**The Impact of Stereotype Threat on Workplace Discrimination against Arabs and
Muslims: A Qualitative Meta-Analysis**

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Abstract

Arabs and Muslims face distinct pressures in securing work and progressing in their careers, yet, insight into their discrimination is under researched in the HR field. Using qualitative meta-analysis of current research, we analyse 51 papers to investigate the role of stereotype threats, the mechanisms behind such stereotypes, and whether attitudinal changes in societies influence the exclusion of these groups in employment. We found that these groups face significant challenges in gaining employment compared to all other groups. We identified three categories of negative stereotype threats, and used theory to outline the factors that initiate and reinforce them. We argue that such stereotypes and the mechanisms by which they operate have resulted in insidious implicit and explicit changes in attitudes that create labour market discrimination.

Word Count: 6, 993 Words.

1. Introduction

Following the European colonisation of the Middle-East and North-Africa and as a result of the aftermath of the second world war, Arab and Muslim migrants have come to the U.S. and Europe (Aboud, 2000; Elsouhag et al., 2015; United Nations, 2015). Political instability in the Middle East following the two Gulf wars and recent unrest linked to the Arab Spring have increased the numbers of both migrants and refugees (Bolborici, 2015). Further increases have come from those seeking education and employment in high-skill jobs, such as finance, engineering, IT and medicine (Bolborici, 2015; Sørensen, 2006). In 2012, 961,000 immigrants from the Middle East and North Africa settled in the USA, representing over 2% of the nation's overall 40.8 million immigrants (Auclair and Batalova, 2013). In the first two quarters of 2017, 36,234 individuals from Arab countries obtained permanent resident status in the U.S. (Homeland Security, 2017). In the UK, a similar rise has occurred in non-European migration with data for 2016 showing an increase to more than 337,000, with over 56% of those granted asylum or another form of protection coming from Syria (Office for National Statistics, 2017). Following the recent terrorist events in the U.S. and other European countries there has been a rise in political and societal animosity towards Arabs and Muslims with consequences for employment and workplace experience (Abu-Ras and Abu-Bader, 2009; Barkdull et al., 2011; Shah and Shaikh, 2010). This paper uses a systematic literature review of work that has examined Arabs and/or Muslims in the workplace to better understand the type and form of discrimination that has occurred post- 9/11. The paper makes three contributions: First, to the best of our knowledge, it is the first qualitative meta-analysis examining prejudice/discrimination of Arabs and Muslims in the workplace; Second, through incorporation of stereotype threat theory we provide a nuanced perspective on the nature of the discrimination and exclusion for these groups at work. These allows synthesis of and insight into different stereotype threats and the mechanisms behind them, offering novel explanations for their pernicious impact on people's attitudes, and in turn on workplace discrimination. We also consider whether research on these groups escalated directly after 9/11. Finally, we identify an agenda for future workplace inequality research to better focus and add sophisticated insight into this topic.

Our paper commences with a review of discrimination and the theoretical background of stereotype threat, followed by discussion of the specific group that is the focus of our review, Arabs and Muslims. Then, the research method is presented, and the findings discussed through consideration of the demographics of the articles, the types of stereotypes found, and the factors that lead to and exacerbate such views. Finally, we investigate changes in people's attitudes and the consequences for labour market outcomes.

2. Theoretical Background

Discrimination is defined as the denial of equal treatment to certain groups based on their group membership (Allport, 1954). Ethnic minorities still face significant discrimination due to their race, religion, and gender in the labour market, and workplace incivility and mistreatment (Lundberg and Startz, 1983; McCord, et al., 2017; Triana et al., 2015). Economic discrimination research presumes labour market disparities between minority and majority groups to be attributed to *'a human capital gap'* referring to the average of assumed average differences in certain groups' productivity characteristics, and *'a discrimination gap'* concerning the average of different treatment experienced by diverse groups (Darity and

Mason, 1998: 67; Heckman and Siegelman, 1993). Stereotype threat is one of the main factors that influences how employers identify and differentially treat their workforce (Steele and Aronson, 1995; von Hippel et al., 2015). The word stereotype concerns 'an exaggerated belief associated with a category. Its function is to justify (rationalise) our conduct in relation to that category' (Allport, 1954: 191). Stereotype vulnerability is a related concept and focuses on the mechanisms that make some people more susceptible to stereotype threat, exploring how such people perceive, anticipate, and are influenced by the negative stereotypes that target their identity (Aronson and Inzlicht, 2004). Two categories of stereotypes are evident from the literature: those pertaining to *descriptive components* which refer to the beliefs about the attributes and behaviours expected of an individual, and are a source of unintentional discrimination; and *prescriptive dimensions*, which concerns beliefs about how an individual actually behaves and can be a source of hostile discrimination (Burgess and Borgida, 1999). Stereotype threat is a ubiquitous term that has no universal definition, instead it is defined differently by different researchers and is utilised to elaborate different phenomena and processes (Shapiro and Neuberg 2007; i.e. McGinnity and Lunn, 2011, Spencer et al., 1999, Steele and Aronson, 1995, von Hippel et al., 2015). Therefore, considering it as an umbrella concept can result in minimising its values and opportunities of intervention that can be obtained by fully taking into account all subconcepts that comprise it (Shapiro and Neuberg, 2007). However, for the purpose of this paper it can be defined as 'the experience of being in a situation where one faces judgment based on societal stereotypes about one's group' (Spencer et al., 1999: 5). Stereotype threat involves prevailing negative views and beliefs that minimise the value of and opportunities available to a group or groups (Ployhart et al., 2003). Shapiro and Neuberg (2007: 113) developed a multi-threat framework comprising two dimensions, threat target and threat source. Using this framework they distinguish six qualitatively distinct stereotype threats depending on whether they are directed against an individual, or their in- or out-group. This taxonomy differentiates between self and group concept level threats, which pertain to the individual or the group's reputation, regarding in- or out-groups. These distinctions elucidate the diversity of stereotype threat patterns as opposed to positioning it as confined to a single entity (Derous et al., 2012; Elvira and Zatzick, 2002).

Two critical, but controversial, assumptions of stereotype threat theory are adopted in this analysis. First, the effects of stereotype threats increase when negative stereotypes are explicitly activated (Nguyen, and Ryan, 2008; Steele et al., 2002). Second, and more interestingly it contends that increased exposure of certain minority groups to negative stereotypes might not worsen the effects of their stereotype threat, as such threats are already sufficiently entrenched, making it unlikely that further effects will increase the threat (Steele et al., 2002).

