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THREE ESSAYS ON THE ANTECEDENTS AND MECHANISMS EADING TO THE UNFAIR TREATMENT OF IMMIGRANTS

BINGGELI Steve

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FACULTÉ DES HAUTES ÉTUDES COMMERCIALES

DÉPARTEMENT DE COMPORTEMENT ORGANISATIONNEL

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THÈSE DE DOCTORAT

présentée à la

Faculté des Hautes Etudes Commerciales
de l'Université de Lausanne

pour l'obtention du grade de
Docteur en Sciences Économiques, « mention Management »

par

Steve BINGGELI

Directrice de thèse
Prof. Franciska Krings

Jury

Prof. Alessandro Villa, Président
Prof. Jörg Dietz, expert interne
Prof. Michelle « Mikki » Hebl, experte externe

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Sans se prononcer sur les opinions de l'auteur, la Faculté des Hautes Études Commerciales de l'Université de Lausanne autorise l'impression de la thèse de Monsieur Steve Binggeli, titulaire d'un master en Psychologie du Travail et des Organisations de l'Université de Neuchâtel, en vue de l'obtention du grade de docteur en Sciences Économiques, mention « Management ».

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Lausanne, le 6 janvier 2014

Le doyen

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Par la présente, je certifie avoir examiné la thèse de doctorat de

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Sa thèse remplit les exigences liées à un travail de doctorat.
Toutes les révisions que les membres du jury et la soussignée ont demandées durant le colloque de thèse ont été prises en considération et reçoivent ici mon approbation.

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Signature : Mikki Hebl Date : 12/15/2013

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Synthesis

The increasing diversity that characterizes the labor force of the 21th century represents an important challenge for organizations. During the past decade, immigrants have played a central role in this diversification. They account for 70% of its increase in Europe and 47% in the United-States (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD, 2012a). Today, they represent about 27% of the labor force in Switzerland and about 16% in the United States (OECD, 2012b; Swiss Federal Statistical Office, 2008). Hence, immigrant employees constitute an important minority that deserves the attention of both scholars and practitioners.

Although immigrants are a protected minority in the workplace (EEOC, 2012a; Europa, 2013; SECO, 2013), national statistics from various countries suggest that organizations do not afford them equal opportunities. Immigrants tend to have higher rates of unemployment, be overrepresented in lower status jobs, and earn less pay than local employees (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2012; Rausa & Schläpfer, 2005). These observations are corroborated by scientific findings, which show that immigrants not only perceive more discrimination than locals, but also that they are more often discriminated against than locals in the workplace (e.g., Kravitz & Klineberg, 2000; van Tubergen, Maas, & Flap, 2004). However, little attention has been paid to immigrants in the organizational literature (Binggeli, Dietz, & Krings, 2013; Dietz, 2010), so many questions remain unresolved concerning the antecedents and mechanisms that sustain the unfair treatment of immigrants.

The current dissertation paves the way to a more systematic approach to these questions. In the remainder of this introduction, I will first discuss the characteristics of immigrants as a research group and briefly review some important contributions of the Social and Organizational Psychology literature. Then, I will summarize the four manuscripts that

compose this dissertation. Finally, I will propose an integration of these manuscripts and underline their main contributions and implications.

Immigrants are a diverse minority

An important step in the study of a specific population is to define its characteristics and qualities. In a previous article, my coauthors and I defined immigrants as "residents of a country who were born abroad, do not possess the local citizenship, and yet leave there permanently" (Binggeli et al., 2013, p. 107). The current dissertation builds on this definition, because it is legally valid in many countries and allows us to distinguish immigrants from other protected classes. Nevertheless, I also frame this definition in three major ways through my dissertation. First, I consider the fact that legislation differs across countries in regard to the way people can obtain the local citizenship. For instance, people who are born in the United States are automatically U.S. citizens. That means second generation immigrants are not legally considered immigrants. This is not the case in many other countries (e.g., Switzerland) though. The implication of this observation is that people who are born in a host country are considered locals in certain countries but immigrants in others. Second, I consider that people can belong legally to multiple social groups when they have more than one nationality. That means, even though people can legally be considered locals, they may still be attached to an immigration background via another nationality. And third, I also consider the psychological identification of individuals to the immigrant population. This is necessary because people might feel that they are immigrants and identify themselves as such, even if they were born in the host country and possess the local citizenship (Waters, 1994). This implies that people might differ from other locals in their decision and behavior simply because they identify more with another social group. Overall, I think that these nuances contribute to enriching the above definition of immigrants without threatening its validity. Indeed, they simply highlight the fact that the definition of "immigrants" is partially context

dependent and cannot always be reduced to legal mentions. Thus, I think it is important to keep an open mind regarding the way people can be related to the immigrant population, especially because it is a very diverse minority group.

People decide to migrate for various reasons (e.g., political, economical, social, environmental) and obtain different statuses in their host country (e.g., illegal, asylum seeker, legal). Their immigration status constitutes the essential characteristic that defines them as immigrants. Nevertheless, it is only one of the characteristics on which immigrants might differ from locals. Typically, immigrants come from a variety of national origins, which means they can have a different skin color, ethnicity, language, religion, education, culture, set of values, and/or behaviors than locals. Once in their host country, immigrants also differ in the acculturation style they adopt, so that some might embrace the host culture while others reject it or adopt aspects of each. We argued that taking these characteristics into account is important, because locals might use them to categorize immigrants into groups as a function of their similarities and differences (Binggeli et al., 2013; Richards & Hewstone, 2001; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Indeed, the social categorization of immigrants does not only depend on their citizenship, but other characteristics, such as their national origin, also can be used to define more precise categories that can be associated with different stereotypes.

Immigrants are a stigmatized minority

Large-scale studies have reported the existence of an anti-immigrant sentiment in dozens of countries around the world (e.g., Pehrson, Vignoles, & Brown, 2009; Schneider, 2008; Durante et al., in press), suggesting that immigrants are a universally stigmatized minority. Some research even shows that immigrants are one of the most disliked and derogated groups in society (e.g., Duckitt & Sibley, 2007; Durante et al., in press). Nevertheless, as suggested above, previous studies also show that the perception of specific

immigrant groups can differ from the perception of the immigrant population (e.g., Lee & Fiske, 2006). For example, in the United States, immigrants are generally perceived as cold and incompetent (Eckes, 2002). However, Italian immigrants are perceived as warm but moderately competent, while Chinese immigrants are perceived as cold but competent (Lee & Fiske, 2006).

The origin of this stigmatization has been explained through various theoretical backgrounds. These theories often underline the importance of socio-structural precursors in the stigmatization process, such as the threat of immigrants for locals' resources (Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Stephan & Stephan, 2000) or their level of socioeconomic status (Fiske et al., 2002; Jost & Banaji, 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 2001). Typically, immigrants tend to be perceived as interested in the same desirable resources as locals, which can consist of economic (e.g., jobs), political (e.g., security), or social (e.g., values) power. Because these resources are limited, the more immigrants are perceived as interested in them, the more they are perceived as having negative intentions toward locals, and thus the more they are derogated. Further, in meritocratic societies, the power of individuals and social groups relies on their capacity to manage desirable resources. As such, the socioeconomic status of immigrants (e.g., type of jobs, level of education) can buy their respect in the eyes of the local population, so that immigrants with high socioeconomic status are more positively perceived than are those with low socioeconomic status. Taken together, the perceived competitiveness and status of immigrant groups can already explain a wide range of the reasons that sustain their differential treatment. Indeed, a clear relation exists between individuals' stereotype, prejudice, and discriminatory behavior (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977; Fiske et al., 2002; Fiske, 1998).

Immigrants are discriminated against in the workplace

As mentioned previously, the unfair treatment of immigrants at work is supported by evidence coming from numerous sources. Although these sources do not always reach the most rigorous scientific standards, they should not be ignored. In the United States, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC, 2012b) registered 11,833 claims for employment discrimination based on national origin in 2011. This figure corresponds to an increase of 47% in the number of claims between 2000 and 2011. In South Africa, the International Labour Office (ILO, 2011) testified that 60 migrant workers were killed and 10,000 left homeless in 2008 due to the economic crisis. The same organization also instituted a method to evaluate systematically employment discrimination against immigrants across countries by sending fake resumes to organizations (Zegers de Beijl, 2000). In Switzerland, for example, previous research that has used this method revealed that applicants were discriminated against based on their national origin (e.g., Fibbi, Kaya, & Piguet, 2003).

Regarding the scientific literature, immigrant employees remain a largely understudied minority group. In a review of the literature published in the top 24 journals in I/O Psychology since 1990, we only found 11 articles that focused on stereotype, prejudice, and discrimination against immigrants in the workplace (Binggeli et al., 2013). We identified three broad topics that have been examined so far. The first one is the way immigrants' status affect their treatment. Not surprisingly, previous research suggests that illegal immigrants might face blatant forms of discrimination (Marfleet & Blustein, 2011), while legal high-status immigrants might face more subtle forms of discrimination (Hakak, Holzinger, & Zikic, 2010). The second topic is related to linguistic barriers. Typically, immigrants speaking with an accent tend to be discriminated against in comparison to those who speak without an accent (e.g., Hosoda, Nguyen, & Stone-Romero, 2012). Finally, the third topic that we identified was related to the acculturation style of immigrants. Research suggests that

employers and co-workers prefer immigrant employees who fully assimilate into the local culture (Oerlemans & Peeters, 2010; Thomas & Ravlin, 1995). Based on these previous studies, it seems clear that immigrants are discriminated against. However, we only have little information on the reasons that sustain this discrimination.

The current dissertation

In the current dissertation, I investigate some important antecedents and mechanisms leading to the unfair treatment of immigrants. To do so, I built on theories of intergroup relations that were developed in the field of Social Psychology. I first identify the most salient immigrant groups living in Switzerland and the way they are perceived in the two main linguistic regions of the country. Then, I examine how local and immigrant individuals evaluate immigrant applicants associated with more or less positive stereotype contents. Finally, I look at the bias of American professionals in the evaluation of immigrant and local individuals as a function of both their performance as well as normative influence related to diversity management in organizations.

***Essay 1a*: Stereotype content of immigrant groups in Switzerland**

My main motivation in undertaking this first essay was to determine how the most salient immigrant groups living in Switzerland were perceived by the population. This is essential information to obtain in order to develop systematic research on employment discrimination against immigrants. To do so, my coauthors and I built on the Stereotype Content Model (SCM, Fiske et al., 2002), which postulates that warmth and competence are the fundamental dimensions used to judge social groups. According to this model, most stereotype contents are mixed, which means that groups tend to be predominantly perceived either as warm but incompetent or cold but competent. Further, it argues that socio-structural roots determine stereotype contents, so that perceived warmth derives from groups' competitiveness and perceived competence from groups' socioeconomic status.

A previous study was conducted on the stereotype content of the most salient immigrant groups living in the United States (Lee & Fiske, 2006). The results supported the main assumptions of the SCM and revealed that immigrants were categorized into five larger groups as a function of their national origin. In our study, we followed the methodology used by Lee and Fiske (2006) and extended their results to the European context, namely Switzerland. Further, we conducted our study simultaneously in two regions of the country in order to strengthen our results. We tested the main assumptions of the SCM and made specific predictions concerning the stereotype content of specific immigrant groups living in Switzerland, based on the information that we had concerning their competitiveness and socioeconomic status.

Results of a pilot study revealed that nine immigrant groups appeared as salient across the two linguistic regions: immigrants from Africa, the Balkans, Eastern Europe, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and Turkey. Results of the main study supported our hypotheses and revealed that these immigrants were regrouped into five broader categories. In short, African immigrants were perceived as warm but incompetent; immigrants from the Balkans, Eastern Europe, and Turkey as cold and incompetent; immigrants from Italy (in the German-speaking region), Spain, and Portugal as warm and moderately competent; German and Italian immigrants in the French-speaking region and French immigrants in the German-speaking region as warm and competent; and French immigrants in the French-speaking and German immigrants in the German-speaking region as cold but competent. Further, we found that the majority of the stereotype contents of these immigrants were mixed. Finally, results showed that competition predicted warmth and status competence. Moreover, we also observed a positive relation between status and warmth as well as a positive relation between warmth and competence.

This article contributes to extending the results of Lee and Fiske (2006) to the Swiss context. By doing so, we demonstrated the importance of considering the diversity of the immigrant population instead of considering them one entity. Furthermore, this research is the first one to reveal how the most salient immigrant groups living in Switzerland are perceived as well as to give some explanation concerning the origins of these perceptions. In a country that counts foreigners as over 25% of its population, it seems paramount to develop a better understanding of the way they are perceived. Hence, these results might not only help scholars but also practitioners to develop research programs in this domain.

***Essay 1b*: Perceived competition explains regional differences in stereotype content of immigrant groups**

This essay uses the same data as the first one and focuses on regional differences in stereotype content of immigrant groups. We built on the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict (IMGC, Esses et al., 1998) to argue that regional differences in stereotype content should be restricted to relevant immigrant groups (i.e., groups that are similar to locals on dimensions that make them more likely to take over desirable resources) because relevance can vary across region. The IMGC postulates that ingroup members are likely to perceive relevant outgroup members as competitive and, therefore, be motivated to derogate them in order to decrease their competitiveness. According to the socio-structural assumption of the SCM, the derogation resulting from group competitiveness should affect their perceived warmth but not competence.

In this research, we argue that mastering the local language represent a strong competitive advantage for immigrants, especially if they are well educated. We took advantage of the multilingual composition of Switzerland to test the assumption that the relevance of some immigrant groups should differ across linguistic regions and thus their stereotype content. More precisely, we hypothesized that German immigrants would be

perceived as warmer in the French-speaking than in the German-speaking region of the country and that French immigrants would be perceived as warmer in the German-speaking than in the French-speaking region of the country. Further, we hypothesized that the perceived competition of German and French immigrants would mediate the effect of region on warmth.

Results fully supported our hypothesis for German immigrants. We found a significant regional difference on perceived warmth but not on perceived competence of German immigrants, so that they were perceived as warmer in the French-speaking than in the German-speaking region. Further, this effect was mediated by their perceived competitiveness. In regard to French immigrants, we found the expected regional difference on perceived warmth (no difference was observed on perceived competence); however, we did not find a mediating effect of competition. Complementary analysis showed that the perceived competitiveness of French immigrants only differed on one of the three items used to measure this concept: competition for power. As such, we found that perceived competition for power mediated the effect of region on warmth for French immigrants.

This research is the first one to reveal regional differences in the stereotype content of specific immigrant groups. It contributes to creating a link between two prominent models in Social Psychology—the IMGC and the SCM. First, it demonstrates that the mechanism of relevant outgroup derogation described in the IMGC is restricted to one stereotype dimension, namely warmth. Second, it shows that meaningful regional differences in the stereotype content of immigrants groups can be observed when considering their relevance. An important message of this essay is that immigrant groups who have a strong potential to integrate into their host country due to their language skills might be particularly disliked because locals perceive them to be competitors.

***Essay 2*: Immigrants differentiate more strongly between immigrant applicants than locals do during the job interview**

In this second essay, we examine the bias of local and immigrant individuals in the evaluation of immigrant applicants during a mock job interview. We built on the Subjective Group Dynamics Model (SGD, Marques, Abrams, Páez, & Hogg, 2001), which postulates that mechanisms of intergroup and intragroup differentiation are used simultaneously to sustain a positive image of the ingroup. Intragroup differentiation consists of favoring likeable and derogating unlikeable ingroup members more strongly than similar outgroup members. Through this mechanism, individuals achieve intergroup differentiation by enhancing the image of their group through the promotion of its best representatives and protecting it through the derogation of the worst representatives. Based on the principles of the SCM, we argued that the likeability of immigrant groups can be defined by their perceived level of warmth and competence. Hence, we hypothesized that immigrant individuals differentiate more strongly between immigrant applicants perceived as warm and/or competent and those perceived as less warm and/or less competent than locals do. In other words, we argued that immigrant individuals might also contribute to perpetuating the unfair treatment of immigrants in the workplace.

In a preliminary study, we demonstrated that immigrants (i.e., dual-citizen Swiss and non-Swiss citizen) identified themselves more strongly with immigrants living in Switzerland and less strongly with Swiss people than did Swiss-only citizens. In the main experiment, we asked participants to assume the role of a HR recruiter and evaluate the performance of a fictional applicant through his résumé and performance in an audio mock job interview. Participants were asked to evaluate an applicant coming either from Nigeria (warm/less competent), Kosovo (less warm/less competent), Italy (warm/competent), or France (less

warm/competent). As such, we were able to contrast the evaluation of immigrant applicants who were perceived as differing on warmth and competence.

In line with our hypothesis, results show that applicants who came from a country associated with a low warmth stereotype were evaluated more positively than those who came from a country associated with a high warmth stereotype. However, the perceived competence associated to the country of immigrant applicants did not influence participants' evaluation. Further, we found a significant interaction between warmth perception of applicants' national origin and participants' national origin. Immigrant participants evaluated applicants who came from a country associated with a high warmth stereotype more positively than those who came from a low warmth stereotype. Local participants did not make this differentiation. Finally, results showed that immigrant participants evaluated applicants coming from a country associated with a high warmth stereotype more positively than local participants did.

This study is the first to systematically investigate how immigrant and local individuals evaluate immigrant applicants from countries associated with stereotypes that vary on warmth and competence. It demonstrates the existence of an intragroup differentiation process among immigrant individuals, which results in a subtle form of ingroup favoritism toward immigrant applicants who come from a country associated with a high warmth stereotype. The main contribution of this research is theoretical, as it contributes to developing both the SGD and the SCM. It extends the SGD by examining the role of stereotype content of sub-ingroup and outgroup members on evaluations in a recruitment situation. Further, it extends the SCM by revealing group membership as a moderator of the relation between stereotype content and behavioral tendencies. This research also makes a practical contribution, as it informs a scarce literature suggesting that minority individuals in organizations might perpetuate some forms of unfair treatment toward their peers.

***Essay 3*: American professionals are biased in their performance evaluation of immigrants: Evidence of a black sheep effect**

In this last essay, I examined the unfair treatment of immigrants by considering not only their national origin but also the types of behaviors that they express. According to the black sheep effect (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988a, 1988b), people evaluate ingroup members expressing desirable behaviors more positively and those expressing undesirable behaviors more negatively than outgroup members expressing similar behaviors. This effect is considered a subtle form of discrimination because it consists of enhancing and protecting the image of the ingroup. In a first experiment, I hypothesized that American professionals would favor White American citizens over immigrant workers coming from various national origins when they were depicted as expressing behaviors that contributed to enhancing the performance of the organization. Furthermore, I hypothesized that they would derogate White American citizens more harshly than immigrant workers when they were depicted as expressing behaviors that contributed to decrease organizational performance.

In line with my hypotheses, results of a first experiment showed that American professionals experienced in conducting job interviews or performance appraisals favor White American citizen workers when they are depicted as expressing behaviors that contribute to increase organizational performance over Canadian, Salvadoran, and South Korean immigrant workers. However, they derogate the White American citizen workers when depicted as expressing behaviors that decrease organizational performance in comparison to Chinese, Mexican, Salvadoran, and South Korean immigrant workers.

In a second experiment, I extended the results of a first study to an applicant selection situation and address some of the first experiment's limitations. First, I more clearly distinguished between ethnicity and national origin. Second, I manipulated normative influence concerning diversity management to better understand why in the first experiment

Chinese and Mexican immigrant workers were evaluated similarly to White American citizen workers when depicted as expressing desirable behaviors. Based on previous research, I postulated that when American professionals were encouraged to promote diversity in organizations, they would be likely to evaluate White American citizens and minority applicants similarly when they were described as good performers but still derogate White American citizens in comparison to minority applicants when they were described as poor performers. However, when American professionals were encouraged maintain the *status quo* in organizations, I expected to observe the pattern of the black sheep effect. That means, participants would evaluate White American citizen described as good performer more positively and the one described as bad performer more negatively than similar minority applicants.

Partially supporting my hypothesis, results revealed that American professionals encouraged to promote diversity evaluate White American citizens similarly to minority applicants when depicted as good performers. However, they derogate the White American citizen in comparison to the Canadian-American, Chinese-American, Mexican-American, and Mexican immigrant applicants when depicted as poor performers. Further, when American professionals were encouraged to maintain the *status quo* in organizations, their evaluations across the two behavioral conditions did not significantly differ.

Overall, this research contributes to informing a scarce literature on employment discrimination against immigrants. In line with the predictions of the black sheep effect, I found some evidence that ingroup members are evaluated more positively when expressing desirable behaviors and more negatively when expressing undesirable behaviors than some similar outgroup members. This pattern was qualified by normative influence related to diversity management, so that promoting diversity contributes to reducing bias toward good performers but not the bad ones. The main contribution of this research pertains to the black

sheep effect literature. First, it shows that this effect is not observed for all outgroups similarly. And second, it demonstrates that the black sheep effect is moderated by normative influence. A practical contribution of this work is to reveal differential treatment among low performers as well as the fact that the promotion of diversity in the recruitment process does not reduce this bias.

An integration of the three essays

I believe that organizations are mirrors of our society. As such, it is difficult to pretend to fully understand a phenomenon that can be observed in organizations without considering the broader context in which this phenomenon is taking place. The current dissertation builds on this idea by integrating the theories of Social Psychology into the study of employment discrimination against immigrants. Through these three essays, I have been able to 1) develop a coherent story of the motivations that lead people to discriminate against immigrants; 2) advance research in several ways; 3) generate relevant recommendations for practitioners; and 4) build the basis to develop a solid research program on immigrants.

An important observation that emanates from these essays is that employment discrimination against immigrants is a complex phenomenon. First, I have showed that the stereotype contents of immigrant groups in Switzerland differ remarkably as a function of their national origin. Second, I revealed that these stereotype contents are generally stable, except if the capacity of immigrants to take over locals' resources varies within the country. The second essay demonstrates that the stereotype contents associated with the national origin of applicants influences decision makers' evaluation in a selection situation. Immigrant decision makers' are more strongly influenced by these stereotypes than local decision makers are, probably because immigrants are more concerned by the image that certain immigrant applicants may convey about their social group. The last essay reinforces the idea that not all immigrants are treated equally as a function of their national origin. Some are

treated much less favorably than others, depending on the behaviors that they express. Third and finally, results suggest that people are motivated to follow recommendations inciting them to promote diversity in organizations, but that such normative influence does not prevent them from expressing subtle forms of differential treatment.

Main theoretical contributions. This dissertation definitively contributes to informing the Social Psychology and Organizational literature related to stereotypes about, prejudice toward, and discrimination against immigrants. As mentioned above, its main contributions pertain to four theories. First, I extended the Stereotype Content Model, but also showed some of its boundary conditions and limitations. I extended the model by replicating previous results in a European context as well a revealing the moderating role of group membership in the relation between stereotype contents and behavioral tendencies. I also showed that the stereotype content of immigrant groups is not as stable within a country as previously suggested. I demonstrated the importance of considering the relevance of the immigrant groups in a given context. However, some of the obtained results did not support the theory. For instance, variation in the perceived competence associated to the country of immigrant applicants did not influence their evaluation. Moreover, social groups associated with a similar stereotype content were not evaluated similarly in the third paper, while different stereotype contents did not necessary lead to different evaluation. Second, I extended the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict by demonstrating that variations in perceived competition only impacted one stereotype dimension, namely warmth. This constitutes an important finding because previous research under the IMGC has mostly focused on the relation between competition and prejudice. Moreover, the model did not specify that the instrumental reaction toward relevant and competitive outgroups would be limited to specific dimension. Third, my findings also represent an extension of the Subjective Group Dynamics Model because this framework has never considered the stereotype content of subgroups as a

source of normative pressure. Most research has only considered ingroup members who evaluate ingroup and outgroup targets. Furthermore, most of the previous research has focused on bias among majority individuals, while I showed that similar bias exist among minority individuals. And finally, I contributed to the understanding of the black sheep effect in three major ways. First, I tested it in an organizational setting by considering the expression of performance-related behaviors. Second, I tested it with several outgroup members, which allowed me to show that the black sheep effect does not apply similarly to every immigrant groups. And third, I explained these effects by revealing the role of normal influence concerning diversity management. This moderator has never been investigated in the black sheep effect framework and seems to be particularly relevant when considering natural groups in a context where anti-discrimination laws usually apply.

Main practical implications. Although the main contribution remains theoretical, I believe that it has several interesting implications for practitioners. First of all, these four essays should encourage them to pay more attention to immigrant employees. Acknowledging the diversity of immigrants does not only mean recognizing that they have different skill sets, but also that they are likely to face different difficulties in the workplace. In fact, the same immigrant group can be treated differently within a country. For instance, German immigrant employees might face more incivility in the German-speaking than in the French-speaking region of Switzerland. Hence, a first recommendation for managers is to systematically take into account the diversity of the immigrant population and to identify the specific difficulties that each immigrant group might face in their work environment.

Second, practitioners should not assume that increasing diversity in their organization will necessary contribute to reducing employment discrimination. First, organizations should carefully examine whether their immigrant workforce is representative of the immigrant population in the country. Indeed, it is likely that for the same level of competence certain

immigrant groups are more heavily represented than others in certain positions. Second, immigrant employees are as likely as locals to discriminate against immigrants, maybe even more so. Hence, organizations should be encouraged to implement diversity practices that target the stereotypes of both local and immigrant employees in order to reduce potential bias in the distribution of the labor force.

