Abstract

Unemployed people bear a stigma that builds on the stereotype of "the unemployed" and is associated with many adverse outcomes. No study has used the dimensions and facets of the latest integrated stereotype framework to describe their stereotype and compare it with other groups. In Study 1 among university students (n = 241), we show that unemployed people are rated lower than employed people on the horizontal and the vertical dimensions of their stereotypes, as well as on the facets of capacity, assertiveness, morality and friendliness. We also show that unemployed people are also rated the lowest when compared to a high-high occupation (firefighters) and a low-low occupation (railroad workers). In study 2, we replicate these findings with university students (n = 193) and show that unemployed people are also blatantly dehumanized when compared to the same targets. In Study 3, we show that vocational integration workers (n = 123) also rate unemployed people lower than employed people on both dimensions and facets, but not on morality. Overall, we conclude that unemployed people have a highly destructive stereotype that is lacking in every dimension and facet, and that they are overly despised.

Key-words: Unemployed; Stereotype Content; Stigma; Dehumanization; Vocational Integration Workers

"You're a Nobody When you're Unemployed": Exploring the Content of Unemployed People's Stereotype

Unemployed people are disliked and carry a stigma (Bourguignon et al., 2022). A stigma is a mark that communicates a devalued social identity in a specific context (Major & O'Brien, 2005). Consequently, an unemployed person may be stigmatized if they are labeled as "unemployed," are applied a negative stereotype and are ostracized and treated differently by a person in a position of power because of that label and stereotype (Link & Phelan, 2001; Major & O'Brien, 2005; Pescosolido & Martin, 2015).

The stigma of "the unemployed" is built on a stereotype, which is a set of shared beliefs about the characteristics and behavior of people of a given group (Leyens et al., 1994). In France, the stereotype of unemployment is highly negative with unemployed people being described as poor, lazy and idle (Camus & Berjot, 2015). One of the most prominent models of stereotypes, the Stereotype Content Model, postulates that they are organized in a two-dimensional structure (Fiske et al., 2002). According to this model, stereotypes would be constructed along a dimension of warmth (i.e., what are the group's intentions toward self or in-group) and competence (i.e., how effective will the group be in pursuing those intentions), with most stereotypes being mixed and a combination of high warmth and low competence or the opposite. Previous research has shown that unemployed people and people receiving welfare benefits are among the groups that score lower, if not the lowest, on both the warmth and competence dimensions compared to many other groups in Germany (Asbrock, 2010; Friehs et al., 2022) and the United States (Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2002; He et al., 2019). In addition, Norlander et al. (2020) showed that resumes depicting current unemployment were rated as less competent and less warm of resumes of employed people in the United States. Moreover, Okoroji et al. (2023) conducted audit studies. First, they found that resumes depicting current unemployment were rated as less competent but no less moral

and friendly than resumes depicting current employment. Second, resumes depicting current unemployment were less likely to be interviewed and hired for a job opening than resumes depicting current employment. Third, the effects of employment status were fully mediated by the competence judgments.

The stereotype content model has recently been combined with other stereotype models into an integrated framework that organizes stereotypes into two orthogonal dimensions (Abele et al., 2021). The first dimension is referred to as "vertical" and is very similar to the competence dimension of the stereotype content model. In addition, the dimension is further divided into the facets of ability and assertiveness, which refer to the ability and the motivation of members of a group to carry out their intentions. The second dimension is "horizontal" and is very similar to the warmth dimension of the stereotype content model. It is also divided into two facets of morality and friendliness, referring respectively to respect for moral values and the ability to relate to others. In addition, the integrated framework emphasizes that observers who rate a group lower on the vertical dimension are more likely to rate the same group higher on the horizontal dimension. This compensation effect would serve justice concerns in creating and maintaining harmonious intergroup relations (Yzerbyt, 2018).

The stigma and stigmatization of unemployed people, as well as their negative stereotype, has many consequences. First, they may be the target of acute and daily stigmatization, expect to be the target of stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination and internalize the stigma of unemployment by adopting the negative thoughts and feelings associated with their stigmatized identity (Fox et al., 2018; Marie, de Araujo, et al., 2024). The acute and everyday stigmatization of unemployed people can take many forms, such as being othered and dehumanized in the British and the French written press (Marie & Bourguignon, 2024; Okoroji et al., 2021), being discriminated against in access to

employment based on the time spent unemployed (Eriksson & Rooth, 2014; Ghayad, 2013; Kroft et al., 2013; Van Belle et al., 2018) and being treated differently by employment counselors (Hentzgen et al., 2022; Marie, Bouchat, et al., 2024). Stigmatization of unemployed people has been linked to their poorer physical and mental health as well as lower well-being when compared to employed people (Brand, 2015; Krug et al., 2019; Krug & Eberl, 2018; Marie, Rauscher, et al., 2024; McKee-Ryan et al., 2005; Paul & Moser, 2009; Wanberg, 2012). Finally, unemployed people actively manage their stigma. For example, some may hide their status, reduce their number of job applications and not apply for public assistance and unemployment benefits to avoid stigmatizing contexts (Hentzgen et al., 2022; Hoffmann et al., 2024; Marie, Bouchat, et al., 2024). On the contrary, some others may submit more applications to leave unemployment (de Araujo et al., 2024; Krug et al., 2019; Marie, Rauscher, et al., 2024). Finally, they could organize and delegitimize their stigma, which has been shown to protect their well-being (Bourguignon et al., 2022; Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2022)

Given the many consequences of the stigma of being unemployed, a good understanding of its stereotype and its content could help researchers and practitioners in designing ways to reduce its negative effects. If few works have compared unemployed people either to employed people or to other groups using the dimensions of warmth and competence, no work has yet examined their stereotype using the new vertical and horizontal dimensions as well as their facets. Therefore, we conducted three studies to explore the stereotype content of "the unemployed" and its relationships.

In the first study, we compare the "unemployed" with the "workers" group on the two dimensions and the four facets of their stereotypes to replicate the results of Norlander et al. (2020). We then compare unemployed people to a group of highly valued workers (firefighters, who have been shown to be in a high-high combination, Friehs et al., 2022; He

et al., 2019) and a group of despised workers (railroad workers, who are a highly despised group in France). In the second study, we replicate the findings of the first study and explore the blatant dehumanization of unemployed people. In the third study, we replicate the results of the first and second studies among professional integration workers.

Open science practices

The data is available on the Open Science Framework, along with the R code to replicate the analyses, tables and figures from the three studies (anonymized link included on the title page).

Study 1

Hypotheses

Based on previous literature, we hypothesized that unemployed people would be judged lower than employed people on the vertical and horizontal dimensions of their stereotype (H_{1a}) and on the four facets of their stereotype (H_{1b}). We also hypothesized that unemployed people would be judged higher on the horizontal dimension than on the vertical dimension, reflecting a compensation effect (H_{2a}). We hypothesized the opposite for employed individuals (H_{2b}). In addition, we hypothesized that unemployed people would be rated lowest on the dimension of their stereotypes (H_{3a}) and on the facets of their stereotypes (H_{3b}) compared to the high-high occupation of firefighters and the low-low occupation of railroad workers. Finally, we hypothesized that attitude toward unemployed people would be lower than toward employed people (H_{4a}) and the lowest when compared to the high-high occupation of firefighters and the low-low occupation of railroad workers (H_{4a}).

Method

Procedure

University students completed an online survey. They first gave their consent to participate and then provided their year of birth, gender and field of education. They were

then asked to express their opinions by representing, as best they could, railroad workers, firefighters and unemployed people. The order of the questions related to stereotypes was counterbalanced and randomized.

Measures

Based on the work of Abele et al. (2021, Table 1), the vertical dimension was measured by the items ambitious, confident, competent and efficient[1]. The first two items refer to the facet of assertiveness and the last two to the facet of capacity. The horizontal dimension was measured by the items honest, sincere, sociable and warm[2]. The first two items refer to the facet of morality and the last two items refer to the facet of friendliness. The scales ranged from 1 *Not at all* to 7 *Completely*. We also measured attitudes using a thermometer ranging from 0 to 100, with a score of 50 indicating neither a favorable nor an unfavorable attitude toward the group in question. We combined answers relative to firefighters and railroad workers to obtain social judgment and attitude about workers. Psychometric analyses are reported in Table S1 in the Appendix.

Results

Description of participants

241 participants completed the study (Mean age = 20.2, SD = 3.4, range: [18, 61]; Gender: 83.0% female, 15.4% men, 1.66% non-binary; Education: Psychology, 90.04%; University & technology, 9.96%). Descriptive statistics are reported in Table 1, and a correlation table is reported in Table S1 in the Supplementary Material, available at the Open Science Framework (Arel-Bundock, 2022; Lüdecke et al., 2022). One participant did not provide their year of birth, which we replaced with the mean year of birth.

---

[1] In French, ambitieux, sûrs de soi, compétents and efficaces.
[2] In French, sociable, chaleureux, honnêtes and sincères.

Main analysis

We performed analysis of variance and then computed marginal means, contrasts with Holm correction and standardized effect sizes (Lüdecke et al., 2022; Singmann et al., 2024). For ease of reading, only figures are presented. Contrasts and correlations tables are reported in respectively Appendices and Supplementary materials.

Difference in social judgment between workers and unemployed people

Unemployed people were consistently rated lowest across all dimensions of stereotype content (main effect of profession F (1, 240) = 374.57, $p < .001$, $\eta p2 = .61$; main effect of stereotype dimension F (1, 240) = 7.20, $p = .008$, $\eta p2 = .03$; interaction effect F (1, 240) = 190.32, $p < .001$, $\eta p2 = .44$). Results are shown in Figure 1 and reported in Table S2 in the Appendix. Unemployed people were judged more negatively on the vertical and the horizontal dimension than employed people (respectively difference = -1.67 [-1.87; -1.48], t(240) = -22.56, $p < .001$, d = -1.46 [-1.64; -1.27] and difference = -.88 [-1.07; -.70], t(240) = -12.64, $p < .001$, d = -.82 [-.96; -.67]). Moreover, unemployed people showed a compensation effect and were rated more favorably on the horizontal dimension than on the vertical one (difference = .50 [.36; .64], t(240) = 9.45, $p < .001$, d = .61 [.47; .75]). Finally, workers also showed a compensation effect and were rated more favorably on the vertical dimension than on the horizontal one (difference = .30 CI [.19; .41], t(240) = -7.37, $p < .001$, d = . 48 [.34; .61]).

