It's All in the Name: Employment Discrimination Against Arab Americans[1]

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Following the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, Arab Americans faced increased discrimination that permeated almost every aspect of their lives. Previous research has documented the negative attention toward Arab Americans after 9/11 and the effect it has had on this community. However, less research has focused on discrimination against Arab Americans during the process of obtaining employment in the United States. To address this gap in the current literature, we conducted a correspondence study in which we randomly assigned a typical white-sounding name or a typical Arab-sounding name to two similar fictitious résumés. We sent résumés to 265 jobs over a 15-month period. We found that an Arab male applicant needed to send two résumés to every one résumé sent by a white male applicant to receive a callback for an interview by the hiring personnel. Our findings suggest that the difference in callbacks may be the result of discrimination against the perceived race/ethnicity of the applicant by the hiring personnel.

KEY WORDS: Arabs; audit field experiment; discrimination; employment; labor market; stereotypes.

INTRODUCTION

The terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 have had serious consequences for the Arab-American community in the United States. Overnight, Arab Americans went from being virtually invisible (Naber, 2000) to being in the forefront of the public eye (Cainkar, 2002; Rodriguez, 2008). Following the attacks, Arab Americans experienced a dramatic increase in the level of prejudice and discrimination targeting them, including discrimination at work

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and in school (ADC, 2008; Stewart and ADC, 2003). Given the radical and sudden focus on Arab Americans as a result of 9/11, there is a need for research on the prejudice and discrimination Arab Americans currently face. Adding to the literature on anti-Arab discrimination in the United States, we conducted a correspondence study using names associated with white and Arab ethnicities. We found that Arab male applicants needed to send more résumés in order to receive a response for an interview than equally qualified white male applicants. The difference in callback rates between the Arab and white applicants provides some preliminary evidence of a hiring bias against Arab Americans.

The attacks of 9/11 have resulted in an eruption of studies focused on a variety of topics related to the attacks, including their effects on the Arab experience in the United States. While discrimination and prejudice against Arabs existed before the attacks, the events amplified these sentiments exponentially and resulted in Arabs changing from being an "invisible minority" to the object of public scrutiny (Cainkar, 2002). The increased prejudice toward Arab Americans, the unclear duration of the public focus on this minority, and the steadily increasing Arab population in the United States are central aspects of the post-9/11 era that make discrimination and prejudice against Arab Americans a central topic in contemporary sociology.

The Arab-American population in the United States is estimated to be anywhere from 1.2 million (De la Cruz and Brittingham, 2003) to as high as 3.5 million (AAI, n.d.). Furthermore, the Arab-American population has been steadily increasing, by 41% in the 1980s and 38% in the 1990s. On average, Arab men are slightly more likely to participate in the workforce (73.3% to 70.7%), have slightly higher incomes than the overall population ($ 41,700 to $ 37,057), and are more likely to hold a bachelor's degree or higher (41.2% to 24.4%) (De la Cruz and Brittingham, 2003). On average, Arab Americans reflect a growing and largely successful minority group in the United States.

Despite the successes of Arab Americans in the United States, there has been a history of prejudice against them. Perhaps one of the largest purveyors of Arab stereotypes and other negative images has been the media. For example, many Arab Americans were deemed responsible for the Oklahoma City bombing until the capture of Timothy McViegh (Jones, 2001a). According to Shaheen (2003), Hollywood has framed Arabs as villainous since the conception of cinema, and the negative portrayal of Arabs remains one of the most persistent stereotypes in cinema today. Shaheen (2003) has argued that images in the media are self-perpetuating, serving to inform public attitudes and opinions. The constant image of the Arab villain undoubtedly creates a scenario where prejudice against Arabs dies hard if not creating and fueling prejudicial attitudes directly.

In addition to the negative portrayal of Arabs in the media, there is evidence of widespread prejudicial attitudes toward Arabs before the 9/11 attacks. During the Persian Gulf crisis in 1991, 41% of Americans had an unfavorable opinion of Arabs, as opposed to 43% holding favorable opinions.

Furthermore, the poll found that Arabs were widely associated with religious fanaticism and terrorism (Jones, 2001a). After the terrorist bombing of the World Trade Center in 1993, 32% of the U.S. public was found to have an unfavorable opinion of Arabs, as compared to 39% that had a favorable view (Jones, 2001b). A 2001 poll conducted before 9/11 on opinions of other countries found that Arab countries were considered to be the most unfavorable (Jones, 2001b). A study analyzing attitudes toward Arabs before 9/11 found that Arabs were viewed as more foreign, as indicated by English-fluency responses. The study also claimed that Americans viewed Arabs as more difficult to get along with and less likely to be good neighbors (Taylor and Agha, 2005). These responses are in relation to attitudes toward blacks and Hispanics and indicate that among racial expectations, Arabs in particular are considered foreign and unsociable.

