corrrerem mal.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Os colegas de trabalho demorarão algum tempo a aceitar este novo colaborador.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Os colegas de trabalho estarão disponíveis para ouvir os problemas pessoais deste novo colaborador.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

3. Adequação do Candidato à Função: Responda por favor às seguintes questões, sabendo que (1) = Discordo Totalmente, (2) = Discordo, (3) =Discordo em parte, (4) = Não concordo nem discordo, (5) = Concordo em parte, (6) = Concordo e (7) = Concordo Totalmente.

	Discordo Totalmente (1)	Discordo (2)	Discordo em parte (3)	Não Concordo nem Discordo (4)	Concordo em parte (5)	Concordo (6)	Concordo Totalmente (7)
Este candidato é qualificado para exercer uma função na área de contabilidade/gestão.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Este candidato tem boas hipóteses de ser chamado para uma entrevista para uma função na área de contabilidade/gestão.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Este candidato reúne os requisitos para exercer uma função na área de contabilidade/gestão.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Não contrataria este candidato para exercer uma função na área de contabilidade/gestão.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Este candidato teria boas hipóteses de ser incluído na lista final de candidatos selecionados para uma função na área de contabilidade/gestão.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

4. Transparência do Candidato: Responda por favor às seguintes questões, sabendo que (1) = Discordo totalmente, (2) = Discordo, (3) = Não concordo nem discordo, (4) = Concordo e (5) = Concordo totalmente.

	Discordo totalmente (1)	Discordo (2)	Não concordo nem discordo (3)	Concordo (4)	Concordo totalmente (5)
A informação constante no CV deste candidato é verdadeira.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
O candidato alterou deliberadamente a informação constante no CV para suscitar mais interesse.	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

5. Promotabilidade: Responda por favor à seguinte questão, sabendo que (1) = Muito baixa, (2) = Baixa, (3) = Média (4) = Elevada e (5) = Muito elevada.

	Muito baixa (1)	Baixa (2)	Média (3)	Elevada (4)	Muito Elevada (5)
Qual é a probabilidade de que, ao ser admitido, o candidato venha a ser promovido dentro de um ano?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

6. Responda por favor à seguinte questão, sabendo que (1) = muito baixa semelhança, e (5) = muito alta semelhança

	Muito Baixa Semelhança (1)	Baixa Semelhança (2)	Semelhança Média (3)	Alta Semelhança (4)	Muito Alta Semelhança (5)
Na sua opinião, quão semelhante é este candidato consigo?	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Para finalizar as suas respostas ao presente estudo, por favor preencha os seguintes dados:

Género:

❍ Masculino
❍ Feminino
❍ Prefere não responder

Idade: ___

Qual o nível de escolaridade mais elevado que concluiu?

❍ Ensino Básico ou inferior
❍ Escolaridade Obrigatória (12º ano)
❍ Licenciatura
❍ Mestrado
❍ Pós-graduação
❍ Doutoramento
❍ Outro (por favor especifique): _____

Qual a sua ocupação atual?

❍ Estudante
❍ Trabalhador-estudante
❍ Trabalhador por contra de outrem
❍ Trabalhador por conta própria
❍ Desempregado
❍ Reformado/Pensionista

Se está a trabalhar neste momento ou se já esteve empregado, qual é a sua função?

_____

Qual a dimensão da sua empresa/instituição atual ou aquela na qual trabalhou anteriormente?

○ Micro Empresa/Instituição Nacional
○ Micro Empresa/Instituição Internacional
○ Pequena/Média Empresa/Instituição Nacional
○ Pequena/Média Empresa/Instituição Internacional
○ Grande Empresa/Instituição Nacional
○ Grande Empresa/Instituição Internacional
○ Não trabalho
○ Outro (Por favor especifique) _____

Qual o setor em que trabalha(ou)?

○ Público
○ Privado
○ Não trabalho
○ Outro (por favor especifique) _____

A sua empresa atual (ou a empresa anterior), emprega trabalhadores estrangeiros?

○ Sim
○ Não

Mencione as 3 primeiras nacionalidades. _____

Qual o seu local/país de nascimento? _____

Com qual ou quais raças/etnias se identifica?