[FIGURE 1]

Unemployed people were also judged the worst across all facets of stereotype content (main effect of profession F (1, 240) = 374.57, $p < .001$, $\eta p2 = .61$; main effect of stereotype facet F (3, 664) = 46.38, $p < .001$, $\eta p2 = .16$; interaction effect F (3, 697) = 84.73, $p < .001$, $\eta p2 = .26$). Results are shown in Figure 1 and reported in Table S3 in the Appendix. Unemployed people were judged as less assertive (difference = -1.46 [-1.61; -1.30], t(240) = -18.43, $p < .001$, d = -1.19 [-1.35; -1.02]), less capable (difference = -1.89 [-2.07; -1.72], t(240) = -21.26, $p < .001$, d = -1.37 [-1.55; -1.20]), less friendly (difference = -.98 [-1.14; -.83], t(240) = -12.65, $p < .001$, d = -.82 [-.96; -.67]) and less moral than employed people (difference = -.78 [-.93; -.63], t(240) = -10.04, $p < .001$, d = -.65 [-.79; -.51]).

Difference in social judgment between firefighters, railroad workers and unemployed people

Unemployed people were again consistently rated lowest across all dimensions of stereotype content (main effect of profession F (2, 444) = 325.74, $p < .001$, $\eta p2 = .58$; main effect of stereotype dimension F (1, 240) = .87, $p = .35$; $\eta p2 = .00$; interaction effect F (2, 479) = 92.65, $p < .001$, $\eta p2 = .28$). Results are shown in Figure 2 and reported in Table S4 in the Appendix. Unemployed people were rated lower on the vertical and the horizontal dimensions when compared to firefighters (differences are respectively -2.26 [-2.47; -2.04], t(240) = -25.22, $p < .001$, d = -1.63 [-1.82; -1.43] and -1.47 [-1.68; -1.25], t(240) = -16.35, $p < .001$, d = -1.06 [-1.21; -.90]). They were also judged more negatively when compared to railroad workers on the vertical and the horizontal dimensions (differences are respectively -1.09 [-1.28; -.91], t(240) = -14.55, $p < .001$, d = -.94 [-1.09; -.79] and -.29 [-.47; -.12], t(240) = -4.06, $p < .001$, d = -.26 [-.39; -.13]).

[FIGURE 2]

Finally, unemployed people were also consistently judged the worst across all facets of the stereotype when compared to different professions (main effect of profession F (2, 444) = 325.74, $p < .001$, $\eta p2$ = .58; main effect of stereotype facet F (3, 671) = 61.05, $p < .001$, $\eta p2$ = .20; interaction effect F (6, 1369) = 46.58, $p < .001$, $\eta p2$ = .16). Results are shown in Figure 2 and reported in Table S5 in the Appendix. Compared to firefighters, unemployed people were judged as less capable (difference = -2.44 [-2.68; -2.20], t(240) = -24.62, $p < .001$, d = -1.59 [-1.78; -1.40]), less assertive (difference = -2.07 [-2.31; -1.83], t(240) = -20.77, $p < .001$, d = -1.34 | [-1.51; -1.17]), less moral (difference = -1.27 [-1.51; -1.03], t(240) = -12.80, $p <$ .001, d = -.83 [-.97; -.68]) and less friendly (difference = -1.67 [-1.90; -1.43], t(240) = -17.22, $p < .001$, d = -1.11 [-1.27; -.95]). Compared to railroad workers, unemployed people were also judged less capable (difference = -1.34 [-1.58, -1.11], t(240) = -13.87, p < .001, d = -.90 [-1.04; -.75]), less assertive (difference = -.85 [-1.04; -.66], t(240) = -10.79, $p < .001$, d = -.70 [-.84; -.56]), less moral (difference = -.29 [-.48; -.09], t(240) = -3.55, $p < .001$, d = -.23 [-.36; -.10]) and less friendly (difference = -.30 [-.51, -.10], t(240) = -3.54, $p < .001$, d = -.23 [-.36; -.10]).

Difference in attitude between workers and unemployed people, as well as between firefighters, railroad workers and unemployed people

Attitude toward unemployed people were lower than toward employed people (difference = -27.67 [-30.24; -25.10], t(240) = -21.22, $p < .001$, d = -1.37 [-1.54; -1.19]). Moreover, attitude toward unemployed people were lower than toward firefighters as well as toward railroad workers (main effect of profession F (2, 423) = 418.64, $p < .001$, $\eta p2$ = .64; respectively -40.66 [-44.66; -36.66], t(240) = -24.50, $p < .001$, d = -1.58 [-1.77; -1.39] and -

14.68 [-17.67; -11.69], $t(240) = -11.83$, $p < .001$, $d = -.76$ [-.91; -.62]). Results are shown in Figure 3 and reported in Tables S6 and S7 in the Appendix.

[FIGURE 3]

Discussion of study 1

Unemployed people were rated lower than employed people on both the vertical and horizontal dimensions, replicating previous findings (Asbrock, 2010; Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2002; Friehs et al., 2022; He et al., 2019; Norlander et al., 2020). In addition, unemployed people were rated higher on the horizontal dimension than on the vertical dimension, while employed people showed the opposite, indicating a compensation effect (Abele et al., 2021). Extending the work of Norlander et al. (2020), unemployed people were also rated as less capable, less assertive, less moral and less friendly than employed people on every facet of their stereotype.

This more negative social judgment held even when unemployed people were compared to a highly despised occupation. In fact, unemployed people were judged lower on both the vertical and horizontal dimensions of their stereotype, as well as on the facets of capacity, assertiveness, morality and friendliness when compared to the high-high occupation of firefighters and the low-low occupation of railroad workers. We interpret this as evidence that unemployed people are overly despised and that not having a job is judged worse than having a despised job (Asbrock, 2010; Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2002; Friehs et al., 2022; He et al., 2019; Norlander et al., 2020; Okoroji et al., 2023).

Finally, attitude toward unemployed people was lower than toward employed people and this difference held even when compared with the low-low group of railroad workers.

Overall, our study replicates previous work showing that unemployed people are highly despised and suggests that having no job is judged worse than having a despised job (Asbrock, 2010; Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2002; Friehs et al., 2022; He et al., 2019; Norlander et al., 2020; Okoroji et al., 2023).

We then sought to replicate this finding and to extend it by exploring the dehumanization of unemployed people.

Study 2

People and groups rated low on the vertical and the horizontal dimensions, such as drug addicts and homeless people, are hated and disrespected (Fiske et al., 2002). In addition, the different combinations of vertical and horizontal judgments have been shown to predict different patterns of emotion and behavior with groups judged as lacking in both dimensions eliciting active harm, contempt and disgust (Cuddy et al., 2007). Previous fMRI work has found that groups rated lowest on both dimensions of the stereotype were dehumanized and showed lower activation of brain areas typically associated with social cognition and higher activation of brain areas typically associated with disgust (Harris & Fiske, 2006). As such, unemployed people, who are a low-low group, could also be dehumanized.

Hypotheses

We had the same hypotheses as in Study 1 regarding the stereotype dimensions and facets. In addition, we hypothesized that unemployed people would be more dehumanized than employed people (H_{5a}) and than the high-high occupation of firefighters and the low-low occupation of railroad workers (H_{5b}).

Method

Procedure

University students completed an online study that duplicated the procedure used in Study 1.

Measures

We used the same measures as in Study 1. We also used the "Ascent of Man" measure of blatant dehumanization with a cursor ranging from 0 to 100 (Kteily et al., 2015). Psychometric analyses are reported in Table S8 in the Appendix.

Results

Description of participants

193 participants completed the study (Mean age = 20.4, SD = 2.5, range: [18, 41]; Education: Psychology, 35.23%; University & technology, 64.77%). Descriptive statistics are reported in Table 2, and a correlation table is reported in Table S2 in the Supplementary Material, available at the Open Science Framework (Arel-Bundock, 2022; Lüdecke et al., 2022).

Main analysis

We used the same method as in Study 1. Contrasts and correlations tables are reported in respectively Appendices and Supplementary materials.

Difference in social judgment between workers and unemployed people

Unemployed people were again judged the worst across all dimensions of stereotype content (main effect of profession F (1, 192) = 303.86, $p < .001$, $\eta p2 = .61$; main effect of stereotype dimension F (1, 192) = 19.50, $p < .001$, $\eta p2 = .09$; interaction effect F (1, 192) = 125.06, $p < .001$, $\eta p2 = .39$). Results are shown in Figure 4 and reported in Table S9 in the Appendix. Unemployed people were judged more negatively on the vertical and the horizontal dimension than employed people (respectively difference = -1.90 [-2.16; -1.63],

$t(192) = -18.86$, $p < .001$, $d = -1.36$ [-1.56, -1.16] and difference = -1.02 [-1.24; -.80], $t(192) = -12.24$, $p < .001$, $d = -.88$ [-1.05; -.72]).

Unemployed people also showed a compensation effect and were rated more favorably on the horizontal dimension than on the vertical one (difference = .62 [.44; .79], $t(192) = 9.25$, $p < .001$, $d = .67$ [.51; .82]). Finally, workers also showed a compensation effect and were rated more favorably on the vertical dimension than on the horizontal one (difference = .26 [.14; .38], $t(192) = -5.95$, $p < .001$, $d = .43$ [28; 58]).

[FIGURE 4]

Unemployed people were once again judged the worst across all facets of stereotype content (main effect of profession $F(1, 192) = 303.86$, $p < .001$, $\eta p2 = .61$; main effect of stereotype facet $F(3, 509) = 56.67$, $p < .001$, $\eta p2 = .23$; interaction effect $F(3, 524) = 62.11$, $p < .001$, $\eta p2 = .24$). Results are shown in Figure 4 and reported in Table S10 in the Appendix. Unemployed people were judged as less capable (difference = -2.05 [-2.25; -1.85], $t(192) = -20.29$, $p < .001$, $d = -1.46$ [-1.67; -1.26]), less assertive (difference = -1.74 [-1.96; -1.51], $t(192) = -15.16$, $p < .001$, $d = -1.09$ [-1.27; -.91]), less friendly (difference = -1.03 [-1.20; -.86], $t(192) = -11.78$, $p < .001$, $d = -.85$ [-1.01; -.68]) and less moral than employed people (difference = -1.01 [-1.21; -.82], $t(192) = -10.07$, $p < .001$, $d = -.73$ [-.89; -.57]).

Difference in social judgment between firefighters, railroad workers and unemployed people

Unemployed people were judged the lowest across all dimensions of stereotype content (main effect of profession $F(2, 344) = 323.21$ $p < .001$, $\eta p2 = .63$; main effect of

stereotype dimension F (1, 192) = .78, p = .38; $\eta p2$ = .00; interaction effect F (2, 368) = 71.17, p < .001, $\eta p2$ = .27). Results are shown in Figure 5 and reported in Table S11 in the Appendix. Unemployed people were considered lower on the vertical and the horizontal dimensions when compared to firefighters (differences are respectively -2.59 [-2.84; -2.33], t(192) = -24.27, p < .001, d = -1.75 [-1.98; -1.53] and -1.67 [-1.92; -1.42], t(192) = -16.40, p < .001, d = -1.18 [-1.37; -1.00]). They were also judged more negatively when compared to railroad workers on the vertical and the horizontal dimensions (differences are respectively -1.21 [-1.47; -.94], t(192) = -11.03, p < .001, d = -.80 [-.96; -.63] and -.37 [-.57; -.17], t(192) = -4.45, p < .001, d = -.32 [-.47; -.18]).