Although opinion polls examining attitudes toward Arabs are primarily conducted during time periods marked by conflict involving Arabs or Arab countries, they consistently find that negative attitudes toward Arabs were widespread even before the 9/11 attacks. As such, the public backlash against this minority can be considered an inflammation of underlying sentiments. The increased level of prejudice and discrimination against Arabs has been consistently observed in the literature as well as in opinion polls. Immediately after 9/11, 58% of Americans believed that Arabs should undergo more intensive security checks when boarding airplanes. Forty-nine percent of Americans believed that Arabs should be required to carry special identification cards (Jones, 2001b).

RESEARCH ON ARAB-AMERICAN DISCRIMINATION

In addition to the prejudicial attitudes toward Arab Americans prevalent in U.S. society, there is considerable evidence that the rate of discrimination toward this group increased radically after the 9/11 attacks. Over 700 incidents of hate crimes and 800 incidents of workplace discrimination were reported against Arab Americans in the nine weeks after 9/11 (Ibish, 2003). New immigration policies were advanced that specifically targeted Arab Americans, ranging from increased surveillance to detention and deportation (Naber, 2006). Furthermore, reports of incidents of harassment targeting Arabs, or Arab-looking individuals, increased (Naber, 2006). The discrimination and prejudice toward Arab Americans has become a major research topic, with studies investigating the psychological underpinnings of such behavior to the phenomenological experiences of Arabs themselves.

Arab-American discrimination has been substantiated by several previous studies. For example, Bushman and Bonacci (2004) found evidence of Arab discrimination after 9/11 by conducting a "lost e-mail" study. Lost e-mails were sent to unsuspecting participants addressed to someone else with European or Arab surnames. They found that e-mails with a European surname

were more likely to be returned than an e-mail with an Arab surname. By manipulating the names of individuals inquiring about open apartments, Carpusor and Loges (2006) found evidence of housing discrimination against Arab Americans, although to a lesser extent than toward African Americans. Furthermore, they found that discrimination toward Arabs became more covert during the war in Iraq, suggesting that the sociopolitical context alters the form of discrimination.

Discrimination of Arab Americans in the labor market has also been a growing research topic. Several studies have analyzed the effects of 9/11 on labor market outcomes for Arabs using a natural experiment design. A study conducted by Kaushal et al. (2007) investigated whether the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 had any effect on employment and earnings of first- and second-generation Arab and Muslim men in the United States. They found that after the attacks, Arabs' and Muslims' real wages and weekly earnings decreased by 9–11% below what they would have been had the terrorist attacks not occurred. Dávilla and Mora (2005) found similar results using data from the American Community Survey. Arab men were found to have experienced a significant earnings decline as result of the attacks. Furthermore, Rabby and Rodgers (2009) found that men with nativity profiles similar to the terrorists responsible for 9/11 suffered worsened labor market outcomes directly after the attack. They find that the labor market losses experienced began to dissipate by the end of 2004. Each of these studies found that labor market discrimination against Arabs increased after 9/11. This study adds to this growing dialogue by analyzing hiring biases using a correspondence study methodology that has not been applied to the U.S. case.

CORRESPONDENCE STUDY METHODOLOGY

Given the prevalence of prejudicial attitudes and discrimination toward Arabs, this study utilized a correspondence study design to determine whether a hiring bias exists against Arab Americans. We sent out two similar résumés to open job positions for office managers and customer service managers across the United States and measured the number of callbacks each résumé received. The only differences in the résumés were the names; one résumé had a name associated with Arab race/ethnicity, while the other résumé had a name associated with white race/ethnicity. After randomly assigning an Arab-sounding name or a white-sounding name to two similar cover letters and résumés, we then sent them to open job positions and recorded the number of callbacks received for an interview. Since the only differences in the résumés were the names of the applicants, the differences in the callback rate can be attributed to the names, and the race/ethnicity associated with them.

Correspondence studies are a unique way to study racial and ethnic discrimination in the United States today (for a review, see Pager, 2007; Riach and Rich, 2002). Using the correspondence study design, Bertrand and

Mullainathan (2004) found differential treatment in the number of callbacks for interviews between two similar applicant pairs. They sent similar fictitious résumés to businesses in two metropolitan labor markets. To manipulate race they randomly assigned an African-American- or white-sounding name, and found that résumés with an African-American name received 50% fewer callbacks for an interview.