3. Arabs and Muslims

The term Arab refers to an ethnic and national group of people originally from Algeria, Bahrain, Chad, Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen (ONS, 2015). In contrast, Muslims denotes a specific religious group that refers to those who follow the Islamic religion. In the U.S., Muslims currently represent approximately 1.0% of the population, and are expected to rise to 2.1% by 2020 (Pew Research Center, 2016). In the UK, the 2011 census for England and Wales, shows Islam as the second religion, growing from 2.78% in 2001 to 5% (ONS, 2001 & 2011a). While Muslims represent 19% of the non-UK born population, and 2.6% of the UK born population, Arabs represent only 2.2% of the non-UK born population, and 0.1%

of the UK born population (ONS, 2011a), with Arab Muslims comprising 6.6% (178,195 Arab Muslims) of the Muslim population (MCB, 2015). It is clear that in both the U.S. and the UK (Abu-Ras and Abu-Bader, 2009), the majority of Arabs and Muslims were born elsewhere, with the emergence of the distinct ethnic category 'Arab' first appearing in the UK 2011 census (ONS, 2011a).

Data over the last five years from the UK shows that the full-time employment rates for Muslims has remained nearly half that of the main population (ONS, 2011b). Employment levels for Muslims in 2011 and 2015 were 46.5% and 51.4% respectively, compared to 70.4% and 73.9% found of the total population, while the unemployment rate for this religious group was 17.2% and 12.8% respectively, compared to 8.1% and 5.4% of the whole population (House of Common, 2016: 34). Further, statistics indicate that Muslim women face particularly substantial challenges in gaining work, with 71.2% of younger Muslim women (16-24 years) unemployed (MCB, 2015).

In this review, we first explore whether there is a peak of research on Arabs and Muslims post-9/11 directly. Moreover, we explore whether the levels of workplace discrimination these groups face is more pervasive than that experienced by other minority and majority groups. Adopting stereotype threat theory, we further identify the stereotype threats that target these groups in the workplace, and the mechanisms that initiate or reinforce them. Finally, we consider whether such stereotypes lead to attitude change, and consequently higher levels of employment and workplace discrimination.

4. Method

A review of the literature pertaining to work and Arabs and/or Muslims was carried out from the year 2001. This corresponded to a defining moment for Western societies, the September 11th 2001 U.S. attacks, and marked the start of a period of growing concern about the Islamic religion and its practices (Carolyn and Akhlaque, 2003). We concluded our search in March 2017. Drawing on research protocols outlined by Hodgkinson and Ford (2014 & 2015), Kira and Klehe (2016), and Nienaber et al. (2015), we systematically searched five databases including: Academic Search Complete, Business Source Complete, PsycARTICLES, PsycINFO, and Regional Business News.

The inclusion criteria for our search involved articles published in the aftermath of September, 11th 2001, focused on peer reviewed studies of Arabs and/or Muslims in the workplace context. Our exclusion criteria omitted those papers that examined other ethnic and/or religious groups in the workplace context, more general studies of Arabs' and/or Muslims' lives, and research undertaken or analysing data prior to the 9/11 events. Our primary search terms included: key words of Arabs/Muslims + HR processes including Recruit*/Promotion/Performance Appraisal/Performance Evaluation + 11*/Stereotyp*, which led to no or irrelevant results. Our initial review indicated a lack of attention towards this specific group in the workplace, and particularly that relating to HRM practices. As a result, we broadened our key words: Arab + Work* + 11*; Muslim + Work* + 11*; Arab + Work* + Stereotyp*; Muslim + Work* + Stereotyp*. There were three steps to the search process.

In this first step, a total of 3675 papers were identified, with initial key word searches identifying 1,207, 994, 627 and 847 papers respectively (Total: 3675). These were assessed further, with non-peer reviewed articles removed, to reduce the papers to 1,343, (710, 484, 83 and 66 papers, respectively). The content applicability was checked through reading the titles and abstracts of these papers removing duplications to identify 34 key papers. Subsequent

manual forward and backward searching identified a further 43 papers. Thus, 77 papers were taken forward for more detailed analysis.

For our second step, we reviewed further these retained papers. The majority of the papers comprised academic peer-reviewed journal articles (69), with 8 further items either discussion or working papers. These papers were then read thoroughly, double-checking again against the inclusion and exclusion criteria, and then categorising them into three groups: those that were completely relevant; those that were partially relevant; and those that were not relevant. The partially relevant papers were re-assessed again against the inclusion and exclusion criteria, and re-categorised into the first and third groups to removed 26 papers. Given the dearth of attention examining context, a second round of search was undertaken to confirm the final 51 articles.

Finally, we inductively coded data using Oreg et al.'s (2011) approach. This involved a preliminary coding scheme which was further inductively modified to add pertinent categories from the paper. The final coding scheme included: terrorist events, main theories used, type of sector, country of study, method used, participant details, variables identifying treatment & comparison groups, workplace discrimination/aspect examined, stereotypes, media, politics, Islamophobia, visibility/appearance, and key findings. To ensure consistency all of the papers are coded twice.
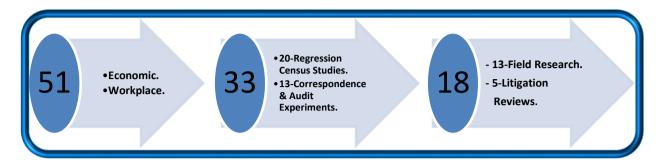
5. Findings and Discussion

5.1. Demographics of Papers

5.1.1. Main Topics and Final Sample Categorisation

Analysis of the 51 papers (see figure 1) reveals that the majority of the papers (67%, n=34) examine economic discrimination, while the minority concern workplace experience (33%, n=17). Historical development of study designs in the field of economic discrimination research shows an initial dominance of research deploying regression analysis of census data. This approach is criticised by economic discrimination scholars who then introduced correspondence and audit research designs as alternatives (Heckman, 1998; Guryan and Charles, 2013). Therefore, our categorisation of the papers corresponds with this historical development in research design, identifying three groups: Regression-Based Studies (RBS); Correspondence- and Audit-Based Experiments (CABE); and Field Studies (FS) (e.g. qualitative, quantitative and mixed method) and Litigation Reviews (LR). More distal approaches using statistical analysis (76%, n=39) dominate the research design of the papers of which 39% (n=20) deploy statistically-focused regression analysis of census data (RBS), and 27% (n=14) use high validity experiments (CABE). The sample for these latter studies include non-Muslim students (4%, n=2), or employers (16%, n=8), or both (6%, n=3), while one paper involves Muslim participants aged between 18-55. In contrast, a minority of studies utilise field research (FS) (25%, n=13), and comprised qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods. The least frequent are litigation reviews (LR) of federal court cases (10%, n=5).