[FIGURE 5]

Finally, unemployed people were again judged the worst across all facets of the stereotype (main effect of profession F (2, 344) = 323.21, p < .001, $\eta p2$ = .63; main effect of stereotype facet F (3, 531) = 62.41, p < .001, $\eta p2$ = .25; interaction effect F (5, 1010) = 37.88, p < .001, $\eta p2$ = .16). Results are shown in Figure 5 and reported in Table S12 in the Appendix. Compared to firefighters, unemployed people were judged as less capable (difference = -2.66 [-2.91; -2.41], t(192) = -25.61, p < .001, d = -1.85 [-2.08; -1.61]), less assertive (difference = -2.51 [-2.81; -2.21], t(192) = -20.37, p < .001, d = -1.47 [-1.67; -1.26]), less moral (difference = -1.56 [-1.86; -1.27], t(192) = -12.96, p < .001, d = -.94 [-1.10; -.77]) and less friendly (difference = -1.77 [-2.02; -1.52], t(192) = -17.17, p < .001, d = -1.24 [-1.43; -1.05]). Compared to railroad workers, unemployed people were also judged less capable (difference = -1.45 [-1.74; -1.16], t(192) = -12.16, p < .001, d = -.88 [-1.04; -.71]), less

assertive (difference = -.97 [-1.26; -.67], $t(192) = -7.88$, $p < .001$, $d = -.57$ [-.72; -.42]), less moral (difference = -.46 [-.71; -.21], $t(192) = -4.49$, $p < .001$, $d = -.32$ [-.47; -.18]) and less friendly (difference = -.28 [-.50; -.06], $t(192) = -3.02$, $p = .003$, $d = -.22$ [-.36; -.07]).

Difference in attitude between workers and unemployed people, as well as between firefighters, railroad workers and unemployed people

Attitude toward unemployed people were lowered than toward employed people (difference = -28.45 [-31.42; -25.48], $t(192) = -18.91$, $p < .001$, $d = -1.36$ [-1.56; -1.16]). Finally, attitude toward unemployed people were lowered than toward firefighters as well as toward railroad workers (main effect of profession F (2, 351) = 334.32, $p < .001$, $\eta p2 = .64$; respectively -42.04 [-46.58; -37.49], $t(192) = -22.32$, $p < .001$, $d = -1.61$ [-1.82; -1.40] and -14.86 [-18.43; -11.29], $t(192) = -10.04$, $p < .001$, $d = -.72$ [-.88; -.56]). Results are shown in Figure 6 and reported in Table S13 in the Appendix.

[FIGURE 6]

Difference of blatant dehumanization between workers and unemployed people, as well as between firefighters, railroad workers and unemployed people

Unemployed people were more blatantly dehumanized than employed people (difference = -10.80 [-13.25; -8.35], $t(192) = -8.68$, $p < .001$, $d = -.63$ [-.78; -.47]). They also were more blatantly dehumanized than firefighters and railroad workers (main effect of profession F (2, 299) = 92.41, $p < .001$, $\eta p2 = .32$; respectively = -16.85 [-20.68; -13.03], $t(192) = -10.65$, $p < .001$, $d = -.77$ [-.93, -.61] and -4.75 [-7.38; -2.11], $t(192) = -4.35$, $p <$

.001, d = -.31 [-.46; -.17]). Results are shown in Figure 7 and reported in Table S14 in the Appendix.

[FIGURE 7]

Discussion of study 2

Unemployed people were again rated lowest on both dimensions of the stereotype compared to employed people (Asbrock, 2010; Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2002; Friehs et al., 2022; He et al., 2019; Norlander et al., 2020). In addition, unemployed people were also rated higher on the horizontal dimension than on the vertical dimension and the opposite was true for employed people, indicating a compensation effect (Abele et al., 2021). Similar to Study 1, we also found that unemployed people were rated as less capable, less assertive, less moral and less friendly than employed people, extending the work of Norlander et al. (2020). This more negative stereotype was again found when unemployed people were compared to the low-low occupation of railroad workers. Moreover, attitudes toward them was lower than toward employed people and toward the low-low group of railroad workers.

Finally, we showed that unemployed people are despised to the point of being blatantly dehumanized when compared to employed people, as well as when compared to the low-low occupation of railroad workers.

Together, these findings replicate and strengthen the conclusions of Study 1 that unemployed people are highly despised and that not having a job is judged worse than having a despised job (Asbrock, 2010; Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2002; Friehs et al., 2022; He et al., 2019; Norlander et al., 2020; Okoroji et al., 2023). However, our first two studies included

only university students and we sought to replicate our findings with a sample of job counselors.

Study 3

Job counselors are important figures in the life of an unemployed person. First, they can help them find a job or vocational training. Moreover, in France, job counselors can reduce or stop unemployment benefits if they think unemployed people are not making enough efforts to find a job. While this decision is based on evidence, it could also be influenced by cognitive biases and stereotypes that job counselors hold about unemployed people. Finally, job counselors may stigmatize unemployed people, which has been shown to be associated with lower health, well-being and use of public services and lower take-up of unemployment benefits by unemployed people (Brand, 2015; Hentzgen et al., 2022; Hoffmann et al., 2024; Krug et al., 2019; Krug & Eberl, 2018; Marie, Bouchat, et al., 2024; Marie, Rauscher, et al., 2024; McKee-Ryan et al., 2005; Paul & Moser, 2009; Wanberg, 2012). Thus, the stereotypes that job counselors hold about unemployed people could have highly detrimental proximal consequences during encounters, as well as distal consequences for their access to jobs, financial income, or use of public policies and services.

Therefore, it is important to better understand the dimensions and facets of their stereotype about unemployed people.

Hypotheses

We had the same hypotheses as study 1 and 2 regarding the stereotype dimensions and facets.

Method

Procedure

We worked with the French network Sève emploi Grand-Est, which is a network of employment associations that counsel job seekers and help them find jobs. The network is not

part of the French Public Employment Service but works closely with it. The network's regional coordinators emailed a survey to all their employees. Volunteers indicated their consent to participate and then answered the survey.

Measures

Participants answered the same questions about attitude and the stereotype content as in Study 1 and 2. To shorten the survey, we could only ask about the dimensions and the facets of the stereotypes of "unemployed people" and "workers" in general. The order of the different question blocks and the questions within these blocks were randomized. Psychometric analyses are reported in Table S15 in the Appendix.

Results

Description of participants

123 participants completed the study (Mean age = 43.8, SD = 10.3, range: [21, 66]; Gender: 70.7% women, 28.5% men, .81% non-binary). Descriptive statistics are reported in Table 3, and a correlation table is reported in Table S3 in the Supplementary Material, available at the Open Science Framework (Arel-Bundock, 2022; Lüdecke et al., 2022).

Main analysis

We used the same method as in Study 1 and 2. Contrasts and correlations tables are reported in respectively Appendices and Supplementary materials.

Difference in social judgment between workers and unemployed people

Respondents judged unemployed people the lowest on all dimensions of the stereotype content (main effect of profession F (1, 122) = 24.46, $p < .001$, $\eta p2 = .17$; main effect of stereotype dimension F (1, 122) = 19.62, $p < .001$, $\eta p2 = .14$; interaction effect F (1, 122) = 23.16, $p < .001$, $\eta p2 = .16$). Results are shown in Figure 9 and reported in Table S16 in the Appendix. Unemployed people were judged more negatively on the vertical and the horizontal dimension than employed people (respectively difference = -.32 [-.66; .02], t(122)

= -2.55, p = .027, d = -.23 [-.41; -.05] and difference = -.32 [-.64; .00], t(122) = -2.66, p = .027, d = -.24 [-.42; -.06]).

Moreover, unemployed people showed a compensation effect and were rated more favorably on the horizontal dimension than on the vertical one (difference = .46 [.28; .65], t(122) = 6.63, p < .001, .60 [.41; .79]). employed people, on the other hand, showed no compensation effect and were rated the same on the vertical dimension as they were on the horizontal dimension (difference = -.01 [-.20; .19], t(122) = -.08, p = .933, d = -.01 [-.19; .17]).

[FIGURE 8]

Unemployed people were also judged the worst across all facets of stereotype content (main effect of profession F (1, 122) = 24.46, p < .001, $\eta p2$ = .17; main effect of stereotype facet F (3, 321) = 31.21, p < .001, $\eta p2$ = .20; interaction effect F (3, 320) = 14.62, p < .001, $\eta p2$ = .11). Results are shown in Figure 8 and reported in Table S17 in the Appendix. Unemployed people were judged as less capable (difference = -.60 [-.88; -.31], t(122) = -4.14, p < .001, d = -.37 [-.56; -.19]), less assertive (difference = -.98 [-1.24; -.71], t(122) = -7.26, p < .001, d = -.66 [-.85; -.46]) and less friendly (difference = -.43 [-.67; -.20], t(122) = -3.59, p < .001, d = -.32 [-.51; -.14]) than employed people. But they were not judged differently on the morality facet (difference = -.20 [-.47; .07], t(122) = -1.48, p = .141, d = -.13 [-.31; .04]).

Difference in attitude between workers and unemployed people

Attitude toward unemployed people were lower than toward employed people (difference = -9.52 [-13.83; -5.21], $t(122) = -4.37$, $p < .001$, $d = -.40$ [-.58; -.21]). Results are shown in Figure 9.

[FIGURE 9]

Discussion of study 3

Respondents rated unemployed people lowest on both dimensions of their stereotype content, which replicates previous work and extends the conclusions and findings from our first two studies to a sample of professional integration workers (Norlander et al., 2020). Moreover, unemployed people were also rated lower than employed people on all facets of their stereotype content except morality. This extends the findings from Norlander et al. (2020) to a sample of professional integration workers. In addition, unemployed people showed a compensation effect and were rated higher on the horizontal dimension than on the vertical dimension (Abele et al., 2021). In contrast to our previous two studies, workers did not show a compensation effect, which we will discuss later. Finally, attitudes toward unemployed people were lower than toward employed people.

Overall, this third study largely replicates the results of our first and second studies conducted with university students, although the differences were smaller for professionals than for students. Findings indicate that unemployed people are also judged badly among professional integration workers, although this difference is less striking than among students.

General discussion

Discussion of the hypotheses

First, we found strong support across all three studies for the hypothesis that unemployed people would be judged lower than employed people on the vertical and the horizontal dimensions of their stereotype (H_{1a}). These results replicate previous findings comparing unemployed people to many groups (Asbrock, 2010; Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2002; Friehs et al., 2022; He et al., 2019) and specifically to the group of workers (Norlander et al., 2020; Okoroji et al., 2023). Interestingly, the differences were much smaller among professional integration workers than among university students, which we will discuss below.