Another study by Kleykamp (2009) manipulated veteran status and race when sending out faxed fictitious résumés. Kleykamp found that veterans with nontransferable job skills, such as skills in the combat arms, received fewer callbacks than veterans with transferable job skills. Furthermore, she found that black veterans were favored more, when compared to their civilian peers, when they had transferable administrative skills but less than their peers when they had nontransferable combat arms skills. In addition to its application to these minority cases, the correspondence study methodology has also been applied to Arabs (Rooth, 2007).

A study conducted in Sweden found that Arab/Muslim applicants received 50% fewer callbacks inviting them for an interview when coupled with applicants who have a Swedish-sounding name (Rooth, 2007). In the United States, a correspondence study was conducted in California using five different ethnic groups. The only conclusive finding of this study was that Arab and South-Asian applicants were less likely to receive a response for employment (Thanasombat and Trasviña, 2005). This study differs from these previous studies by investigating Arab-American discrimination in and across the United States, as well as focusing specifically on Arab Americans.

In addition to using the correspondence study design to investigate Arab labor market discrimination, we utilize a relatively understudied medium, the Internet, in the process of obtaining employment. People find work through many different channels, including informal and formal social networks, employment agencies, and professional associations. Recently, the Internet has revolutionized the way people find work (see Fountain, 2005). Although there is relatively little information on how people seek employment, there is some evidence that the use of the Internet to find information about employment is on the rise. A study conducted in 2002 found that as many as 52 million people in the United States used the Internet to find information about employment, a 60% increase from 2000 (Boyce and Rainie, 2002). More recent research shows that as much as 64% of people age 18–24 go online to find information about jobs (Jones and Fox, 2009). It is estimated that up to 90% of Fortune 500 employers today use the Internet to recruit potential employees (Cappelli, 2001).

Many Internet job search websites are used by companies and individuals in order to post openings and find employment. As employers and employees increasingly use the Internet, Internet-only job postings comprise a larger proportion of job openings. Despite the ease with which employers can recruit through the Internet, the vast number of applicants responding to online job postings may have an adverse effect on qualified applicants (Hadass, 2004). Even though research found that the Internet does not offer any special

advantage for employment over not using the Internet (Fountain, 2005), it is becoming increasingly important to study how the Internet affects the outcomes of individuals in different ways. Since the use of the Internet to find jobs is becoming more common and convenient for potential employees and hiring personnel, it is appropriate to utilize this medium to study discrimination in job attainment.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Construction of Résumés

The first step of the study was to create résumé templates. Résumés were developed for two job types, customer service manager and office manager. These jobs were chosen since they reflect the occupations that were overrepresented in the Arab male population. Of the Arab male working population, aged 16 and older, 42% were in management, professional, or related occupations as opposed to 34% of the general population. Additionally, 30% of Arabs worked in sales or office positions, as opposed to 27% of the general population (Brittingham and de la Cruz, 2005). Given these data, the job types that we have chosen for this study are particularly relevant to the Arab case, since they largely concentrated in these occupations.

Using the Internet job bank sites Monster.com, Careerbuilder.com, and Hotjobs.com, we developed a set of qualifications that the phantom applicants required. We then duplicated the type of job experience and education on already posted résumés for the jobs, creating composite résumés specific to our applicants. We designed each résumé template differently to avoid suspicion on the part of the employers reading them, while ensuring that each phantom applicant's name is clearly visible. Three résumés and two cover letters for each job type were developed out of these qualifications to conduct this study. After being constructed, the résumés and cover letters were then proofread by a writing lab at the primary author's associated university. All the fictitious résumés have a similar work history beginning with an entry-level job in their particular field and experience working a second job that an individual would take if he was naturally working his way through the job hierarchy.