Third, practitioners have to consider that being more lenient toward immigrants does not necessary imply that they are fairly treated. Although favoring immigrants in certain situations might help reduce current bias, this favoritism should take place for the right reasons. There is a risk of applying double standards in the evaluation of immigrants as a function of their performance. Immigrants should quickly integrate the norms of the locals in order to be able to advance in their career. Hence, they need to be rewarded when they perform well and punished when they perform badly just as local employees are.

Conclusion

Numerous immigrants around the globe are the targets of discriminatory behavior in the workplace. The current dissertation develops novel perspectives on the antecedents and mechanisms that sustain their unfair treatment. It clearly establishes that not all immigrants are treated similarly, depending on the stereotype content to which they are associated, the geographical context, their national origin, the types of people who evaluate them, their behaviors, as well as normative influence related to diversity management. These results constitute an important step in better understanding the sources of inequalities between immigrant and local employees. It is my hope that this dissertation will contribute to attract the attention of other scholars as well as practitioners to be concerned about the treatment of immigrants in the workplace. In this regard, I believe that the next important step will be to determine how the bias identified in the current dissertation can be reduced in order to significantly improve the working conditions of immigrants.

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Essay 1a: Stereotype Content of Immigrant Groups in Switzerland

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Abstract

This research examines the stereotype content of immigrant groups in Switzerland. Building on the stereotype content model, we first expected immigrant groups to be perceived differently on warmth and competence as a function of their national origin. Secondly, we expected the stereotype content of these groups to be predominantly mixed, that is, either warmer than competent or colder than competent. And thirdly, we expected stereotype content of immigrant groups to rely on socio-structural precursors, namely competition and status. Results supported our hypotheses, showing that the nine most salient immigrant groups can be grouped into five clusters, based on specific patterns of warmth and competence judgments. Most of the immigrants' stereotype contents were mixed. Moreover, we found that warmth perceptions were predicted by both competition and status, whereas competence was predicted by status only. This research emphasizes the importance of considering the diversity of the immigrant population. Moreover, it is the first research to extend previous findings on stereotype content of immigrant groups to the European context. By doing so, it contributes to develop a better understanding of the stereotypes associated with immigrant groups in Switzerland as well as mechanisms that sustain these stereotypes.

Keywords: stereotype content; immigrants; Switzerland

Stereotype Content of Immigrant Groups in Switzerland

The proportion of immigrants in Switzerland – residents who were born abroad, do not possess the Swiss citizenship, and yet live in the country permanently – has continuously increased during the past thirty years. Today, Switzerland has the second highest proportion of permanent resident immigrants in Europe (Swiss Federal Statistical Office, SFSO, 2013a). Most immigrants living in Switzerland are from European countries (85.1%), but an increasing number is from more distant countries. As such, the immigrant population has not only increased in number, but also in cultural diversity. International comparisons suggest that, compared to other nations, the Swiss have a relatively positive attitude toward immigrants (e.g., Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2009; Sides & Citrin, 2007). At the same time, several studies conducted in Switzerland demonstrate the existence of stereotype, prejudice and discrimination against immigrants (e.g., Falomir-Pichastor, Munoz-Rojas, Invernizzi, & Mugny, 2004; Gabarrot, Falomir-Pichastor, & Mugny, 2009; Krings & Olivares, 2007; Sarrasin et al., 2012; Thomsen, Green, & Sidanius, 2008). However, these studies either treated immigrants as a single entity or focused on selected immigrant groups. The diversity of the immigrant population and hence of immigrant attitudes and stereotypes has not been fully taken into account by this research yet.

The aim of the present research is to fill this gap by examining the stereotype content of the most salient immigrant groups in Switzerland. To do so, we built on the Stereotype Content Model (SCM, Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002), which postulates that warmth and competence are the fundamental dimensions used to judge social groups. Warmth and competence perceptions are derived from socio-structural factors, namely from groups' competitiveness and status. Until now, this framework has been used by only one study, examining the stereotype content of immigrant groups in the United States

(Lee & Fiske, 2006). This scarcity calls for more systematic research that investigates stereotype contents of immigrant groups coming from various countries.

The current research contributes to the literature by offering a comprehensive overview of the stereotype contents associated with the most salient immigrant groups living in Switzerland. This overview is not only relevant for Switzerland but also for countries that are similar to Switzerland in terms of immigration history and current immigration situation. Further, it demonstrates the validity of the SCM for immigrant groups in a European context, and, at the same time, brings up important questions regarding the basic assumptions of the SCM. As such, we believe that this research does not only shed a new light on previous findings, but also provides a basis to develop new research programs on immigrants.

The Stereotype Content Model

Warmth (e.g., friendliness, trustworthiness, kindness) and competence (e.g., intelligence, efficacy, skill) are two fundamental dimensions in social judgments about individuals and social groups (Abele, Cuddy, Judd, & Yzerbyt, 2008). The functional significance of these dimensions is grounded in people's interest in determining other people's intentions (positive or negative) toward them as well as other people's capacity to pursue these intentions. Four group stereotypes result from crossing warmth and competence evaluations: Two univalent stereotypes, assigned to warm and competent (e.g., the ingroup or its close allies) or to cold and incompetent groups (e.g., welfare recipients or poor people), and two ambivalent or mixed stereotypes, assigned to groups that are perceived as warm but incompetent (e.g., housewives) or as cold but competent (e.g., rich people).

The SCM postulates that most groups receive mixed stereotypes (Eckes, 2002; Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999; Glick & Fiske, 2001; Glick et al., 2000), that is, most groups are perceived as warmer than competent or as more competent than warm. Mixed stereotypes are prevalent because they help to justify the status quo, including inequalities within society

(Jost, Kivetz, Rubini, Guermandi, & Mosso, 2005; Kervyn, Yzerbyt, Demoulin, & Judd, 2008). For instance, Durante and colleagues (in press) showed that mixed stereotypes are more prevalent in societies with larger income disparities, suggesting that people in these countries rationalize economic inequalities through social judgments. Another way of legitimizing social inequalities is to connect societal structure with stereotype content (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2008). Accordingly, competitive groups are judged as less warm than cooperative ones, and higher status groups are perceived as more competent than lower status groups (Caprariello, Cuddy, & Fiske, 2009; Russell & Fiske, 2008).

Content of Immigrant Stereotypes

Cross-cultural studies suggest that immigrants are a universally stigmatized minority perceived as lacking both warmth and competence (Durante et al., in press; Cuddy et al., 2009). However, this univalent negative stereotype of the general immigrant population does not necessarily reflect the perceptions that individuals have of different immigrants groups. Indeed, Lee and Fiske's (2006) research demonstrated that the stereotype content of immigrant groups differ as a function of their national origin. It showed that the most salient immigrant groups in the U.S. can be regrouped into five clusters that differ on warmth and competence. For example, Canadian and third generation immigrants made up one cluster and were perceived as warm and competent, Italian and Irish immigrants made up another cluster that was perceived as moderately competent but warm. South American immigrants were perceived as cold and incompetent, Asian immigrants as cold but competent, and Eastern Europe, French, German, Middle Eastern, Russian, and Vietnamese immigrants as cold and moderately competent. Further, in line with the main assumptions of the SCM, most immigrant groups received mixed stereotypes and the stereotype contents were related to socio-structural factors (Lee & Fiske, 2006). Thus, the stereotype contents associated with

most of the immigrant groups differs significantly from the cold and incompetent stereotype that is associated with immigrants as one group (Eckes, 2002).

In the present research, we sought to extend these findings to a European context. Switzerland is an interesting testing ground to examine stereotype content of immigrant groups. Switzerland has a high proportion of immigrants, with permanent resident immigrants making up 22.8% of the population in 2011 (Swiss Federal Statistical Office, SFSO, 2013a). The largest immigrant groups in this country are from Italy (15.9%), Germany (15.2%), Portugal (12.3%), Serbia (6.0%), France (5.5%), Turkey (3.9%) and Spain (3.6%). The rest of the immigrant population is mainly from other European countries (22.8%), Asia and Oceania (about 6.5%), America (4.2%) and Africa (4.1%). Although previous research has investigated stereotype, prejudice and discrimination against immigrants in Switzerland, little attention has been given to the diversity of the immigrant population. Raymann (2003) found that the Swiss liked Southern European immigrants more than immigrants from the Balkans. In line with this finding, Krings and Olivares (2007) showed that Kosovo-Albanian immigrant applicants were more likely to be discriminated against at employment than Spanish immigrant applicants.

Given the lack of research on the way the different immigrant groups living in Switzerland are perceived, we decided to build on the socio-structural assumption of the SCM to develop our hypotheses. The SCM posits that the way a group is perceived is grounded in a group's competition and status. Group competitiveness is defined by the degree to which a group is perceived as willing to maximize their possession of desirable resources such as economic, political, or social powers. It fuels warmth perceptions. Group status generally refers to the ability of a group to control resources. As such, status can refer to the group's actual levels of education, skills, jobs, power, or wealth. Status drives competence perceptions.

The number of German and French immigrants has strongly increased during the past decade (Liebig, Kohls, & Krause, 2012). Germans and French have a competitive advantage over other immigrants because they speak one of Switzerland's two main national languages (i.e., German or French) and come from similar cultures. Moreover, they have higher employment rates and are more likely to work in higher status position than other immigrant groups, and even than the Swiss (SFSO, 2013a). Hence, they are competitive groups with high socio-economic status. As such, we expected them to be perceived as cold but competent. Immigrants from Southern Europe are generally well liked in Switzerland (Raymann, 2003) and perceived as better integrated than other immigrant groups like, for example, those from the Balkans or from Turkey (Wimmer, 2004). We expected liking to affect the perceived warmth of Southern European immigrants, so that they should be perceived as warmer than those from the Balkans and Turkey. Nevertheless, Southern European immigrants remain over represented among craftsmen and, therefore, occupy lower-status positions in comparison to Swiss and Western European immigrants (SFSO, 2013a). For this reason, we expected them to be perceived as relatively low on competence. At the bottom of the socioeconomic hierarchy are immigrants from Africa, the Balkans and Turkey. These immigrant groups have the highest proportion of people benefiting from public assistance among foreigners living in Switzerland (SFSO, 2013b). This may fuel unfavorable perceptions of locals, i.e., that members of these groups suck up important resources. Moreover, members of these immigrant groups tend to be the least educated among the immigrant population and occupy very low status jobs (Liebig, Kohls, & Krause, 2012). Hence, we expected them to be perceived as relatively cold and incompetent.

Building on the considerations above, we formulated the following hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: Immigrant groups are perceived differently on warmth and competence, forming distinct clusters that are positioned at different locations within the bi-dimensional

space defined by warmth and competence (*H1a*). Immigrants from Southern Europe are perceived as warmer than immigrants from Africa, the Balkans, Turkey and Western Europe (*H1b*). Immigrant groups from Western Europe are perceived as more competent than immigrants from Southern Europe. Immigrants from Western and Southern Europe are perceived as more competent than immigrants from Africa, the Balkans and Turkey (*H1c*).

Hypothesis 2: The majority (> 50%) of immigrant groups receive mixed stereotypes at both cluster and group levels, so that they are evaluated higher on one stereotypical dimension than on the other.

Hypothesis 3: Warmth perceptions of immigrant groups are negatively related to perceived competition (*H3a*), and competence perceptions are positively related to their perceived status (*H3b*).

The data set described below and used in the main study to test the above-mentioned hypotheses was used in another study analyzing regional differences in stereotype content and their underlying mechanisms for French and German immigrants only (see Binggeli, Krings and Sczesny, in press). In the current research, we examine the stereotype contents as well as their socio-structural precursors of the nine most salient immigrant groups living in Switzerland.

Pilot Study

The aim of the pilot study was to select the most salient immigrant groups living in Switzerland. The pilot study was conducted in the French- and German-speaking regions.

Method

Participants

French-speaking region. Fifty-four undergraduates from the University of Lausanne (36 women, *mean age* = 21.31, *SD* = 2.41) and 53 nonstudents (32 women, *mean age* =

39.51, *SD* = 13.82) participated in the study. The majority of the participants were born in Switzerland (77.6%) and all of them had lived in Switzerland for more than five years.

German-speaking region. Fifty-eight undergraduates from the University of Bern (22 women, *mean age* = 22.53, *SD* = 2.93) and 54 nonstudents (29 women, *mean age* = 40.55, *SD* = 20.85) participated in the study. The majority of the participants (89 %) were born in Switzerland. All participants had lived in Switzerland for more than five years.

Procedure

Participants were approached in the cafeterias of two large Universities (undergraduates) or in large shopping centers (non-students). They were asked to fill out a short questionnaire (in French, for French speakers, and in German, for German speakers) on social groups in Switzerland. Instructions on the questionnaire were modeled after Lee and Fiske (2006) and read as follows: “Please list groups of immigrants that you personally think are the main immigrant groups living in Switzerland (according to their country of origin)”. In addition, participants answered some demographic questions on a separate page.

Results

French-speaking region. Participants mentioned 81 immigrant groups in total[1]. Certain groups were merged into one group to represent meaningful regions. For example, mentions such as "immigrants from Ex-Yugoslavia" and "immigrants from Kosovo" were merged into "immigrants from the Balkans". Other groups were only rarely cited but closely associated with a region that was frequently mentioned. For example, immigrants from Macedonia were rarely cited and therefore merged with the group of immigrants from the Balkans. Only groups cited by more than 20% of the participants were considered as salient. The most salient groups were immigrants from Italy (87.9%), Portugal (87.9%), Balkans

(86%), Spain (65.4%), France (40%), African countries (38.3%), Germany (29.9%), Eastern European countries (27.1%), and Turkey (25.2%)

German-speaking region. Participants mentioned 87 immigrant groups[1]. After applying the same analytical procedure as described above, the most salient groups were immigrants from the Balkans (85.3%), Italy (84.4%), Germany (77.9%), Turkey (49.3%), African countries (47.9%), Spain (44.2%), Portugal (37%), Eastern European countries (33.1%), France (27.7%), and Tamil from India and Sri-Lanka (21.5%).

Discussion

The same nine immigrant groups emerged as the most salient in the two linguistic regions. Differences in counts between the two regions were negligible. There was one exception: Tamils from India and Sri-Lanka were salient only in the German-speaking region. This is probably due to the specific area where the study was conducted: Around the University, there are several small restaurants run by people from India and Sri-Lanka.

Because salient immigrant groups were almost identical in the two linguistic regions, we selected the following nine groups for our main study, for both regions: Immigrants from Italy, the Balkans, Portugal, Spain, Germany, Africa, Turkey, France, and Eastern Europe. Interestingly, these groups were also the largest immigrant groups in Switzerland. We did not expect Eastern European immigrants to be perceived as a salient immigrant group, because their absolute number remains small compared to the other salient immigrant groups. However, their perceived salience might be explained by media discussions following the extension of the European Union successively to 25 and 27 member states.

Main Study

Method

Participants

Data were collected in two universities located into the French-speaking (179 participants; 95 women; *mean age* = 20.16, *SD* = 1.79; 82% Swiss) and German-speaking (176 participants; 109 women; *mean age* = 22.36, *SD* = 4.37; 85% Swiss) regions of Switzerland (see also Binggeli, Krings and Sczesny, in press, for more details).

Procedure and material

Perceptions of warmth, competence, competition and status were measured by using the French and German versions of the questionnaire developed by Cuddy et al. (2009). Participants were asked to rate thirteen groups: Nine immigrant groups (see pilot study) and four anchor groups that are typical representatives of the four quadrants within the SCM (see e.g., Fiske et al., 2002): Rich people (high competence/low warmth: HC/LW), poor people (low competence/low warmth: LC/LW), housewives (low competence, high warmth: LC/HW), and Swiss people (ingroup; high competence/high warmth: HC/HW). Anchor groups and immigrant groups were presented separately in the questionnaire and their order was randomized. Answers were given on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all*, 5 = *extremely*). Cronbach's alpha analyses for warmth (α = .86 in the Swiss German region; α = .84 in the Swiss French region), competence (α = .75; α = .79), competition (α = .76; α = .76), and status items (α = .83; α = .87) showed that scales were reliable.

Results

Warmth and Competence Stereotypes of Immigrants

To test our hypotheses, we followed the methodology used by Lee and Fiske (2006). To test our first hypothesis, we conducted a hierarchical cluster analysis using the warmth and competence scores for each group, applying the Ward's method. The first break in the coefficient of the agglomeration schedule revealed a six-cluster solution that was further supported by an examination of the dendrogram. Following recommendations by Milligan and Cooper (1985), we used Calinski and Harabasz's (1974) method to determine the number

of clusters. The Calinski-Harabasz pseudo F-statistic (*CH*) is defined by the following equation:

$$CH(k) = \frac{trace\ (B) \Big/ (k-1)}{trace\ (W) \Big/ (n-k)}$$

Where *B* corresponds to the between-cluster sum of squares deviations and cross-products matrix, *W* to the within-cluster sum of squares and cross-products matrix, *k* to the number of clusters, and *n* to the number of objects. Results of this analysis, based on the value that maximizes the variance ratio criteria showed that the six-cluster solution ($CH_{(6)}$ = 54.04) was superior to solutions ranging from two to eight clusters ($CH_{(2\text{-}8)}$ varied between 31.98 to 52.61).

Then, a series of k-means analysis was performed specifying up to eight-cluster solutions. The Calinski and Harabasz method was also used to determine the number of clusters based on the results of these k-means analyses. Again, a six-cluster solution ($CH_{(6)}$ = 50.87) emerged as more adequate than the other solutions ranging from two to eight clusters, for which $CH_{(2\text{-}8)}$ varied between 31.98 to 43.12. We hence selected the six-cluster solution.

To test Hypothesis 1a, we performed a 2 (Stereotype Dimensions: warmth, competence) x 6 (Clusters) mixed model analysis of variance (ANOVA), with stereotype dimensions as a within-subjects variable and clusters as a between-subject variable. This analysis revealed no main effect of stereotype dimensions, $F(1, 20) = 2.38$, $p = .139$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .106$. A main effect of cluster, $F(5, 20) = 63.57$, $p < .001$, *partial* $\eta^2 = ..941$, indicated that clusters differed significantly. Further, the cluster by stereotype dimensions interaction was significant, $F(5, 20) = 35.06$, $p < .001$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .898$. Follow-up univariate analyses showed simple effects of cluster on both warmth, $F(5, 20) = 66.00$, $p < .001$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .943$, and competence, $F(5, 20) = 42.24$, $p < .001$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .913$, indicating that warmth and competence ratings differed between the six clusters and supporting Hypothesis 1a.

Insert Figure 1 about here

In the next step, we compared warmth and competence means between clusters with independent *t*-tests to test Hypotheses 1b and 1c. Results are shown in Table 1 (first two columns). In what follows, the clusters are briefly described, ordered on the basis of their competence scores, from the lowest to the highest.

The first cluster comprises poor people and immigrants from Africa. Its competence score was below those of the remaining clusters, all ts $\leq$ - 4.30, all ps $\leq$ .002. Its warmth score was higher than the ones of Clusters 2 and 6, both ts $\geq$ 2.57, both ps $\leq$ .042, similar to the one of Cluster 5, $t(7)$ = - 2.25, p = .059, and lower than the ones of Clusters 3 and 4, both ts $\leq$ - 2.70, both ps $\leq$ .03. Based on these between-cluster comparisons, groups in this first cluster can be described as very low in competence and moderate in warmth.

Immigrants from the Balkans, Turkey and Eastern Europe constitute the second cluster. Cluster 2's competence score was above the one of Cluster 1, $t(8)$ = 4.30, p = .002, and below those of all remaining clusters, all ts $\leq$ - 7.58, all ps < .001. Its warmth score was below those of all other clusters, all ts $\leq$ -2.94, all ps $\leq$ .018. Taken together, groups of this cluster were perceived as low in competence and very low in warmth.

The third cluster is comprised of immigrants from Portugal and Spain. Moreover, it includes immigrants from Italy, but only for German-speaking participants. The competence score of this cluster was above those of Clusters 1 and 2, both ts $\geq$ 7.58, both ps < .001, similar to the one of Cluster 4, $t(5)$ = - 1.49, p = .195, and below those of Clusters 5 and 6, both ts $\leq$ - 4.32, both ps $\leq$ .002. Its warmth score was higher than those of Clusters 1, 2, and 6, all ts $\geq$ 2.70, all ps $\geq$ .030, similar to the one of Cluster 5, $t(8)$ = 0.21, p = .833, and below

the one of Cluster 4, $t(5) = -5.29$, $p = .003$. In sum, groups of this cluster were considered as warm and moderately competent.

Housewives represent the fourth cluster. Their competence score was higher than those of Clusters 1 and 2, both $ts \geq 9.53$, both $ps < .001$, similar to those of Cluster 3 and 5, $t(5) \geq -2.10$, $p \geq .089$, and lower than the one of Cluster 6, $t(4) = -3.05$, $p = .038$. Its warmth score was the highest of all clusters, all $ts > 5.29$, all $ps < .003$. Altogether, housewives were perceived as particularly warm and moderately competent.

Cluster 5 comprises French immigrants as perceived by German-speaking participants, and Italian and German immigrants as perceived by the French-speaking participants and the Swiss (the ingroup). Its competence score was higher than those of clusters 1, 2, and 3, all $ts \geq 4.32$, all $ps \leq .002$, and similar to those of Clusters 4 and 6, both $ts \geq -2.10$, $p \geq .089$. Its warmth score was above those of Clusters 2 and 6, both $ts \geq 5.73$, both $ps < .001$, similar to those of Clusters 1 and 3, both $ts \geq -2.24$, both $ps \geq .059$, and below the one of Cluster 4, $t(5) = -4.01$, $p = .010$. In sum, groups in this cluster were perceived as competent and warm.

Finally, the sixth cluster includes rich people, German immigrants as perceived by German-speaking participants, and French-immigrants as perceived by French-speaking participants. Groups of this cluster obtained a higher competence score than Clusters 1, 2, 3, and 4, all $ts \geq 3.05$, all $ps \leq .038$, and similar to Cluster 5, $t(7) = 0.01$, $p = .987$. The warmth score was lower than those of Clusters 1, 3, 4, and 5, all $ts \leq 2.57$, all $ps \leq .042$, and higher than the one of Cluster 2, $t(8) = 2.94$, $p = .018$. Taken together, groups located in this cluster were perceived as low in warmth and high in competence.

In sum, results of this analysis showed that, at the cluster level, immigrants from Southern European countries were perceived as warmer than immigrants from Africa, the Balkans, Eastern European countries, Turkey, Germany (in the German-speaking region) and

France (in the French-speaking region). Although we did not expect immigrants from Southern European countries to be perceived as similarly warm as immigrants from Germany (in the French-speaking region) and France (in the German-speaking region), Hypothesis 1b was supported. Furthermore, results showed that immigrants from Western Europe (i.e. Germany and France) were perceived as more competent than those from Southern-Europe (i.e. Italy, Portugal and Spain) as well as those from Africa, the Balkans, Eastern Europe and Turkey. Finally, immigrants from Southern Europe were perceived as more competent than those from Africa, the Balkans, Eastern Europe and Turkey. Hence, Hypothesis 1c was supported.

Insert Table 1 about here

Mixed Immigrant Stereotypes

The mixed stereotype hypothesis (Hypothesis 2) was tested at both the group and the cluster level following Lee and Fiske's (2006) procedure. At the group level (Table 1), results of a series of paired sample *t*-tests supported the mixed hypothesis: Competence and warmth ratings differed for all groups, except for immigrants from Italy and Portugal in the French-speaking region. For comparisons at the cluster level, Lee and Fiske (2006, p. 761) specified that "clusters received ambivalent stereotypes if they (a) differed in competence and warmth and (b) were higher on their high dimension than groups low on that dimension and lower on their low dimension than groups high on that dimension". To test the first requirement, we conducted a series of paired sample *t*-tests. Results of these tests showed that warmth and competence scores differed for all clusters, all $ts \geq |2.94|$, all $ps \leq .018$, except for Clusters 4 and 5, both $ts \leq |6.87|$, $ps \geq .08$. To test the second requirement, we further examined the results of the independent sample *t*-tests reported in the previous section (see subscribes in

Table 1). Clusters that score lower on warmth than competence (i.e., Clusters 2, 5, 6) were perceived as lower on warmth than Cluster 4 (the one with the highest score on warmth) and higher on competence than Cluster 1 (the one with the lowest score on competence). Further, clusters that score higher on warmth than competence (i.e., Clusters 1, 3, 4) were perceived as higher on warmth than Cluster 2 (the one with the lowest score on warmth) and lower on competence than Cluster 6 (the one with the highest score on competence). Taken together, results also supported the mixed hypothesis at the cluster level, and hence supported Hypothesis 2.

Socio-Structural Underpinnings of Immigrant Stereotypes

To test relations of competition and status with warmth and competence perceptions respectively (see Hypothesis 3a and Hypothesis 3b), Lee and Fiske (2006) calculated individual-level correlation by "computing correlations for each participant, transforming them to Fisher's *Z* scores, averaging them, and transforming back to correlations " (p. 762). Then, they averaged the means of warmth, competence, competition and status across participants for every groups and calculated group-level correlations based on these aggregated means. These procedures have probably been used to deal with the difficulty of estimating correlations in repeated measures designs. However, they are based on aggregated scores and, therefore, do not fully take into account the non-independence of the data. Furthermore, they remain correlational analyses, while the SCM postulates a causal effect of socio-structural variables on stereotype content dimensions.