❑ Branco
❑ Negro ou Afro-Europeu
❑ Indígena Americano
❑ Asiático
❑ Hawaiano ou das ilhas do Pacífico
❑ Outro _____

Já residiu no estrangeiro?

○ Sim
○ Não

Por quanto tempo? (duração aproximada, em anos) _____

Em que país ou países? _____

Tem familiares diretos (avós, pais, filhos) que tenham residido ou residam, por mais de 1 ano, no estrangeiro?

◯ Sim
◯ Não

Em que país ou países? _____

Já participou diretamente no processo de recrutamento e seleção de diplomados, nomeadamente na avaliação de um Curriculum Vitae?

◯ Sim
◯ Não

Deseja receber uma cópia com os resultados da presente investigação? Por favor selecione apenas uma das seguintes opções:

◯ Sim
◯ Não

Se sim, por favor indique-nos o seu endereço de e-mail: _____

Sobre a descrição que leu no início, por favor assinale a informação que foi apresentada, usando a seguinte escala de resposta: 0 = Falso e 1 = Estou muito inseguro sobre a inclusão desta informação a 7 = Tenho a certeza sobre a inclusão desta informação.

	Esta informação foi apresentada		Segurança quanto à inclusão da informação						
	Verdadeiro	Falso	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
O candidato descrito no CV concorria a uma função júnior na área de Economia/Gestão	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
O candidato descrito no CV era um homem-	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
O candidato descrito no CV era uma mulher	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
O candidato descrito no CV era licenciado em gestão	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
O candidato descrito no CV	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

tinha um curso técnico-profissional em contabilidade									
O candidato descrito no CV tinha nacionalidade Chinesa	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
O candidato descrito no CV tinha nacionalidade Portuguesa	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
O candidato descrito no CV tinha nacionalidade Inglesa	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Tem alguma sugestão relativamente ao inquérito e/ou investigação que queira partilhar connosco?

_____

Annex D: Post-hoc tests

1. Job Suitability:

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: JOB SUITABILITY ...

		Mean Difference (I-			95% Confidence Interval	
E	F	-,11988	,24282	1,000	-,8612	,6214
	G	,42794	,24840	,672	-,3304	1,1863
	H	,63889	,24645	,163	-,1135	1,3913
	I	,22735	,24113	,982	-,5088	,9635
	J	-,30000	,24645	,926	-1,0524	,4524
	K	,87847*	,25486	,015	,1004	1,6566
	L	,32222	,23951	,881	-,4090	1,0534
F	E	,11988	,24282	1,000	-,6214	,8612
	G	,54782	,25821	,403	-,2405	1,3361
	H	,75877	,25634	,065	-,0238	1,5414
	I	,34723	,25123	,865	-,4198	1,1142
	J	-,18012	,25634	,997	-,9627	,6025
	K	,99836*	,26444	,005	,1910	1,8057
	L	,44211	,24967	,640	-,3201	1,2043
G	E	-,42794	,24840	,672	-1,1863	,3304
	F	-,54782	,25821	,403	-1,3361	,2405
	H	,21095	,26163	,993	-,5878	1,0097
	I	-,20059	,25662	,994	-,9840	,5829
	J	-,72794	,26163	,103	-1,5267	,0708
	K	,45054	,26957	,706	-,3725	1,2735
	L	-,10571	,25510	1,000	-,8845	,6731
H	E	-,63889	,24645	,163	-1,3913	,1135
	F	-,75877	,25634	,065	-1,5414	,0238
	G	-,21095	,26163	,993	-1,0097	,5878
	I	-,41154	,25474	,741	-1,1892	,3662
	J	-,93889*	,25978	,008	-1,7320	-,1458
	K	,23958	,26778	,986	-,5779	1,0571
	L	-,31667	,25320	,916	-1,0897	,4564
I	E	-,22735	,24113	,982	-,9635	,5088
	F	-,34723	,25123	,865	-1,1142	,4198
	G	,20059	,25662	,994	-,5829	,9840
	H	,41154	,25474	,741	-,3662	1,1892
	J	-,52735	,25474	,437	-1,3051	,2504
	K	,65112	,26288	,210	-,1515	1,4537
	L	,09487	,24802	1,000	-,6623	,8521
J	E	,30000	,24645	,926	-,4524	1,0524
	F	,18012	,25634	,997	-,6025	,9627
	G	,72794	,26163	,103	-,0708	1,5267
	H	,93889*	,25978	,008	,1458	1,7320
	I	,52735	,25474	,437	-,2504	1,3051
	K	1,17847*	,26778	,000	,3610	1,9960
	L	,62222	,25320	,218	-,1508	1,3952
K	E	-,87847*	,25486	,015	-1,6566	-,1004
	F	-,99836*	,26444	,005	-1,8057	-,1910
	G	-,45054	,26957	,706	-1,2735	,3725
	H	-,23958	,26778	,986	-1,0571	,5779
	I	-,65112	,26288	,210	-1,4537	,1515
	J	-1,17847*	,26778	,000	-1,9960	-,3610
	L	-,55625	,26140	,399	-1,3543	,2418
L	E	-,32222	,23951	,881	-1,0534	,4090
	F	-,44211	,24967	,640	-1,2043	,3201
	G	,10571	,25510	1,000	-,6731	,8845
	H	,31667	,25320	,916	-,4564	1,0897
	I	-,09487	,24802	1,000	-,8521	,6623
	J	-,62222	,25320	,218	-1,3952	,1508