Table I shows the breakdown of qualifications by job. Each résumé had a total of six years of experience. Computer skills are the same for all the résumés. Depending on the job type, the résumé template had varying types and levels of education from similar educational institutions. The customer service manager job was allocated a bachelor's degree in business administration; the office manager résumé revealed an associate's degree in business management. It was expected that the degrees and six years of work experience for the Arab applicants would eliminate any potential hiring barriers due to employers' concern over English fluency. Each applicant was issued an e-mail

Table I. Breakdown of Qualifications by Job

Customer Service Manager		Office Manager	
Education	BA business administration/ management from a 4-year public university	Education	AA business administration/ management from a technical/ community college
Years of experience	6	Years of experience	6
Skills	Personal qualifications Keyboarding 50 WPM Microsoft Office Microsoft XP	Skills	Personal qualifications
1st job	Customer service agent	1st job	Administrative assistant
2nd job	Customer service manager	2nd job	Office manager
Address	P.O. box in the area of the job	Address	P.O. box in the area of the job
E-mail address	Yes	E-mail address	Yes

address based on availability of e-mail addresses that correspond with his name.[3] See the Appendix for an example of the templates of the cover letters and résumés used.

Identities of Applicants

The reliability of this research depends on the identities of the applicants reflecting a specific ethnicity through their name. Therefore, we designed several names associated with the race/ethnicities of interest, white and Arab, and tested them in order to determine the validity of the chosen names for the phantom applicants. We randomly selected first names for the phantom white applicants using Social Security information on popular baby names (Social Security Online, 2007). The white surnames were chosen from a Census Bureau's report on the most popular surnames by race and gender (Word et al., 2000). Arab first names and surnames were randomly selected using a Muslim baby book (Hansib Publications Limited, 2001). All our phantom applicants were male, since this current research is focused on ethnic discrimination and including females would entail various other theoretical and methodological concerns related to gender discrimination. Randomly selected names for white Americans were: James Yoder, Robert Krueger, John Mueller, Michael Schwartz, William Novak, and David Schmitt. Randomly selected Arab names are Abd al-Hakiim Amar, Qahhar Kazim, Abu Amjad Khazin, Mamuud Irshad, Shakir Imtiaz, and Abd al-Malik Khalil.

[3] White applicant e-mail addresses were designed using free e-mail accounts from Gmail.com and Arab applicant e-mail addresses were designed using free e-mail accounts from Yahoo.com.

To ensure the names used are perceived as either "white" or "Arab," we administered a questionnaire[4] to 104 undergraduate students on a predominantly white university campus in the Pacific Northwest. To ensure a cross-section of different types of majors, we distributed questionnaires in undergraduate classes in various departments. Respondents were asked to check the box of the race/ethnicity[5] they believed best represented the names given on the questionnaire. Table II shows the percentage that each name is either chosen as "Arab" or "white" compared to all the other race/ethnic categories.

In general, respondents perceived the names as belonging to the racial/ethnic category they were designed to represent. Respondents identified the Arab-sounding names as Arab 81.61% of the time, and they identified the white-sounding names as white 79.48% of the time. It is important to note that when respondents are given an Arab name, 18.39% of the time they choose categories other than Arab, but none of the Arab names are associated with the white category. When a respondent is given a white name, he or she chooses categories other than white 20.52% of the time, but white names are not chosen at all in the Arab category. Given this, there is little concern that the white phantom applicant is mistaken as an Arab, and vice versa, limiting the possibility of contamination of the data. This test supports our assumption that the names used in this research represent the racial/ethnic categories they were designed to represent.

Responding to Job Openings Using the Internet

In February 2008, we began sending out résumés to jobs for which the phantom applicants were qualified. Since we were using an Internet job bank website,[6] we sent résumés to every job in the United States that corresponded with the applicants' job type and qualifications, regardless of location. Employers using Internet job bank websites could employ three different methods to request applications. First, an employer may request an e-mail with the cover letter and résumé attached. Second, they may list their fax number as the preferred method of contact. Third, employers may have chosen to be contacted using a link on the website that connected potential employees to the employer. The potential employee then attaches his or her cover letter and résumé to the job bank website's link. The employer then has access through the website to the submitted cover letters and résumés. Since the method of application depends on the employers' preference, each method was used as per the employers' request. For each method, cover letters and résumés were sent to employers without any information linking the "phantom applicant" to the researchers.

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[4] Samples of the questionnaires are available from the authors by request.
[5] We limited the racial/ethnic choices to the categories used by the 2000 Census but added the category "Arab" for research purposes.
[6] Careerbuilder.com, Monster.com, and Hotjobs.com.

Table II. First Names Used

Arab Names	Perception Arab	Perception White	Perception All Other Races	White Names	Perception White	Perception Arab	Perception All Other Races
Abd al-Hakiim Amar	86.49	0	13.51	James Yoder	58.54	0	41.46
Qahhar Kazim	70	0	30	Robert Krueger	78.05	0	21.95
Abu Amjad Khazin	91.89	0	8.11	John Mueller	94.44	0	5.56
Mamuud Irshad	94.44	0	5.56	Michael Schwartz	91.89	0	8.11
Shakir Imtiaz	75.68	0	24.32	David Schmitt	94.44	0	5.56
Abd al-Malik Khalil	72.22	0	27.78	William Novak	63.16	0	36.84
Total	81.61	0	18.39		79.48	0	20.52

Note: This table reports the total percentages each name was chosen in its respective race/ethnic category.