We tried to address these limitations, using a different analytical approach. We reshaped the database to obtain panel data. To calculate correlation coefficients, we collapsed the dataset at both the individual and group levels. This procedure allowed us to obtain individual level and group level correlations. Results are reported in Table 2. At the individual level, warmth was positively related to both competence and status. Moreover,

competence was negatively related to competition and positively related to status. At the group level, warmth was negatively related to competition and competence was positively related to status.

Insert Table 2 about here

To formally test our hypotheses, we used panel regression models to predict warmth and competence with competition and status, respectively. To determine which estimators had to be used, we conducted the following tests. First, we conducted the Breusch and Pagan Lagrangian multiplier test (Breusch & Pagan, 1980) to determine if OLS or random effects had to be estimated. Then, we used a robust test of overidentifying restrictions for panel data (Schaffer & Stillman, 2010) to determine if random- or fixed-effects were more appropriate for estimating the models. For all analyses, standard errors were estimated by clustering the data at the individual level.

The regression model used to test Hypothesis 3a included competition as a predictor of warmth, as well as status and competence as control variables. To test Hypothesis 3b, status was used as a predictor of competence whereas competition and warmth were used as control variables. The control variables were included in both models to obtain purer estimates of the hypothesized effects.

Results of the Breusch and Pagan Lagrangian multiplier test, using competition, status, and competence as predictors of warmth, indicated that random-effects were more appropriate than OLS, χ^2 (1) = 276.76, p <.001. Then, the robust test of overidentifying restrictions showed that fixed-effects had to be estimated, χ^2 (3) = 213.71, p <.001. Results of the regression predicting warmth supported Hypothesis 3a: Competition was negatively

related to warmth, after controlling for status and competence (see left column of Table 3). Further, status was negatively related, and competence was positively related, to warmth.

Results of the Breusch and Pagan Lagrangian multiplier test showed that random-effects were more appropriate than OLS to test the effect of status on competence, χ^2 (1) = 1068.36, p <.001. Results of the robust test of overidentifying restrictions indicated that fixed effects have to be estimated, χ^2 (3) = 120.66, p <.001. Regression results predicting competence (see right column of Table 3) supported Hypothesis 3b: Status was positively related to competence, after controlling for competition and warmth. Finally, warmth was positively related to competence.

Insert Table 3 about here

Discussion

The aim of this research was to examine the stereotype contents of the most salient immigrant groups living in Switzerland. Results showed that the perceptions of immigrant groups remarkably differ on warmth and competence as a function of their perceived competitiveness and status. As expected, most of the immigrant groups' stereotype contents were mixed, i.e., they were either perceived as warmer than competent or as more competent than warm. These findings are in line with previous research conducted in the US (Lee & Fiske, 2006), extending them to a European context and further underlining the importance of considering the diversity of immigrants rather than treating them as an entity. This is an important insight, given the fact that most research on immigrants has been interested in univalent negative prejudice (Esses et al., 2001; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999).

Immigrant Stereotype Content

Immigrant groups were distinguished along five clusters, across two main linguistic regions in Switzerland. Results showed that the most negative stereotypes (LC/LW) were assigned to immigrants from the Balkans, Turkey, and Eastern Europe. Their particularly low competence scores probably reflect their low socio-economic status in Switzerland (Liebig, Kohls, & Krause, 2012). Interestingly, two of these three immigrant groups are predominantly Muslims (i.e. immigrants from Balkans and Turkey), a highly stigmatized religion in Europe (Asbrock, 2010; Strabac & Listhaug, 2008). This observation suggests that immigrant groups perceived as LC/LW are associated with multiple stigmatizing characteristics.

Immigrants from Africa were associated to poor people[2] and stereotyped as moderately warm but incompetent. These findings differ from those of Lee and Fiske (2006), who reported that African immigrants and poor people were categorized into the "least competent and clearly low-warmth cluster" (p. 759). This perception also differs from the HW/HC stereotype of Blacks in Belgium (Cuddy et al., 2009). Differences may be due to the term "immigrants" which refers to people of low status (Duckitt & Sibley, 2007). In line with this interpretation, in the U.S. immigrants from Africa were perceived as a LW/LC group whereas Blacks received moderate scores on both dimensions. Taken together, it seems that immigrants from Africa, and blacks in general, are more positively perceived in Europe than in the US. This difference may be due to historical factors such as the US history of slavery and racial segregation.

Immigrants from Portugal, Spain and Italy (the latter for the German-speaking region) were in the same cluster as housewives, that is, they were associated with a prototypical HW/LC group[2]. Indeed, these groups were perceived as highly warm and moderately competent. They have lived in Switzerland for several generations. Third generation immigrants are perceived as being closer to the ingroup than first generation immigrants (Lee

& Fiske, 2006), suggesting that, over the course of generations, locals tend to dissociate immigrants from their country of origin and perceive them more and more as allies. In line with this observation, as well as previous research on Swiss' attitudes towards these groups (Raymann, 2003), their scores on warmth were particularly high. Nevertheless, Portuguese, Spanish and Italian immigrants (the latter for the German-speaking region) were perceived as moderately competent, and so not as *close* allies; they did not fall into the same cluster as the ingroup. This is probably due to their relatively low socio-economical status in Switzerland[3].

Finally, immigrants from France and Germany were special because stereotype content for these groups differed at the cluster level between linguistic regions. French immigrants in the French-speaking region and German immigrants in the German-speaking region were perceived similarly as rich people, i.e., a prototypical LW/HC group. Further, French immigrants in the German-speaking region and German immigrants in the French-speaking region were closely associated with the ingroup, i.e., a prototypical HW/HC group. Binggeli, Krings, and Sczesny (in press) have examined these regional differences in the present data set, building on the idea that French and German immigrants are the most relevant immigrant groups, i.e., they are similar to the ingroup on dimensions that make them more likely to take over desirable resources, and hence perceived as highly competitive (Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998). Indeed, results showed that regional differences in warmth stereotypes were mediated by the perceived competitiveness of these two immigrant groups.

In support of the societal structure assumptions of the SCM, we found that status predicted competence and (lack of) competition predicted warmth perceptions. However, after controlling for competition and competence, negative relations between status and warmth emerged. System justification motives may explain these relations (Jost & Banaji, 1994). More specifically, immigrants who have a high status, independently of their

competitiveness or competence, might be perceived as breaking the social order. Indeed, a social group might appear suspicious if it possesses many resources (i.e., has high status) but does not have the skills and competences that are usually needed to obtain and sustain these resources. For example, people might quickly be lead to believe that such immigrants are involved in illegal activities. As a consequence, their high status would be perceived as illegitimate. To restore the status quo, people might therefore derogate such groups on warmth.

In this study, warmth and competence were positively related. Both positive and negative relations between the two dimensions have been observed (e.g., Brambilla, Sacchi, Castellini, & Riva, 2010; Judd, James-Hawkins, Yzerbyt, & Kashima, 2005; Kervyn, Yzerbyt, Demoulin, & Judd, 2008; Rosenber.s, Nelson, & Vivekana, 1968; Yzerbyt, Kervyn, & Judd, 2008), suggesting that their relation is contextually malleable. As observed by Durante and colleagues (in press, p.8): "Warmth and competence relate to each other in different ways, in different societies." In their research, and in line with our findings, they found positive correlations between warmth and competence in three out of four samples from three different linguistic regions in Switzerland. This suggest that in countries like Switzerland, there might be a kind of halo effect in the judgment of social groups, so that people tend to believe that competent groups are also nice and vice versa.

Limitations and Future Directions for Research

As any research, this study has limitations. It is possible that the immigrant groups mentioned in the pilot study were associated with specific characteristics. For example, to generate groups, participants might have thought of the most liked and the most disliked immigrant groups in Switzerland. If this was the case, it may at least partially explain why warmth and competence were positively related in this study. Further, some unexpected but significant relations between the four SCM variables (e.g., between status and warmth or

between warmth and competence) emerged in this study. This may be in part due to the cross-sectional nature of the study. However, it also indicates that relations between socio-structural dimensions and stereotype content, as well as between warmth and competence, are more malleable than assumed in the original SCM model. Future research should therefore investigate more closely under which conditions such relations can be observed.

This study may give rise to exciting new research. We focused on the stereotype dimensions of the SCM but the model also includes assumptions concerning affects and behaviors (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007). More specifically, the model predicts that each combination of high versus low warmth and competence judgments elicits specific types of emotions and behaviors. Therefore, the present results might also be used to develop hypotheses concerning the way certain immigrant groups are treated in Switzerland. For example, immigrants from the Balkans, Turkey and Eastern Europe might be more discriminated against at employment than immigrants from Southern European countries, because they are associated with a more negative stereotype content.

Conclusion

The stereotype contents of immigrant groups in Switzerland differ remarkably on warmth and competence as a function of the immigrants' national origin. Most immigrant groups are not perceived uniformly negatively, but associated with a combination of positive and negative characteristics. The stereotype contents reflect each immigrant group's specific position within the societal structure, so that more competitive groups are perceived as colder and those with a higher socioeconomic status as more competent. The consideration of these observations can help to better understand the specific difficulties faced by specific immigrant groups.

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Footnotes

[1] Preliminary analyses showed that, in the two regions, there were no statistical differences between undergraduates and nonstudents for the rank order of the most often cited immigrant groups.

[2] Interestingly poor people and housewives were not perceived respectively as LW/LC and LW/HW in the present study. The stereotype associated to the poor in Switzerland is closer to the one observed in Belgium (Cuddy et al., 2009), suggesting that poor people might not be universally perceived as a LW/LC group. Furthermore, the stereotype ascribed to housewives is closer to the HC/HW stereotype as observed in the Study 1 of Cuddy, Fiske, and Glick (2007), suggesting that the traditional low competent perception of housewives is evolving.

[3] Immigrants from Italy were perceived as *close allies* of the ingroup in the French-speaking region (they fell into the same cluser as the ingroup). This apparent regional difference might suggest that Italian immigrants benefit from a slightly higher socioeconomic status in the French-speaking than in the German-speaking region of Switzerland. Nevertheless, Binggeli, Krings, and Sczesny (in press) did not find a significant regional difference on perceived competence for Italian immigrants when applying more rigorous statistical tests. Hence, we conclude from their results that the apparent regional difference observed in the current study for Italian immigrants is descriptive and do not interpret it.

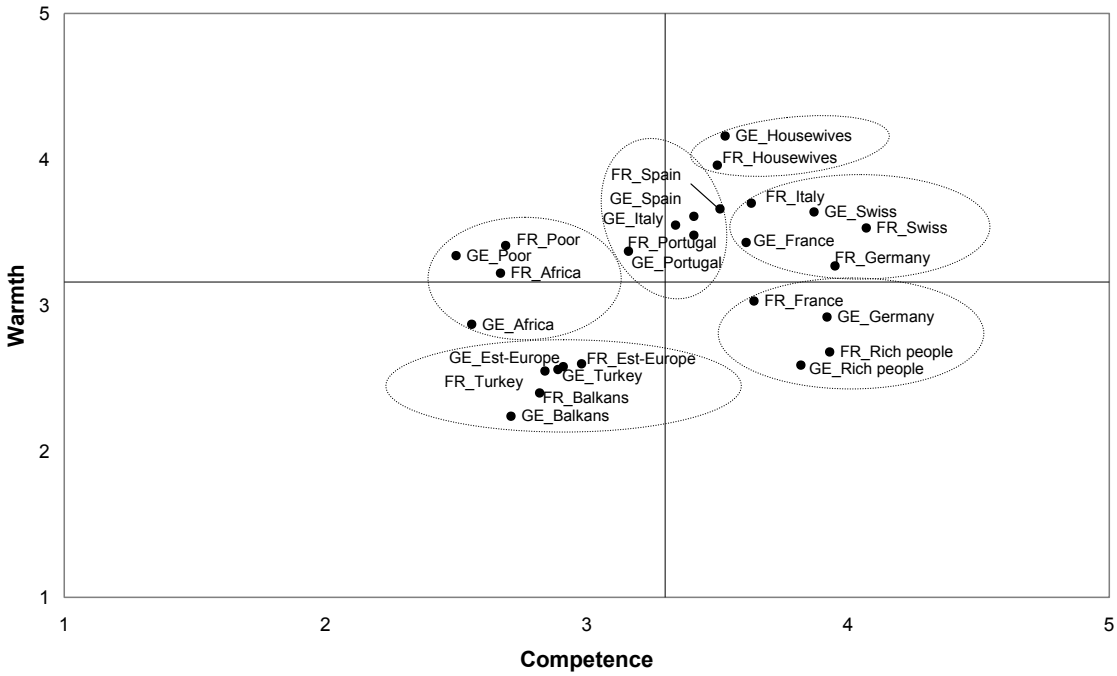

Figure 1. Six clusters solution of immigrant group stereotype content, along the lines of warmth and competence. Circles with dotted lines represent the clusters. Horizontal and vertical lines represent the scores' means on competence and warmth. FR = French-speaking region. GE = German-speaking region.

Table 1.

Mean scores and differences in perceived warmth and competence at both group and cluster levels for the German-speaking Switzerland.

	Cluster level			Group level				
	Warmth		Competence	Warmth		Competence		
	M		*M*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*t*
Cluster 1								
FR_Poor people	3.21_{c}	>	2.61_{e}	3.41	0.76	2.69	0.77	13.98*
FR_Immigrants from Africa				3.22	0.82	2.67	0.68	9.95*
GE_Poor people				3.34	0.70	2.50	0.71	16.39*
GE_Immigrants from Africa				2.87	0.85	2.56	0.68	6.15*
Cluster 2								
FR_Immigrants from the Balkans	2.48_{e}	<	2.86_{d}	2.39	0.78	2.82	0.64	-8.84*
FR_Immigrants from Easter-Europe				2.60	0.73	2.98	0.67	-7.63*
FR_Immigrants from Turkey				2.55	0.75	2.84	0.62	-5.74*
GE_Immigrants from the Balkans				2.22	0.81	2.71	0.65	-10.73*
GE_Immigrants from Easter-Europe				2.58	0.78	2.91	0.68	-7.92*
GE_Immigrants from Turkey				2.56	0.77	2.89	0.65	-7.35*
Cluster 3								
FR_Immigrants from Portugal	3.53_{b}	>	3.37_{c}	3.48	0.67	3.41	0.62	1.77
FR_Immigrants from Spain				3.66	0.61	3.51	0.53	3.45*
GE_Immigrants from Portugal				3.37	0.59	3.16	0.54	5.75*
GE_Immigrants from Spain				3.55	0.58	3.34	0.51	6.04*
GE_Immigrants from Italy				3.61	0.60	3.41	0.50	4.99*
Cluster 4								
FR_Housewives	4.06_{a}	=	$3.51_{b,c}$	3.96	0.67	3.50	0.63	8.96*
GE_Housewives				4.16	0.50	3.53	0.69	11.42*
Cluster 5								
FR_Swiss				3.53	0.73	4.07	0.51	-10.49*

FR_Immigrants from Germany	$3.51_{b,c}$	=	$3.82_{a,b}$	3.27	0.63	3.95	0.59	-12.95*
FR_Immigrants from Italy				3.70	0.64	3.63	0.54	1.68
GE_Swiss				3.64	0.59	3.87	0.51	-6.38*
GE_Immigrants from France				3.43	0.55	3.61	0.51	-4.49*
Cluster 6								
FR_Rich people	2.80_{d}	<	3.83_{a}	2.68	0.83	3.93	0.62	-19.95*
FR_Immigrants from France				3.02	0.79	3.64	0.66	-12.05*
GE_Rich people				2.59	0.60	3.82	0.56	-21.65*
GE_Immigrants from Germany				2.92	0.73	3.92	0.59	-18.23*

Note: FR = French-speaking region. GE = German-speaking region. Cluster level: Clusters are presented by theirs number, decrypting position and respective groups. Within each row, means differ at $p < .05$ if < or >. Within each column, means that do not share a subscript differ at $p < .05$. Group level: $df = 178$ in the French-speaking part and 175 in the German-speaking part. *$p < .05$

Table 2.

Social structural and stereotype content correlate.

	Warmth	Competence	Competition	Status
Warmth		.38	-.83**	.18
Competence	.76**		-.35	.95**
Competition	-.08	-.13*		-.20
Status	.48**	.46**	.09	

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. Individual level (n = 355) correlations are below the diagonal and group level (n = 13) correlations are above the diagonal. At the group level, correlations follow for housewives, poor people, rich people, Swiss people, immigrants from Africa, the Balkans, Eastern Europe, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and Turkey, respectively: warmth-competence *r*s = .36, .58, .30, .50, .59, .65, .64, .52, .37, .57, .65, .59, .60, all *p*s < .01. Competition warmth *r*s = ns, ns, ns, ns, -.15, -.22, -.20, ns, -.11, -.10, -.13, ns, -.22, *p*s < .05; unless

otherwise noted. Status-warm *r*s = ns, .23, ns, .25, .43, .54, .51, .37, .17, .40, .43, .35, .54, *p*s < .05; unless otherwise noted.

Table 3.

Competition and status as predictors of warmth and competence perceptions in Switzerland.

	Warmth					Competence			
Variable	*B*	*Robust SE*	*t*	*p*	Variable	*B*	*Robust SE*	*t*	*p*
Competition	-0.32	.017	-18.17	< .001	Status	0.48	.012	38.02	< .001
Status	-0.11	.018	-6.08	< .001	Competition	0.00	.013	0.14	.891
Competence	0.52	.032	16.43	< .001	Warmth	0.23	.016	14.49	< .001

Note: For warmth, R^2 within = .2769, F (3, 350) = 231.96, $p < .001$. For competence, R^2 within = .5918, F (3, 350) = 765.31, $p < .001$. Fixed effects are estimated and unstandardized betas are shown.

Essay 1b: Perceived competition explains regional differences in the stereotype content of immigrant groups

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Abstract

This research investigates differences in stereotype content of immigrant groups between linguistic regions. We expected that immigrant groups who speak the local language of one linguistic region are perceived as more competitive within this region than in another linguistic region. Further, we expected these differences to underlie regional differences in stereotype content but only for the warmth dimension. Predictions were tested in the two largest linguistic regions of Switzerland. As expected, in the German-speaking region, locals perceived German immigrants as more competitive and thus as less warm, whereas in the French-speaking region, locals perceived French immigrants as more competitive and consequently, as less warm. So, paradoxically, immigrants with strong integration potential are particularly disliked because they are regarded as competitors.

Keywords: stereotype content, competition, immigrants, regional differences

Perceived competition explains regional differences in the stereotype content of immigrant groups

During the past decades, immigrants — residents of a country who were born abroad, do not possess the local citizenship, and yet live there permanently — to Western countries have not only increased in number but also in cultural and national diversity (International Organization for Migration, IOM, 2010). Few studies on attitudes, stereotypes, and behaviors towards immigrants have taken this diversity into account, despite repeated calls for doing so (Binggeli, Dietz, & Krings, 2013; Lee & Fiske, 2006; Pettigrew, 1998). Prominent theoretical models like the stereotype content model (SCM, Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002) suggest that stereotypical perceptions of warmth and competence should differ between immigrant groups, depending on the group's perceived competition and status respectively. Indeed, Lee and Fiske (2006) demonstrated that this assumption is true for immigrant groups in the United States. However, it is unclear to what extent stereotype contents of specific immigrant groups are similar within a country (i.e., across regions of the same country). Until now, research has paid little attention to regional differences in warmth and competence stereotypes, maybe because they "did not produce radically different responses" (Fiske et al., 2002, p. 898).

In this research, we propose that even though regional differences may be small, they are meaningful because they help advance our understanding of the mechanisms involved in stereotyping. Drawing on the instrumental model of group conflict (IMGC, Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998), we argue that regional differences in stereotype content are largely restricted to relevant immigrant groups (i.e., to groups that are similar to the ingroup on dimensions that make them more likely to take over desirable resources) because relevance can vary between regions. Moreover, more relevant groups are perceived as more competitive, motivating ingroup members to reduce these groups' competitiveness. Given

that the socio-structural assumption of the SCM predicts that competition costs warmth and status buys competence, we postulate that one way to reduce the perceived competitiveness of relevant groups is to stereotype them as cold. Thus, regional differences in stereotype content should be found for warmth but not for competence stereotypes.

We investigated differences in stereotype content of relevant immigrant groups between linguistic regions, suggesting that a central dimension of immigrant group relevance is the language they speak. Immigrants who speak the local language have a competitive advantage over immigrants who do not. However, in countries where different languages are spoken in different regions (e.g., in Switzerland or Canada), this advantage is only valid for one linguistic region and not for another. Thus, we expected to find differences between linguistic regions in perceived competition and, as a consequence, in perceived warmth of immigrant groups who speak one of the local languages.

This research has the potential to make several contributions. It highlights linkages between two theoretical models, the SCM and the IMGC, by focusing on meaningful regional differences in stereotype content of immigrant groups. More precisely, it informs the SCM by underscoring the importance of considering outgroup relevance as a determinant of stereotype content. Moreover, it informs the IMGC by focusing the compensatory mechanism of outgroup derogation on one dimension, namely on perceived warmth. Finally, different stereotype contents elicit different behaviors (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007). Thus, regional differences may extend to differences in ways immigrant groups are treated. Our study suggests that, paradoxically, immigrant groups who have a strong potential to integrate well into the host country because they speak the local language, are particularly disliked and, hence, may face additional barriers.

Two Fundamental Dimensions of Stereotype Content: Warmth and Competence

From an evolutionary perspective (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007), the basic human need for survival drives members of one group to identify another group's intentions, that is, its warmth (e.g., is the group friendly, good natured, sincere) and its capacity to enact its intentions, that is, its competence (e.g., is the group capable, skillful, confident). According to the socio-structural assumption of the SCM, the origins of perceived warmth and competence lie in competition and status respectively (Caprariello, Cuddy, & Fiske, 2009; Russell & Fiske, 2008). Typically, in a world of limited resources, outgroups perceived as intending to maximize their resources are perceived as having negative intentions towards the ingroup. In other words, competitive groups are judged as colder than cooperative ones. Further, status is an indicator of the amount of resources that groups possess and hence of their ability to control these resources. Thus, higher status groups are perceived as more competent than lower status groups.

Various groups have been studied in the SCM framework, but little attention has been paid to immigrant groups. To our knowledge, only one study examined stereotype contents of specific immigrant groups (Lee & Fiske, 2006). It showed that warmth and competence stereotypes of immigrants in the U.S. differed remarkably as a function of their national origin. Thus, the stereotype of a specific immigrant group can differ from the incompetent and not trustworthy stereotype that is associated with the immigrant population, as a whole (Eckes, 2002).

Regional differences in stereotype contents of specific immigrant groups have not been investigated yet. Nevertheless, regional differences in anti-immigrant attitudes (i.e., attitude toward the entire immigrant population) exist and are distinguishable from both individual and national differences in anti-immigrant attitudes (Rustenbach, 2010; Sibley et al., in press; Vallas, Zimmerman, & Davis, 2009), suggesting the existence of regional differences in stereotypes. Moreover, anti-immigrant attitudes are consistently related to

economic indicators such as unemployment rates, or, put differently, to the level of competition over important resources. Indeed, a large body of research has shown that people perceiving immigrants as competing for desirable resources hold more negative attitudes toward immigrants (Esses et al., 1998). Thus, competition plays a crucial role in explaining stereotypes and prejudice, and, as we develop in what follows, for explaining regional differences in stereotype content for specific immigrant groups.

Regional Differences in Stereotype Content: The Role of Competition

Several theoretical models on intergroup relations including the IMGC (Esses et al., 1998) stress the importance of competition for understanding stereotypes and prejudice. More specifically, the IMGC postulates that the perceived competitiveness of a group varies as a function of two factors: The outgroup's similarity to the ingroup on dimensions that are relevant for obtaining desired resources and its interest in the same resources that the ingroup is interested in. The final aim of the ingroup's reaction toward a relevant outgroup is to reduce the outgroup's competitiveness. By doing so, the ingroup protects its privileged access to desirable resources and maintains its group status. Ingroup efforts to reduce outgroup competitiveness comprise outgroup derogation, discrimination, and avoidance.

Outgroup relevance may be particularly pertinent for understanding regional differences in stereotype content of immigrant groups because the relevance of a specific immigrant group can differ from one region to the next, within the same country. More specifically, one way to understand regional differences in stereotype content of immigrant groups is to identify skills that might help one immigrant group to take over desirable resources in one region but not in another.

Job skills and education are significant dimensions when groups compete for resources, such as economic advantages, jobs, or power (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001). We argue that for immigrants, mastery of the local language constitutes

another crucial skill in this competition. In general, integration is expected to be easier for immigrants who speak the local language or have a similar culture as the host country (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010). Indeed, when arriving in a host country, one can have many skills and diplomas, but if one does not speak the local language, it is difficult to integrate into the local labor market and society. Thus, mastery of the local language is a crucial skill for integration as well as an important competitive advantage for immigrants, especially if they are well educated. This skill may be the precise reason that locals perceive immigrant groups who speak the local language as relevant competitors. Furthermore, it follows that for countries with different linguistic regions, the same immigrant group can be perceived as a relevant competitor in one linguistic region but not in another.

Many countries are composed of regions that differ with respect to spoken language (e.g., Canada, Belgium, Finland, Switzerland). Switzerland, the country where the present study was conducted, has four linguistic regions. The two largest ones are the German-speaking (63.9% of the population speak German) and the French-speaking (19.5% of the population speak French) regions (Bickel, 2006). The German and French languages that are spoken in these two regions are very similar to the ones spoken in Germany and France. Moreover, German and French immigrants in Switzerland tend to be highly educated. Accordingly, they typically occupy high-status or management positions (Liebig, Kohis, & Krause, 2012; Swiss Federal Statistical Office, 2013). Thus, we expected German immigrants to be perceived as more competitive in the German-speaking than in the French-speaking region, and French immigrants to be perceived as more competitive in the French-speaking region than in the German-speaking region.