Figure 1: Articles Classification

The HRM processes involved in these studies, the majority of attention is given to those concern labour market access and inclusion. The aforementioned RBS are predominantly concerned with (un)employment rates and reward management, particularly parity of salary for those in this racial and religious groups. A further key HR topic is recruitment and selection processes, focusing on fairness of résumé screening and hiring decisions. Other HR processes examine career and organisational progression, and discrimination and diversity management with emphasis on harassment.

5.1.2. Timeframe of Publication, Country and Industry

Despite the sixteen years of collection to our review, there has been a clear escalation of interest in these groups, with a majority of studies (61%, n=31) published between 2010 and early 2017 (table 1). This finding challenges our initial expectation that greater attention would have occurred directly after 2001 and 9/11.

Table 1: Number of Papers over Time

Date of Publication	2002-2005	2006-2009	2010-2017
Regression-Based Studies (RBS)	4%, n=2	12%, n=6	24%, n=12
Correspondence & Audit Studies (CABE)	2%, n=1	8%, n=4	18%, n=9
Field Studies (FS)	0%, n=0	6%, n=3	18%, n=9
Litigations Reviews (LR)	4%, n=2	4%, n=2	2%, n=1

The U.S. and the UK are the main countries in which such research is undertaken, representing 35% (n=18) and 66% (n=12), respectively, of the papers. Further, country-related differences are evident in the research methods used, with the UK-based studies generally deploying a statistical analysis of census data, while those from the U.S. are broader including census analysis, and also experimental and field studies, and reviews of federal court cases.

In terms of the industrial section, the majority of studies, 92% (n=47) do not focus on any particular sector. Those that consider specific labour markets include government (Abu-Ras and Hosein, 2015), legal (Kadi, 2014), medical (general) (Kulwicki et al., 2008), and public education contexts (Shah and Shaikh, 2010). Further, despite evidence that the majority of workplace discrimination litigations occur in the private sector (Carolyn and Akhlaque, 2003), the experiences of Arab and Muslim workers' in this sector have not been examined explicitly.

5.2. Stereotypes and Employment Discrimination

This review indicates that Arabs and Muslims experience more discrimination in accessing the labour market and in the workplace compared to the majority, but also relative to other minority groups. This finding corroborates results from broader meta-analytic studies of racial discrimination (McCord et al., 2017; Triana et al., 2015). More critically, these adverse experiences are found amongst those of different religions but from the same ethnic/racial background (e.g. Heath and Martin, 2013; Shah and Shaikh, 2010). There appear to be little increase in such experiences over the time period of our study, suggesting that they remain high. These experiences are replicated across country borders, with the same patterns occurring in U.S. (e.g. Abu-Ras and Hosein, 2015), the UK (e.g. Heath and Martin, 2013), and other countries, including: Australia (e.g. Van Laar et al., 2013), Austria (Forstenlechner and Al-Waqfi, 2010), Belgium (Derous et al., 2017), Canada (Barkdull et al., 2011), France (Rootham, 2015), Germany (Cornelissen and Jirjahn, 2012), and the Netherlands (e.g. Derous et al., 2015).

Previous historical studies outline the considerable intellectual contribution, and thus, human capital of Arabs and Muslims, who have been celebrated as scientists and inventors in diverse fields (e.g. Choopani and Emtiazy, 2015; Pormann, 2015). However, this contemporary review reveal a very different picture with three different negative stereotypes identified (55% of the articles, n=28) (see table 2). The first of these are negative religious-based stereotypes concern Islamic beliefs, and place those who follow Islam as being synonymous with terrorists (e.g. King and Ahmad, 2010). Under this perspective those from this religion pose a risk to the safety and security of the organisation and its workers.

The second stereotype is an adverse gender view with female Arabs and Muslims characterised as submissive, abused, oppressed, and exploited, while males from this diaspora regarded as oppressors, aggressive, and holding fanatical beliefs and, thus, being intolerant of other's views (e.g. Barkdull et al., 2011; Derous et al., 2012). This stereotype implies such staff members would be a challenge to integrate into the workplace due to their different work styles and approaches. It also positions Arab and Muslim men as a source of interpersonal workplace aggression.

Finally is a related but more insidious stereotype that alludes to the reduced productivity for Arabs and Muslims, with behavioural traits of incompetence, inefficiency, laziness, lacking initiative, and being slow (e.g. Agerström and Rooth, 2009; Derous et al., 2009 & 2017; Rooth, 2010). This is in direct contrast with the aforementioned historical evidence pertaining to this diaspora. Through this final set of negative beliefs both job candidates and employees might be unfavourably stigmatised, reducing the talent pipeline for organisations for those from these minority groups (Kilian et al., 2005; Stewart, 2016).

Generally, each of these stereotypes are mentioned separately (see table 2), with some overlap evident between the first two stereotypes (religion and gender). These views are likely to adversely influence social interactions, and labour market inclusion for those from these groups (Derous et al., 2016). However, specific stereotypes are only examined in 14% of these papers (n=7). Experimental study designs tend to focus on the aforementioned productivity stereotypes 8% (n=4), with far less attention on religious stereotypes and gender stereotypes (6%, n=3). A central feature of all three stereotypes are macro-environmental mechanisms of the media and politics (Barkdull et al., 2011; Kadi, 2014).

Table 2: Stereotypes of Arabs & Muslims

Stereotype	Mentioned Only	Impact Examined
Religious-Based	Braakmann (2010), Dávila and Mora (2005), Kadi (2014), Selim (2007), Shah and Shaikh (2010), Shams (2015), Syed and Pio (2010), Thanasombat and Trasviña (2005), Van Laar et al. (2013) & Widner and Chicoine (2011)	King and Ahmad (2010)
Gender-Based	Derous et al. (2012) & Derous and Ryan (2012)	Derous et al. (2015)
Religious- & Gender-Based	Abu-Ras and Abu-Bader (2009) & Abu-Ras and Hosein (2015), Barkdull et al. (2011) & Forstenlechner and Al-Waqfi (2010)	Ghumman and Jackson (2010)
Productivity-Based	Derous et al. (2017)	Agerström et al. (2007), Agerström and Rooth (2009), Derous et al. (2009) & Rooth (2010)
Not Specified / General Theme	Åslund and Rooth (2005), Blommaert et al. (2012), Goel (2009), Heath and Li (2008) & Rabby and Rodgers (2010 & 2011)	N/A

5.3 Main Mechanisms of Stereotypes

Two key mechanisms are identified behind these stereotypes; these include the media and politics.