In addition, we found strong support in three studies for the hypothesis that unemployed people would be rated lower than employed people on all facets of their stereotype ($H1_b$). Two samples of university students and one sample of vocational integration workers rated unemployed people lower on the facets of capacity, assertiveness and friendliness. Finally, unemployed people were also judged less moral than employed people by university students, but not by professional integration workers. These findings partially replicate, challenge and extend the results of Okoroji et al. (2023), who showed that resumes with current unemployment were judged as less competent but were not judged as less moral and friendly than resumes with current employment, in three ways. First, in our sample of vocational integration workers, we replicated their findings that unemployed people were rated as moral as employed people. Thus, vocational integration workers did not judge unemployed people to be less moral and may not see them as freeloaders, at least no more than employed people. This is consistent with previous work on the media treatment of unemployed people, which has found that integration workers and organizations tend to portray them as facing obstacles and difficulties in finding employment, perhaps because of

an external attribution of unemployment, or of intergroup contacts (Marie, Bouchat, et al., 2024; Marie & Bourguignon, 2024; Rauscher et al., 2024). Second, we found that unemployed people were rated as less friendly while Okoroji et al. (2023) did not. This discrepancy may be because we asked people about their stereotypes of employed and unemployed people, whereas Okoroji et al. (2023) asked for judgments about resumes. Third, they only used a measure of the dimension of competence while we used measures of the facets of ability and assertiveness. Doing so, we found in three studies that unemployed people were rated lower on both facets when compared to employed people. Again, professional integration workers' differences were much smaller than university students, which might be due to intergroups contacts (Marie, Bouchat, et al., 2024).

We also found support across all three studies for the hypothesis that unemployed people would be judged higher on the horizontal dimension than on the vertical dimension (H_{2a}). On the opposite, we also found support for the hypothesis that employed people would be rated higher on the vertical dimension than on the horizontal dimension in two studies among university students (H_{2b}). These compensation effects could be interpreted in two ways. First, they could reflect that social inequalities between employed and unemployed people are perceived as large, stable, legitimate and trigger a concern for justice and harmonious relations (Abele et al., 2021). Second, these concerns might be more pronounced among university students than among vocational integration workers, who only show a compensation effect toward unemployed people (Abele et al., 2021).

Moreover, we found strong support across two studies for the hypothesis that unemployed people would be judged lowest on both dimensions of their stereotype compared to the high-high occupation of firefighters and the low-low occupation of railroad workers (H_{3a}) as well as on the facets of their stereotypes (H_{3b}). Unemployed people were systematically judged the lowest on the vertical and the horizontal dimensions, as well as on

the capacity, assertiveness, morality and friendliness facets. These findings extend those previously reported in that unemployed people were not only judged more harshly than workers or a valued group, but also than a highly despised low-low occupation. It strengthens our conclusion that unemployed people are highly scorned and that having no job is judged worse than having a despised one (Asbrock, 2010; Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2002; Friehs et al., 2022; He et al., 2019; Norlander et al., 2020; Okoroji et al., 2023).

In line with these results, we also found strong support in all three studies for the hypothesis that attitude toward unemployed people would be lower than toward employed people (H_{4a}) and toward the high-high occupation of firefighters and the low-low occupation of railroad workers (H_{4b}).

Finally, in one study, we showed that unemployed people were so despised that people could blatantly dehumanized them and declare that they are "less evolutionarily advanced" when compared to employed people (H_{5a}), as well as when compared to the high-high occupation of firefighters and the low-low occupation of railroad workers (H_{5b}). Although a very violent finding, the hypothesis was theoretically and logically derived from the literature and echoes earlier findings by Harris and Fiske (2006) who showed that groups rated lowest on both stereotype dimensions are dehumanized.

Implications

First, our work suggests that the stigma of unemployment could be better integrated into job search programs. On the one hand, employment services could create an environment in which the use of the unemployment stereotype is either neutralized or rendered useless for both vocational integration workers and recruiters. Positive perspectives include resumes that emphasize the number of years an applicant has worked (rather than employment dates, which may convey gaps, Kristal et al., 2023), encouraging and training recruiters to use state-of-the-art recruitment methods such as standardized interviews (Highhouse, 2008; Ryan & Ployhart,

2014) and changing the hiring process of firms (Salognon, 2007). Conversely, anonymous resumes, although initially appealing, have been shown to have detrimental effects (Behaghel et al., 2015). On the other hand, employment services could also support unemployed people in getting organized to delegitimize the stigma of unemployment and buffer against its negative effects (Bourguignon et al., 2022; Garcia-Lorenzo et al., 2022).

Then, our analyses showed much smaller differences among vocational integration workers than among university students. This is consistent with Marie, Bouchat, et al. (2024), who have shown that more qualitative contact with unemployed people predicts a smaller difference in attitudes between employed and unemployed people. Thus, the literature on intergroup contact could be applied to the context of unemployment and extended to the stereotype of unemployed people (Abele et al., 2021). This could help practitioners develop interventions that might improve the stereotype of unemployed people, leading to better services and support for them.

Limits

The first limitation stems from the cross-sectional method. Future studies could use an audit-like method that presents CVs (Norlander et al., 2020; Okoroji et al., 2023) or vignettes (Van Belle et al., 2018) to allow for causal inference.

A second limitation stems from the fact that we only asked for judgments about unemployed people, firefighters, railroad workers, or employed people in general and did not examine different durations of unemployment. Prior research has shown that unemployed people are discriminated against and judged more harshly depending on how long they have been unemployed (Eriksson & Rooth, 2014; Ghayad, 2013; Kroft et al., 2013; Van Belle et al., 2018). Future studies could explore the dimensions and facets of stereotypes as a function of unemployment duration.

Conclusion

People who are unemployed are disliked and carry a stigma that is based on the stereotype of "the unemployed", which has been linked to many harmful individual and collective outcomes (Bourguignon et al., 2022; Camus & Berjot, 2015; Leyens et al., 1994).

First, we replicated previous work and showed that unemployed people are rated lower on the two vertical and horizontal dimensions of a stereotype (Abele et al., 2021; Asbrock, 2010; Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2002; Friehs et al., 2022; He et al., 2019; Norlander et al., 2020; Okoroji et al., 2023). Then, we extended this work and showed that unemployed people were also rated lower on the vertical and the horizontal dimension than a high-high occupation (firefighters) and a low-low occupation (railroad workers). Finally, we used the most recent integrated model of stereotypes, which further subdivides both dimensions into the facets of ability and assertiveness for the vertical one and morality and friendliness for the horizontal one (Abele et al., 2021). In two studies of university students, we found that unemployed people were rated lowest on all four facets. In the third study, vocational integration workers rated unemployed people lower on the three facets of friendliness, capacity and assertiveness, but not on morality.

In addition, we showed that attitudes toward unemployed people were lower than toward employed people and were also the lowest compared to the high-high occupation of firefighters and the low-low occupation of railroad workers.

Finally, we showed that the stereotype of unemployed people is so negative that they are blatantly dehumanized when compared to employed people, but also to the high-high and low-low occupations of firefighters and railroad workers.

In summary, our study shows that unemployed people are stereotyped in a very negative way and that unemployment is so despised that not having a job is considered worse than having a despised job. This negative stereotype and its stigmatization are in turn linked

to several highly detrimental consequences that further hinder their ability to find employment in a vicious circle that could be addressed by employment services.

References

Abele, A. E., Ellemers, N., Fiske, S. T., Koch, A., & Yzerbyt, V. (2021). Navigating the social world : Toward an integrated framework for evaluating self, individuals, and groups. *Psychological Review*, *128*(2), 290-314. https://doi.org/10.1037/rev0000262

Arel-Bundock, V. (2022). modelsummary : Data and Model Summaries in R. *Journal of Statistical Software*, *103*(1), 1-23. https://doi.org/10.18637/jss.v103.i01

Asbrock, F. (2010). Stereotypes of social groups in Germany in terms of warmth and competence. *Social Psychology*, *41*, 76-81. https://doi.org/10.1027/1864-9335/a000011

Behaghel, L., Crépon, B., & Le Barbanchon, T. (2015). Unintended Effects of Anonymous Résumés. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, *7*(3), 1-27. https://doi.org/10.1257/app.20140185

Bourguignon, D., Seghouat, S., Marie, C., & Herman, G. (2022). Le chômage et la stigmatisation à l'oeuvre [Unemployment and stigma in action]. In K. Faniko, D. Bourguignon, O. Sarrasin, & S. Guimond, *Psychologie de la discrimination et des préjugés : De la théorie à la pratique [Psychology of discrimination and prejudice : From Theory to Practice]* (2nd édition). De Boeck.

Brand, J. E. (2015). The Far-Reaching Impact of Job Loss and Unemployment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *41*(1), 359-375. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-071913-043237

Camus, G., & Berjot, S. (2015). Comment sont perçues les personnes au chômage au sein de la société française ? Étude de la composition du stéréotype [How are unemployed people perceived in French society? Study of the stereotype composition]. *Les Cahiers Internationaux de Psychologie Sociale, Numéro 105*(1), 53-81.

Cuddy, Fiske, S., & Glick, P. (2007). The BIAS map : Behaviors from intergroup affect and stereotypes. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *92*(4), 631.

de Araujo, E., Marie, C., Hoffmann, M., Bourguignon, D., Houdé, O., & Borst, G. (2024). *A Focus on the Interplay of Socio-Emotional Skills, Beliefs and Stigma to Predict Job-Search Behavior among Unemployed People [Manuscript in preparation]*.

Eriksson, S., & Rooth, D.-O. (2014). Do Employers Use Unemployment as a Sorting Criterion When Hiring? Evidence from a Field Experiment. *American Economic Review*, *104*(3), 1014-1039. https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.104.3.1014

Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content : Competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *82*(6), 878-902. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.82.6.878

Fox, A. B., Earnshaw, V. A., Taverna, E. C., & Vogt, D. (2018). Conceptualizing and measuring mental illness stigma : The mental illness stigma framework and critical review of measures. *Stigma and Health*, *3*, 348-376. https://doi.org/10.1037/sah0000104

Friehs, M.-T., Aparicio Lukassowitz, F., & Wagner, U. (2022). Stereotype content of occupational groups in Germany. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *52*(6), 459-475. https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12872

Garcia-Lorenzo, L., Sell-Trujillo, L., & Donnelly, P. (2022). Responding to stigmatization : How to resist and overcome the stigma of unemployment. *Organization Studies*, *43*(10), 1629-1650. https://doi.org/10.1177/01708406211053217

Ghayad, R. (2013). *The Jobless Trap*.

Harris, L. T., & Fiske, S. T. (2006). Dehumanizing the Lowest of the Low : Neuroimaging Responses to Extreme Out-Groups. *Psychological Science*, *17*(10), 847-853. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2006.01793.x

He, J. C., Kang, S. K., Tse, K., & Toh, S. M. (2019). Stereotypes at work : Occupational stereotypes predict race and gender segregation in the workforce. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *115*, 103318. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2019.103318

Hentzgen, C., Pariset, C., Savary, K., & Limon, E. (2022). *Quantifier le non-recours à l'assurance chômage [Quantifying non-take-up of unemployment insurance]* (No. Document d'étude n°263). DARES.