According to the IMGC, locals might strategically attempt to reduce the competitiveness of relevant immigrant competitors. One way to achieve this goal is to

derogate these groups. However, the IMGC is not precise with respect to the dimension on which groups are likely to be derogated. At this point, the SCM is more specific. The socio-structural assumption of the model specifies that competition reduces warmth and status increases competence. Hence, we should expect variations in competition to affect warmth, but not competence perceptions. Both the IMGC and the SCM define competition as zero-sum beliefs. That is, the way group competition is defined in the IMGC, namely as the "belief that the more the other group obtains, the less is available for one's own group" (Esses et al., 2001, p. 394), is similar to the way competition is defined in the SCM: "Competition pits the desired resources of one social group against others, and to compete successfully, one must intend to maximize one's resources over others' resources" (Cuddy et al., 2008, p. 95). Thus, it seems valid to conclude that locals derogate immigrant groups that are highly skilled and speak the local language on warmth but not on competence.

Based on these considerations, we expected regional differences in warmth perceptions of relevant immigrant groups, namely of French and German immigrants. Moreover, we expected differences in perceived competition to underlie these regional differences in warmth perceptions.

Hypothesis 1: People in the German-speaking region of Switzerland perceive German immigrants as less warm than people in the French-speaking region do.

Hypothesis 2: People in the French-speaking region of Switzerland perceive French immigrants as less warm than people in the German-speaking region do.

Hypothesis 3: Perceived competition mediates the effect of region on warmth perceptions stated in Hypothesis 1.

Hypothesis 4: Perceived competition mediates the effect of region on warmth perceptions stated in Hypothesis 2.

We tested these hypotheses with data from a large-scale study on stereotypes of various immigrant groups in Switzerland. As mentioned above, this study focuses on differences between linguistic regions in warmth and competence stereotypes of German and French immigrants. For a general description of the stereotypes of the nine most salient immigrant groups in Switzerland, see Binggeli, Krings and Sczesny (in press).

Method

Participants

German-speaking region. One hundred and eighty-six undergraduates from a first year course in Psychology at a mid-size university in German-speaking Switzerland completed the questionnaire. After excluding participants who lived less than five years in Switzerland, the final sample consisted of 176 participants (109 women, *mean age* = 22.36, *SD* = 4.37). Most were Swiss (88%) and born in Switzerland (88%).

French-speaking region. Participants were recruited in lectures at a mid-size University in French-speaking Switzerland. Two hundred and sixteen students completed the questionnaire (response rate: 40 %). For the analyses, we only included participants who lived more than five years in Switzerland (*n* = 179, 95 women, *mean age* = 20.16, *SD* = 1.79). Most participants were Swiss (68%) and born in Switzerland (82 %).

Questionnaire and Procedure

We used the German and French versions of the questionnaire developed by Cuddy and colleagues (2009) in a cross-cultural validation study of the SCM to measure warmth, competence, competition, and status. Warmth items were friendly, warm, good-natured, and sincere (α = .86 in the Swiss German region; α = .84 in the Swiss French region). Competence items were competent, confident, capable, and skillful (α = .78; α = .74). Perceived competition was measured with three items[1] (α = .72; α = .74): How much does special treatment given to the members of this group make things more difficult for the

Swiss? How much do market resources that go to the members of this group take away from the market resources of the Swiss? As the members of this group gain power, to what extent do Swiss lose power? Perceived status was measured with three items (α = .85; α = .83): How prestigious are the jobs typically achieved by members of this group? How economically successful have members of this group been? How well-educated are members of this group? All responses were indicated on 5-point scales (1 = *not at all*, 5 = *extremely*).

Participants rated nine immigrant groups living in Switzerland that had been identified as salient immigrant groups in a pilot study conducted in the French-speaking and the German-speaking regions (Binggeli, Krings, & Sczesny, in press)[2]. The groups were immigrants from Africa, the Balkans, Eastern Europe, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain and Turkey. To control for order effects, we created 24 versions of the questionnaire that differed with respect to the order in which groups were presented.

Results

To test our first two hypotheses, we used a two-step procedure. In the first step, we performed two regression models for panel data, one predicting warmth and one predicting competence perceptions, estimating random effects and robust standard errors by clustering the data at the participant level. We used region (0 = *French-speaking*, 1 = *German-speaking*), immigrants' national origin (0 = *Africa*, 1 = *Balkans*, 2 = *Eastern Europe*, 3 = *France*, 4 = *Germany*, 5 = *Italy*, 6 = *Portugal*, 7 = *Spain*, 8 = *Turkey*), and their interaction terms to predict warmth and competence perceptions.

To isolate the effect of region on both warmth and competence, we controlled for the following demographic variables: participant gender (0 = *men*, 1 = *women*), place of birth (0 = *born abroad*, 1 = *born in Switzerland*), and citizenship (0 = *Swiss*, 1 = *Non-Swiss*, 3 = *Dual citizen: Swiss plus another citizenship*). We controlled for gender because a large body of research showed that women tend to be less prejudiced than men. Hence, we expected

women to rate immigrant groups lower on both warmth and competence than men. Moreover, we controlled for place of birth and citizenship, because demographic similarity models (e.g., Byrne, 1971) suggest that participants who are born abroad, do not possess the local citizenship, or are dual-citizen might rate immigrant groups higher on both warmth and competence than local participants do. Furthermore, we also controlled for ratings of groups' status because Binggeli, Krings, and Sczesny (in press) showed that it was related to both warmth and competence when controlling for competition. Although we did not have specific hypotheses concerning competence perceptions, we performed the regression model with competence as dependent variable to determine if the expected regional differences were indeed restricted to warmth perceptions.

Overall, the results of these two models were significant for both warmth, $\chi^2(22) = 1630.96$, $p < .001$, *within* $R^2 = 50.52\%$, and competence, $\chi^2(22) = 1711.90$, $p < .001$, *within* $R^2 = 61.92\%$. In these two models, women evaluated immigrant groups as warmer, $b = 0.12$, $t = 2.78$, $p = .006$, and more competence than men, $b = 0.09$, $t = 2.38$, $p = .017$. Moreover, status was positively related to both warmth, $b = 0.43$, $t = 15.38$, $p < .001$, and competence, $b = 0.45$, $t = 18.69$, $p < .001$. German-speaking participants evaluated immigrant groups as less warm than French-speaking participants, $b = -0.25$, $t = -3.05$, $p = .002$. Significance levels of immigrant groups are not directly relevant because they indicate how each group differs on warmth or competence from African immigrants (the reference category). Similarly, the interaction terms of these models are not directly relevant for testing our hypotheses because they indicate regional differences in the evaluation of African immigrants compared to each of the eight other immigrant groups. Hence, the aim of this first step mostly consisted in decomposing the variance of warmth and competence by taking into account the influence of all predictors.

In the second step, we estimated the marginal means of the coefficients obtained from the two regression models and performed a series of Wald post-estimation tests to compare the marginal means of the nine immigrant groups in the two linguistic regions, separately for both warmth and competence. Although Hypotheses 1 and 2 only concern immigrants from Germany and France, we performed the Wald post-estimation tests for every immigrant group, to show that regional differences are most pronounced for these two groups. Given the number of the tests, Bonferroni adjusted p-values are reported (non-adjusted p-values were multiplied by nine, which corresponds to one test per immigrant group). Descriptive statistics for German and French immigrants are shown in Figure 1.

Insert Figure 1 about here

For warmth perceptions, results of the Wald post-estimations tests showed four regional differences. Supporting Hypothesis 1, immigrants from Germany were perceived as less warm in the German-speaking region ($M = 2.92$, $SD = 0.73$) than in the French-speaking region ($M = 3.27$, $SD = 0.63$), $\chi^2(1) = 35.37$, $p < .001$. Furthermore, immigrants from France were perceived as less warm in the French-speaking ($M = 3.02$, $SD = 0.79$) than in the German-speaking region ($M = 3.43$, $SD = 0.55$), confirming Hypothesis 2, $\chi^2(1) = 32.54$, $p < .001$. Two additional regional differences emerged, for immigrants from Africa, $\chi^2(1) = 9.31$, $p = .020$, and the Balkans, $\chi^2(1) = 10.06$, $p = .013$. Both were perceived as less warm in the German-speaking ($M = 2.87$, $SD = 0.85$; $M = 2.22$, $SD = 0.81$) than in the French-speaking region ($M = 3.22$, $SD = 0.82$; $M = 2.39$, $SD = 0.78$). However, regional differences in warmth perceptions were stronger for immigrants from Germany and France than they were for immigrants from Africa and the Balkans, as indicated by a comparison of the effects of region of the two relevant immigrant groups (French and Germans) with the two less-relevant

immigrant groups (Africans and people from the Balkans), $\chi^2(1) = 5.58$, $p = .018$. Thus, as expected, regional differences in warmth perceptions were most pronounced for French and German immigrants.

Concerning competence perceptions, results of the Wald post-estimation tests revealed one regional difference. Portuguese immigrants were perceived as more competent in the French-speaking ($M = 3.41$, $SD = 0.62$) than in the German-speaking region ($M = 3.16$, $SD = 0.54$), $\chi^2(1) = 12.71$, $p = .003$. All other effects of region on competence perceptions were not significant. So, as expected, there were no regional differences in competence perceptions for immigrants from France and Germany.

Hypotheses 3 and 4 postulate that differences in perceived competition underlie regional differences in perceived warmth of French and German immigrants. To test these hypotheses, we used 2-stage least squares (2SLS) estimator. 2SLS is a well-known method in economics (for an explanation see Kennedy, 2003), useful for estimating causal effects (Antonakis, Bendahan, Jacquart, & Lalive, 2010), and has recently received more attention in psychology (e.g., Gennetian, Magnuson, & Morris, 2008). We selected 2SLS because warmth and competition are two endogenous variables gathered from the same source at the same time. Because they may share an omitted common cause, one cannot assume that their disturbance terms – which reflect all unmeasured causes affecting both variables – are independent. If these terms were indeed correlated, testing mediation with OLS regression (or maximum likelihood) would produce biased estimates[3]. The significance of this correlation (i.e, the residualized correlation between the two endogenous variables) can be tested in 2SLS regression by using the Hausman test (1978) for endogeneity. The null hypothesis of this test is that the endogenous regressor (in this case, competition) can be treated as exogenous, that means we can use OLS. If this hypothesis is not supported, the endogeneous regressor must be “instrumented” using 2SLS. The 2SLS estimator uses the portion of

variance that the instrument (in this case, region) predicts in competition, which is shared with warmth, to estimate the effect of competition on warmth. If region is exogenous, this portion of variance will be isolated from the error term of warmth. Given that our model is just-identified, we can not estimate statistically the relation between region and the error term of warmth in our model. Hence, we simply assumed that region is exogenous, and estimated the system of equations specified below, once for German and once for French immigrants, with the 2SLS estimator. Then, we tested the hypothesized indirect effect of region on warmth through competence by using a bootstrapping approach (Efron, & Tibshirani, 1993; Stine, 1989).

In the first stage: Competition = $\beta_0 + \beta_1$region + u_i

In the second stage: Warmth = $\beta_0 + \beta_1$competition + e_i

In these equations, we did not control for the influence of status and competence on warmth, because they are endogenous variables that are likely to increase the degree of endogeneity in the model. Moreover, theoretically, they are not expected to predict warmth. Nevertheless, we performed additional analyses to make sure that the results concerning our hypotheses were robust, because status and competence were significantly related to competition in the current samples (Binggeli, Krings, Sczesny, in press). In sum, results of these analyses showed that controlling for status and competence did not influence the patterns described below and that status can not be used as a mediator in the relation between region and warmth[4].

Results for German immigrants (see Table 1) showed that region explained a significant proportion of the variance in perceived competition, $b = 0.46$, $t = 4.51$, $p < .001$, $F(1, 350) = 20.37$, $p < .001$: German immigrants were perceived as more competitive in the German-speaking ($M = 3.01$, $SD = 1.01$) than in the French-speaking region ($M = 2.55$, $SD = 0.88$). Further, the variance of perceived competition that was predicted by region had a

significant impact on perceived warmth of German immigrants, $b = -0.78$, $z = -3.43$, $p < .001$, $F(1, 350) = 11.70$, $p = .001$. The underidentification test showed that the instrumental variable (region) was correlated with the endogenous regressor (competition), $\chi^2(1) = 19.35$, $p < .001$, indicating that the equation is identified. Further, the endogeneity test was significant, $\chi^2(1) = 18.76$, $p < .001$, indicating that the endogenous regressor could not be treated as an exogenous variable. Finally, results of the bootstrapping procedure with 1000 replications indicate that region had an indirect effect on warmth through competition, $z = -4.66$, $p < .001$, 95% C.I. [- 0.51, - 0.20]. Taken together, results support Hypothesis 3: German immigrants were perceived as more competitive in the German-speaking than in the French-speaking region, and this difference explained why German immigrants were perceived as less warm in the German-speaking than in the French-speaking region.

For French immigrants, region was unrelated to competition, $b = -0.03$, $t = -0.36$, $p = .716$ (see Table 1). To better understand this result, we conducted some complementary analyses. First, an examination of the correlations between region and the ratings of French immigrants on each of the three items of the competition scale revealed a regional difference for one of the three items only: The belief that as French immigrants gain power, the Swiss lose their power was stronger in the French-speaking than in the German-speaking region, $r = -.19$, $p < .001$. We then analyzed if this specific facet of perceived competition, namely competition for power, underlies regional differences in warmth perceptions of French immigrants. To this end, we performed the same 2SLS regression as explained above, but used the power competition item only. Results showed that indeed region was related to perceived power competition of French immigrants, $b = -0.44$, $t = -3.65$, $p < .001$, $F(1, 349) = 13.35$, $p < .001$, so that French immigrants were perceived as competing more for power in the French-speaking ($M = 2.94$, $SD = 1.19$) than in the German-speaking region ($M = 2.50$, $SD = 1.06$). Further, the proportion of variance in perceived power competition that was

explained by region had a significant impact on perceived warmth, b = - 0.92, z = -3.18, p = .001, $F(1, 349) = 10.08$, $p < .001$ The underidentification test showed that the equation is identified, $\chi^2(1) = 12.93$, $p < .001$. Moreover, the endogeneity test was significant, $\chi^2(1) = 25.07$, $p < .001$, indicating that the competition item can not be treated as an exogenous variable. Finally, result of the bootstrapping procedure with 1000 replications revealed that region had an indirect effect on warmth through perceived competition for power, $z = 5.51$, $p < .001$, 95% C.I. [0.26, 0.55]. In sum, Hypothesis 4 was partially supported. Regional differences in perceived competition of French immigrants were restricted to a specific facet of competition. The belief that as French immigrants gain power, Swiss lose power was stronger in the French than in the German-speaking region. The difference in perceived competition for power explained why French immigrants were perceived as less warm in the French-speaking than in the German-speaking region.

Insert Table 1 about here

Discussion

This research systematically examined regional differences in stereotype contents of immigrant groups in Switzerland, demonstrating that regional differences are largely restricted to warmth perceptions of relevant immigrant groups and driven, at least partially, by perceived competition. More specifically, building on the IMGC (Esses et al., 1998), we expected regional differences in perceived competition of German and French immigrants because members of these two groups are highly skilled and speak the same language as locals living in the German-speaking and French-speaking region of Switzerland respectively. Drawing on the socio-structural assumption of the SCM (Fiske et al., 2007) we

expected these regional differences in competition to motivate locals to derogate German or French immigrants on warmth but not on competence.

In sum, results of this study supported most, albeit not all, hypotheses. German immigrants were perceived as less warm (but equally competent) in the German-speaking region than in the French-speaking region of Switzerland. The opposite was true for French immigrants: They were perceived as less warm (but equally competent) in the French-speaking than in the German-speaking region. Moreover, these differences in warmth perceptions were due to differences in perceived competition. As such, this research demonstrates meaningful regional differences in stereotype content of immigrant groups as well as the mechanism that underlies these differences. Further, it highlights new linkages between two prominent theoretical models, the IMGC and the SCM. More precisely, it shows that derogation, as a mechanism to reduce outgroup competitiveness, is limited to one dimension of social perception, namely warmth, at least for certain groups. Furthermore, it underscores the importance of considering specific outgroup characteristics as factors determining stereotype content. Some immigrant groups are more relevant than others, namely those that have skills that render them capable to take over desired resources. Often, it is the very same skills (e.g., language competencies, education) that would make these immigrants more likely to integrate easily into the host society. However, this study shows that paradoxically, these immigrants are particularly disliked, ultimately hindering their integration.

As mentioned above, results supported most but not all hypotheses. More specifically, while regional differences in perceived warmth emerged as expected, regional differences in perceived competition were somewhat less conclusive. For French immigrants, regional differences were restricted to perceived competition for power. Several factors may explain this finding. Firstly, it may be due to the fact that more than 60% of the Swiss population

speaks German whereas only about 20% speaks French. From this perspective, the competitive linguistic advantage of French immigrants may not have been perceived as particularly strong to take over locals' resources. Indeed, in Switzerland, speaking German is often considered a stronger asset than speaking French, for instance, to obtain a management position in the government or a large organization. Secondly, differences in salience of the immigrant groups may play a role. Results of the pilot study showed that regional differences in salience were smaller for French than for German immigrants, suggesting that regional differences in competition may be weaker as well. To shed some light on this question, we performed an additional panel regression analysis, using the salience of immigrant groups (i.e. percentages of participants mentioning each immigrant group in the two regions, in the pilot study) to predict their perceived competitiveness in the present study. However, this relation was not significant, showing that perceived competition is unrelated to salience, at least in this study. Thirdly, different facets of competition may be differentially related to different immigrant groups. Results revealed that French immigrants were primarily perceived as competitors for power whereas German immigrants were perceived as competitors in several domains. Indeed, locals may compete with immigrants for different resources, including "economic advantages, such as jobs and money, as well as social, political, and economic power" (Esses et al., 2001, p.394). Similarly, integrated threat theory distinguishes between types of threats that immigrants (and other outgroups) may represent, namely between realistic threats (i.e., threats to political and economical power) and symbolic threats (i.e. threats to values, beliefs, morals and attitudes, see Stephan et al., 2005; Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Stephan, Ybarra, Bachman, 1998). Some groups are perceived more as a realistic threat, others more as a symbolic threat, and ingroup members' attitudinal and behavioral responses may differ accordingly. The competition scale used in our study does not allow for clearly distinguishing between different types of threats. But the results

suggest that regional differences in stereotype content of relevant immigrant groups may be better understood by considering a more fine-grained conceptualization of the types of resources for which these groups are perceived as competing for with locals.

Limitations and Future Directions for Research

We investigated differences in stereotype content between linguistic regions and hence limited our focus to linguistic similarities of immigrants with locals. However, regional differences are not limited to linguistic differences. For example, Hall and colleagues (2011) recently showed that highly skilled immigrants are more present in metropolitan than in rural areas in the U.S.. Thus, these immigrants are probably perceived as more relevant competitors and as a consequence, more likely to be stereotyped as cold but competent in metropolitan areas than in rural areas.

In line with assumptions of the IMGC, we found that outgroups who are similar to the ingroup on dimensions that are relevant to access resources are likely to be derogated. Distinctiveness threat theory (Baron & Byrne, 2000; Byrne, 1971) makes a similar assumption but proposes a different mechanism to explain outgroup derogation, based on perceived similarity with the ingroup. More specifically, ingroup members should derogate those outgroups that are (too) similar, because these outgroups threaten the uniqueness of the ingroup's social identity. Indeed, studies on international comparisons have observed that inhabitants of small nations typically dislike inhabitants of larger neighbor nations that speak the same or a similar language (Van Oudenhoven, Askevis-Leherpeux, Hannover, Jaarsma, & Dardenne, 2002). Moreover, similar findings have been demonstrated for Swiss' attitudes towards French and Germans, as nations, also revealing some regional differences (Matser et al., 2010; Van Oudenhoven, Selenko, & Otten, 2010). This suggests that regional differences in warmth perceptions found in our study may have been driven by distinctiveness threats, in addition to or instead of competition. We did not measure perceived similarity, and thus, this

question remains to be answered by future research. Hence, future studies should investigate relations between both perceived similarity and competition to determine their specific roles for regional differences in stereotype content of immigrant groups.

Finally, some unexpected regional differences in warmth perceptions emerged. More specifically, immigrants from Africa and the Balkans were perceived as warmer (but equally competent) in the French- than in the German-speaking region. Regional differences in warmth were smaller for these groups than for German and French immigrants, supporting our contention that regional differences in warmth perceptions are most pronounced for relevant immigrant groups. Nevertheless, it remains unclear why these groups were stereotyped differently, in the two linguistic regions. They cannot be considered relevant outgroups, in the sense of the IMGC, because these immigrants typically have lower educational and professional skill levels (Swiss Federal Statistical Office, 2013) and do not speak the local language, excluding explanations related to competition. Neither can they be considered outgroups that are particularly similar to the ingroup, i.e., the Swiss, excluding explanations related to distinctiveness threat. However, other factors of region that were not captured by our study (e.g., differences in political climate) may explain this finding, encouraging future research to explore additional dimensions of regional differences to explain stereotype content.

Conclusion

This research demonstrates meaningful regional differences in stereotype content of relevant immigrant groups as well as their underlying mechanism. We found that German and French immigrants in Switzerland were derogated on warmth – but not competence – in the linguistic region of the country where they possess a competitive advantage (i.e., speak the same language as locals) in comparison to the region where they do not have this advantage. These regional differences in warmth were mediated by perceived competition. As such, this

research points out an interesting paradox: Immigrants who actually have a strong potential to integrate well into the host society due to their language skills, are particularly disliked because they are perceived as strong competitors by locals.

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Footnotes

[1]Items used in the SCM questionnaire to measure competition are similar to those used in IMGC studies (Esses et al., 1998, p.715). Examples of items from the IMGC scale of zero-sum competition used in Canada are "Immigrants tend to open up small businesses, which means that there are fewer business opportunities available to Canadians already living here"; "Money spent on social services for immigrants means less money for services for Canadians already living here"; "The more power immigrants obtain in Canada, the more difficult it is for Canadians already living here".

[2] The pilot study is described in detail in Binggeli et al. (2013). It closely followed the procedure of Lee and Fiske (2006). Participants were 112 undergraduates and non-students in the German-speaking region and 107 undergraduates and non-students in the French-speaking region. Instructions were: "Please list groups of immigrants that you personally think are the main immigrant groups living in Switzerland (according to their country of origin)." Only groups cited by more than 20% of the participants were considered as salient. In the German-speaking region, the most salient groups were immigrants from the Balkans (85.3%), Italy (84.4%), Germany (77.9%), Turkey (49.3%), African countries (47.9%), Spain (44.2%), Portugal (37%), Eastern European countries (33.1%), France (27.7%) and Tamil from India and Sri-Lanka (21.5%). In the French-speaking region, the most salient groups were immigrants from Italy (87.9%), Portugal (87.9%), Balkans (86%), Spain (65.4%), France (40%), African countries (38.3%), Germany (29.9%), Eastern European countries (27.1%), and Turkey (25.2%). Taken together, the same nine immigrant groups emerged as salient in the two linguistic regions. One exception was Tamils from India and Sri-Lanka who emerged as salient in the German-speaking region only. However, for the main study, only immigrant groups that were salient in both regions were used.

[3] As a complementary analysis, we performed the mediation tests using the Preacher

and Hayes (2008) test of indirect effect and bootstrapped the standard errors with 1000 replications. Given that our mediator (i.e., competition) is an endogenous variable, we expected the results of the OLS and 2SLS estimators to differ. Note that we would not expect such difference if the mediator was exogenous, because it would not correlate with the error term of the dependent variable. Results for German immigrants showed that region was positively related to perceived competition, $b = 0.46$, $t = -4.53$, $p < .001$, but perceived competition was not related to warmth when controlling for region, $b = -0.04$, $t = -1.09$, $p = .275$. Further, the direct effect of region on warmth, $b = -0.36$, $t = -4.91$, $p < .001$ was not significantly reduced when controlling for the mediator in the model, $b = -0.34$, $t = -4.52$, $p < .001$, so that the indirect effect was not significant, $z = -0.89$, $p = .373$, *95% C.I.* [- 0.06, 0.02]. Results for French immigrants showed that region was negatively related to perceived competition for power, $b = -0.44$, $t = -3.64$, $p < .001$, but perceived competition for power was not related to warmth when controlling for region, $b = -0.04$, $t = -1.40$, $p = .162$. Further, the direct effect of region on warmth, $b = 0.41$, $t = 5.55$, $p < .001$ was not significantly reduced when controlling for the mediator in the model, $b = 0.38$, $t = 5.18$, $p < .001$, so that the indirect effect was not significant, $z = 1.26$, $p = .208$, *95% C.I.* [- 0.01, 0.05]. As expected, the results reported above differ from those obtained with the 2SLS estimator. These differences can be explained by the fact that we have an endogeneity problem in our models (as revealed by the results of the Hausman tests). Endogeneity has the effect of biasing the results obtained with the OLS estimator (for a demonstration of this bias see Antonakis, 2011). In the present case, the bias is important because it resulted in non-significant indirect effects. Thus, these results clearly demonstrate the importance of using the appropriate estimator when testing mediation.