Mention of the explicit activation of stereotype threats is found in 25% (n=13) of these papers in terms of the Western media identified as a source resulting in workplace discrimination and hostility. The media is identified as a factor in prompting Islamophobia, and in the increased visibility and scrutiny given to Arab and Muslim men and women (Dávila and Mora, 2005). It is argued to be important in portraying and misrepresenting these groups (Abu-Ras and Abu-Bader, 2009). This is most evident in terms of the maintenance and escalation of religious and gender stereotypes that are associated with these groups. A further impact of these negative media representations is as a source of stress for Arabs and Muslims, who then feel it is necessary to defend their religion, explain themselves and their beliefs, answer questions and challenges, and to more actively demonstrate their loyalty to their employers and work colleagues (Abu-Ras and Hosein, 2015). While it is evident such misrepresentations existed prior to 9/11 (Kabir, 2006; Madani, 2000), as noted in Said's (1978) seminal Orientalism theory highlighting the distortion of the images of Arab countries and their inhabitance as a distinct threat to the West. Indeed, media bias towards Arab perpetrators and away from white native (U.S. citizens) is evident from earlier attacks, such as the 1995 Oklahoma bombing (Sloan, 2016). This misrepresentation is used to legitimate the 'war on terror', and in so doing also effectively silences the voices of moderate Muslims (Barkdull et al., 2011). Study of over 900 Hollywood films shows the number of way such stereotypes emerge; such as in the inter-changeability of Arab as being Muslims, the characterisation of Arabs as hating Jews and Christians, and motivated by wealth and power, portraying the 'baddies' with characters who are heartless, brutal, uncivilised, religious fanatics typically involved in acts of interpersonal aggression (kidnapping or rape), importantly with victims who are predominantly white and female (Shaheen, 2003).

The second factor identified in 24% (n=12) of the papers relates to politics, and includes political conflict and political climates prior to and post 9/11. Specifically, mention is made of countries including Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, and Syria (Kadi, 2014). This stigmatisation is further evident in U.S. president Trump's controversial travel bans that focus only on those

from Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen (Migration Policy Institute, 2017). This negative sentiment against immigrants is exploited by politicians in recent elections in Austria, Germany, the UK, and the U.S. (Forstenlechner and Al-Waqfi, 2010). It is found in political and legal debates of questions, such as whether to ban the Hijab in France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and the UK (Ghumman and Jackson, 2010).

5.4. Attitudes and Employment Discrimination

5.4.1 Regression-Based Studies (RBS)

RBS dominate examination post-9/11 of labour market inclusion, parity of contracted work, and reward management through comparison of census data concerning (un)employment rates, working hours, and wages of Arabs and/or Muslims. We show how stereotypes are used in the papers. Then, we discuss the results of the papers in relation to the sampling deployed, and the theories adopted.

1. Use of Stereotypes

Only one study notes religious-based stereotypes, while three mention stereotypes more generally. However, post-9/11 examination also denotes this stereotype category and its resultant threat of discrimination in the labour market. Further, none examines the impact of such stereotypes on people's attitudes, or labour market inclusion.

2. Changes in Attitudes & Labour Market Outcomes

RBS reveal inconsistent results as to whether terrorist events have increased labour market discrimination against Arabs and Muslims due to more negative attitudes towards them in society (see tables 3). More problematic are the uncorroborated assumptions being made. For example, scholars often use samples based on country of origin or ethnicity as key variables to differentiate the treatment from the comparison group to claim that despite a significant negative change in people's attitudes towards Arabs and Muslims following terrorist events (9/11, 3/11, & 7/7), there is no impact on their inclusion in the labour market, or regarding the parity of their contracted work in Sweden (Åslund and Rooth, 2005), Germany (Braakmann, 2007) or Canada (Shannon, 2012; Braakmann, 2009). Three explanations given for these counterintuitive findings presume that many employers act rationally in their hiring and reward policies (Åslund and Rooth, 2005; Braakmann, 2007), some countries are not direct targets to the events (Shannon, 2012), or the discrimination is far more deeply embedded, and, thus, impervious to either terrorist attacks or labour market regulations (Braakmann, 2007). Comparison of UK labour market outcomes for those from different backgrounds confirms those from Pakistan and Bangladesh as the most disadvantaged minority groups (e.g. Phung, 2011) (see table 4). Further little inter-generational progress is found for these groups in a study limited to Muslims from only Pakistani and Bangladeshi diasporas (Heath and Li, 2008). This endorses the second assumption of stereotype threat (Steele et al., 2002), namely that for those from this group has reached such a high level that further terrorism is unlikely to make a bad situation any worse.

Table 3: Regression-Based Studies – The Impact of Terror Events on Attitudinal Changes & HRM

Reference	Country	Aspect of HRM Examined	Variables Identifying Treatment & Comparison Group	Key Findings in Relation to the Current Review			
				Event	Event's Impact on HRM	Event's Impact on Attitudes	Attitudes' Impact on HRM
Åslund and Rooth (2005)	Sweden	LBI & PCW	CO	9/11 Examined	No	Yes	No
Braakmann (2007)	Germany	LBI	CO	9/11 Examined	Yes	Yes	No
Braakmann (2009)	Germany	LBI & PCW	CO	9/11 Examined	No	Yes	No
Braakmann (2010)	UK	LBI & PCW	CO, E & R	9/11, 11/3 & 7/7 Examined	Not Significant	N/A	N/A
Cornelissen and Jirjahn (2012)	Germany	RM	CO & R	9/11 Examined	Yes	Yes	Yes
Dávila and Mora (2005)	U.S.	RM	CO	9/11 Examined	Yes	N/A	N/A
Goel (2009)	Australia	LBI & PCW	CO & R	9/11 Examined	No	Yes	No
Kaushal et al. (2007)	U.S.	LBI, PCW &RM	CO	9/11 Examined	No → LBI & PCW Temp. Decline → RM	Yes	Yes
Rabby and Rodgers (2010)	UK	LBI, PCW &RM	CO, E & R	7/7 Examined	Yes → Young Immigrants Slight → Old Immigrants	N/A	N/A
				9/11 Examined	Slight → Young Immigrants	N/A	N/A
Rabby and Rodgers (2011)	U.S.	LBI, PCW &RM	CO	9/11 Examined	Yes → Young Immigrants Slight → Old Immigrants	N/A	N/A
				7/7 Examined	No	N/A	N/A
Shannon (2012)	Canada	LBI, PCW &RM	E & MT	9/11 Examined	Slight-No	Yes	Slight-No

Note: LMI=Labour Market Inclusion; PCW=Parity of Contracted Work; RM=Reward Management; CO=Country of Origin; E=Ethnicity; R=Religion; MT=Mother Tongue; N/A=Not Applicable.