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

2. Promotability

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: PROMOTABILITY ...

		Mean Difference (I-			95% Confidence Interval	
E	F	,142	,194	,996	-,45	,73
	G	,200	,198	,973	-,41	,81
	H	,272	,197	,865	-,33	,87
	I	,467	,193	,234	-,12	1,05
	J	,022	,197	1,000	-,58	,62
	K	,550	,204	,126	-,07	1,17
	L	,150	,191	,994	-,43	,73
F	E	-,142	,194	,996	-,73	,45
	G	,058	,206	1,000	-,57	,69
	H	,130	,205	,998	-,50	,76
	I	,325	,201	,740	-,29	,94
	J	-,120	,205	,999	-,75	,51
	K	,408	,211	,531	-,24	1,05
	L	,008	,199	1,000	-,60	,62
G	E	-,200	,198	,973	-,81	,41
	F	-,058	,206	1,000	-,69	,57
	H	,072	,209	1,000	-,57	,71
	I	,267	,205	,898	-,36	,89
	J	-,178	,209	,990	-,82	,46
	K	,350	,215	,735	-,31	1,01
	L	-,050	,204	1,000	-,67	,57
H	E	-,272	,197	,865	-,87	,33
	F	-,130	,205	,998	-,76	,50
	G	-,072	,209	1,000	-,71	,57
	I	,194	,203	,980	-,43	,82
	J	-,250	,208	,930	-,88	,38
	K	,278	,214	,899	-,38	,93
	L	-,122	,202	,999	-,74	,50
I	E	-,467	,193	,234	-1,05	,12
	F	-,325	,201	,740	-,94	,29
	G	-,267	,205	,898	-,89	,36
	H	-,194	,203	,980	-,82	,43
	J	-,444	,203	,364	-1,07	,18
	K	,083	,210	1,000	-,56	,72
	L	-,317	,198	,751	-,92	,29
J	E	-,022	,197	1,000	-,62	,58
	F	,120	,205	,999	-,51	,75
	G	,178	,209	,990	-,46	,82
	H	,250	,208	,930	-,38	,88
	I	,444	,203	,364	-,18	1,07
	K	,528	,214	,214	-,13	1,18
	L	,128	,202	,998	-,49	,75
K	E	-,550	,204	,126	-1,17	,07
	F	-,408	,211	,531	-1,05	,24
	G	-,350	,215	,735	-1,01	,31
	H	-,278	,214	,899	-,93	,38
	I	-,083	,210	1,000	-,72	,56
	J	-,528	,214	,214	-1,18	,13
	L	-,400	,209	,541	-1,04	,24
L	E	-,150	,191	,994	-,73	,43
	F	-,008	,199	1,000	-,62	,60
	G	,050	,204	1,000	-,57	,67
	H	,122	,202	,999	-,50	,74
	I	,317	,198	,751	-,29	,92
	J	-,128	,202	,998	-,75	,49
	K	,400	,209	,541	-,24	1,04