[4] The additional analyses conducted with status and competence consisted in controlling for these two variables in the set of equations as well as exploring the potential

role of status as a mediator in the relation between region and warmth. For German immigrants, when controlling for the influence of status and competence, we found at the first step that region was still related to perceived competition, $b = 0.41$, $t = 4.12$, $p < .001$, $F(3, 350) = 8.45$, $p < .001$. At the second step, results showed that competition was related to warmth, $b = -0.86$, $z = -3.39$, $p = .001$, $F(3, 350) = 9.18$, $p < .001$. Further, result of the bootstrapping procedure with 1000 replications revealed that region had an indirect effect on warmth through perceived competition, $z = 5.28$, $p < .001$, 95% C.I. [- 0.49, - 0.22]. For French immigrants, results of the first step model revealed a significant relation between region and competition for power, $b = -0.44$, $t = -3.65$, $p < .001$, $F(3, 349) = 5.15$, $p < .001$. Results of the second step model showed a significant relation between competition for power and warmth, $b = -0.95$, $z = -3.43$, $p = .001$, $F(3, 350) = 9.18$, $p < .001$. Finally, result of the bootstrapping procedure with 1000 replications demonstrated the indirect effect of region on warmth through perceived competition for power, $z = 7.01$, $p < .001$, 95% C.I. [0.30, 0.53]. Taken together, these results showed that status and competence did not influence the relations between region, competition, and warmth.

To explore the potential mediating role of status in the relation between region and warmth, we performed similar analyses and controlled for the influence of competition. For German immigrants, result of the first step model showed that region was unrelated to status, $b = 0.13$, $t = 1.72$, $p = .082$, $F(2, 350) = 7.35$, $p < .001$. For French immigrants, results of the first step model also showed that region was unrelated to status, $b = -0.01$, $t = -0.14$, $p = .890$, $F(2, 350) = 0.80$, $p = .452$. Based on these results, we excluded the possibility that status can mediate the relation between region and warmth.

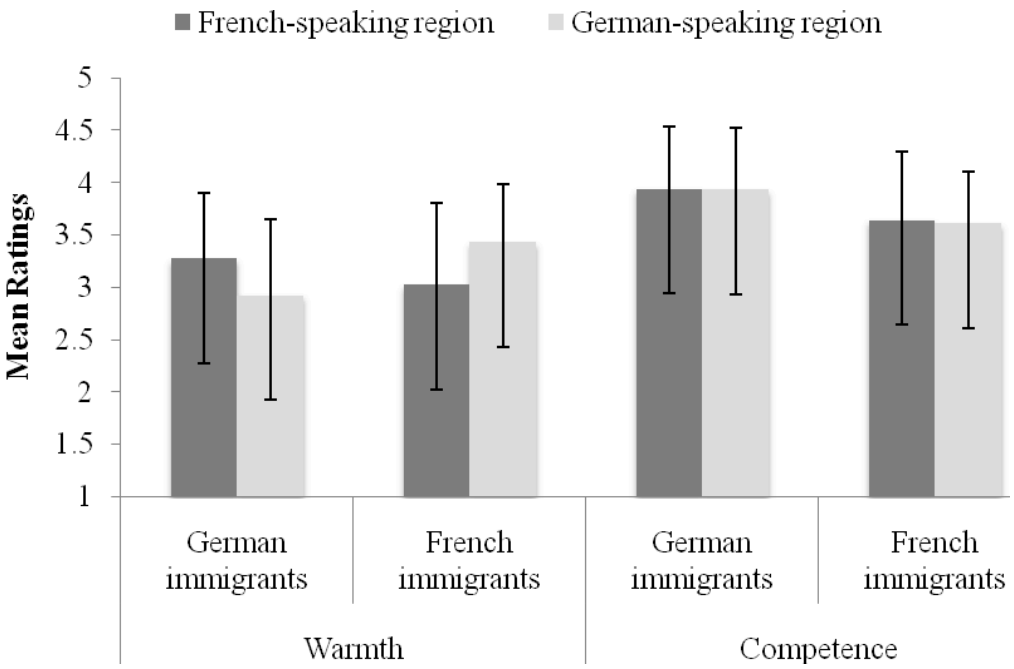

Figure 1. Warmth and competence perception of German and French immigrants, within linguistic regions (means and standard deviations are shown)

Table 1.

Two stage least squares regression models

		Competition				Warmth			
	Variable	*B*	*SE*	*t*	*p*	*B*	*SE*	*z*	*p*
German-speaking region	First step model:								
	Region	0.46	0.10	4.51	< .001				
	F	20.37**							
	df	350							
	Second step model:								
	Competition					-0.78	0.22	-3.43	.001
	F					11.70**			
	df					350			
French-speaking region	Region	-0.03	0.09	-0.36	.716				
	F	0.13							
	df	350							

	Second step model:				
	Competition	-12.14	33.23	-0.37	.715
	F		0.13		
	df		350		

Note. Unstandardized coefficients are shown. **p < .01

Essay 2: Immigrants differentiate more strongly between immigrant applicants than locals do during the job interview

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Abstract

This research aims to examine the process leading stigmatized individuals to perpetuate employment discrimination. To do so, we investigated how immigrant and local individuals evaluated immigrant applicants coming from various national origins during the job interview. Building on the principles of both the subjective group dynamics model and the stereotype content model, we postulated that immigrant individuals differentiate more strongly between immigrant applicants stereotyped as warm and/or competent (vs. less warm and/or less competent) than do local individuals. Results of an experiment involving 391 undergraduates showed that indeed immigrant individuals favored immigrant applicants coming from a country associated with a warm stereotype over those coming from a country associated with a less warm stereotype, while no difference was found in the evaluation made by local individuals. Moreover, we found that immigrant individuals evaluated immigrant applicants coming form a country associated with a warm stereotype more positively than local individuals did. Thus, this research reveals a subtle form of differential treatment, which is based on intragroup differentiation. It suggests that immigrant individuals favor immigrant applicants coming from a country associated with a warm versus less warm stereotype in order to enhance their group image.

Keywords: subjective group dynamics, stereotype content, immigrants, employment discrimination.

Immigrants differentiate more strongly between immigrant applicants than locals do during the job interview

As the workplace is becoming more diverse, the signs of a general decline in employment discrimination have not been clearly observed yet (e.g., Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEOC, 2012; Tomaskovic-Devey et al., 2006). Rather, it seems that discrimination is evolving into subtler forms and adapting to the new reality of the workplace (Cortina, 2008; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Hebl, Foster, Mannix, & Dovidio, 2002). Until now, most research has focused on the behaviors of majority individuals toward minorities. Nevertheless, the increasing diversity of the workforce raises questions about the potential role of minority individuals in perpetuating employment discrimination. This research area remains largely understudied, but preliminary evidence suggests that minorities might indeed discriminate against stigmatized groups in certain situations (e.g., Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008). Thus, we argue that it is time to more systematically compare the bias of minority and majority individuals in order to better understand when the stigmatized stigmatize and why.

According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), individuals are motivated to sustain a positive image of their group. To do so, the subjective group dynamics model (SGD, Marques, Abrams, Páez, & Hogg, 2001; Marques, Abrams, Paez, & Martinez-Taboada, 1998) postulates that people maximize and sustain descriptive intergroup differentiation while simultaneously maximizing and sustaining the relative validity of their prescriptive ingroup norms through intragroup differentiation. In other words, people maintain their group distinctiveness and enhance its social identity by differentiating between normative and deviant group members. More precisely, the process of intragroup differentiation consists of favoring normative members and derogating deviant ones more strongly than similar outgroup members. From this perspective, it is therefore likely that

minority individuals differentiate more strongly between normative and deviant minority group members than majority individuals do. If such process can be demonstrated, it would suggest that minority individuals might also contribute to perpetuating discrimination in organizations due to their motivation to sustain a positive image of their group. In the current research, we investigate this assumption by examining how immigrant and local individuals evaluate immigrant applicants coming from various national origins in a mock job interview context.

During the past decades, immigrants – residents of a country, who were born abroad, do not possess the local citizenship, and yet live there permanently – have become an important minority in most of the Western nations. In Europe, they accounted for 70% of the increase in the labor force between 2000 and 2010 (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD, 2012a). And yet, they represent about 10% of the E.U. labor force, with about 27% in Switzerland, the country in which the current research takes place (OECD, 2012b; Swiss Federal Statistical Office, 2008). Despite the fact that anti-discrimination laws protect them, immigrants continue to be discriminated against in many countries (International Labour Office, ILO, 2011; van Tubergen, Maas, & Flap, 2004). However, research has shown that some groups of immigrants are more discriminated against than other groups (Krings & Olivares, 2007). This phenomenon might be due to the fact that the perception of immigrant groups differs markedly as a function of their national origin (Lee & Fiske, 2006). For example, some immigrants are perceived as warm and competent, while others are perceived as cold and incompetent. This subtle form of discrimination against immigrants is likely to create a gap in the society between immigrant groups who benefit from a more positive (i.e., warm and/or competent) and those who suffer from a more negative stereotype (i.e., cold and/or incompetent). Moreover, this effect is likely to be amplified if it turns out that immigrant individuals differentiate even more strongly than

locals between these immigrant groups. For this reason, the current research not only addresses a gap in the organizational literature, but also a concrete concern from the field.

The processes of intergroup and intragroup differentiation

The SGD (Marques et al., 2001, 1998) finds its roots in self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and the black sheep effect (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988; Marques & Yzerbyt, 1988). In line with self-categorization theory, it postulates that people use sets of characteristics to categorize themselves and others into social groups. This categorization captures similarities within and differences between groups. Moreover, it involves a form of depersonalization, so that people identify themselves with individuals with whom they share similar characteristics. For example, Latino-Americans consider themselves to be more similar to Hispanics as well as other Latino groups (e.g., Mexicans, Porto Ricans, Cubans) than Anglo-Americans do (Huddy & Virtanen, 1995). From this perspective, it is reasonable to assume that immigrants and locals categorize themselves into different social groups based on national origin. Further, given that multiple characteristics are used in the categorization process, people are likely to identify themselves with more than one social group. This is especially likely to happen when groups are hierarchically organized, so that subordinate groups are included in a superordinate category. For instance, early studies showed that three types of identities coexist among second generation West Indian and Haitian-Americans: An ethnic or national origin identity, an immigrant identity, and a Black American identity (Waters, 1994). As such, immigrants and their descendants can identify themselves with their own culture, the immigration population, and also their host culture (Phinney & Alipuria, 2006). This observation is important because it suggests a more subjective definition of the term immigrants, which is based on categorization and identification processes more so than

a purely administrative status. That means immigrants can also be defined as people who identify themselves as such.

According to social identity theory, people are motivated to sustain a positive image of their group. The SGD stipulates that positive distinctiveness can be achieved by simultaneously maximizing intergroup and intragroup differentiation. Intergroup differentiation consists of favoring ingroup over outgroup members on dimensions that reflect positively on the ingroup. And, intragroup differentiation consists of maintaining the validity of ingroup norms by favoring normative ingroup representatives and derogating deviant ones in comparison to similar outgroup members. For this reason, intragroup differentiation represents a subtler form of discrimination than intergroup differentiation, because it also implies the protection of the group's image through the derogation of deviant members.

Intergroup differentiation is rooted in both the similarity-attraction paradigm (Byrne, 1961) and social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), which postulate that people tend to favor individuals that are similar to them on demographical dimensions—ingroup members—over those who are dissimilar to them—outgroup members. Although intergroup differentiation has received considerable support over the years, empirical tests of this hypothesis in a job interview context have revealed mixed findings (for a review see McCarthy, Van Iddekinge, & Campion, 2010). Many studies did not find that people systematically favor similar over dissimilar applicants. Moreover, previous research did not find a main effect of interviewers' ethnicity on applicants' ratings, suggesting that majority and minority interviewers tend to evaluate applicants similarly (McCarthy et al., 2010). Hence, in regard to the purpose of the current research, these findings suggest that we should not expect an overall difference between immigrant and local individuals in their evaluation of immigrant applicants.

Intragroup differentiation has been studied mostly within the black sheep effect. This effect describes a pattern of group polarization according to which people favor normative (e.g., likeable) ingroup members and derogate deviant (e.g., unlikeable) ingroup members in comparison to similar outgroup members (Marques et al., 1988; Marques & Yzerbyt, 1988). The black sheep effect has been tested in a variety of contexts but, to our knowledge, it has not been investigated in a selection situation yet. Moreover, we only found one study that included a manipulation of participants' group membership in this framework. In their experiment, Kahn and Lambert (1998) asked participants to evaluate the behaviors of a target individual. They manipulated the gender of the participants, the gender of the target, and the target's behaviors (i.e., target making ambiguous statements about a person, target making negative statements about a person). They found a three-way interaction revealing that female participants, more so than male participants, evaluated the ingroup ambiguous target more positively and the ingroup negative target more negatively than similar outgroup targets. Although the authors did not report the significance of the differences in the way female and male participants evaluated the ambiguous (M_{female} = 6.35; M_{male} = 5.10) and negative (M_{female} = 3.40; M_{male} = 4.26) female targets, the descriptive statistics suggest that female participants differentiated more strongly between the ambiguous and negative female targets than male did. Based on these results and the intragroup differentiation framework, it seems reasonable to argue that immigrant individuals might differentiate more strongly between normative and deviant representatives of their group than locals do.

Warmth and competence define normative and deviant group members

The stereotype content model (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008; Cuddy, Glick, & Beninger, 2011; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002) postulates that two fundamental dimensions are used to judge individuals and social groups, 1) warmth (e.g., friendliness, trustworthiness, empathy, and kindness) and 2) competence (e.g., intelligence, power,

efficacy, and skill). In this model, the motivation of ingroup members to sustain a positive social identity is reflected by the fact that they tend to describe themselves as warmer and more competent than outgroup members. Because these two dimensions are so central in intergroup differentiation, it also is likely that group members use them to validate their belief concerning their social identity. In other words, the nature of warmth and competence might not only be descriptive, but also prescriptive in the sense that individuals might apply a form of pressure on their group members to appear warm and/or competent. For this reason, individuals are likely to treat group members differently as a function of their stereotype contents.

The SCM includes an assumption that relates each combination of high vs. low warmth and competence judgments to a specific behavioral reaction (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007). Nevertheless, the model has not considered the fact that these relations could be moderated by individuals' group membership as the process of intragroup differentiation suggests. So far, the SCM simply postulates that warmer and/or more competent groups elicit more positive behaviors, whereas colder and/or more incompetent groups elicit more negative behaviors. Furthermore, it specifies that variations on warmth (vs. competence) judgments elicit stronger behavioral reactions, because warmth is more central to impression formation (Wojciszke & Abele, 2008; Wojciszke, Bazinska, & Jaworski, 1998; Ybarra et al., 2008). In the current research, we extend the behavioral assumptions of the SCM by integrating the precepts of the SGD. We argue that immigrants evaluate warm and/or competent immigrants more favorably and less warm and/or less competent immigrants more negatively than locals do.

The mechanism of employment discrimination against immigrant groups

Research has shown that the stereotype contents of immigrant groups differ remarkably as a function of their national origin (Lee & Fiske, 2006). In Switzerland,

Binggeli, Krings, and Sczesny (in press) asked Swiss and immigrant individuals to evaluate the perceived warmth and competence of the most salient immigrant groups living in the country. Their results showed that these groups were associated with five distinct combinations of warmth and competence judgments (Binggeli, Krings, & Sczesny, in press). Some immigrant groups (e.g., Africans, South Europeans) were perceived as warmer than others (e.g., Eastern Europeans, immigrants from the Balkans), while some immigrants (e.g., Western Europeans, Southern Europeans) were perceived as more competent than others (e.g., Africans, immigrants from the Balkans).

Until now, no research has systematically investigated the relation between the stereotype content of immigrant groups and employment discrimination. Nevertheless, some results suggest that the perception of immigrants might be related to their evaluation in selection situations. For example, Lee and Fiske (2006) showed that Hispanic and African immigrants are perceived as less competent than Asian immigrants and as less warm and less competent than documented Americans. In line with these results, King, Madera, Hebl, Knight, & Mendoza (2006) found that White and Asian applicants were evaluated more positively than both Hispanic and Black applicants by American participants. In Switzerland, Binggeli, Krings and Sczesny (in press) found that immigrants from the Balkans were perceived as less warm, but also as less competent than both Swiss people and immigrants from Spain. Again, in line with these results, Krings and Olivares (2007) found that both local and Spanish immigrant applicants had a better chance of being invited for a job interview by Swiss participants than did a Kosovo-Albanian applicant.

Although the previous research clearly suggests a relation between the stereotype content of immigrant groups and their evaluation in a selection situation, they remain limited to samples of local individuals. To our knowledge, the current research is the first one to compare the evaluation of immigrant and local individuals in such situation. Building on the

SGD, we postulate that individuals' national origin moderates the relation between the stereotype content of immigrant groups and their evaluation during the job interview.

Hypothesis 1. Participants' national origin and applicant's national origin interact, so that immigrant participants will differentiate more strongly between immigrant applicants stereotyped as warm (i.e., immigrants from Africa and Italy) vs. less warm (i.e., immigrants from the Balkans and France) than locals participants will.

Hypothesis 2. Participants' national origin and applicant's national origin interact, so that immigrant participants will differentiate more strongly between immigrant applicants stereotyped as competent (i.e., immigrants from the France and Italy) vs. less competent (i.e., immigrants from Africa and the Balkans) than locals participants will.

Preliminary study

An important theoretical assumption that we made is that immigrants (including dual-citizens) should identify more strongly with the immigrant population than locals do. Given that empirical evidence is missing to support this assumption, we conducted a preliminary study to test it. In this research, we considered immigrants to be people who identify as such and therefore included individuals who possess the local citizenship as well as another nationality in this category.

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 164 undergraduates from a university located in the French-speaking region of Switzerland. To insure that our analyses were performed on a sample of people who are familiar to the country and the stereotype of immigrant groups, we dropped participants who had lived in the country for less than a year. The final sample included 144 undergraduates (*mean age* = 23 years old, 52% women). Among them, 52% had only Swiss citizenship.

Procedure and measures

Participants were invited to complete a short online questionnaire. We adapted items from Doosje, Ellemers, and Spears (1995) to measure participants' identification with immigrants living in Switzerland as well as to Swiss people. Items read as follows: "I identify myself as ____ ," "I see myself as ____;" "I am glad to be ____;" "I feel strong ties with ____;" Being a ____ is important to me." Blank parts were adapted to either reflect identification to "foreigner living in Switzerland" (α = .80) or "Swiss people" (α = .90). Answers were given on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*; 7 = *strongly agree*).

Results

To test our assumption that immigrants identify more strongly with immigrants living in Switzerland than Swiss do, we predicted identification with foreigners living in Switzerland with participants' national origin. To do so, we combined the scores obtained by participants who were non-Swiss and dual-citizen (i.e., immigrants) and compared them to those of participants who were only-Swiss (i.e., locals). Results of an ANOVA showed a main effect of participants' national origin, $F(1, 102) = 4.03$, $p = .047$. Supporting our assumption, immigrants ($M = 3.65$, $SD = 1.25$) identified more strongly with immigrants living in Switzerland than did locals ($M = 3.15$, $SD = 1.16$). Further, results of a second ANOVA showed a main effect of participants' national origin on identification to Swiss people, $F(2, 130), = 2.88$, $p < .001$, indicating that immigrant participants ($M = 5.03$, $SD = 1.44$) identified less with Swiss people than did locals ($M = 5.98$, $SD = 0.91$).

Discussion

Results of this preliminary study supported our assumption that immigrants identify more strongly with immigrants living in Switzerland than do locals. Moreover, they show that immigrants identify less strongly with Swiss people than locals do. Hence, it is likely that immigrants are more concerned by the image conveyed by other immigrants than locals are.

As such, we might also expect immigrants to treat other immigrants differently than locals do.

Main study

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 391 undergraduates from a university located in the French-speaking region of Switzerland. To test our hypotheses, we restricted our sample in the following way: We dropped participants who had the same nationality as the fictional applicant they evaluated during the experiment, those who answered incorrectly to the manipulation check concerning the national origin of the applicant, as well as those who had lived in the country for less than one year. The final sample consisted of 325 participants (47% of women, *mean* age of 21 years old, 62% of Swiss). Immigrant participants came from 34 different countries. Most of the participants were studying in the School of Business and Economics (59%).

Procedure and material

Participants were invited to take part in a computer-based experiment on selection processes. During the experiment, they assumed the role of a HR recruiter working for a fictional national health insurance company named Sursana. Their task was to evaluate a fictional male applicant for a position as an administrative assistant by his résumé and performance in a mock job interview. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the four national origin conditions. Thus, the experiment consisted of 2 (Participants' national origin: Local, Immigrants) x 4 (Applicant' national origin: French, Italian, Kosovo-Albanian, Nigerian) between-subjects design[1].

At the beginning of the experiment, participants received a description of the company, a job advertisement, and the applicant's résumé. The name and the origin of the

applicants were clearly indicated on his résumé and it was specified that he had a permit as a permanent resident. After having evaluated the perceived fit of the applicant's résumé with the job, participants listened to six parts of an audio mock job interview. Two actors in a recording studio recorded the interview based on a script that we developed. The content of the script was made such that the applicant would not be perceived as being excellent, so that variance could be observed in the participants' choice to hire the applicant. The content of the interview was the same in each condition, except for the mention of the applicant's name and national origin. Only the sentences that referred to these aspects were changed with a computer program and not the full answer, so that variations across conditions were as small as possible. Participants had to listen to each part of the interview entirely before being able to advance to the next one. They were also asked to listen to each part only one time.

The first and the last parts of the interview were always the same. A balanced Latin square design was used to control the order and the sequence of the four other questions (e.g., ABCD, BDAC, DCBA, CADB). This design was chosen to take into account the primacy, recency, and order effects of the questions. Moreover, we believed that it was important to control for the interview structure because it remains unclear whether it could interact with participants' stereotype of the applicant and contribute to affect their evaluation. In the first part of the interview (45 seconds, "self-presentation question"), the recruiter asked the applicant to introduce himself. In his answer, the applicant provided his name and national origin. In a second question, the recruiter asked the applicant about his motivation for the job (72 seconds, "motivation question"). In a third question (88 seconds, "unemployment question"), the recruiter asked the applicant about his activities during a hole of three months that appeared between his two last jobs on his résumé. The applicant mentioned that he went to his country of origin during these three months and also took this opportunity to take language courses. In a fourth question (153 seconds, "language skill question"), the recruiter

tested the applicant's language skills in German, which were specified to be important for the job. The discussion with the applicant revealed that he only had basic skills in German. In a fifth question (73 seconds, "past-behavior question"), the recruiter asked the applicant to describe a project in which he took important responsibilities. The last part (46 seconds) was the end of the interview in which the recruiter simply asked the applicant if he had other questions and thanked him for coming. In this last part, the recruiter mentioned the name of the applicant.

After the interview, participants evaluated the perceived fit of the applicant with the job (P-J fit) and the organization (P-O fit). Then, they decided whether or not they would hire the applicant for the job. Finally, participants were asked to give back the material (presentation of the organization, job advertising, applicant's résumé) before answering a demographic questionnaire, manipulation checks, and measures of individual differences.

Manipulated variables

Participants' national origin was dichotomized (0 = *locals*, 1 = *immigrants*). To do so, we combined non-Swiss and dual-citizen participants into the "immigrants" category and people who only held Swiss citizenship into the "locals" category.

Applicant's national origin was manipulated in both his résumé and the job interview by varying his national origin (i.e., French, Italian, Kosovan, and Nigerian) and name (i.e., Michel Durand, Alessio Bernardini, Bekim Milenkovich, and Yemi Kehinde, respectively). The four national origins were selected based on the results of Binggeli, Krings, and Sczesny (in press) so that they corresponded to four distinct combinations of warmth and competence stereotypes. As such, we were able to combine perceived warm (i.e., Italy and Nigeria) vs. less warm (i.e., France and Kosovo), or competent (i.e., France and Italy) vs. less competent (i.e., Kosovo and Nigeria) immigrant applicants. These combinations would allow us to test our hypotheses. The names corresponding to each

national origin were generated by searching on social media websites for names of individuals who indicated that they came from these four countries. To ensure that the national origins and names were related to similar stereotype contents and accurately matched, we conducted a pilot study[2]. Overall, the results of this pilot study revealed no difference in the stereotype contents of local and immigrant participants. It showed a similar pattern of stereotype contents across national origins and names. And, it demonstrated that the majority of individuals associated each name with the accurate national origin.

Dependent variable

Evaluation of the applicant was measured with 8 items. Three of them were developed by Kristoff-Brown (2000) to measure Person-Job fit: "To what extent does this applicant fit the demands of the job?;" "To what extent will other employees think this candidate is qualified for this job?;" and "How confident are you that this applicant is qualified for the job?" (1 = *not at all*; 7 = *completely*). Four items were developed by Kristoff-Brown (2000) to measure Person-Organization fit: "To what degree does this applicant fit with Sursana?;" "To what extent is this applicant similar to other employees of Sursana?;" "To what extent will other employees think this candidate fits well in Sursana?;" and " How confident are you that this applicant would be compatible with Sursana?" (1 = *not at all*; 7 = *completely*). And, one item was used to measure the intention of participants to hire the applicant: "Do you want to hire this candidate for the job as administrative assistant in Sursana?" (1 = *no*, 2 = *rather no*; 3 = *rather yes*; 4 = *yes*). Factorial analyzes revealed a one-factor solution (Eigenvalue = 5.39 and factor loadings all > .757) explaining 67% of the total variance. Hence, we combined the scores on the 8 items to create a measure of evaluation of the applicant. Cronbach's alpha for this measure was .93.