Table 4: Regression-Based Studies – General HRM Discrimination

Reference	Country	Aspect of HRM Examined	Variables Identifying Treatment & Comparison Groups	Discrimination Found Compared to other Groups
Blackaby et al. (2012)	UK	LMI	E& R	Yes
Heath and Li (2008)	UK	LMI & CP	E	Yes
Heath and Martin (2013)	UK	LMI	E& R	Yes
Khattab and Johnston (2013)	UK	LMI	E& R	Yes
Khattab and Johnston (2015)	UK	LMI & CP	E& R	Yes
Li and Heath (2008)	UK	LMI & CP	E	Yes
Longhi et al. (2012)	UK	RM	E& R	Yes
Martin et al. (2010)	UK	LMI	E& R	Yes
Phung (2011)	UK	LMI & CP	E	Yes

Note: LMI=Labour Market Inclusion; CP=Career Progression; RM=Reward Management; E=Ethnicity; R=Religion; N/A=Not Applicable.

In contrast, studies that deploy country of origin and religion reveal declines in labour market inclusion compared to other groups due to attitudinal changes and following terrorist events in Germany (Cornelissen and Jirjahn, 2012), the UK (Rabby and Rodgers, 2010), and the U.S. (Rabby and Rodgers, 2011). Several studies examine the impact of ethno-religious penalties on these groups, asserted that Muslims face the strongest disadvantages, in terms of labour market inclusion, career progression (e.g. salaried jobs) (e.g. Khattab and Johnston, 2013 & 2015), and reward (Longhi et al., 2012). This supports the first assumption of stereotype threat theory (Nguyen, and Ryan, 2008), as terrorism events explicitly activate certain stereotype threats that negatively affects peoples' attitudes towards Arabs and Muslims, and as a result adversely influences their labour market outcomes.

On this basis, it can be argued that the use of country of origin as a surrogate to distinguish populations fails to differentiate between Muslims and non-Muslims from the same context (Kaushal et al., 2007; Longhi et al., 2012). For example, Shannon (2012) assume that all West Asians are Muslims, and fail to adequately exclude Muslims from control groups. Braakmann's (2010), Kaushal et al.'s, (2007), and Rabby's and Rodgers' (2011) studies all consider respondents born in Middle Eastern countries or in Muslim majority countries to be Arabs or Muslims, while those born in Asia, southern Africa, South America and the Caribbean are not. They also exclude countries with significant or majority Muslim population, including Eretria, India, Malaysia, Somalia, and Turkey.

Interestingly however are studies that include religion, yet also reveal slight decline in a UK (Braakmann, 2010; Rabby and Rodgers, 2010), or no impact in an Australian study (Goel, 2009). Similarly, part of the challenge lies in the variables used to identify the key treatment group and in the selection of their comparison group. For instance, unlike the pre-9/11 sample, Braakmann (2010) and Rabby and Rodgers (2010) use religion for the post-9/11 sample only, particularly from 2002. Additionally, Goel (2009) fail to use religion as a moderator (Cornelissen and Jirjahn, 2012), and their sample focus only on recent but pre-9/11 immigrants (Blackaby et al., 2012).

3. Theories

Inconsistencies within results can also be attributed to how authors identify or use as a theory of discrimination. A common critique of discrimination research is its omission by scholars of what discrimination actually means (Heckman, 1998). For instance, a wide array of the authors refer to Becker's taste-based discrimination theory (1957 & 1971), and Phelps's (1972) and Arrow's (1973) statistical discrimination theory, yet no clear explanation is provided as to why these theories are mentioned, and importantly how and why their results are compatible with and described by these theories. Particularly, there is an extant debate around the appropriateness of either of these two theories for describing discrimination, and how such approaches can inform, and in turn influence the researchers' initial perceptions, as well as how they describe and control for discrimination (Aigner, and Cain, 1977; Guryan and Charles, 2013). However, the question to ask here is why can discrimination not be described by using both approaches? Specially, when the former approach is associated with discrimination that occurs due to animosity towards out-group members, and, thus, avoiding interaction with such groups irrespective of any cost that may occur as a result (Becker, 1957 & 1971). While the latter is related to discrimination that happens owing to anticipated productivity of out-group members (Arrow, 1973; Phelps, 1972). We argue that, based on our analysis and identification of the aforementioned stereotypes, these groups are targets of both threats.

Overall, even though the results show more challenges faced by Arabs and Muslims in different HRM processes than all groups due to changes in people's attitudes after terror events, there are inconsistent results in assessing the impact of the 9/11 and other events on work-related attitudes towards these groups. Indeed, there are clear limitations to the variation in certain aspects. Insufficient or poorly operationalised and control of census populations and variables in RBS leads to variable bias, and inaccurate results, as well as inferences of discrimination against different groups (Guryan and Charles, 2013). Significantly, these studies fail to test reverse causality, nor to adequately separate cross-sectional factors that are likely to compound such issues. Perplexingly, traditional RBS are criticised for the failure to actually measure labour market discrimination or to be able to adequately distinguish between animus and statistical discrimination explanations (Heckman, 1998; Neumark, 2012). Evidence shows that RBS of census data can provide explanations of only 20% to 30% of the variation in remuneration (Heckman, 1998).

In order to avoid some of the limitations of RBS of census data, scholars have developed two alternative methodological approaches using correspondence and audit methods to allow examination of discrimination that curtails the impact of variable bias (Heckman, 1998; Lahey and Beasley, 2009).