Highhouse, S. (2008). Stubborn Reliance on Intuition and Subjectivity in Employee Selection. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, *1*(3), 333-342. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1754-9434.2008.00058.x

Hoffmann, M., Picard, B., Marie, C., & Bied, G. (2024). *An Adaptive Experiment to Boost Online Skill Signaling and Visibility [Manuscript in preparation]*. https://bertillepicard.github.io/documents/papers/AnAdaptiveExpeToBoostOnlineSkillsSignaling.pdf

Kristal, A. S., Nicks, L., Gloor, J. L., & Hauser, O. P. (2023). Reducing discrimination against job seekers with and without employment gaps. *Nature Human Behaviour*, *7*(2), Article 2. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41562-022-01485-6

Kroft, K., Lange, F., & Notowidigdo, M. J. (2013). Duration Dependence and Labor Market Conditions : Evidence from a Field Experiment. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *128*(3), 1123-1167. https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qjt015

Krug, G., Drasch, K., & Jungbauer-Gans, M. (2019). The social stigma of unemployment : Consequences of stigma consciousness on job search attitudes, behaviour and success.

Journal for Labour Market Research, *53*(1), 11. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12651-019-0261-4

Krug, G., & Eberl, A. (2018). What explains the negative effect of unemployment on health? An analysis accounting for reverse causality. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, *55*, 25-39. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rssm.2018.03.001

Kteily, N., Bruneau, E., Waytz, A., & Cotterill, S. (2015). The ascent of man : Theoretical and empirical evidence for blatant dehumanization. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *109*(5), 901-931. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspp0000048

Leyens, J.-P., Yzerbyt, V., & Schadron, G. (1994). *Stereotypes and social cognition* (p. ix, 240). Sage Publications, Inc.

Link, B. G., & Phelan, J. C. (2001). Conceptualizing Stigma. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *27*(1), 363-385. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.27.1.363

Lüdecke, D., Ben-Shachar, M. S., Patil, I., Wiernik, B. M., Bacher, E., Thériault, R., & Makowski, D. (2022). *easystats : Framework for Easy Statistical Modeling, Visualization, and Reporting* [Logiciel]. https://easystats.github.io/easystats/

Major, B., & O'Brien, L. T. (2005). The Social Psychology of Stigma. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *56*(1), 393-421. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.56.091103.070137

Marie, C., Bouchat, P., & Bourguignon, D. (2024). *Test de la théorie du contact intergroupe et de ses médiateurs entre professionnel·les de l'insertion et personnes sans emploi [Testing the Intergroup Contact Theory and Mediators Among Job Placement Officers and Unemployed People. Manuscript in preparation]*.

Marie, C., & Bourguignon, D. (2024). *What the Press Reveals About « The Unemployed » : A Lexicometric Analysis of 12,996 Articles from French Written Newspapers from 2005 to 2022*. https://doi.org/10.31234/osf.io/86mev

Marie, C., de Araujo, E., Hoffmann, M., & Bourguignon, D. (2024). *L'Épreuve du Chômage : Baromètre de la Stigmatisation des « Chômeurs » et du Chômage et Liens avec le Sentiment d'Auto-Efficacité [The Ordeal of Unemployment : Barometer of the Stigma of "the Unemployed" and Unemployment and Links with Self-Efficacy. Manuscript in preparation]*.

Marie, C., Rauscher, C., Hoffmann, M., Bouchat, P., & Bourguignon, D. (2024). *French Validation of Pinel's Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire Among Unemployed People : Links with Well-Being, Motivation, objective Job Search Behavior, and Access to Employment*. https://osf.io/preprints/psyarxiv/ac89v

McKee-Ryan, F., Song, Z., Wanberg, C. R., & Kinicki, A. J. (2005). Psychological and Physical Well-Being During Unemployment : A Meta-Analytic Study. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 90*(1), 53-76. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.90.1.53

Norlander, P., Ho, G. C., Shih, M., Walters, D. J., & Pittinsky, T. L. (2020). The Role of Psychological Stigmatization in Unemployment Discrimination. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, *42*(1), 29-49. https://doi.org/10.1080/01973533.2019.1689363

Okoroji, C., Gleibs, I. H., & Howard, S. (2023). Inferring incompetence from employment status : An audit-like experiment. *PLOS ONE*, *18*(3), e0280596. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0280596

Okoroji, C., Gleibs, I. H., & Jovchelovitch, S. (2021). Elite stigmatization of the unemployed : The association between framing and public attitudes. *British Journal of Psychology, 112*(1), 207-229. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjop.12450

Paul, K. I., & Moser, K. (2009). Unemployment impairs mental health : Meta-analyses. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 74*(3), 264-282. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2009.01.001

Pescosolido, B. A., & Martin, J. K. (2015). The Stigma Complex. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *41*(1), 87-116. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-071312-145702

Rauscher, C., Louvet, E., & Bourguignon, D. (2024). 'To succeed at work, you just need to work hard' : How beliefs in professional meritocracy serve to blame unemployed people. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, *34*(1). https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2762

Ryan, A. M., & Ployhart, R. E. (2014). A Century of Selection. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *65*(1), 693-717. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-010213-115134

Salognon, M. (2007). Reorienting companies' hiring behaviour : An innovative `back-to-work' method in France. *Work, Employment and Society*, *21*(4), 713-730. https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017007082878

Singmann, H., Bolker, B., Westfall, J., Aust, F., & Ben-Shachar, M. S. (2024). *afex : Analysis of Factorial Experiments* [Logiciel]. https://CRAN.R-project.org/package=afex

Van Belle, E., Di Stasio, V., Caers, R., De Couck, M., & Baert, S. (2018). Why Are Employers Put Off by Long Spells of Unemployment? *European Sociological Review*, *34*(6), 694-710. https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcy039

Wanberg, C. R. (2012). The Individual Experience of Unemployment. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *63*(1), 369-396. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-120710-100500

Yzerbyt, V. (2018). The Dimensional Compensation Model : Reality and strategic constraints on warmth and competence in intergroup perceptions. In *Agency and Communion in Social Psychology*. Routledge.

748 **Table 1**

749 Study 1. Descriptive statistics.

Characteristic	N = 241[1]
Age	20.22 (3.37)
Gender	
Female	200 (83%)
Male	37 (15%)
Other	4 (1.7%)
Education	
Psychology	217 (90%)
University & technology	24 (10.0%)
Workers - Vertical	5.33 (0.77)
Unemployed - Vertical	3.66 (1.13)
Railroad workers - Vertical	4.75 (1.03)
Firefighters - Vertical	5.91 (0.88)
Workers - Capacity	5.69 (0.88)
Unemployed - Capacity	3.80 (1.29)
Railroad workers - Capacity	5.14 (1.23)
Firefighters - Capacity	6.24 (0.91)
Workers - Assertivity	4.98 (0.87)
Unemployed - Assertivity	3.52 (1.20)
Railroad workers - Assertivity	4.36 (1.12)
Firefighters - Assertivity	5.59 (1.06)
Workers - Horizontal	5.03 (0.82)
Unemployed - Horizontal	4.15 (1.11)
Railroad workers - Horizontal	4.45 (1.05)
Firefighters - Horizontal	5.62 (1.04)
Workers - Morality	4.90 (0.94)
Unemployed - Morality	4.12 (1.19)
Railroad workers - Morality	4.41 (1.15)
Firefighters - Morality	5.39 (1.23)
Workers - Friendliness	5.17 (0.84)
Unemployed - Friendliness	4.18 (1.20)
Railroad workers - Friendliness	4.49 (1.20)
Firefighters - Friendliness	5.85 (1.03)
Workers - Attitude	75 (13)
Unemployed - Attitude	48 (22)
Railroad workers - Attitude	62 (19)
Firefighters - Attitude	88 (15)

[1] Mean (SD); n (%)

750

751 **Table 2**

752 Study 2. Descriptive statistics.

Characteristic	**N = 193**[1]
Age	20.40 (2.50)
Gender	
Female	127 (66%)
Male	65 (34%)
Other	1 (0.5%)
Education	
Psychology	68 (35%)
University & technology	125 (65%)
Workers - Vertical	5.41 (0.78)
Unemployed - Vertical	3.51 (1.19)
Railroad workers - Vertical	4.72 (1.10)
Firefighters - Vertical	6.10 (0.77)
Workers - Capacity	5.76 (0.82)
Unemployed - Capacity	3.71 (1.23)
Railroad workers - Capacity	5.16 (1.27)
Firefighters - Capacity	6.37 (0.76)
Workers - Assertivity	5.06 (0.90)
Unemployed - Assertivity	3.32 (1.29)
Railroad workers - Assertivity	4.28 (1.20)
Firefighters - Assertivity	5.83 (0.97)
Workers - Horizontal	5.15 (0.78)
Unemployed - Horizontal	4.13 (1.13)
Railroad workers - Horizontal	4.50 (1.00)
Firefighters - Horizontal	5.80 (0.93)
Workers - Morality	5.08 (0.91)
Unemployed - Morality	4.07 (1.25)
Railroad workers - Morality	4.53 (1.14)
Firefighters - Morality	5.63 (1.15)
Workers - Friendliness	5.22 (0.78)
Unemployed - Friendliness	4.19 (1.21)
Railroad workers - Friendliness	4.47 (1.09)
Firefighters - Friendliness	5.97 (0.91)
Workers - Attitude	74 (14)
Unemployed - Attitude	45 (22)
Railroad workers - Attitude	60 (20)
Firefighters - Attitude	87 (15)
Workers - Ascent of Man	84 (16)
Unemployed - Ascent of Man	73 (26)
Railroad workers - Ascent of Man	78 (21)
Firefighters - Ascent of Man	90 (14)

[1] Mean (SD); n (%)

753

Table 3

Study 3. Descriptive statistics.

Characteristic	**N = 123**[1]
Age	44 (10)
Gender	
Female	87 (71%)
Male	35 (28%)
Other	1 (0.8%)
Length of unemployment in the past	
6 months to 1 year	25 (20%)
More than 1 year	32 (26%)
Never	35 (28%)
Up to 6 months	31 (25%)
Type of professional structure	
Other	123 (100%)
Position held in this structure	
Administration, management and other	56 (46%)
Professional integration advisor	46 (37%)
Technical integration supervisor	21 (17%)
Time spent in this position	
6 months to 1 year	22 (18%)
More than 1 year	84 (68%)
Up to 6 months	17 (14%)
Type of contract for this position	
CDD	15 (12%)
CDI	94 (76%)
Fixed-term contract	9 (7.3%)
Other	5 (4.1%)
Workers - Vertical	4.39 (1.06)
Unemployed - Vertical	3.60 (1.14)
Workers - Capacity	4.58 (1.16)
Unemployed - Capacity	3.98 (1.35)
Workers - Assertiveness	4.20 (1.27)
Unemployed - Assertiveness	3.22 (1.15)
Workers - Horizontal	4.38 (1.09)
Unemployed - Horizontal	4.07 (1.26)
Workers - Morality	4.24 (1.15)
Unemployed - Morality	4.04 (1.38)
Workers - Friendliness	4.52 (1.17)
Unemployed - Friendliness	4.09 (1.28)
Workers - Attitude	62 (22)
Unemployed - Attitude	72 (18)

[1] Mean (SD); n (%)

Figure 1

Study 1. Differences in the dimensions and facets of the stereotypes of workers and of unemployed people.