Control variables

To test our hypotheses, we controlled for the influence of several variables that were likely to have an impact on participants' evaluation of the applicant. First, we controlled for CV-based P-J fit and first impression of the applicant because they are two important predictors of interview outcomes (Barrick, Swider, & Stewart, 2010; Macan & Dipboye, 1990). Furthermore, they represent baselines in the evaluation of the applicants and allow us to show that the observed effects are taking place during the job interview. Second, we controlled for a series of demographic variables. Previous research has shown that women are less likely to hold stereotypes and discriminate than men (e.g., Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008; Whitley, 1999). We might expect participants' mastering in French and German languages to influence their evaluation of applicants given that the interview was in French and that one question aimed to assess applicant's skills in German language. Third and finally, we can also expect participants registered in the business school to evaluate applicants' differently than those registered in other schools, because the former are more familiar with organizational processes. Hence, they might have higher expectations concerning the applicant and judge him more severely[3].

CV-based person-job fit was measured with four items. Three of them were translated in French from the measure used by Kristoff-Brown (2000): "To what extent does this applicant fit the demands of the job?;" "To what extent will other employees think this candidate is qualified for this job?;" and "How confident are you that this applicant is qualified for the job?" We added the following item to focus on the résumé: "To what extent the applicant's résumé fit with the job?" Participants answered on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all*; 7 = *completely*). The four items scale was reliable with a Cronbach's alpha of .78.

First impression of the applicant was measured by one item after the first part of the interview. The item read as follows: "What is your first impression about the applicant?" Responses were given on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *very negative*, 7 = *very positive*).

Demographic variables that were used as control variables included gender (0=female, 1=male); skills in French language (1 = *basics*, 5 = *mother tongue*); skills in German language (1 = *basics*, 5 = *mother tongue*); as well as the school in which the participants were registered at the university (0 = *other school*, 1 = *business school*).

Descriptive statistics and correlations for the variables are presented in Table 1.

Insert Table 1 about here

Results

To test our hypotheses, we performed a 2 (Participants' national origin: Locals, Immigrants) X 2 (Warmth perception of applicant's national origin: Less warm, Warm) X 2 (Competence perception of applicant's national origin: Less competent, Competent) analysis of variance (ANOVA). Results are shown in Table 2. Regarding the control variables, results showed that CV-based P-J fit, $F(1, 311) = 9.55$, $p = .002$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .030$, and first impression, $F(1, 311) = 39.08$, $p < .001$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .112$, were strongly and positively related to the evaluation of the applicant after the interview. These results confirm the importance of early impression of the applicant on his/her final evaluation. Moreover, we found that participants enrolled in the business school ($M = 3.50$, $SD = 0.96$) evaluated the applicant more severely than those who were enrolled in other schools ($M = 3.79$, $SD = 1.07$), $F(1, 311) = 6.13$, $p = .014$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .019$. We believe that this difference is due to the knowledge that people enrolled in the business school have about organizations and selections processes, which might result in higher expectancies concerning the applicants.

Regarding the main findings, they revealed a main effect of warmth perception of applicant's national origin, so that applicants coming from a country associated with a warm stereotype ($M = 3.76$, $SD = 1.01$) were evaluated more positively than applicants coming

from a country associated with a low warm stereotype (M = 3.46, SD = 1.00), $F(1, 311)$ = 10.59, p = .001, *partial* η^2 = .033. Further, a significant interaction emerged between warmth perception of applicant's national origin and participants' national origin, $F(1, 311) = 4.68$, p = .031, *partial* η^2 = .015. This interaction is depicted in Figure 1. It showed that immigrant participants evaluated applicants coming from a country associated with a warm stereotype (M = 3.89, SD = 0.96) more positively than applicants coming from a country associated with a low warm stereotype (M = 3.35, SD = 1.11), $F(1, 311) = 11.63$, p = .001, *partial* η^2 = .036. However, local participants evaluated applicants coming from a country associated with a warm stereotype (M = 3.67, SD = 1.04) and less warm stereotype (M = 3.51, SD = 0.95) similarly, *ns*. Finally, immigrant participants evaluated applicants coming from a country associated with a warm stereotype more positively than local participants did, $F(1, 311)$ = 6.10, p = .014, *partial* η^2 = .019. Taken together, these results supported our first hypothesis because they showed that immigrant participants differentiated more strongly between applicants coming from a country associated with high versus low warm stereotype than locals did. However, the lack of significant findings for the interaction between participants' national origin and competence perception of applicant's national origin did not support our second hypothesis. That means, immigrant participants did not differentiate more strongly between applicants coming from a country associated with a competent (M = 3.61, SD = 1.01) and less competent stereotype (M = 3.72, SD = 1.10) than local participants did (competent: M = 3.69, SD = 0.96; less competent: M = 3.58, SD = 1.03).

Insert Table 2 about here

Insert Figure 1 about here

Discussion

The aim of the current research was to examine the process leading stigmatized individuals to perpetuate employment discrimination. Supporting our hypothesis, we found that immigrant individuals differentiated more strongly between immigrant applicants than did local individuals in a mock job interview situation. Although the size of this effect was relatively small, it showed that immigrant individuals favored immigrant applicants coming from a country associated with a warm stereotype over those associated with as less warm stereotype. Through this intragroup differentiation process, immigrant individuals also favored immigrant applicants coming from a country associated with a warm stereotype in comparison to local individuals. As such, they contribute to achieving a form of positive group distinctiveness through intergroup differentiation. Indeed, results of our preliminary study showed that immigrant individuals identified more strongly with the immigrant population and less strongly with the local population than did local individuals. Based on the precepts of the subjective group dynamics model, we therefore speculate that immigrant individuals favor immigrant applicants coming from a country associated with a warm stereotype over those associated with a less warm stereotype in order to sustain a positive image of their group.

Theoretical contribution

The main contribution of this research is theoretical. It presents the first evidence of a form of subjective group dynamics process in the evaluation of immigrant applicants in a mock job interview situation. By doing so, it contributes to the SGD literature by examining this process on groups that differ on warmth and competence perceptions. So far, most of the literature has focused on the evaluation of one ingroup and one outgroup member who were described either as normative or deviant. Here, we argue that groups are hierarchically

organized so that the ingroup is composed by subgroups of individuals who possess specific characteristics. Although these subgroups might differ from each others, they still possess a common identity. As such, ingroup members are concerned with the fact that some of these subgroups can reflect more or less positively on the image of their group. In the present research, we showed that the warmth dimension of immigrant group stereotypes is an important characteristic for immigrant individuals. Indeed, they favored immigrant applicants coming from a country associated with a warm stereotype over those stereotyped as less warm in a mock job interview situation. Local individuals did not make such a distinction. However, it is also important to underline that we did not find that immigrant individuals derogated immigrant applicants coming from a country associated with a less warm stereotype in comparison to local individuals. This black sheep effect might not have been observed in this research because being stereotyped as relatively low in warmth does not necessary violate the descriptive stereotypes of immigrants. Indeed, immigrants as an entity remain stereotyped as relatively low in warmth and competence.

Regarding the SCM framework, the current research suggests that warmth has primacy over competence stereotypes in the evaluation of immigrant applicants during the job interview. Indeed, we found that immigrant applicants coming from a country associated with a warm stereotype were perceived overall as having a greater fit with the job and the organization than those coming from a country associated with a less warm stereotype. Although previous research claimed that competence might play a more important role in organizational context than warmth (Cuddy et al., 2011), we argue that this is not necessary the case. Indeed, recruiters can obtain a lot of information concerning applicants' true level of competence during the recruitment process, which is likely to reduce the influence of stereotypes. Another contribution of our work is to reveal the moderating role of individuals' group membership on the relation between the stereotype content of social groups and

individuals' behavioral tendencies. So far, the SCM has mostly tried to establish a causal relation between specific combination of stereotype contents, emotions, and behavior. However, it has underexplored the role of potential moderators in these relations. Future research should more systematically investigate the role of moderators because they can have concrete theoretical and practical consequences. In the current research, only immigrant individuals behaved in line with the assumption of the SCM and were considered as having a discriminatory behavior toward immigrant applicants.

Practical Implication

Although the current research did not take place in a real organizational context, we believe that it can have relevant implications for the field. An important contribution might concern diversity management practices related to the reduction of stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination. So far, diversity practices have mostly focused on intergroup differentiation processes involving the relation between majority and minority group members (Kulik & Roberson, 2008, 2008; Paluck & Green, 2009; Sanchez & Medkik, 2004). However, the present research revealed that minority group members can also contribute to perpetuating employment discrimination through intragroup differentiation. Although the effect size of the obtained interaction remained small, it is important to understand that such small differences are likely to be observed in various situations and that there accumulation has the potential to generate larger differences (e.g., when arriving at the top of the hierarchy; see Martell, Lane, & Emrich, 1996). Therefore, given the increasing diversity of the workforce, it is timely to develop trainings and interventions that can reduce the biases that minority members might have toward their peers. We grounded our research in the SGD, which postulates that intragroup differentiation results from the motivation of ingroup members to sustain a positive image of their group through the validation of prescriptive ingroup norms. As such, two mechanisms are at play in intragroup differentiation: 1) the level of group identification

and 2) the perception of the ingroup norms. Thus, it might be possible to reduce the negative impact of intragroup differentiation in organizations by acting on these two mechanisms.

The common ingroup identity model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) suggests that forms of discrimination resulting from identification processes could be reduced by encouraging people to recategorize themselves into a more inclusive group. Previous research conducted in Canada showed that the negative attitude of locals towards immigration can be reduced by emphasizing on common ethnic roots as well as common national identity (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001). In this experiment, the common ethnic roots consisted of emphasizing a common identity between local and immigrants through a common history of immigration. The common national identity consisted of emphasizing their common present and future, rather than focusing on the past. In regards to the current research, we believe that leading immigrant recruiters to emphasize their common present and future with immigrant groups might help them to perceive the stereotype contents of immigrant groups as less relevant because they might imagine that they will change in the future.

Social norm theory (Cialdini & Trost, 1998; Sherif & Sherif, 1953) suggests that the behavior of group members towards their peers may be guided by the way they perceive the ingroup norms. In this regard, results of previous studies building on this theoretical framework (Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham, & Vaughn, 1994; Zitek & Hebl, 2007) showed that prejudice and discrimination could be reduced when group members interact with peers who present the ingroup norms differently. For example, previous research showed that social norms condemning prejudice expression toward stigmatized groups can influence the behaviors of both majority and minority individuals (Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008). Hence, we believe that intragroup differentiation can be reduced if social norms concerning the expression of stereotype contents are clearly established in the workplace. More specifically,

these social norms should condemn the expression of prejudice toward immigrant groups, no matter the stereotype content to which they are associated.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although the research presented here has several strengths, it is important to acknowledge its limitations. For instance, it does not represent a traditional test of the SGD, because participants did not evaluate normative and deviant ingroup and outgroup applicants. Future research should try to address this limitation. Building on the current setting, the future experiment would have to include local applicants associated with groups that differ on perceived warmth and competence. For example, it could involve local applicants coming from different regions of the country. To our knowledge, no research has systematically examined the stereotype content of people coming from different regions of the same country. Nevertheless, a common belief tends to stereotype people living in the South of Switzerland as more friendly and warm than those living in the North. Further, people living in the North tend to be stereotyped as being more serious at work and perhaps more competent than those living in the South. As such, future research could examine intergroup and intragroup differentiation in the recruitment process by comparing the evaluation of immigrant and local participants of immigrant and local applicants coming respectively from different countries and regions of the country.

The manipulation of warmth and competence perceptions of immigrants was done through the manipulation of applicants' national origin. We have been able to clearly differentiate the four national origins that we selected on warmth and competence dimensions in two studies. Nevertheless, national origin remains a distal operationalization of warmth and competence because it also conveys other information. For this reason, future research should either replicate these findings with other immigrant groups that vary on these two

dimensions or it should directly manipulate the warmth and competence perceptions of a fictional immigrant groups.

This experiment involves university students evaluating fictional applicants in a lab experiment. This setting was convenient to test our hypotheses in a controlled situation. Nevertheless, we cannot assume that the biases observed in this research also exist in real recruitment situations for at least two reasons. First, even though the mock job interview consisted of standard questions that are asked frequently (at least in a Swiss context), its content remains unique. Moreover, as mentioned in the method section, we designed the interview so that the applicant would appear moderately qualified. The objective was to generate some variance. However, it is possible that the obtained pattern would differ as a function of applicants' level of performance. For instance, applicants' level of performance might interact with participants' competence stereotypes. In the present case, immigrant applicants usually stereotyped as competent might not have been perceived as such because their true level of competence was not aligned with this stereotype. Ideally, future research should investigate similar patterns in the field on a large body of applicants and recruiters in order to control for the content of the interview as well as applicants' level of performance. Second, participants were undergraduates and their evaluation of the applicant had no concrete impact. But, the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977; Armitage & Conner, 2001) suggest that intention are related to behaviors, so that it is likely that present results can be associated with actual behavior. Moreover, previous research showed that undergraduates and professionals have similar ways to evaluate applicants (McGovern, Jones, & Morris, 1979). Therefore, we believe that the present results might remain valid for professional recruiters.

Another limit of this research is that it cannot explain the reasons why local participants did not differentiate between immigrant applicants. This result is somewhat

unexpected given that the stereotype contents of immigrant groups differ markedly (Binggeli et al., in press) and that previous research showed differences in the evaluation of immigrant groups based on their resume (Krings & Olivares, 2007). A first explanation is that the national origin of immigrants becomes less relevant for local individuals during the job interview in comparison to earlier steps of the selection process. A second explanation is that locals did not want to show their prejudice against immigrants in this experiment. Several theoretical models postulate that the social norms concerning prejudice expression have evolved, so that it became less acceptable to derogate individuals belonging to certain social groups (e.g., Crandall & Eshleman, 2003; Plant & Devine, 1998). For this reason, people—and especially majority group members—tend to suppress their genuine prejudice in order to elicit social approval (Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008). Hence, future research should try to manipulate social norms concerning prejudice expression to determine whether locals might be more inclined to differentiate between immigrant groups in a situation in which they are encouraged to do so.

By investigating intragroup differentiation in a recruitment situation, we contribute to the literature on employment discrimination. Indeed, intragroup differentiation has not been systematically explored yet. The literature related to ingroup favoritism in job interview situations reported either mixed (Lin, Dobbins, & Farh, 1992; McCarthy et al., 2010) or robust but weak effects (Toosi, Babbitt, Ambady, & Sommers, 2012). Our findings suggest that determining whether the applicants are perceived as reflecting positively or negatively on the ingroup may be a relevant element to take into account in those studies. Indeed, it might be that ingroup favoritism only appears for good representatives of the group. In our experiment, almost half of immigrant participants agreed to hire the perceived warm immigrant applicants whereas only about one third of local participants agreed to hire those applicants.

Conclusion

Employment discrimination against immigrants remains a vastly underexplored topic. The current research contributes to informing this literature by revealing the process through which immigrant individuals might contribute to perpetuating the unfair treatment of certain immigrant groups during the selection process. We showed that immigrant individuals differentiate more strongly between immigrant applicants coming from a country associated to a warm vs. less warm stereotype than local participants. Through this process of intragroup differentiation, immigrant individuals contribute to achieving intergroup differentiation as well. Indeed, immigrant individuals favored immigrant applicants coming from a country associated with a warm stereotype in comparison to local individuals. This subjective group dynamics process contributes to sustaining a positive image of the immigrants as a group, but also to perpetuating discrimination against stigmatized specific immigrant groups.

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Footnotes

[1] The experimental design also included a Swiss applicant condition. Nevertheless, we decided to not report it in the result section for two reasons. First, the aim of this article is not to present a full test of the intragroup and intergroup processes but to focus on intragroup differentiation among immigrants. Second, as explained in the limitations sections, a full test of the SGD would have required integrating Swiss applicants belonging to groups that vary on warmth and competence perception. Despite these reasons, we briefly report the results obtained for the Swiss applicant condition for the sake of transparency. To analyze them, we conducted a 2 (participants' national origin: immigrants, locals) X 5 (applicants' national origin: French, Italian, Kosovan, Nigerian, Swiss) ANOVA. For this analysis, we used the same control variables as those listed in the method section. Results showed a marginally significant main effect for participants' national origin, $F(1, 396) = 3.74$, $p = .054$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .011$, so that immigrant participants ($M = 3.69$, $SD = 1.06$) tended to evaluate applicants more positively than local participants ($M = 3.51$, $SD = 1.00$). A main effect of applicants' national origin, $F(1, 396) = 2.76$, $p = .028$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .027$, indicating that both French ($M = 3.47$, $SD = 0.96$) and Kosovan ($M = 3.44$, $SD = 1.05$) applicants were evaluated more negatively than both Italian ($M = 3.72$, $SD = 0.98$) and Nigerian ($M = 3.80$, $SD = 1.05$) applicants, both ps $\leq .047$. Finally, a marginally significant interaction emerged between participants' national origin and applicants' national origin, $F(1, 396) = 2.00$, $p = .094$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .020$. Post hoc pairwise comparison tests showed that immigrant participants evaluated both French ($M = 3.34$, $SD = 1.14$) and Kosovan ($M = 3.35$, $SD = 1.10$) applicants more negatively than both Italian ($M = 3.77$, $SD = 0.89$) and Nigerian ($M = 4.02$, $SD = 1.03$) applicants, both ps $\leq .032$. However, local participants only evaluated the Swiss ($M = 3.22$, $SD =$

0.97) applicant more negatively than the Italian applicant (M = 3.68, SD = 1.04), p = .021. Surprisingly, immigrant participants evaluated the Swiss applicant (M = 3.77, SD = 1.11) more positively than local participants did, $F(1, 396) = 7.16$, p = .008, *partial* η^2 = .018. We believe that these results suggest that local participants might have derogated the Swiss applicant because he was not perceived as a good performer, which might be counter-stereotypical.

[2] The pilot study involved 41 undergraduates (59% women, *mean age* 23 years, 52% only Swiss citizenship). Participants were first asked to indicate (1 = *not at all*, 5 = *extremely*) their perceived warmth and competence of immigrants from Africa, the Balkans, France, and Italy. The questions read as follows: "To what extent are people of this group ____ ?" The blank part of the question was filled by "warm" and "sympathetic" to measure warmth (α = .81) and by "competent" and "capable" to measure competence (α = .89). Then, participants were asked to evaluate (1 = *not at all*, 5 = *extremely*) the perceived warmth and competence of individuals named Yemi Kehinde, Bekim Milenkovich, Michel Durand, and Alessio Bernardini. The questions read as follows: "To what extent are individuals with this name ____." The blank part of the question was filled by "warm" and "sympathetic" to measure warmth (α = .83) and by "competent" and "capable" to measure competence (α = .91). Finally, participants were asked to indicate which name corresponded to which national origin (e.g., Africa, Balkans, France, Italy, Swiss, Other).

We first performed a 2 (Stereotype Dimensions: Warmth, Competence) X 4 (Target's National Origin: Africa, Balkans, France, Italy) X 2 (Participants' National Origin: Swiss, Immigrants) repeated measure ANOVA to examine the stereotype content of local and immigrant participants toward immigrants coming from the four national origins. Results revealed a main effect of target's national origin, $F(3, 36)$ =

9.03, $p < .001$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .429$, as well as a significant interaction between stereotype dimensions and target's national origin, $F(3, 36) = 17.05$, $p < .001$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .587$. None of the variables involving participants' national origin were significant, suggesting that Swiss and immigrant participants hold the same stereotype content toward immigrants coming from the four selected national origins. To further examine the significant interaction, we used a series of post hoc pairwise comparison tests. As expected, immigrants from Africa ($M = 3.89$, $SD = .98$) and Italy ($M = 4.19$, $SD = .72$) were perceived as warmer than those coming from the Balkans ($M = 3.35$, $SD = .93$) and France ($M = 3.17$, $SD = .94$), both $ps \leq .001$. Furthermore, immigrants from France ($M = 3.80$, $SD = .71$) were evaluated as more competent than immigrants from Africa ($M = 3.18$, $SD = 1.08$) and the Balkans ($M = 3.41$, $SD = 1.03$), both $ps \leq .014$. Immigrants from Italy ($M = 3.69$, $SD = .83$) were only significantly evaluated as more competent than immigrants from Africa, $p = .001$.

We performed as similar analysis to examine the stereotype content associated to the names of the immigrants. Thus, we ran a 2 (Stereotype Dimensions: Warmth, Competence) X 4 (Target's name: Yemi Kehinde, Bekim Milenkovich, Michel Durand, and Alessio Bernardini) X 2 (Participants' National Origin: Swiss, Immigrants) repeated measure ANOVA. Results showed a main effect of target's name, $F(3, 38) = 12.10$, $p < .001$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .489$, as well as a significant interaction between stereotype content and target's name, $F(3, 38) = 5.65$, $p = .003$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .308$. To further examine this interaction, we performed a series a post hoc pairwise comparison tests. Alessio Bernadini ($M = 4.10$, $SD = .88$) was perceived as warmer than Yemi Kehinde ($M = 3.74$, $SD = .94$), Bekim Milenkovich ($M = 3.46$, $SD = 1.03$), and Michel Durand ($M = 3.59$, $SD = .93$), all $ps \leq .027$. In regard to competence, Michel Durand ($M = 4.02$, $SD = .78$) was perceived as more competent than Yemi

Kehinde (M = 3.49, SD = 1.15), Bekim Milenkovich (M = 3.68, SD = .93), and Alessio Bernadini (M = 3.83, SD = .78), all ps ≤ .036. Furthermore, Yemi Kehinde was perceived as less competent than all the other names, all ps ≤ .027.

Then, we averaged for each immigrant group the scores obtained on warmth and competence for national origins and names. Further, we created four categories by averaging the scores of groups' stereotyped as high on warmth (i.e., Italian and African), low on warmth (i.e., French and Balkanian), high on competence (i.e., Italian and French), and low on competence (i.e., African and Balkanian). We then performed a 2 (Warmth: High, Low) x 2 (Participants' national origin: Local, Immigrants) repeated measure ANOVA. Results showed a main effect of warmth, so that Italian and African (M = 3.98, SD = 0.72) were perceived as warmer than French and Balkanian immigrants (M = 3.40, SD = 0.61), $F(1, 40) = 30.95$, $p < .001$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .436$. Similarly, we performed a 2 (Competence: High, Low) x 2 (Participants' national origin: Local, Immigrants) repeated measure ANOVA. Results showed a main effect of competence, so that French and Italian (M = 3.84, SD = 0.62) were perceived as more competence than African and Balkanian immigrants (M = 3.45, SD = 0.93), $F(1, 40) = 11.51$, $p = .002$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .216$.

Finally, descriptive statistics showed that the majority of participants associated each names with the accurate national origin: 85% of the participants associated Yemi Kehinde to an immigrant coming from Africa, 90% associated Bekim Milenkovich to an immigrant coming from the Balkans, 71% associated Michel Durand to an immigrant coming from France, and 95% associated Alessio Bernardini to an immigrant coming from Italy.

[3] Another relevant variable to control for would have been time spent in the country. However, we measured it with an ordinal variable (0 = less than one year; 1

= between 1 and 5 years; 2 = between 6 and 10 years; 3 = between 11 and 20 years; 4 = more than 20 years; 5 = since my birth). Descriptive statistics showed that 57% of the immigrant participants were not born in the country while 92% of the local participants were born in the country, revealing that these two variables were strongly related, χ^2 (4) = 102.20, $p < .001$. When controlling for time spent in the country in the ANOVA model that we used to test our hypotheses, the interaction between participants' national origin and applicants' national origin becomes non-significant. This might be due to an issue of multicolinearity resulting from the way we measured time spent in the country. Further, when using the variable time spent in the country or born in the country (0 = born in the country, 1 = born abroad) as a way to define immigration status and to test our hypotheses, the interaction between these variables and applicant's national origin was not significant. Hence, it seems that the expected effect is more strongly influenced by individuals' national origin or put differently, by the value they attach to their national origin and to the national origin of others, than by the time they spent in the country.

Table 1.

Descriptive statistics and correlations.

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1 Evaluation	3.62	1.02									
2 Participants' national origin	.38	.48	.03								
3 Applicants' national origin: Warmth	.54	.50	.15**	.07							
4 Applicants' national origin: Competence	.49	.50	-.01	-.01	.01						
5 CV-based PJ-fit	5.85	0.72	.24**	.09	-.00	.07					
6 First impression	4.92	1.07	.37**	-.10	.02	-.15**	.23**				
7 Gender	.53	.50	.02	-.02	.09	-.03	-.02	-.03			
8 School	.58	.49	-.14**	.14*	.03	-.02	-.04	-.09	.14**		
9 French language	4.74	0.61	.02	-.05	-.02	-.03	-.02	-.15**	.06	.08	
10 German language	2.22	1.03	.02	-.09	-.02	-.12*	-.03	.05	-.01	.06	-.06

Note. *p < .05, **p < .01. Participants' national (0 = *locals*, 1 = *immigrants*), applicants' national origin: Warmth (0 = *less warm*, 1 = *warm*), applicants' national origin: Competence (0 = *less competent*, 1 = *competent*), gender (0 = *female*, 1 = *male*), school (0 = *other than business school*, 1 = *business school*).