5.4.2. Correspondence- and Audit-Based Experiments (CABE)

The advantage of these two methodological approaches over the census study is that they enable researchers to have more control of the variables of their studies, while allowing them to collect data from large sample sizes (Lahey and Beasley, 2009). CABE focus on comparison of the outcomes of the early stages of recruitment and selection, specifically résumé screening for Arab and Muslim job applicants compared to other candidates. Here we demonstrate the use of stereotypes in the papers. We, then, discuss the findings in relation to the impact of changes in attitudes on hiring decisions.

1. **Use of Stereotypes:**

Work here include the three aforementioned stereotype categories, but also examination of their impact (see tables 2 & 5). However, the focus is predominantly on productivity-based stereotypes and its impact on résumé screening and hiring decisions (e.g. Agerström and Rooth 2009; Derous et al. 2009; Rooth 2010). Religious-based stereotypes are also examined in one study (King and Ahmad, 2010).

Table 5: Correspondence- and Audit-Based Experiments

Reference	Country	Aspect of HRM Examined	Methods	Participants	Key Findings in Relation to the Current Review			
					Event	Stereotypes	Changes in Attitudes	Discrimination in HRM
Agerström et al. (2007)	Sweden	R&S: RP	2 FX & 1 LX	ST & AE	N/A	Productivity	Implicit	Yes
						Productivity	Explicit	Yes
Agerström and Rooth (2009)	Sweden	R&S: S & HD	2 FX	AE	N/A	Productivity	Implicit	Yes
						Productivity	Explicit	Yes
Blommaert et al. (2012)	Netherlands	R&S: HD & RS	1 LX	ST	N/A	N/A	Implicit	Yes
						N/A	Explicit	Yes
Carlsson and Rooth (2007)	Sweden	R&S: RS	Mixed: (FX, I & Q)	AE	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes
Derous et al. (2009)	Netherlands & US	R&S: RS	1 LX	ST	9/11 Mentioned	Productivity	Implicit	Yes
						Productivity	Explicit	No
Derous et al. (2012)	Netherlands	R&S: RS	2 FX & 1 LX	ST & AE	9/11 Mentioned	N/A	Implicit	Yes
						N/A	Explicit	Yes
Derous and Ryan (2012)	Netherlands	R&S: RS/R	1 FX	AE	9/11 Mentioned	N/A	N/A	Yes
Derous et al. (2015)	Netherlands	R&S: RS	2 FX	AE	N/A	Gender	Implicit	No
						Gender	Explicit	Yes
Derous et al. (2017)	Belgium	R&S: RS	1 FX	AE	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes
King and Ahmad (2010)	US	R&S: IO & IT	1 FX & 1 LX	ST & AE	9/11 Mentioned	Religious	N/A	Yes
Rooth (2010)	Sweden	R&S: HD	2 FX	AE	N/A	Productivity	Implicit	Yes
						Productivity	Explicit	Yes
Thanasombat and Trasviña (2005)	US	R&S: RS/R	1 FX	AE	9/11 Examined	Religious	Yes	Yes
Widner and Chicoine (2011)	US	R&S: RS/R	1 FX	AE	9/11 Mentioned	N/A	N/A	Yes

Note: R&S=Recruitment & Selection; HD=Hiring Decision; RS= Résumé Screening; RP=Recruiters' Perceptions; S=Selection; R=Response; IO=Interview Offer; IP=Interpersonal Treatment; LX=Lab Experiment; FX=Field Experiment; I=Interviews; Q=Questionnaire; ST=Student; AE=Actual Employers; MF=Muslim Females; N/A=Not Applicable.

2. Changes in Attitudes & Hiring Decisions

CABE show greater consensus across different country results irrespective of whether a country either directly or indirectly experienced terrorism. Most significantly, CABE reveal the automatic impact of negative implicit (unconscious) and explicit (conscious) attitudes towards Arabs and Muslims due to terror events and negative productivity-, religious- and gender-based stereotypes, which adversely influence their hiring decisions compared to other groups (see table 5) (e.g. Derous et al., 2009; Thanasombat and Trasviña, 2005). For example, in Sweden, the Netherlands, and the U.S., studies show that participants of both non-Muslim students and employers associated Arab Muslims with low productivity-based stereotypes (Agerström and Rooth, 2009; Derous et al., 2009 & 2012; Rooth, 2010). These studies note that such negative views lead to automatic implicit and explicit negative attitudes towards these groups, reflecting negatively on their hiring decisions compared to their counterparts. A study in the Netherlands shows that résumés with Arab names receive 4.86 times more rejections than those with Dutch names, and such rejection reach 6.74 when the name was combined with affiliation that indicates their religious group (stereotype activation) (Derous and Ryan, 2012). Implicit negative attitudes are found in many studies which is argued to arise due to social desirability bias that may mask the true more negative explicit attitudes (e.g. Agerström and Rooth, 2009). Interestingly, Derous et al. (2015) show a negative impact of explicit prejudice in the ethnic discrimination against Arabs compared to their Dutch counterparts, but finds no impact from implicit prejudice. While this work contradicts previous results, it demonstrates the value of research into both forms of prejudice with designs in which participants might not hide or conceal their explicit attitudes. Further, a study using a student sample, shows post-résumé screening discrimination against applicants whose résumés presented stereotype-consistent information (King and Ahmad, 2010). This shows that when stereotype threats are explicitly activated within the résumés (Nguyen, and Ryan, 2008), participants demonstrate negative attitudes and thus excluding Muslim job applicants. The results of such types of studies reveal that implicit and explicit attitudes, and stereotype threats can produce labour market discrimination (Blommaert et al., 2012; Derous et al., 2012 & 2015).

3. Theories

A plethora of the authors considered Becker's theory (1957/1971), and Phelps's (1972) and Arrow's (1973) theory, Tajfel's and Turner's (1986) social identity theory, Crocker's, Major's and Steele's (1998) social categorisation theory, and Steele's and Aronson's (1995) stereotype threat theory. Notwithstanding this, CABS show consistency in findings compared to RBS, which can be attributed to overcoming the limitations of RBS.