For each job posting, we randomized the name, cover letter, and résumé for both the Arab and white phantom applicants. The cover letters explained that the applicant had recently relocated to that area and was looking for employment. We ensured that the postal address[7] of the applicant matched the area of the posted job. For example, if the applicant applied for a job in Renton, Washington, his postal address is in Renton, Washington. We chose two separate geographical areas the applicants were relocating from: Seattle, Washington and Portland, Oregon. Each résumé included a phone number with the respective area code of the city from which the applicant was moving. The voicemail messages assigned to the phone numbers were prerecorded electronic messages that did not state the applicant's name. Phantom applicants' work and educational histories matched the geographic location they were from (i.e., the phone numbers attached to applicants from the Portland, Oregon area graduated from a school in the Portland, Oregon area). To track the number of callbacks each phantom applicant received, we recorded whether the applicant received a phone call or an e-mail inviting him to interview for the position for which he had applied.

RESULTS

Callbacks for Both Job Types

In Table III the results for both job types combined indicate that there is a statistically significant difference between callbacks. Arab applicants

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[7] The applicants had fake postal addresses but this likely did not alter our findings because human resource managers confirm that few, if any, employers use postal mail to contact potential employees (see Bertrand and Mullainathan, 2004).

Table III. Mean Callback, for an Interview, by Racial Soundingness of Names

Job	Percent Callback for White Names	Percent Callback for Arab Names	Ratio	Percent Difference (p-Value)
All sent résumés	5.28 [265]	1.89 [265]	2.79	3.39 (.034)
Customer service manager	5.31 [113]	3.54 [113]	1.77	1.5 (.518)
Office manager	5.26 [152]	0.66 [152]	7.97	4.6 (.034)

Notes: This table reports the percentage of callbacks, for an interview, broken down by perceived race. The total number of résumés for each row is in brackets. The mean difference of callbacks by job and race is listed along with the *p*-value.

receive 1.89% callbacks for an interview while white applicants receive 5.28% callbacks for an interview using similar résumés. The findings also reveal a 3.39 percentage point difference in the number of callbacks, using the chi-square mean in differences ($p < .05$).[8] This finding indicates that an Arab job applicant has to send out 2.79 more résumés, on average, to receive the same number of invitations for an interview compared to whites.

Customer Service Manager

When looking at the differences in callbacks by job type, the results in Table III show that compared to white applicants, Arab applicants receive a similar percentage of callbacks. However, Arab applicants receive a slightly lower percentage of callbacks for an interview, 3.54%, compared to the 5.31% of callbacks to white applicants. It was also important to account for differential treatment by employers when contacting potential employees. For example, when the employer calls back only the white applicant, it was considered "white favored" and when the employer calls back only the Arab applicant, it is was considered "Arab favored." When the employer calls back both the white and Arab applicants, it was considered "equal treatment." Although job channeling[9] is an alternative potential outcome, this was only observed twice, once for each job type, and in both instances the phantom applicants received equal treatment. Table IV indicates that, for the customer service manager jobs, both applicants received equal treatment 89.38% of the time, with the bulk of the equal treatment resulting from both applicants not receiving a callback 86.73% of the time. In the customer service manager jobs, both the white and Arab applicants are favored, receiving a callback when the other did not, 5.31% of the time.

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[8] $\chi 2 = \sum (fo\text{-}fe)2/fe.$

[9] Job channeling is when hiring managers put members of certain ethnic/racial groups into particular jobs based on preconceived ideas of that ethnic/racial group.