Table 2

Evaluation as a function of participants' origin and applicants' origin

Predictors	*F*	*p*	*partial* η^2
Participants' national origin	1.25	.263	.004
Applicants' national origin: Variation on warmth	10.59	.001	.033
Applicants' national origin: Variation on Competence	.017	.682	.001
Warmth X Competence	0.00	.944	.000
Participants' national origin X Warmth	4.68	.031	.015
Participants' national origin X Competence	0.15	.698	.000
Participants' national origin X Warmth X Competence	0.08	.778	.000
Control variables			
CV based P-J fit	9.55	.002	.030
First impression	39.08	< .001	.112
Gender	0.46	.497	.001
School	6.13	.014	.019
French language	2.84	.093	.009
German language	0.41	.523	.001

Note: R^2 = .22, *Adjusted* R^2 = .19.

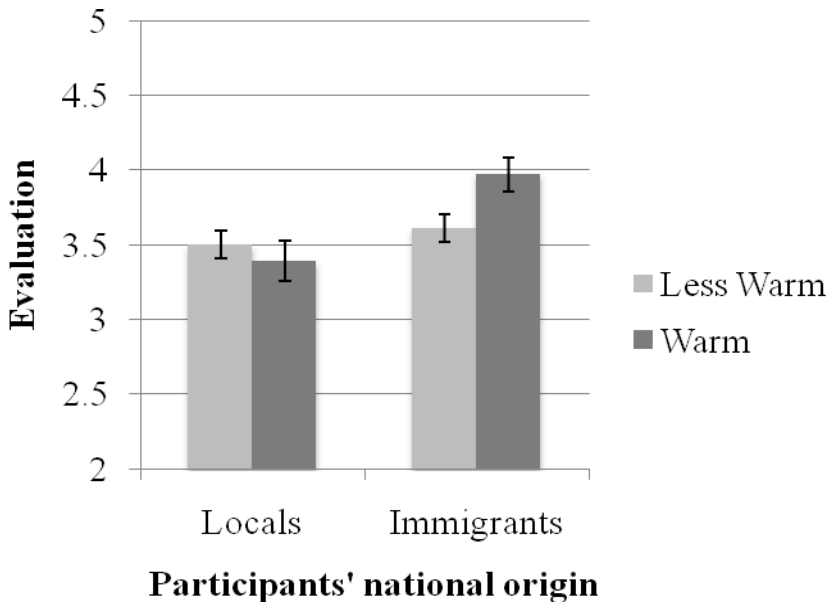

Figure 1. Evaluation of applicants' national origin and participants' national origin (margins and standard errors are shown).

Essay 3: American professionals are biased in their performance evaluation of immigrants: Evidence of a black sheep effect

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Abstract

This research examines employment discrimination against immigrants. To do so, it investigates the black sheep effect by testing how American professionals evaluate local and immigrant employees when they express organizational citizenship behaviors (OCBs) or counterproductive work behaviors (CWBs). Two online experiments were conducted that hypothesized that ingroup members would be evaluated more positively when expressing OCBs and more negatively when expressing CWBs than would outgroup members. Results of Experiment 1 partially supported this hypothesis, showing that White American workers were evaluated more positively when expressing OCBs than were Canadian, Salvadoran, and South Korean immigrant workers and more negatively when expressing CWBs than were Chinese, Mexican, Salvadoran, and South Korean immigrant workers. The second experiment tested the moderating role of normative influence concerning diversity management on the black sheep effect in a recruitment situation. As expected, results revealed a significant three-way interaction, which notably highlights how encouraging people to increase diversity/internationality does not suppress the differential treatments of applicants depicted as expressing CWBs. Thus, this research informs a scarce literature on employment discrimination against immigrants and demonstrates how differential treatments can emerge even when people are encouraged to promote diversity within organizations.

Keywords: Black sheep effect, immigrants, employment discrimination, social influence.

American professionals are biased in their performance evaluation of immigrants: Evidence of a black sheep effect

Immigrants are permanent residents of a country who were born abroad and do not possess the local citizenship. This increasingly important minority accounted for 47% of the increase in the labor force in the United States between 2000 and 2010 (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD, 2012a). In the U.S., immigrants currently represent about 16% of the labor force (OECD, 2012b). Although immigrant workers in the U.S. are protected based on their national origin under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, EEOC, 2012), they are overrepresented in lower-status jobs, are unemployed more frequently, and receive lower salaries than do native-born workers (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, BLS, 2012; Pew Research, 2013). The origins of these inequalities are as of yet unclear, as the study of employment discrimination against immigrants remains a vastly underexplored topic (Binggeli, Dietz, & Krings, 2013; Dietz, 2010).

The current research contributes to filling this gap by examining decision makers' bias in evaluating local and immigrant individuals in formal situations, such as the selection process. To do so, I build on the black sheep effect (BSE, Marques, Abrams, Páez, & Hogg, 2001; Marques & Yzerbyt, 1988a, 1988b), which postulates that people evaluate ingroup members more positively when they express desirable behaviors and more negatively when they express undesirable behaviors compared to outgroup members expressing similar behaviors. The BSE is considered a sophisticated form of ingroup favoritism since it contributes to enhancing the image of the ingroup by promoting good representatives and protects it by derogating the bad ones. As such, it reflects the normative pressure that is exercised by the ingroup on its members to maintain its dominance. If American professionals apply this normative pressure differently as a function of individuals' national

origin, immigrants are likely to face important difficulties integrating into the labor force and rising to the top. Indeed, they might not only be discriminated against due their national origin, but also might have more difficulties clearly understanding locals' performance standards and, therefore, the keys to success in an organization.

In two experiments, I investigated the BSE in the evaluation of immigrants coming from several national origins. The aim of the first experiment was to determine how American professionals would evaluate White American and immigrant workers coming from various countries when depicted as expressing performance-related behaviors. The second experiment built on the first one to test how American professionals would evaluate local citizen and immigrant applicants as a function of the behaviors that they expressed in a fictional recruitment situation. Further, it addressed some limitations of the first experiment by considering the role of both applicants' ethnicity and citizenship as well as examining the role of normative influence on their evaluation. In the remainder of this introduction, I first present the literature on the BSE. Then, I introduce the types of behaviors that are the most likely to be perceived as desirable and undesirable in organizations. Finally, I identify salient immigrant groups for which it is timely to develop a better understanding of the way they are treated in the labor market.

The Black Sheep Effect: A subtle form of ingroup favoritism

The BSE describes a pattern of group polarization according to which likeable ingroup members are evaluated more positively and unlikeable ingroup members more negatively than similar outgroup members. In line with the precepts of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), this pattern has been described as resulting from processes of intergroup and intragroup differentiation that is driven by individuals' motivation to sustain a positive self-concept. The process of intergroup differentiation consists of favoring ingroup members over outgroup members on dimensions

that reflect positively on the ingroup's image, while intragroup differentiation consists of differentiating between good and bad representatives of the group. According to the BSE literature, individuals expect other ingroup members to possess and/or express characteristics that reflect positively on the ingroup. As such, good ingroup representatives who possess and/or express these desirable characteristics are favored (in comparison to outgroup members) because they contribute to sustaining and enhancing the group's image. However, bad representatives who possess and/or express undesirable characteristics are derogated (in comparison to outgroup members) in order to protect the image of the ingroup. As such, the BSE reflects the normative pressure exercised by the ingroup on its members to maintain its social dominance.

The BSE has been demonstrated in a variety of intergroup contexts and experimental conditions during the past twenty-five years. It was revealed originally in an experiment showing that Belgium students evaluated likeable Belgian students more positively and unlikeable Belgian students more negatively than similar North-African students (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988a). Despite its introduction in the organizational literature (Hogg & Terry, 2000), the BSE has rarely been investigated in this research area. The first study (Bown & Abrams, 2003) which claimed to test it in the workplace investigated how the likeability (e.g., friendly vs. insensitive) of modal (normative; e.g., do overtime if required) and deviant (e.g., constantly criticize the organization) employees working for the same or a different organization were evaluated by bank employees. Results of this research notably showed that the ingroup likeable modal target was preferred over the outgroup likeable modal target, whereas the ingroup deviant target was preferred less than the outgroup deviant target. In another study, Lewis and Sherman (2003) found a similar pattern when examining how Black and White participants evaluate Black and White applicants. They found ingroup favoritism among Black participants for well-qualified ingroup applicants, but ingroup

derogation for marginally qualified ingroup applicants. These results are consistent with the idea that people try to create and protect a positive image of their group through the favoritism of successful representatives and the derogation of less successful ones.

Judging the Desirability of Behaviors in Organizations

The BSE shows that people are judged based on the desirability of the behaviors that they express. In the workplace, laws, codes of conducts, and/or performance evaluations clearly define behaviors that are desirable or not. Models of job performance (Rotundo & Sackett, 2002) have shown that OCBs, intentional behaviors that improve the functioning of organizations (Organ, 1997), and CWBs, intentional behaviors that harm the functioning of organizations (Spector & Fox, 2002), constitute important indicators of how successful people are at working in a particular job. Research shows that OCBs are positively and CWBs are negatively related to performance (Rotundo & Sackett, 2002), so it is reasonable to argue that it is desirable to express OCBs and undesirable to express CWBs in organizations.

So far, the extra-role work behaviors (i.e., OCBs, CWBs) literature has paid little attention to the influence of demographic differences, such as national origin or ethnicity, on the expression of these behaviors (e.g., Roth, Huffcutt, & Bobko, 2003). Indeed, most leading theoretical models (Miles, Borman, Spector, & Fox, 2003; Rioux & Penner, 2001; Spector & Fox, 2002) and empirical evidence (e.g., Borman, Penner, Allen, & Motowidlo, 2001; Spector et al., 2006) do not mention or point out demographic characteristics as relevant or important predictors of OCBs or CWBs (for an exception related to age see Ng & Feldman, 2008). The reasons behind this lack of information concerning potential demographic differences on the expression of extra-role work behaviors remain unclear. However, given the abundance of research on OCBs and CWBs, it is likely that previous research did not find strong evidence that demographic differences play an important role on the expression of

these behaviors. As such, we can only assume that the expression of these behaviors is normally distributed among ethnic and national groups of employees.

However, research on extra-work role behaviors does show that the perception of individuals who express these behaviors influences the way they are evaluated in formal situations. For example, individuals with a good reputation are evaluated more positively when expressing helpful behaviors and similarly when expressing unhelpful behaviors than individuals with a bad reputation (Johnson, Erez, Kiker, & Motowidlo, 2002). Further, findings showed that this relation between extra-role work behaviors and individuals' evaluation was mediated by the perceived likeability of these individuals (Allen & Rush, 2001; Johnson et al., 2002). As previously mentioned, the experiment conducted by Bown and Abrams (2003) clearly demonstrated that the evaluation of modal or deviant employees relies on their group membership. As such, this research suggests that the pattern described in the BSE can be observed in the evaluation of ingroup and outgroup individuals expressing OCBs and/or CWBs. Nevertheless, this assumption has not been systematically tested and never investigated as a function of individuals' national origin.

Employment discrimination against immigrants

The BSE has been tested for a variety of group categorizations, including educational affiliation (Marques, Abrams, & Serodio, 2001; Pinto, Marques, Levine, & Abrams, 2010), political party (Matthews & Dietz-Uhler, 1998), gender (Khan & Lambert, 1998), race (Biernat, Vescio, & Billings, 1999; Chatman & von Hippel, 2001), and national origin (Marques & Yzerbyt, 1988a). However, this framework has generally considered one ingroup and one outgroup target (e.g., psychology vs. law students, republicans vs. democrats, women vs. men, White vs. Black, local vs. immigrant), which constitutes a limitation when studying immigrants. Indeed, immigrants are stereotyped differently as a function of their national origin (Lee & Fiske, 2006), suggesting that they may also be treated differently. For this

reason, scholars have been advised to take the diversity of the immigrant population into account when studying employment discrimination (Binggeli et al., 2013).

In this research, I focused on Asian, Canadian, and Hispanic immigrant workers. Asian and Hispanic immigrants represent the largest proportion of foreign-born workers in the U.S. labor force, accounting for 22.3% and 49% of the total foreign-born labor force, respectively (BLS, 2012). National statistics show that Asian immigrants have a higher socio-economical status than Hispanic immigrants, since they tend to be better educated, to have higher salary, and to hold higher work positions (Pew Research, 2013). Nevertheless, despite the fact that Asian immigrants are often described as a model minority in the U.S. (Cheryan & Bodenhausen, 2000; Ying et al., 2001), they are perceived as colder than Hispanic immigrants. As such, research suggests that both Asian and Hispanic immigrants are likely to face subtle forms of discrimination because they are associated with ambivalent stereotypes (i.e., Asian immigrants are perceived as competent but cold and Hispanic immigrants as incompetent but warm; Cuddy, Glick, & Beninger, 2011; Lee & Fiske, 2006). In contrast with this assumption, Canadian immigrants are considered closely related to American citizens (i.e., the ingroup, Lee & Fiske, 2006). They constitute one of the ten largest immigrant worker minorities in the U.S. and the largest from a country having a predominantly White population (Mosisa, 2002). As such, they are expected to be treated similarly to American citizens and differently than both Asian and Hispanic immigrants.

Based on these considerations, I investigate the BSE by testing how local and immigrant groups of employees are evaluated when expressing either OCBs or CWBs.

Hypothesis 1. The type of behaviors expressed by employees will moderate the relation between their national origin and their evaluation. More precisely, American professionals will evaluate White American citizens and Canadian immigrants more positively when depicted expressing OCBs (*H1a*) and more negatively when depicted

expressing CWBs (*H1b*) than Asian and Mexican immigrant workers when depicted expressing similar behaviors.

Experiment 1

Method

Participants

The total sample consisted of 111 employed professionals who completed an online questionnaire. For the purpose of the present research, I dropped participants who a) were not born in the U.S., b) originally came from Canada, China, El-Salvador, Mexico, or South Korea, and/or c) had no prior experience in conducting job interviews or performance appraisals. The final sample consisted of 93 participants (61.3% women, *mean age* = 46.85, *SD* = 10.76, White = 88.2%, Hispanic = 6.5%, Black = 3.2%, Asian = 2.2%). Most had a university degree (92.5%) and held a managerial position (66.6%). Finally, most of the participants worked in HR (72%) and had experience conducting job interviews (96.8%, *median* = 200 interviews) or performance appraisals (81.7%, *median* = 50 performance appraisals).

Procedure

We contacted 2,898 members of HR and I/O related groups on LinkedIn and invited them to complete an online questionnaire. The standardized email mentioned that the study focused on their perceptions of immigrant workers, would take 30 minutes, and that $10 would be given to a charity organization of their choice as a compensation for their participation.

After having read a consent form and having given their consent to participate in the experiment, participants began by completing demographic questions. Then, their task was to evaluate a series of behaviors potentially expressed by workers from six different national origins. Hence, the experiment consisted of a 2 (Behaviors: OCBs, CWBs) x 6 (Demographic

status: White American citizens, immigrants from Canada, China, El-Salvador, Mexico, South-Korea) mixed design. Participants were assigned randomly to one of the two behavioral conditions (between variable) and evaluated behaviors for the six national origins (within variable), which were presented in a randomized order. After having completed this task, participants then completed a series of individual difference measures, which were also presented in a randomized order.

Measures

Manipulated variable: Behaviors. Ten behaviors were adapted from lists of organizational citizenship behaviors and counterproductive work behaviors found on the website of Professor Paul E. Spector (2012) as well as in published research (e.g., Spector et al., 2006). In each behavioral condition, participants evaluated either five OCBs or five CWBs. The five organizational citizenship behaviors were "produce as much as capable of at all times;" "are ready to give up meal and other breaks to complete work;" "willingly give their time to help coworkers who have work-related problems;" "defend the organization when other workers criticize it;" and "bring food (e.g., candy, snacks) or drinks for coworkers." The five counterproductive work behaviors were "perform their jobs below acceptable standards;" "take longer breaks than they are allowed to take;" "start arguments with coworkers;" "conduct personal business during work time;" and "take supplies or tools home without permission."

Manipulated variable: Demographic status. As mentioned above, six national origins were selected for this experiment: Canada, China, El Salvador, Mexico, South Korea, and White U.S. citizen. I selected two national origins for Asian (i.e., China and South Korea) and Hispanic (i.e., Mexico and El Salvador) immigrants in order to limit the possibility of a confound effect between national origins and ethnicity.

Dependent variable: Evaluation. On each page of the questionnaire, participants were asked to evaluate the same five behaviors for one national group at a time. Hence, the same question and same behaviors were asked and evaluated through six pages, one page per national origin. Evaluations were measured with one item: "In a formal situation, how would you evaluate ___ workers who …" (1 = *Very negatively*, 7 = *Very positively*). Blank parts of the questions above were filled in a randomized order either by White American citizens, immigrants from Canada, China, El-Salvador, Mexico, or South Korea. Further, the "…" were followed by the five OCBs or CWBs. Alphas coefficients based on 30 items (5 behaviors X 6 demographic status) were high for OCBs (α_{OCB} = .95) and CWBs (α_{CWB} = .97).

Control variable: Ethnicity. I controlled for participant ethnicity (0 = non-*White*; 1 = *White*) because the similarity–attraction paradigm suggests that people evaluate others more positively when they perceive that they are similar (Byrne, 1961). Although all participants were born in the U.S., the reference category in terms of ethnicity remains White individuals. Hence, White participants are likely to evaluate White American citizen workers more positively than non-White participants.

Control variable: Immigrants as percentage of state population. I also controlled for the proportion of foreign-born individuals living in the state of the participants, because this variable is likely to influence the perception and ultimately the evaluation of immigrants. For instance, previous research showed a positive relation between the proportion of immigrant in a country and anti-immigrant sentiment (Schnieder, 2008). Hence, we might expect a positive relation between the proportion of immigrants living in the state of the participants and their tendency to derogate immigrant workers. To create this variable, I regrouped the states where participants lived into five categories (1 = *less than 5%*, 2 = *5 to 9.9%*, 3 = *10 to 14.9%*, 4 = *15 to 19.9%*, 5 = *20% or higher*) according to the results of the American Community Reports (2012).

Results

To test my hypotheses, I performed a 2 (Behaviors: OCBs, CWBs) X 6 (Demographic status: White American citizens, immigrants from Canada, China, South Korea, Mexico, El-Salvador) mixed model ANOVA. Participants' ethnicity and immigrants as percentage of states were used as covariates. Results of my analysis revealed a main effect of behaviors, $F(1, 89) = 396.46$, $p < .001$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .817$, as well as a significant interaction between behaviors and demographic status, $F(5, 85) = 3.71$, $p = .004$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .179$. The effect sizes of these two significant results were large, meaning that they contributed to explaining an important part of the total variance. As expected, workers depicted expressing OCBs ($M = 5.43$, $SD = 0.85$) were evaluated more positively than those depicted expressing CWBs ($M = 2.15$, $SD = 0.87$). The descriptive statistics of the interaction between behaviors and demographic status are reported in Table 1. To further examine this interaction, I conducted a series of post hoc pairwise comparison tests.

Results showed that participants evaluated OCBs more positively when it was expressed by White American citizens ($M = 5.58$, $SD = 0.77$) than it was when expressed by Canadian ($M = 5.31$, $SD = 0.89$), Salvadoran ($M = 5.24$, $SD = 0.93$), or South Korean ($M = 5.38$, $SD = 0.83$) immigrant workers, all ps $\leq .036$. There was no difference in the evaluation of White American citizens and Chinese ($M = 5.37$, $SD = 0.90$) or Mexican ($M = 5.62$, $SD = 0.77$) immigrant workers when expressing OCBs. Complementary analyses reveal that participants evaluated Mexican immigrant workers depicted as expressing OCBs more positively than when expressed by Canadian, Chinese, Salvadoran, or South Korean immigrant workers, all ps $\leq .021$. Hence, H1a is partially supported because only White American citizens were favored over two of the expected immigrant group of workers when depicted as expressing OCBs.

In regard to CWBs, White American citizens (M = 1.97, SD = 0.67) were evaluated more negatively when depicted as expressing them than were Chinese (M = 2.24, SD = 1.01), Mexican (M = 2.17, SD = 0.84), Salvadoran (M = 2.21, SD = 0.91), or South Korean (M = 2.20, SD = 0.91) immigrant workers, all ps $\leq$ .015. Canadian immigrants (M = 2.12, SD = 0.87) were evaluated similarly as the other workers when depicted as expressing CWBs. Thus, H1b is partially supported because only White American citizens are derogated in comparison to most of the immigrant groups when depicted as expressing CWBs.

Insert Table 1 about here

Discussion

The aim of Experiment 1 was to examine the way American professionals experienced in conducting job interviews and/or performance appraisals evaluate White American citizens and immigrant workers when depicted as expressing OCBs or CWBs. In line with the BSE, I found that American professionals evaluated White American citizens more positively than Canadian, Salvadoran, and South Korean immigrant workers when they were presented as expressing OCBs. Furthermore, I also found that White American citizens were evaluated more negatively than Chinese, Mexican, Salvadoran, and South Korean immigrant workers when depicted as expressing CWBs. These results are the first to demonstrate evidence of a black sheep effect in the evaluation of local and immigrant workers. They reveal that American professionals hold different standards of behavior for local and immigrant workers. According to the BSE, American professionals might try to enhance the image of good ingroup representatives by favoring them over immigrants and protect this image by derogating bad ingroup representatives more harshly than similar immigrant workers.

Some results concerning the BSE were unexpected. First, White American citizens were favored in comparison to Canadian immigrant workers when depicted as expressing OCBs, while I expected them to be treated similarly. Furthermore, Canadian immigrants were treated more negatively than Mexican immigrant when depicted as expressing OCBs and similarly as the other immigrants when depicted as expressing CWBs. These results do not support the prediction of the Stereotype Content Model (Cuddy et al., 2011), which postulate that similar stereotype content leads to similar treatment. They rather suggest that American professionals make a clear distinction between locals and demographically similar immigrant groups. Nevertheless, the ethnicity and national origin were confounded somewhat in this experiment, which might have influenced the results. Indeed, I specified the ethnicity for American citizens but not for Canadian immigrants.

Second, White American citizens were evaluated similarly to Chinese and Mexican immigrant workers when depicted as expressing OCBs. Moreover, Mexican immigrants were favored over the other immigrant workers when depicted as expressing OCBs, while they were treated similarly when depicted as expressing CWBs. This outgroup leniency toward Chinese and Mexican immigrant workers might reveal the motivation of the evaluators to suppress their prejudice toward these specific groups. Typically, it might be less acceptable to discriminate against Chinese and Mexican than Salvadoran and South Korean because the former are much more heavily represented in the labor force. The justification-suppression model (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003) of the experience and expression of prejudice argues that beliefs, values, and norms might lead people to suppress their prejudice in certain situations. For instance, American professionals should be aware that the Title VII of the Civil Right Act prohibits discrimination based on national origin, so they should be motivated to respect this law at work. In the present experiment, people might also be motivated to show that they are not prejudiced because it is generally considered

inappropriate to express prejudice in society, especially for White individuals (e.g., Carver, Glass, & Katz, 1978; Crosby, Bromley, & Saxe, 1980; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998). Hence, prejudice expression might become more subtle in such situations (Amodio, Harmon-Jones, & Devine, 2003; Hebl, Foster, Mannix, & Dovidio, 2002). This might explain why Chinese and Mexican immigrants were less harshly derogated than White American citizens when depicted as expressing CWBs, but evaluated similarly when depicted as expressing OCBs.

Experiment 2

The purpose of the second experiment was to extend the results of the first experiment to a recruitment situation as well as to address some of its limitations. To do so, I investigated how American professionals evaluated local and immigrant applicants depicted as expressing either OCBs or CWBs. Further, I made a clearer distinction between ethnicity and national origin. Finally, I tested the assumption that normative influence concerning the evaluation of the applicants had an impact on the pattern described by the BSE.

As mentioned above, one limitation of the first experiment was to confound ethnicity and national origin somewhat. To my knowledge, few studies have systematically separated these two criteria of social categorization. In fact, the black sheep effect was originally tested using Belgian and North African students as target groups (Marques & Yzerbyt, 1988). Results of my first experiment did not lead me to believe that minority workers were discriminated against based on both their ethnicity and national origin, because differences in the evaluations of American professionals were observed within ethnic groups and not systematically between ethnic groups. Hence, I did not expect *a priori* the existence of a double jeopardy based on workers' ethnicity and national origin. Nevertheless, in order to dissipate potential doubts and to strengthen my claim that the present research reveals bias based on national origin, I addressed the potential confound effect of Experiment 1 by

examining the BSE among three ethnic groups (i.e., Asian, Hispanic, White) coming either from the U.S. or a foreign country (i.e., China, Mexico, Canada).

Furthermore, I investigated the role of normative influence related to diversity management in organizations in order to clarify the unexpected pattern observed for Mexican and Chinese immigrants in Experiment 1. The content of social norms is known to have an impact on employment discrimination. Typically, anti-discrimination laws and codes of conduct favor equal opportunity and treatment in organizations (e.g., Barron & Hebl, 2013; Petersen & Krings, 2009). Moreover, research has shown that even a single ingroup individual can influence the expression of prejudice and discrimination (Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham, & Vaughn, 1994). In a lab experiment, Shapiro and Neuberg (2008) demonstrated the role of normative influence on the evaluation of a job applicant. The norm was manipulated by informing participants about the way fictional ingroup members evaluated the applicant: either positively or negatively. Results showed that the evaluations of Black and White participants of a Native American applicant followed the norm established by previous evaluators. Thus, previous research suggests that people might follow the recommendations made by a single fellow ingroup member on the way they should evaluate applicants.