On the other hand, inevitably, CABE also have limitations; Both approaches fail to measure the actual level and effect magnitude of labour market discrimination against minority groups, or to examine an entire process of discrimination through focusing only on one intermediate stage (e.g. résumé screening) of the process of discrimination (e.g. recruitment and selection), or neglect discrimination in subsequent process (e.g. career progression) (Guryan and Charles, 2013; Heckman, 1998; Lahey and Beasley, 2009). Particularly in correspondence studies, the manipulations used to signal race, religion, or gender can incorporate signals of other aspects as well (Guryan and Charles, 2013; Heckman, 1998). While audit studies face challenges pertaining to the differences between pairs of auditors which stems from unmatched attributes and characteristics; their bias can also occur when their initial perceptions and findings are influenced by the coaching received prior the study; and inaccuracy can arise from measuring average differences of employers' discriminatory behaviours (Heckman, 1998; Heckman and Siegelman, 1993; Lahey and Beasley, 2009;

Neumark, 2012). A review of the outcomes from major audit studies on the U.S. contends that evidence obtained by auditors who deliberately search markets cannot be translated into actual selection and reward experiences, (Heckman, 1998; e.g. King and Ahmad, 2010). Particularly noteworthy are distinctions in the stereotype threat perceived in lab-settings compared to those found in the real world context (von Hippel et al., 2011 & 2015), suggesting that participants in laboratory studies may have sought to control their implicit and explicit attitudes. In addition, there is ongoing critique of the generalisability of inexperienced student populations (Searle, 2006), especially where the results found are at odds with those from field-based research (Bernerth, 2005; Dineen et al., 2004; Gillespie and Ryan, 2012). Although lab-studies can be criticised for their lack of organisational validity, they can be effective in eliciting insight into what *can* happen in organisations, but may not necessarily show what *actually* happens in organisations (Goldman et al., 2006). A more overarching consideration that have been omitted from all but one of these experimental studies (Ghumman and Jackson, 2010), is the perspectives and experiences of minority group members, which has been attributed to sensitivities in recruiting participants from these groups (Barkdull et al., 2011).

Overall, studies in this domain assert Arabs and Muslims are susceptible to different stereotype threats that negatively influence people's attitudes, and as a result their hiring decisions. The section below presents results from field studies and papers that used the standpoint of these minority groups.

5.4.3. Field Studies (FS) and Litigation Reviews (LR)

The final set of studies are those examining field-research and court litigation articles using diverse data collection methods. FS & LR examine workplace discrimination more broadly concerning workplace treatment and experiences, with limited examination of specific HRM practices. For example, only two investigating career progression (Kadi, 2014; Shah and Shaikh, 2010), and one diversity management provision (Syed and Pio, 2010). Some studies positioned workplace discrimination as an antecedent to the main aspect being investigated, such as: mental health, refugee settlement success and life satisfaction, motivation to work and education, legal litigations, discrimination laws and judicial decisions (see table 6). Here we also show the use of stereotypes within FS & LR. However, our discussion here concerns the impact of changes in attitudes on these groups' workplace experiences.

1.   **Use of Stereotypes:**

While the impact of the stereotypes for Arabs and Muslims is not examined explicitly within the papers, the majority of the studies refer to religious and gender-based stereotypes in their explanations of post 9/11 workplace attitudinal changes towards these groups (e.g. Abu-Ras and Hosein, 2015). As an exception is Ghumman's and Jackson's (2010) study that examines the threat effects of religious stereotypes activated by Muslim religious appearance on Muslim females' (Hijabies vs non-Hijabies) hiring expectations. By contrast, productivity-based stereotypes are not a feature of such work, even those investigating career progression (Kadi, 2014; Shah and Shaikh, 2010). This shows a prominent difference between research conducted from the lens of these minority groups, and RBS and CABE.

Table 6: Field Studies and Litigation Reviews

Reference	Country	Aspect of HRM/Workplace Examined	Methods	Participants	Key Findings in Relation to the Current Review			
					Event	Event's Impact on HRM	Event's Impact on Attitudes	Attitudes' Impact on HRM
Abu-Ras and Abu-Bader (2009)	US	MH	QQ	A&M	9/11 Examined	Yes	Yes	Yes
Abu-Ras and Hosein (2015)	US	MH	QI	A&M	9/11 Mentioned	Yes	Yes	Yes
Barkdull et al. (2011)	Argentina, Australia, Canada, & the U.S	GWTD	QI	M	9/11 Examined	Yes	Yes	Yes
Carolyn and Akhlaque (2003)	US	RDL	FCC	A&M	9/11 Mentioned	Yes	Yes	Yes
Colic-Peisker (2009)	Australia	RSS & WLS	XM: QQ & QI	DB	N/A	Yes	Yes	Yes
Forstenlechner and Al-Waqfi (2010)	Austria & Germany	GWTD	QI	A&M	9/11 Mentioned	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ghumman and Jackson (2010)	US	HE	FX	M	9/11 Mentioned	Religious	N/A	Yes
Kadi (2014)	US	CP	QI & OFN	M	9/11 Examined	Yes	Yes	Yes
Kulwicki et al. (2008)	US	MH	QQ	Arab M	9/11 Examined	Yes	Yes	Yes
Lee (2003)	US	RDL	FCC	A&M	9/11 Examined	Slight	Yes	Slight
Malos (2010)	US	RJTLL	FCC	A&M	9/11 Examined	Yes	Yes	Yes
Selim (2007)	US	RJTLL	FCC	A&M	9/11 Mentioned	Yes	Yes	Yes
Shah and Shaikh (2010)	UK	CP	XM: QQ & QI	M	9/11 Examined	Yes	Yes	Yes
Shams (2015)	US	IN: GWTD	QI	Bangladeshi M	9/11 Examined	Yes	Yes	Yes
Rootham (2015)	France	ET	QFN	Arab M	N/A	Yes	Yes	Yes
Solieman (2009)	US	RDL	FCC	A&M	9/11 Mentioned	Yes	Yes	Yes
Syed and Pio (2010)	Australia	GWTD	QI	Bangladeshi M	9/11 Mentioned	Yes	Yes	Yes
Van Laar et al. (2013)	Netherlands	MW	XM: FS (QQ) & LX	M	9/11 Mentioned	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: MH=Mental Health; GWTD=General Workplace Treatment & Discrimination; CP=Career Progression; HE=Hiring Expectations; RDL=Reviews of Discrimination Laws; RJTLL=Reviews of Judicial Treatment of Legal Litigations; IN=Identity Negotiation; RSS=Refugee Settlement Success; WLS=Work/Life Satisfaction; ET=Employment Trajectories; MW=Motivation for Work; FX=Field Experiment; QQ=Quantitative Questionnaire; QI=Qualitative Interviews; QN=Qualitative Narratives; OFN=Observations & Field Notes; FCC=Federal Court Cases; XM=Mixed Methods; FS=Field Study; LX=Lab Experiment; A=Arabs; M=Muslims; DB=Diverse Backgrounds; N/A=Not Applicable.