Table IV. Distribution of Callbacks

Customer Service Manager	Total Number	Percent	Office Manager	Total Number	Percent
Equal Treatment			*Equal Treatment*		
No callback	98	86.73	No callback	132	86.84
Both callback for an interview	1	.89	Both callback for an interview	0	0
Both callback for a rejection	1	.89	Both callback for a rejection	4	2.63
Both other job offer	1	.89	Both other job offer	1	.66
Total	101	89.38	Total	137	90.14
White Favored			*White Favored*		
Interview	4	3.54	Interview	8	5.26
Rejection	1	.89	Rejection	3	1.97
Other job offer	0	0.00	Other job offer	0	0
White interview, Arab rejection	1	.89	White interview, Arab rejection	0	0
Total	6	5.31	Total	11	7.23
Arab Favored			*Arab Favored*		
Interview	3	2.65	Interview	1	.66
Rejection	3	2.65	Rejection	3	1.97
Arab interview, white rejection	0	0.00	Arab interview, white rejection	0	0
Total	6	5.31	Total	4	2.63
Total Jobs Résumés Sent to	113		*Total Jobs Résumés Sent to*	152	

Office Manager

The largest discrepancy in callbacks was found in the office manager jobs; for this job, Arab applicants received only 0.66% callbacks for an interview compared to an equally qualified white applicant, who received 5.26% callbacks for an interview, a statistically significant difference of 4.60% ($p < .05$). Callbacks for the office manager job show applicants received equal treatment 90.14% of the time. Equal treatment was observed the most frequently, as a result of both applicants not receiving a callback 86.84% of the time. White applicants were favored 7.23% of the time, while Arab applicants were favored only 2.63% of the time; a difference of 4.60 percentage points.

To ensure the names we selected did not drive these findings, Table V breaks down the distribution of callbacks by name. It is important to note that there was no bias toward the names (see Table V). This ensures that the findings are a result of the perceived ethnic connotation of the names and not the desirability of the names themselves.

To ensure the résumé and cover letter style did not drive these findings, Table VI breaks down the distribution of callbacks by résumé and cover letter. There is no significant bias toward the cover letters and résumés. The number of callbacks and refusals for both the cover letters and résumés indicates that none of the cover letters or résumés stands out in the number of callbacks it

Table V. Breakdown of Callbacks by Name

	Total Names Used	No Callback	Total Callbacks	Callback for Interview	Callback for Refusal
Arab Name					
Abd al-Hakiim Amar	46 [17.36]	41 [16.67]	5 [26.32]	2 [40.00]	3 [21.43]
Qahhar Kazim	43 [16.23]	38 [15.45]	5 [26.32]	0 [00.00]	5 [35.71]
Abu Amjad Khazin	46 [17.36]	42 [17.07]	4 [21.05]	0 [00.00]	4 [28.57]
Mamuud Irshad	43 [16.23]	42 [17.07]	1 [05.26]	1 [20.00]	0 [00.00]
Shakir Imtiaz	45 [16.98]	42 [17.07]	3 [15.79]	2 [40.00]	1 [07.14]
al-Malik Khalil	42 [15.84]	41 [16.67]	1 [05.26]	0 [00.00]	1 [07.14]
Total	265 [100.00]	246 [100.00]	19 [100.00]	5 [100.00]	14 [100.00]
White Name					
James Yoder	43 [16.23]	41 [17.08]	2 [08.00]	2 [14.29]	0 [00.00]
Robert Krueger	45 [16.98]	40 [16.67]	5 [20.00]	1 [07.14]	4 [36.36]
John Mueller	45 [16.98]	43 [17.91]	2 [08.00]	1 [07.14]	1 [09.10]
Michael Schwartz	43 [16.23]	40 [16.67]	3 [12.00]	2 [14.29]	1 [09.10]
William Novak	45 [16.98]	40 [16.67]	5 [20.00]	2 [14.29]	3 [27.27]
David Schmitt	44 [16.60]	36 [15.00]	8 [32.00]	6 [42.86]	2 [18.17]
Total	265 [100.00]	240 [100.00]	25 [100.00]	14 [100.00]	11 [100.00]

Note: This table represents the number of callbacks for each name. Column 1 are the names used. Column 2 are total occurrences of each name. Column 3 are the number of times they did not receive a callback. Column 4 are the number of times each applicant received a callback for an interview. Column 5 is the number of times each applicant received a callback for a rejection. In brackets for each column is the percentage for each observation.