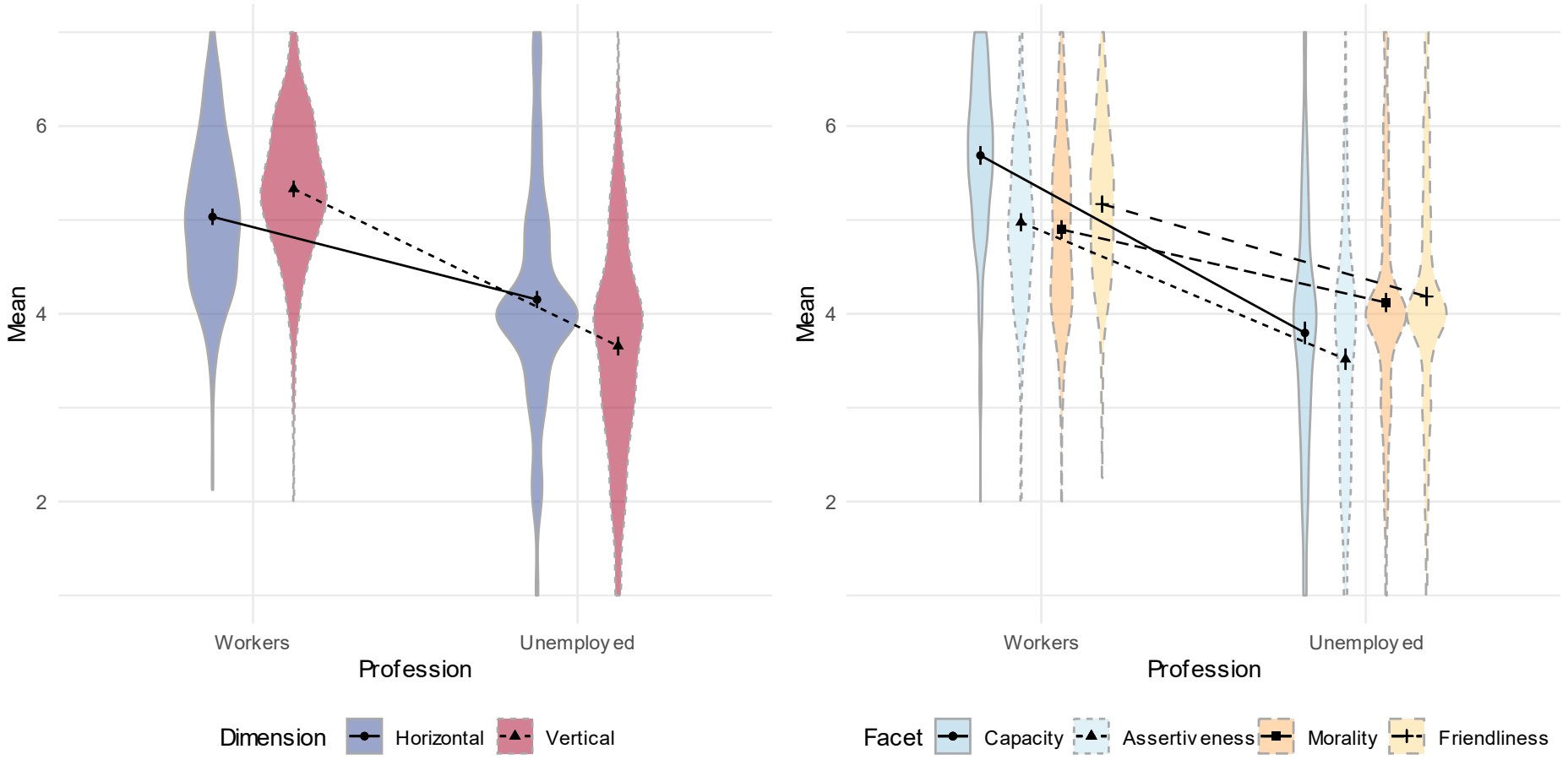

Figure 2

Study 1. Differences in the dimensions and facets of the stereotypes of firefighters, railroad workers and unemployed people.

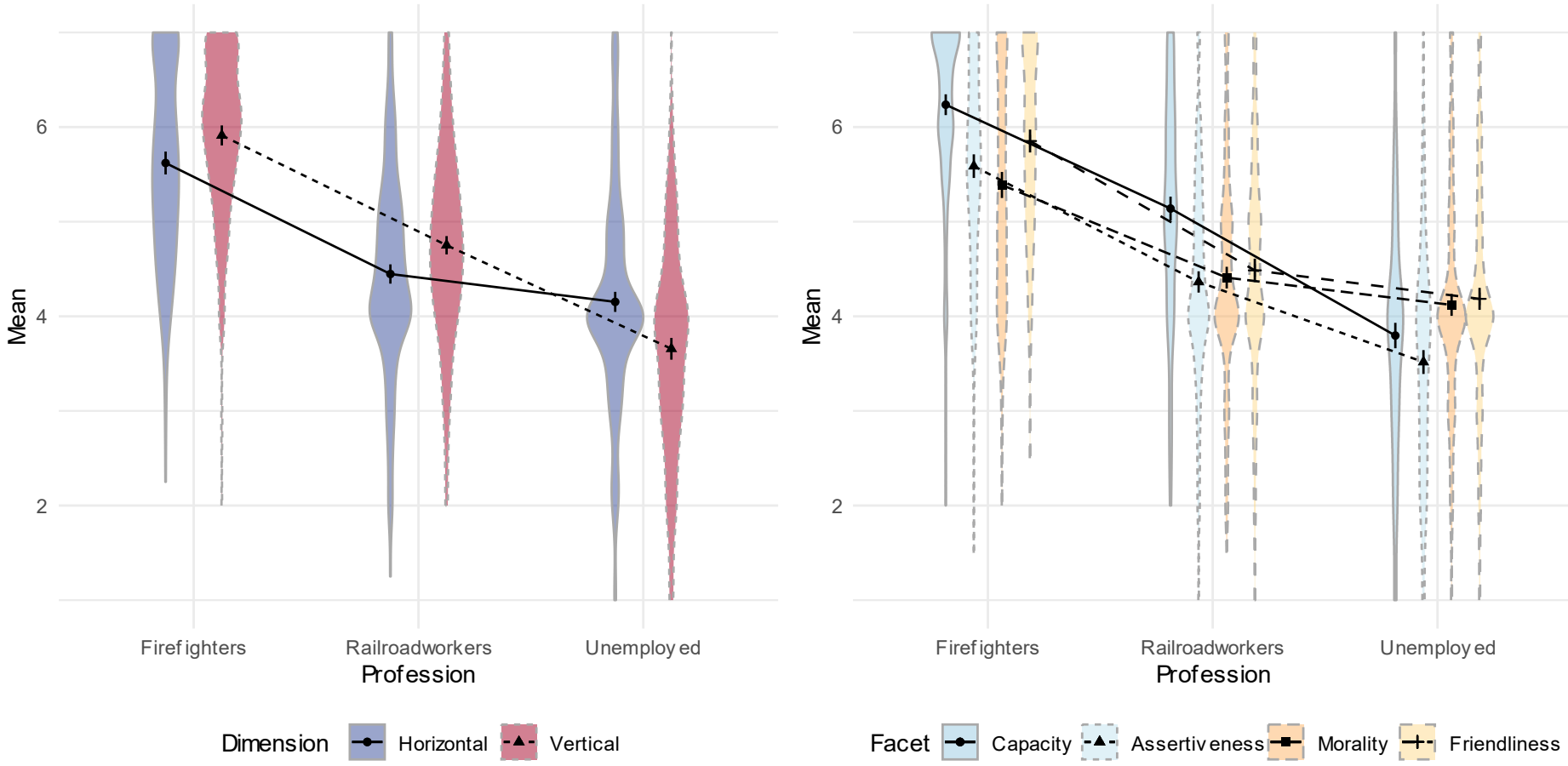

Figure 3

Study 1. Differences in the attitudes toward workers, unemployed people, firefighters and railroad workers.