2. Changes in Attitudes & Workplace Experience

Table 6 shows that the papers either examine or mention the impact of 9/11, noting negative impact on peoples' attitudes towards Arabs and Muslims, and thus on workplace discrimination. 9/11 is considered as an explicit source of stereotype threat activation within the papers. For example, in a litigation review, a Muslim Indian was fired from an airline organisation shortly after the events of 9/11. Further, some participants within the papers experienced irrelevant discriminatory interview questions, such as 'how can I know that you will not blow up the building?' (Kulwicki et al., 2008: 34). Such actions violate organisational justice and undermine trust development (Saks and McCarthy, 2006; Searle and Billsberry, 2011). The range of negative workplace attitudes include: disparate treatment (Carolyn and Akhlaque, 2003; Syed and Pio, 2010), harassment (Colic- Peisker, 2009), high levels of observation by managers (Forstenlechner and Al-Waqfi, 2010), intimidation, suspicion, negative comments, and calling names due to physical appearance and dietary practices (Kulwicki et al. 2008), hostile workplace environments (Carolyn and Akhlaque, 2003; Lee, 2003; Solieman 2009; Malos, 2010), and retaliation for the attacks (Lee, 2003). Further, in some of the studies, participants highlight low hiring expectations (Ghumman and Jackson, 2010), and negative recruitment and selection experiences, such as their name and appearance being crucial employment barriers, making people change names (Forstenlechner and Al-Waqfi, 2010), or physical appearance (e.g. removing the Hijab, shaving off their beards etc.) (Forstenlechner and Al-Waqfi, 2010). For example, an American born 'Osama' faced difficulties in finding a job until he changed his résumé with the initials, receiving positive responses from the employers who had previously rejected him, and eventually secured a job after over 15 interviews (Solieman, 2009).

3. Theories

Strikingly, these studies' results are consistent, despite the deployment of diverse theories, including Steele's and Aronson's (1995) stereotype threat theory, Tajfel's and Turner's (1986) social identity theory, Tajfel's (1978) social categorisation theory, Alderfer's and Smith's (1982) embedded intergroup theory, Steele's (1988) identity affirmation theory, Goffman's (1959) impression management theory, Suleiman's (1987) race theory, Collins' (1990) and Crenshaw's (1989, 1991) intersectionality theory, social constructionism (Barkdull et al., 2011). Consistency here can be due to use of field studies with focus on the perceptions and experiences of these groups which is omitted from both RBS and CABE.

Overall, FS and LR contend that Arabs and Muslims experience negative attitudes due to stereotype threats that are activated by macro-environmental factors, with a negative impact on their employment and workplace experience. It is argued that, there is likely to be significant under-reporting of discriminatory experiences as victims are either unaware of their legal rights, or fearful of repercussions from their employer, or the state, or both (Malos, 2010).

6. Conclusion

In this systematic review of Arabs' and Muslims' workplace experience, three key findings emerged. First, Arabs and Muslims are shown to face more challenges in accessing employment and the workplace compared to the majority and all other minority groups, even to those from the same ethnic/racial background (e.g. Khattab and Johnston, 2015; Shah and Shaikh, 2010). Second, three negative stereotypes (religious-, gender-, and productivity-based

stereotypes) are found in the workplace context, with distinct macro-environmental mechanisms that initiate and enhance/activate such stereotypes from the media, and politics, including Western political actions in the Middle East, political debates concerning this religious group, and anti-terror, which distort their image (Abu-Ras and Hosein, 2015). Third, we show the coexistence and impact of both implicit and explicit negative attitudes on increased labour market discrimination of these groups (Derous et al., 2015; Rooth, 2010). We note that such negative stereotypes are deeply entrenched within societies, leading constantly to significant adverse impact on the labour market outcomes of these groups. Notwithstanding this, the aforementioned macro-environmental mechanisms remain as a pivotal source of explicit activation of such stereotypes and threats, making labour market discrimination against these groups even worse.

7. Future Research

There is a scarcity of research that focused directly on Arabs' or Muslims' experiences in the workplace context. In these ways the everyday workplace experiences of Arabs and Muslins are omitted (King and Ahmad, 2010). The review identifies a number of limitations concerning the aforementioned theoretical and methodological approaches, and thus an agenda for future research is needed which requires the use of more qualitative methodologies that explore the perceptions and experiences of these groups, particularly in relation to the following spheres:

First, future field research should investigate workplace discrimination against Muslims in diverse jobs, including front and back office, particularly to explore the role and impact of stereotypes against such groups (King and Ahmad, 2010). More specifically, examination of field-based stereotype threat research would have value in enhancing the understanding of the challenges these minority groups face in securing jobs and at work, and to assist organisations to better identify talent, evaluate them more effectively, and thus, retain mature workers (Kalokerinos et al., 2014). It is important to ascertain greater understanding of crucial organisational psychological constructs, such as the nesting of identities for different diasporas as they manifest in different organisational settings and their impact on workplace attitudes and behaviours, including organisational trust and commitment (for example, see Searle et al., 2017).

Second, field research should adopt organisational justice theory to provide understanding of the discriminatory and fairness perceptions concerning outcomes distribution, and workplace procedures and interpersonal treatment in HRM (Adams, 1963; Bies and Mong, 1986; Colquitt et al., 2013; Leventhal, 1980). Significantly, given this current pivotal gap in justice literature, examination of the temporal changes in justice perceptions will be critical to investigate how, why, and when unfair experiences emerge, and in turn produce necessary strategies to tackle them (Cojuharenco et al., 2014). In addition, trust theory would also help to identify why, and to what extent, these groups trust their employers, managers, and colleagues (Carnevale, 1995; McAllister, 1995).

Third, attention needs to more adequately investigate specific sectors, particularly the private sector where evidence suggests discrimination might be more prevalent (Carolyn and Akhlaque, 2003). Research could profit from comparison of different sectors (public vs private), and between different ethnic and religious groups. Offering more insight into these distinctions would help to devise initiatives and policies that reduce employment and

workplace discrimination, and, thus, could mitigate negative attitudes that fuel division in societies (Calnan, 2017; Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2016).

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