Table VI. Résumé/Cover Letter Breakdown

Customer Service Manager				Office Manager			
Résumé Interview Offers		Résumé Interview Refusals		Résumé Interview Offers		Résumé Interview Refusals	
Résumé 1	3 [30.00]	Résumé 1	3 [33.33]	Résumé 1	3 [33.33]	Résumé 1	3 [18.75]
Arab	2 [66.67]	Arab	3 [100.00]	Arab	1 [33.33]	Arab	0 [00.00]
White	1 [33.33]	White	0 [00.00]	White	2 [66.67]	White	3 [100.00]
Résumé 2	3 [30.00]	Résumé 2	4 [44.45]	Résumé 2	1 [11.11]	Résumé 2	4 [25.00]
Arab	1 [33.33]	Arab	2 [50.00]	Arab	0 [00.00]	Arab	3 [75.00]
White	2 [66.67]	White	2 [50.00]	White	1 [100.00]	White	1 [25.00]
Résumé 3	4 [40.00]	Résumé 3	2 [22.22]	Résumé 3	5 [55.56]	Résumé 3	9 [56.25]
Arab	2 [50.00]	Arab	1 [50.00]	Arab	0 [00.00]	Arab	5 [55.56]
White	2 [50.00]	White	1 [50.00]	White	5 [100.00]	White	4 [44.44]
Total	10 [100.00]		9 [100.00]	Total	9 [100.00]		16 [100.00]
Cover Letter Interview Offers		Cover Letter Interview Refusals		Cover Letter Interview Offers		Cover Letter Interview Refusals	
Cover letter 1	5 [50.00]	Cover letter 1	7 [77.78]	Cover letter 1	6 [66.67]	Cover letter 1	9 [56.25]
Arab	2 [40.00]	Arab	4 [57.15]	Arab	0 [00.00]	Arab	5 [55.56]
White	3 [60.00]	White	3 [42.85]	White	6 [100.00]	White	4 [44.44]
Cover letter 2	5 [50.00]	Cover letter 2	2 [22.22]	Cover letter 2	3 [33.33]	Cover letter 2	7 [43.75]
Arab	2 [40.00]	Arab	2 [100.00]	Arab	1 [33.33]	Arab	3 [42.86]
White	3 [60.00]	White	0 [00.00]	White	2 [66.67]	White	4 [57.14]
Total	10 [100.00]		9 [100.00]	Total	9 [100.00]		16 [100.00]

receives. Both Tables V and VI demonstrate that there is no bias in the desirability of the names used or the cover letters or résumés in callbacks. Of particular importance in reviewing these results are the results for Cover Letter 2, which has a minor grammatical error that could indicate less English fluency to prospective employers for the Arab phantom applicant, but be perceived as a minor typo for the white applicant. These results indicate that no strong bias existed against the Arab applicant with the grammatical error in Cover Letter 2, as compared to the Arab applicant with Cover Letter 1.

DISCUSSION

This research has added to the growing literature on Arab-American discrimination since 9/11 using the correspondence study methodology. Our results provide some evidence of a hiring bias against Arab Americans in the United States, and this finding reiterates the previous findings of prejudice and discrimination toward Arabs in the United States before and after the 9/11 attacks. Although the results indicated a significant difference in callbacks, this study cannot provide definitive evidence of a hiring bias due to several limitations of the study. However, the results of this current study provide significant justification for the further study Arab Americans in the labor market, as well as several recommendations for further study.

Another alternative explanation for the observed results is a general bias against immigrants or other nationalities in general. The present study used names strongly associated with Arab ethnicity in order to ensure that Arab discrimination specifically was responsible for the observed results. However, the names chosen could also be associated with immigrants from the Middle East, and the present study cannot determine if a foreign bias was dominant over a specifically Arab bias. Although the résumés included information for the past six years in order to establish the Arab phantom applicants as being sufficiently assimilated into the United States, an implicit attitude preference for nonforeign names could have potentially led to the Arab application not being reviewed. Furthermore, a typo on Cover Letter 2 could have further implied immigrant status and a lack of English fluency.

Although white applicants are generally favored over Arab applicants, the significance of the current findings are not uniform, with discrimination against Arabs applicants for the office manager job occurring far more frequently than in the case of the customer service manager job. Furthermore, the overall rate of callbacks was very low, which is particularly problematic given the small sample size of this preliminary study. There was a noticeable difference between the callbacks for each job, although the low rate of callbacks and the small sample size of the current study cannot determine if this difference is significant.

One potential reason for the low rate of callbacks, as well as a factor in the small sample size, is that this research was conducted during a recession.

As a result, there were fewer job openings and, furthermore, competition for these occupations may have increased as a result of increased unemployment. As a result, the recession itself must be considered a potential factor in the observed results. A question for further research might be whether increased economic hardships have an effect on the frequency of discrimination. Furthermore, by sending résumés to more occupations, a greater sample size can be attained, despite an overall decrease in employment opportunities.