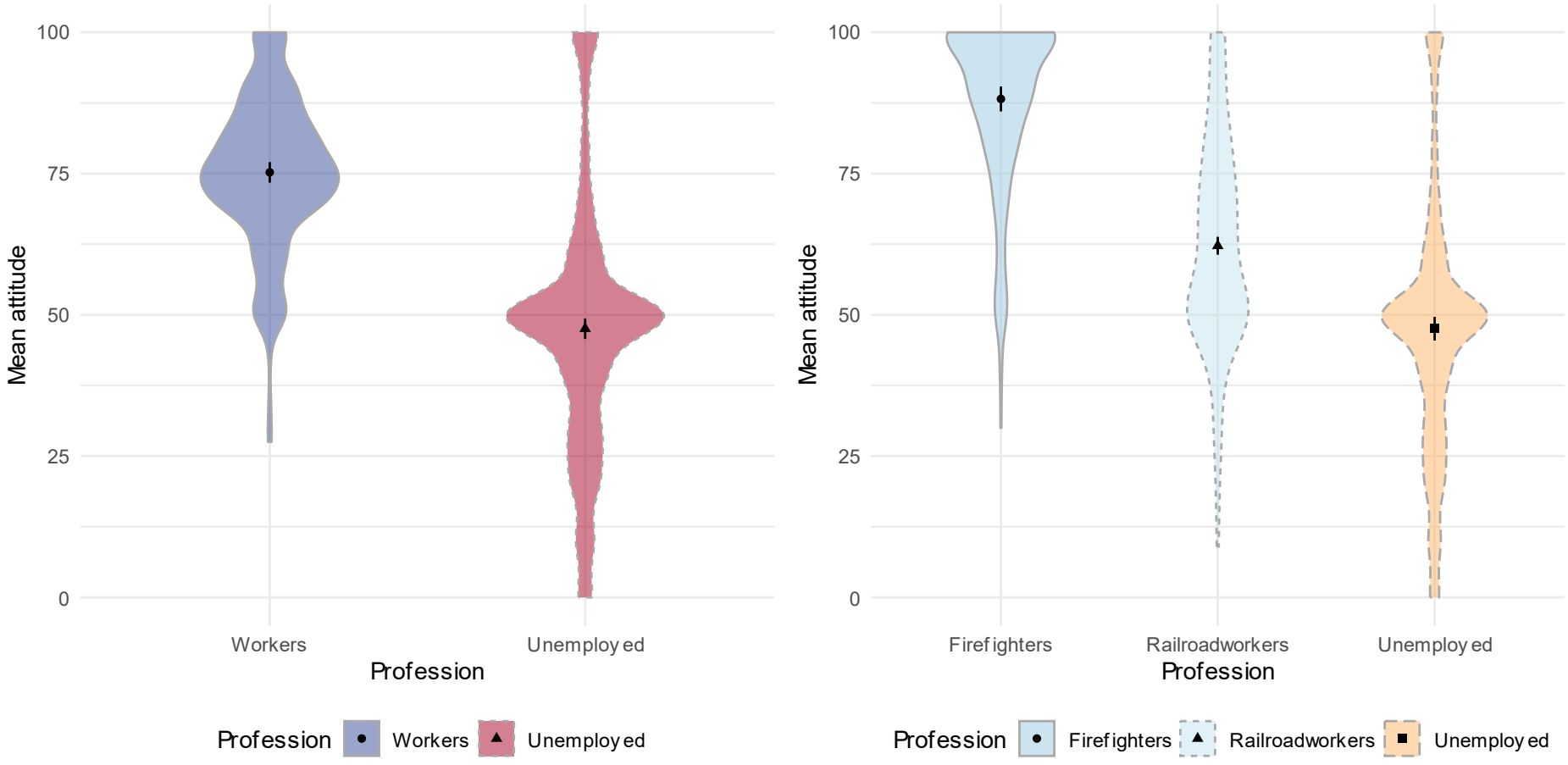

Figure 4

Study 2. Differences in the dimensions and facets of the stereotypes of workers and of unemployed people.

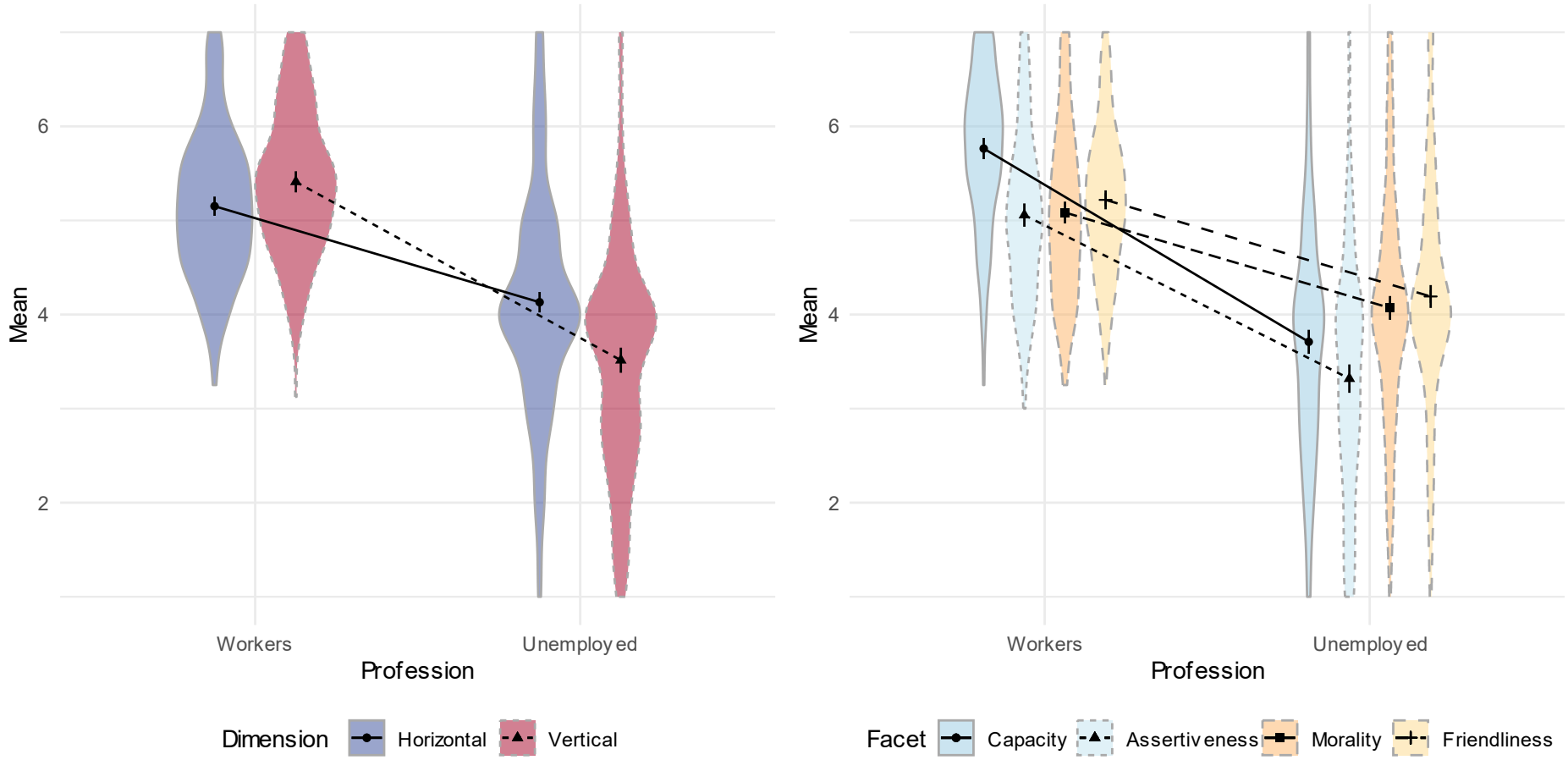

Figure 5

Study 2. Differences in the dimensions and facets of the stereotypes of firefighters, railroad workers and unemployed people.

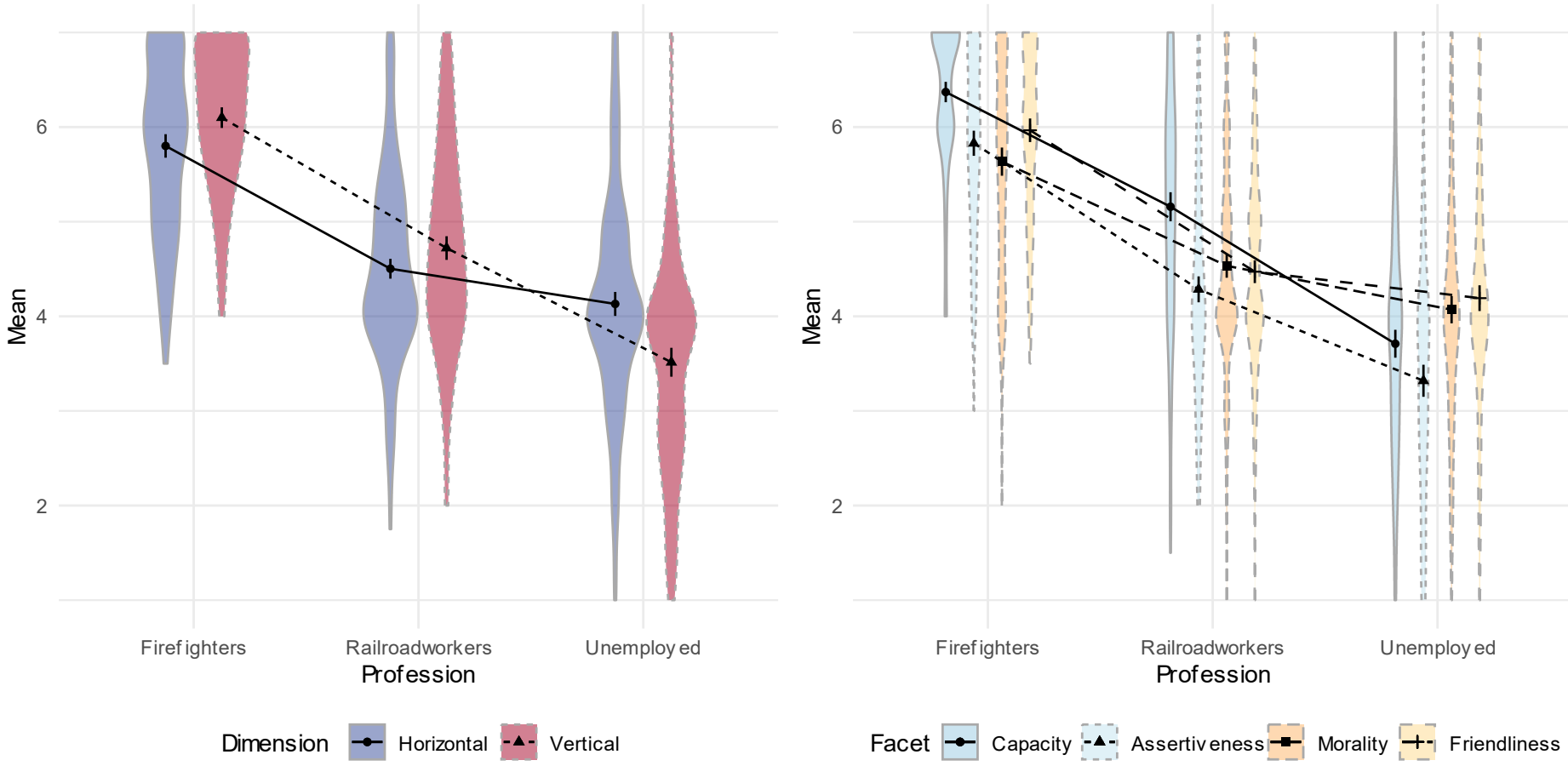

Figure 6

Study 2. Differences in the attitudes toward workers, unemployed people, firefighters and railroad workers.

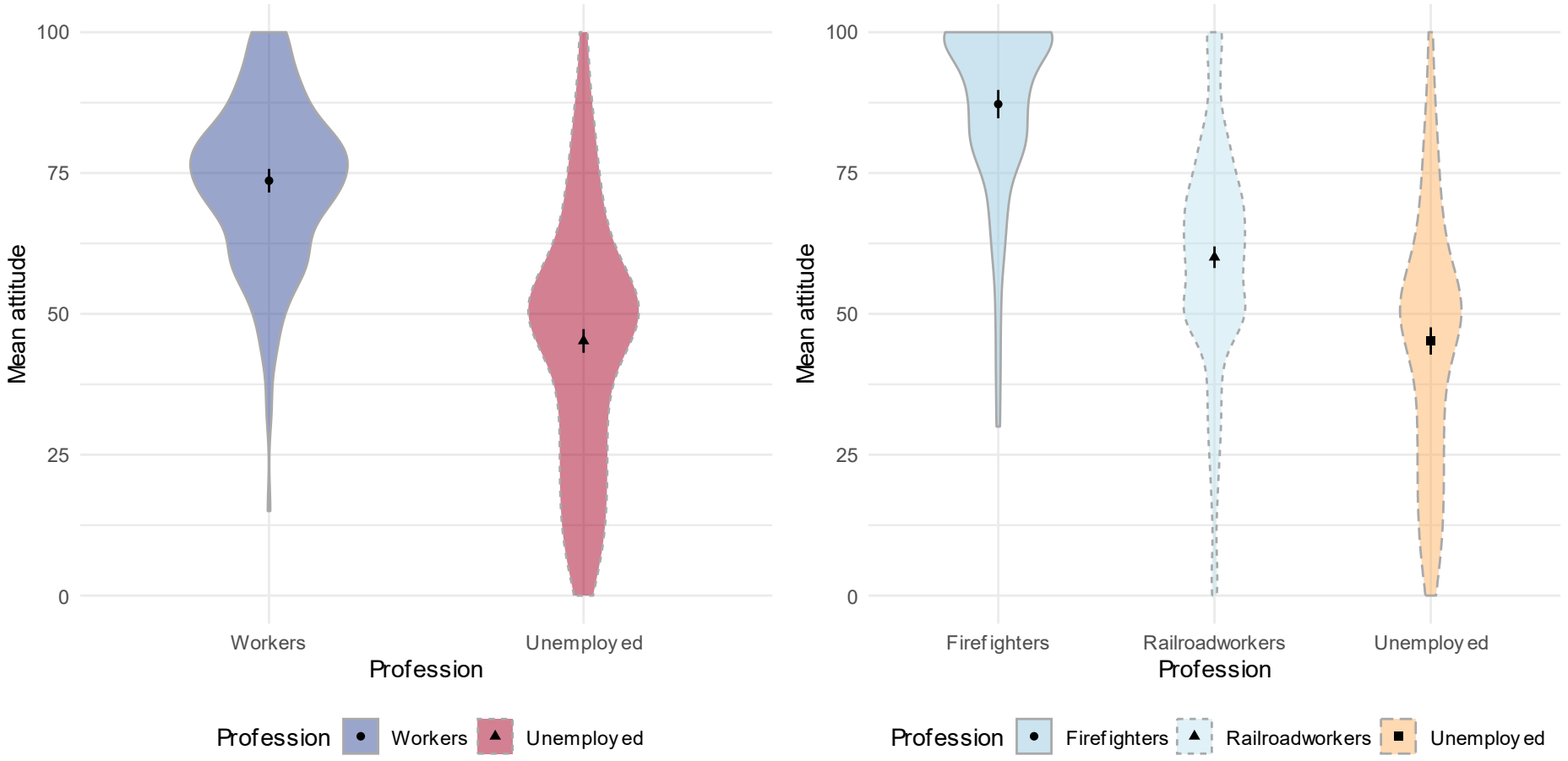

Figure 7

Study 2. Differences in the Ascent of Man scores of workers, unemployed people, firefighters and railroad workers.

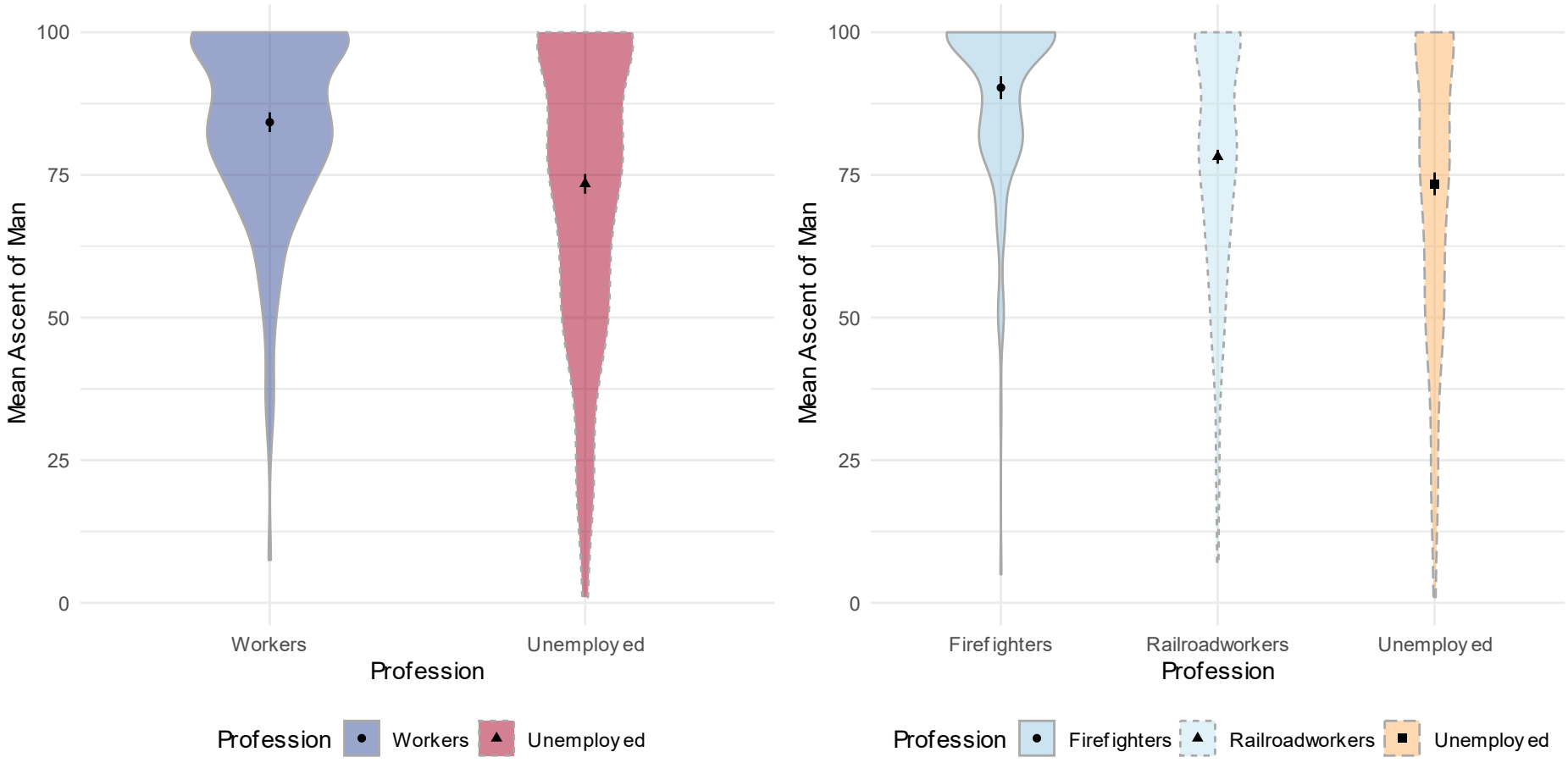

Figure 8

Study 3. Differences in the dimensions and facets of the stereotypes of workers and of unemployed people.

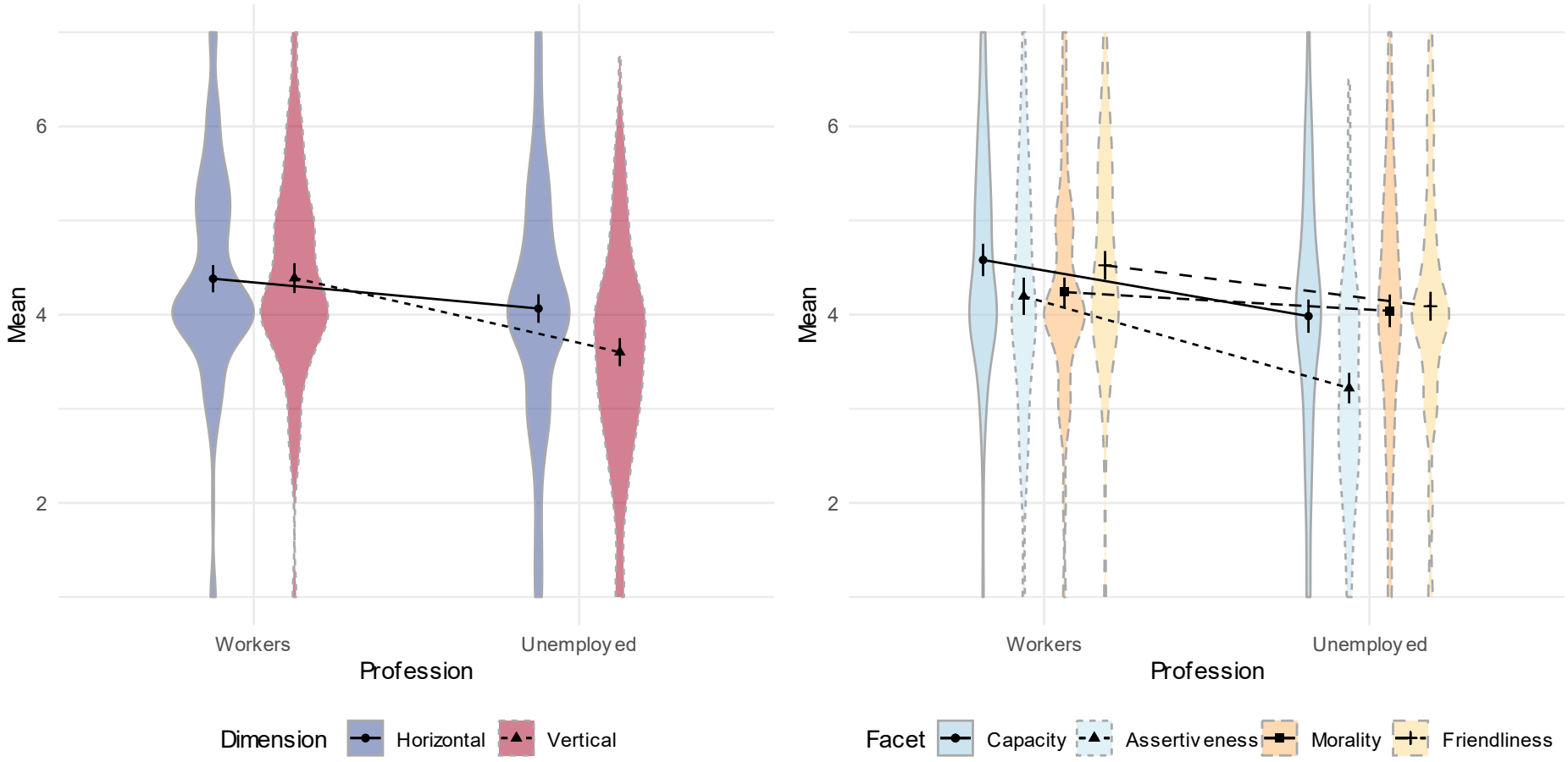

Figure 9

Study 3. Differences in the attitudes toward workers and unemployed people.