For this research project, the focus was on those areas of the industry that were most relevant to Arab Americans, and further studies can investigate a wider range of occupations. Investigating a wider range of occupations can provide a larger sample size, and can also investigate whether discrimination varies by occupation. The potential conflation of foreign bias with an Arab-specific bias represents a potential flaw in the present research, and additional research is needed to differentiate between the effects of each. Additionally, labor market discrimination against Arab women using a similar methodology should be undertaken in order to determine whether these results are generalizable beyond gender. The implications of the Internet as a job search tool are still unseen, and further research should investigate whether the use of the Internet to seek employment has an effect on the frequency of discrimination. Although the present research used the Internet primarily, no conclusions can be drawn as to its effect on our results, but given its increasing prominence, it represents a important research question for further studies.

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APPENDIX

Michael Schwartz
P.O. Box 1344
Portland, OR 97203
(503) 487-0246
michaelschwartz4344@gmail.com

February 99, 9999
Company Name
1400 Street Name
Portland, OR 97203

To Whom It May Concern:

I was excited to read about the Customer Service Manager opening at Company Name on Monster.com. Due to my relocation to your area I am interested in a position that will utilize my extensive customer service experience.

In addition to my extensive customer service experience, I have exceptional organization, and administrative skills. This coupled with my technical knowledge of Microsoft Office and Microsoft XP makes me an excellent candidate for this position.

Thank you for your consideration. I look forward to hearing from you to arrange an interview.

Sincerely,

Michael Schwartz

Michael Schwartz
P.O. Box 1344
Portland, OR 97203
(503) 487-0246
michaelschwartz4344@gmail.com

Objective
To start a career as a customer service manager that will utilize my extensive skills and that will provide an opportunity for advancement in the future

Education
Washington State University, Pullman, WA
BA Business Management
2003

<u>Experience</u>
2005–2009, Guide Point Systems LLC, Portland, OR, Call Service Supervisor

Documented incoming and outgoing materials and supplies
Interviewed, hired, and trained new employees
Addressed customer complaints and resolved problems
Worked well supervising a team of five to twenty-five employees
Documented and implemented bi-monthly performance appraisals
2003–2005, Alamo, Portland, OR, Customer Service Agent
Guided customers through the process of renting vehicles
Handled customer complaints in a timely manner
Maintained a neat outward appearance
Answered multiple phone lines
Maintained a very clean work environment

<u>Skills</u>
Microsoft Word
Microsoft Excel
Typing 50 WPM
Outlook

Abd al-Hakiim Amar

P.O. Box 7449
Atlanta, GA 30326
(206) 774-8744
abdalhakiim.amar@yahoo.com

January 99, 9999
Mr. John Doe
Company Name
1400 Street Name
Suite 2000
Atlanta, GA 30326

Dear Mr. Doe:

I am looking for an opportunity to advance through an organization that can provide a hardworking and competitive environment. I am looking to be a key figure in the success of your organization. Since I have relocated from Portland, Oregon I have been eager to join your work staff.

Since graduation of college I have been eager to work and find a place where I can grow and develop my skills. My first experience in the work force was a great one in which I learned skills that taught me the intangible qualities of succeeding in the administrative field, such as teamwork, diligence, and punctuality. From there I have taken on more responsibility and moved forward in my career by taking on more leadership roles. Throughout my career

I have demonstrated for my employers an exceptional facility for meeting organizational objectives and demands. I believe that I could make a significant and valuable contribution in your firm.

I am looking forward with speaking with you directly to discuss my qualifications as a candidate. Thank you very much for your time.

Sincerely,
Abd al-Hakiim Amar

P.O. Box 7449
Atlanta, GA 30326

PHONE (206) 774-8744 • E-MAIL abdalhakiim.amar@yahoo.com

Abd al-Hakiim Amar

Qualifications
Highly motivated and goal oriented
Well-organized and resourceful
Diplomatic and tactful with both professionals and nonprofessionals
Supervised a very successful office staff of twelve employees
Extensive experience with Microsoft Office

Education
2003, Spokane Community College
AA Business Management
Employment

2005 to 2009, Philips Medical Systems North America Inc, Seattle WA
Administrative Supervisor
Responsible for the supervision of a staff of twelve employees
Responsible for interviewing, hiring, training, performance evaluations, and promotions
Encouraged a productive and team oriented environment
Prepared financial reports and proposals for senior management review
Developed a new employee training program
High level of technical abilities and a strong analytical background
2003–2005, Fatigue Technology, Seattle WA,

Administrative Assistant
Performed general office duties and administrative tasks
Prepared weekly confidential sales reports for presentation to management
Handled mail functions
Answered incoming calls
Utilized Microsoft Word, Excel, and Power Point