To my knowledge, the role of normative influence has not been investigated in the black sheep effect framework yet. Similarly, I am not aware of any study that has examined normative influence on the evaluation of deviant ingroup and outgroup members in a selection situation. Hence, the traditional approach of normative influence might be more relevant to formulate hypotheses concerning the evaluation of non-deviant applicants. In this regard, previous studies have clearly established that anti-discrimination normative influence (vs. pro-discrimination) or ingroup members condemning (vs. condoning) racism contributed to improve the evaluation of outgroup members (e.g., Blanchard et al., 1994; Shapiro &

Neuberg, 2008). Interestingly, some studies suggested that such anti-discriminatory normative influences were the only ones to affect outgroup members' evaluation, probably because pro-discrimination normative influences contradict cultural norms against prejudice and discrimination (Montheith, Denee, & Tooman, 1996; Devine, Montheith, Zuwernik, & Elliot, 1991). This observation is especially likely to remain valid in employment situations, given the prevalence of anti-discrimination laws. Indeed, people might follow normative influence encouraging them to increase diversity in organizations. However, they might reject those encouraging them to decrease diversity in organizations, because they are against cultural norms and illegal. One exception has been documented in the literature, though. Studies have shown that some people were more likely to discriminate against minority applicants if they were told to do so by an authority figure using business justifications (e.g., Peterson & Dietz, 2000). In the current research, I do not investigate the role of authority figure. Therefore, I expect pro-diversity normative influence to decrease the evaluation of ingroup and increase the one of outgroup non-deviant applicants (i.e., those depicted as expressing OCBs). This pattern should result in a more egalitarian evaluation than the one of a normative influence encouraging individuals to maintain the *status quo* in organizations (e.g., we do not need to promote more diversity/internationality). In other words, pro-diversity normative influence should reduce the traditional ingroup bias expected in the black sheep effect for non-deviant individuals, while *status quo* normative influence should maintain it. Indeed, maintaining the *status quo* should release the pressure on individuals to empower the social norms concerning prejudice expression and not elicit the backlash that could be expected from an anti-diversity normative influence in a selection situation.

Given the lack of literature on the role of normative influence on the evaluation of deviant applicants (i.e., those depicted as expressing CWBs), I have to assume that the normative influence process would be similar to the one described above for non-deviant

applicants. If pro-diversity normative influence decrease the evaluation of ingroup and increase the evaluation of outgroup applicants, one should expect the black sheep effect to be stronger in this condition for deviant applicants. However, a normative influence encouraging individuals to maintain the *status quo* in organizations when evaluating deviant applicants should maintain the black sheep effect as it is. In sum, I expect the pro-diversity normative influence only partially to vanish the black sheep effect pattern and the *status quo* normative influence to sustain it.

Hypothesis 2. Participants' evaluation of applicants will be qualified by a three-way interaction between normative influence, applicants' behaviors, and demographic status. Under a pro-diversity normative influence, White American citizens will be evaluated similarly to minority applicants when depicted as expressing OCBs (*H2a*) and will be derogated in comparison to minority applicants when depicted as expressing CWBs (*H2b*). Under a *status quo,* normative influence, White American citizens will be evaluated more positively than minority applicants when depicted as expressing OCBs (*H2c*) and will be evaluated more negatively than minority applicants when depicted as expressing CWBs (*H2d*).

Method

Participants

The original sample consisted of 929 employed participants who completed an online experiment on personnel selection. As in Experiment 1, I dropped participants who originally came from the same country as that of the applicant they evaluated as well as those who were not born in the United States. The final sample was composed of 880 individuals (37.6% male; *mean age* 31.06 years old, *SD* = 10.36; 84% White, 7.2% Asian, 5.5% Hispanic, 4.7% Black, 1% Native American). Most had a college degree (51.7%), but a minority held a managerial position (42.8%) or worked in HR (4.9%).

Procedure

Data were collected using Mechanical Turk (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011) and workers were paid $1.50 to participate in this 10-minute experiment. Before starting the experiment, participants were asked to read and endorse a consent form. Then, they completed a series of demographic questions. These questions were followed by the actual experimental manipulation. Finally, participants answered several manipulation checks and completed questionnaires on individual differences.

The experiment consisted of a 2 (Behaviors: OCBs, CWBs) X 7 (Demographic Status: White American citizen, White Canadian-American, White Canadian immigrant, Hispanic Mexican-American, Hispanic Mexican immigrant, Asian Chinese-American, Asian Chinese immigrant) X 2 (Diversity Norm: Pro-diversity, *Status quo*) between subjects design. During the experiment, participants assumed the role of a general manager of a supermarket in Chicago, Illinois, USA. They were asked to carefully read the evaluation of a male applicant for an assistant sales manager position that was made by an HR recruiter. The scenario (see Appendix A) clearly mentioned the name, ethnicity, and citizenship of the applicant. Except for White targets, names were inspired by the results of the U.S. Census examining the most common name per ethnic group (White = Joe Smith; Asian = Jian Li, Hispanic = José Garcia). Two OCBs (i.e., "produces as much as he his capable of at all times"; "willing to give his time to help coworkers with problems related to their work") and CWBs (i.e., "performs his job below acceptable standards"; "started arguments with coworkers") were selected based on the list of behaviors that I used in Experiment 1. The diversity norms were written such that the participants were either encouraged to hire the applicant to increase diversity in the company or to not hire him because there was already enough diversity in the company. Because previous studies have shown that language skills play an important role in employment discrimination (e.g., Hosoda, Nguyen, & Stone-

Romero, 2012; Hosoda & Stone-Romero, 2010), I specified in all conditions that the applicant spoke excellent English.

Dependent variable: Evaluation. Participants evaluated the applicant using a 12-item scale adapted from King and colleagues (King, Madera, Hebl, Knight, & Mendoza, 2006). The items were as follows: (1) "How intelligent do you think this applicant is?;" (2) "How capable do you think this applicant is?;" (3) "How friendly do you think this applicant is?;" (4) "How likable do you think this applicant is?;" (5) "To what extent does this applicant fit the demands of the job?;" (6) "How confident are you that this applicant is qualified for this job?;" (7) "How much would you want to work with this applicant?;" (8) "How likely would you be to see yourself working under this applicant?;" (9) "How likely would you be to offer this applicant another interview?;" (10) "How likely would you be to hire this applicant?;" (11) "How likely would you be to increase the salary of this applicant within the first year?;" and (12) "How likely would this applicant be to get a bonus his first year?" Answers were given on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Very*). An exploratory factor analysis revealed a one-factor solution with an eigenvalue higher than one. This factor explained 62% of the variance. Further, the Cronbach alpha indicated a high degree of reliability (α = .94).

Control variables were the same as those used in Experiment 1, which means participant ethnicity and immigrants as percentage of the state population where the participants lived were used as controls.

Preliminary analysis

Manipulation checks. Results of the manipulation check questions showed that 94% of the participants correctly remembered the applicant's ethnicity. A lower proportion, 78%, correctly remembered whether the applicant was a U.S. citizen or not. When asked about their overall perception of applicants behavior (1 = *Very negative*; 5 = *Very positive*), participants perceived the behavior to be more positive in the OCB (M = 4.22, SD = 0.61)

than in the CWB condition (M = 3.15, SD = 0.91), $F(1, 878) = 4.23$, $p < .001$. Finally, 80% of the participants correctly answered the question concerning the hiring recommendation. Thus, all the manipulations worked in the expected direction and were relatively clear for the majority of the participants. I did not drop participants as a function of their answers to these manipulations checks[2].

Differences between ethnicity and national origin. To address the issue concerning the differences made between minority applicants based on their ethnicity and national origin, I explored their respective roles by conducting a 2 (Behaviors: OCBs, CWBs) x 3 (Ethnicity: Asian, Hispanic, White) x 2 (National origin: U.S. citizen, Non-U.S. citizen) x 2 (Diversity Norm: Pro-diversity, *Status quo*) analysis of variance (ANOVA). As in the first experiment, I controlled for participants' ethnicity and immigrants as a percent of state population. I did not include the White American citizens condition (i.e., the ingroup) in this analysis because it does not vary on the national origin dimension. Hence, this analysis does not constitute a strict test of the black sheep effect because it does not include the ingroup. Nevertheless, it allows me to get a better understanding of the role of ethnicity and national origin on participants' evaluation. Results revealed main effects of participants' ethnicity, $F(1, 733) = 3.97$, $p = .047$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .005$, applicants' ethnicity, $F(1, 733) = 4.65$, $p = .010$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .013$, national origin, $F(1, 733) = 9.19$, $p = .003$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .012$, and behaviors, $F(1, 729) = 214.49$, $p < .001$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .226$. Participants' ethnicity shows that White participants (M = 4.81; SD = 0.99) evaluated applicants more positively than did non-White participants (M = 4.71; SD = 1.08). Post-hoc pairwise comparisons reveal that White Canadian applicants (M = 4.70; SD = 1.06) were evaluated more negatively than Hispanic Mexican applicants (M = 4.91; SD = 0.96), $p = .002$. Furthermore, U.S. citizen applicants (M = 4.87; SD = 0.98) were evaluated more positively than non-U.S. citizen applicants (M = 4.71; SD = 1.03). Applicants depicted as expressing OCBs (M = 5.25; SD = 0.85) were evaluated more positively than

those depicted as expressing CWBs (M = 4.30; SD = 0.92). Results also showed a significant two-way interaction between ethnicity and behaviors, $F(1, 733) = 3.62$, $p = .027$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .010$. Post-hoc pairwise comparisons revealed that applicants were evaluated similarly when depicted as expressing OCBs, no matter their ethnicity. However, White Canadian applicants (M = 4.05; SD = 1.00) were evaluated more negatively than both Hispanic (M = 4.51; SD = 0.84) and Chinese (M = 4.35; SD = 0.87) applicants when depicted as expressing CWBs, both ps $\leq .02$. The three-way interaction between ethnicity, national origin, and behaviors did not reach significance, $F(2, 733) = 2.69$, $p = .068$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .007$. Finally, the four-way interaction was non-significant.

Overall, these results demonstrate that American professionals favor American citizen applicants over immigrant ones. Moreover, they reveal that White applicants are evaluated more negatively than Hispanic applicants, mostly because White applicants are derogated more harshly than ethnic minority applicants when depicted as expressing CWBs. Hence, this suggests that ethnicity might play a stronger role than national origin when considering the black sheep effect. Nevertheless, it is important to stress that the effect sizes were relatively small. Moreover, national citizens in this analysis are all minority group members (i.e., ethnic minorities or White Canadians). As such, I needed to conduct additional tests that include the reference category in the U.S. to determine the exact degree of bias against immigrant applicants.

Results

To test my hypotheses, I performed a 2 (Behaviors : OCBs, CWBs) X 7 (Demographical Status: White American, White Canadian-American, White Canadian immigrant, Hispanic Mexican-American, Hispanic Mexican immigrant, Asian Chinese-American, Asian Chinese immigrant) X 2 (Diversity Norm : Pro-diversity, *Status quo*) analysis of variance. Results of this ANOVA are presented in Table 2. Participants' ethnicity

and immigrants as a percent of state population were used as control variables. To reduce the amount of information and streamline the text, I will not systematically mention the ethnicity of the Canadian, Chinese, and Mexican applicants in what follows.

Results showed two main effects for demographic status, $F(6, 833) = 4.23$, $p < .001$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .030$, and behaviors, $F(1, 833) = 249$, $p < .001$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .230$. White Americans ($M = 4.49$; $SD = 1.15$) and Canadian immigrants ($M = 4.67$; $SD = 1.11$) were evaluated more negatively than both Mexican-American ($M = 5.03$; $SD = 0.92$) and Chinese-American applicants ($M = 4.82$; $SD = 1.01$), all ps $\leq .011$. Furthermore, the Mexican-American applicant was also evaluated more positively than the Canadian-American ($M = 4.73$; $SD = 1.00$) and Chinese immigrants, both ps $\leq .022$. As expected, applicants depicted as expressing OCBs ($M = 5.24$; $SD = 0.87$) were evaluated more positively than those depicted as expressing CWBs ($M = 4.24$; $SD = 0.94$).

I also found a significant two-way interaction between demographic status and behaviors, $F(6, 833) = 2.37$, $p = .028$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .017$. The descriptive statistics of this interaction are reported in Table 3. Post-hoc pairwise comparison tests showed that applicants were evaluated similarly in the OCB conditions. However, the White American ($M = 5.12$; $SD = 0.97$) applicant was evaluated more negatively than the Mexican-American ($M = 5.39$; $SD = 0.90$), Mexican immigrant ($M = 5.18$; $SD = 0.91$), and Chinese-American ($M = 5.36$; $SD = 0.77$) applicants when depicted as expressing CWBs, all ps $\leq .032$. The difference in the evaluation of the White American and the Chinese immigrant ($M = 5.07$; $SD = 1.00$) was only marginally significant, $p = .072$, but went in the expected direction. Similar results were found for the Canadian immigrant applicant who was evaluated more negatively in this condition than the Canadian-American ($M = 5.22$; $SD = 0.81$), Mexican-American, Mexican immigrant, Chinese-American, and Chinese immigrant applicants, all ps $\leq .006$. Finally, the

Mexican-American applicant was evaluated more positively than the Canadian-American and the Chinese immigrant applicants when depicted as expressing CWBs, both *p*s ≤ .043.

The effects described above are qualified by a three-way interaction between demographic status, behaviors, and diversity norm, $F(6, 833) = 2.14$, $p = .047$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .015$. The effect size of this interaction can be considered as large. To further examine this three-way interaction, I conducted separate analyses for pro-diversity and *status quo* conditions. Results revealed a significant interaction between demographic status and behaviors for the pro-diversity norm, $F(6, 404) = 2.47$, $p = .023$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .035$, but not for the *status quo* condition, $F(6, 427 = 1.66$, $p = .129$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .023$. In the pro-diversity condition, pairwise post-hoc comparison tests showed that applicants were evaluated similarly when depicted as expressing OCBs, which supports H2a. However, the White American applicant ($M = 3.90$; $SD = 1.13$) was evaluated more negatively than the Mexican-American ($M = 4.81$; $SD = 0.84$), Mexican immigrant ($M = 4.40$; $SD = 1.04$), and Chinese-American ($M = 4.39$; $SD = 0.94$) applicants when depicted as expressing CWBs, all *p*s ≤ .032. Thus, this result partially supports H2b since the White American applicant was not derogated in comparison to the Canadian-American, Canadian immigrant, and Chinese immigrant applicants. Further, the Mexican-American applicant was evaluated more positively when expressing CWBs than the Canadian-American ($M = 4.28$; $SD = 1.08$), Canadian immigrant ($M = 3.88$; $SD = 1.11$), Chinese-American, and Chinese immigrant ($M = 4.63$; $SD = 1.02$) applicants, all *p*s ≤ .041.

In the *status quo* condition, the White American applicant ($M = 4.77$; $SD = 1.12$) was evaluated more negatively than both the Chinese- ($M = 5.37$; $SD = 0.82$) and Mexican- ($M = 5.54$; $SD = 0.77$) American applicants when depicted as expressing OCBs, both *p*s ≤ .022. Moreover, the Mexican-American applicant was also evaluated more positively than the Chinese immigrants ($M = 5.11$; $SD = 0.97$), $p = .043$. Thus, H2c was not supported. When

applicants were depicted as expressing CWBs, participants evaluated the Canadian immigrants (M = 3.75; SD = 0.98) more negatively than the Canadian-American (M = 4.25; SD = 0.83), Chinese-American (M = 4.32; SD = 1.00), Chinese immigrant (M = 4.28; SD = 0.88), Mexican-American (M = 4.44; SD = 0.64), and Mexican immigrant applicants (M = 4.35; SD = 0.81), all ps ≤ .009. However, the White American applicant was evaluated similarly to all the other applicants in this condition. Therefore, H2d was not supported.

Insert Table 2 about here

Insert Table 3 about here

Complementary observations on post-hoc estimation tests revealed that the Mexican-American applicant was evaluated similarly in the pro-diversity condition, regardless of if he was described as expressing OCBs or CWBs. However, all the other applicants were systematically more positively evaluated in the OCB than in the CWB conditions, all ps ≤ .009. White Americans were evaluated more negatively in the *status quo* condition than in the pro-diversity condition when depicted as expressing OCB, $F(1, 833) = 6.26$, $p = .013$, , *partial* $\eta^2 = .007$.

Discussion

Experiment 2 reveals further evidence of the black sheep effect in a recruitment situation where American professionals evaluated ingroup and outgroup applicants depicted as expressing OCBs or CWBs. It extends the results of Experiment 1 in several ways. First, preliminary analysis (which did not include the ingroup) demonstrated that immigrant applicants are evaluated more negatively than local minority applicants. This effect was

observed when controlling for applicants' ethnicity, showing that national origin represents an additional barrier for applicants in the recruitment process. As mentioned previously, it is nonetheless important to stress that the effect size of applicant's national origin was relatively small, even if it remains comparable to the one of applicant's ethnicity. That means the difference in the evaluation of local and immigrant applicants was not very important in this experiment from a statistical point of view. Furthermore, the interaction observed between ethnicity and behaviors in this preliminary analysis shows that the apparent outgroup favoritism of Hispanic Mexican applicants is due to the more severe derogation of counterproductive White Canadian applicants. That means, according to the black sheep effect, American professionals are motivated to protect the image of White employees.

Second, results of Experiment 2 shed new light on the pattern observed in Experiment 1. In line with my hypothesis, normative influence concerning diversity management in the organization influenced applicants' evaluation. As expected, I observed a similar pattern to the one obtained in Experiment 1 when participants were told to promote diversity in the company. More precisely, applicants were evaluated similarly when depicted as expressing OCBs, but the White American applicant was derogated in comparison to the Mexican-American and immigrant applicants as well as the Chinese-American applicant when depicted as expressing CWBs. This suggests that American professionals believe that it is desirable to promote diversity and, therefore, to treat some minority applicants similarly to locals when they are depicted as expressing desirable behaviors. Nevertheless, this belief keeps them from derogating these same minorities when they are described as expressing undesirable behaviors. This was particularly evident for the Mexican-American applicant who was evaluated more positively than all the other applicants in this condition.

Although I did not find the expected interaction for the *status quo* condition, I will comment on the observed pattern. Unexpectedly, the White American applicant was

evaluated more negatively than the Hispanic- and Asian-Americans when depicted as expressing OCBs. This result seems to be due to the fact that the White American applicant was derogated in the *status quo* condition compared to the pro-diversity condition when he was pictured as expressing OCBs. This finding is interesting because it suggests that American professionals behaved in the opposite direction to the one they were told to follow, that is: to favor the White American applicant and not to promote diversity. This might be an expression of an internal motivation to act without prejudice, which resulted in the derogation of an applicant from their own group. In the CWB condition, I found the expected pattern since the White American applicant was evaluated similarly to all the other applicants. One unexpected result emerged in this condition, though, since the Canadian immigrant applicant was evaluated more negatively than all the other minority applicants. I believe that this derogation might have something to do with the black sheep effect, which would suggest that participants would be more inclined to derogate White outgroup members when they are told to do so and when these White outgroup individuals are presented as bad representatives of the group.

General Discussion

The purpose of this research was to examine the antecedents of employment discrimination against immigrants. To do so, I investigated the BSE among American professionals by testing how they evaluate local and immigrant individuals depicted as expressing either OCBs or CWBs. Supporting the assumptions of the BSE, results of Experiment 1 showed that American professionals experienced in conducting job interviews or performance appraisals favored White American workers over Salvadoran and South Korean immigrant workers when they were presented as expressing OCBs. Furthermore, they derogated White American workers more harshly than Chinese, Mexican, Salvadoran, and South Korean immigrant workers when presented as expressing CWBs. In Experiment 2,

American professionals assuming the role of a general manager evaluated a White American applicant similarly to ethnic and/or immigrant minority applicants when depicted as expressing OCBs. However, they evaluated the White American applicant more negatively than the Chinese-American, Chinese immigrant, Mexican-American, and Mexican immigrant applicants when depicted as expressing CWBs. Supporting my hypothesis, this black sheep effect pattern was moderated by normative influence related to diversity management in organization. Moreover, the effect size of this moderation was large, supporting the relevance of the current work. When American professionals were encouraged to increase diversity in the organization, they evaluated all applicants similarly when they were depicted as expressing OCBs, but derogated the White American applicant in comparison to several minority applicants when they were depicted as expressing CWBs. Furthermore, when American professionals were encouraged not to promote diversity in the organization, their evaluation of applicants did not differ across the OCB and CWB conditions.

Overall, results of these two experiments illustrate a complex pattern in the evaluation of ingroup and outgroup individuals. In line with the BSE, they suggest that American professionals favor good ingroup representatives (i.e., White American citizens expressing OCB) but not over all minority individuals. Moreover, they tend to derogate bad ingroup representatives in comparison to similar outgroup individuals, but not when they were encouraged not to promote diversity in the organization. As such, I believe that my results reveal the concern that American professionals have regarding differential treatment in formal organizational settings. They might not want to be perceived as prejudiced and especially toward minorities like Chinese or Mexican, perhaps because they represent an important proportion of the U.S. labor force. This motivation might in part be due to external social norms (e.g., anti-discrimination laws), but the results that I obtained in the *status quo* condition show that American professionals behave in the opposite direction as the one they

were told to follow (i.e., not promote diversity in the OCB condition). Hence, this suggests that they might also be internally motivated to suppress prejudice because they did not take the opportunity to blatantly discriminate when they had the opportunity to do so.

As postulated by the justification-suppression model, subtler forms of prejudice and discrimination are likely to be observed when social norms or normative influence condemn their expression. The BSE is a typical example of subtle ingroup favoritism. In the present research, biases were mostly observed when workers and applicants were pictured as expressing undesirable behaviors. I argue that these undesirable behaviors represent a justification that can be used to express prejudice. Indeed, American professionals are put in an ambiguous situation when normative influence pressures them to not discriminate against minority individuals, even when these individuals demonstrate behaviors that should be condemned. Not condemning the undesirable behaviors of minority individuals as much as those of ingroup members is a paternalistic reaction, which is likely to prevent minority individuals from clearly learning the extent to which some behaviors are considered inappropriate. As such, it might ultimately be more difficult for these minority group members to integrate the performance standards of the ingroup and to progress in organizations.

Theoretical contribution

I believe that the current research makes important theoretical contributions to the BSE framework and has implications for the study of employment discrimination against immigrants. First, this research reveals the importance of considering normative influence related to diversity management when studying the black sheep effect. So far, the BSE has given considerable importance to the idea that individuals are motivated to enhance the image of their group. Nevertheless, it has not considered that favoring ingroup members might, in certain situations, impede the self-concept. Typically, anti-discrimination laws in

organizations state very clearly that people should benefit from equal employment opportunities. Hence, people who violate these laws by consciously favoring specific types of individuals are likely to be judged very negatively and to give a negative image of the ingroup. Second, this research shows the importance of considering multiple outgroup members to better understand the way they are perceived and treated. Most of the research in the BSE literature has focused on one ingroup and one outgroup. However, the present findings show that results obtained for one specific immigrant group are not necessary generalizable to other groups. I observed at least three different reactions across the two experiments. Salvadoran and South Korean immigrants were treated much less favorably than the ingroup, Chinese and Mexican immigrants were the target of more sophisticated forms of differential treatment, while Canadian immigrants were more likely to be derogated when expressing CWBs than the other immigrants. Third, I show some of the first evidence of employment discrimination against immigrants through the study of the black sheep effect. Immigrants remain an understudied minority in the literature. In this research, I not only demonstrate that they are discriminated against compared to locals, but also that they are treated differently as a function of their national origin and the types of behaviors that they express. Fourth, I believe that this research reveals an important mechanism that has the potential to impede immigrants and other minorities progress in organizations: they are not awarded as much as the ingroup when they perform well and are not sufficiently made aware of their mistakes. As such, immigrants might be the targets of two important discriminatory mechanisms that will ultimately maintain the dominance of the ingroup in organizations.

Managerial Implication

Although ingroup favoritism constitutes a well-known form of employment discrimination, the BSE represents a less commonly studied situation that deserves the attention of managers. The BSE suggests that being more lenient with immigrants when they

commit mistakes and/or express undesirable behaviors might harm them in the long run to the benefit of local citizens. This does not mean that managers should not take into account the potential difficulties that immigrants may face in adjusting to their host country. This simply means that they should try to avoid behaving in a paternalistic way toward immigrants. Aligning the standard of local citizens to immigrants would certainly help them quickly integrate the formal and informal norms of their organization and to achieve upward social mobility more quickly.

Treating immigrants and local citizens similarly when they express deviant behaviors might not be an easy task, though. Indeed, previous research shows that the harsher treatment of ingroup members is partially due to mechanisms of group identification (Biernat et al., 1999), so that local managers might have to identify themselves similarly with both local citizens and immigrants to reduce the impact of the BSE. In this regard, the extensive work conducted under the common ingroup identity model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) might certainly give relevant ideas to managers interested in decreasing biases related to group identification. This model argues that intergroup bias can be reduced by leading individuals to believe that they belong to the same superordinate group as minority individuals. The current research demonstrates the importance of a second source of influence—normative influence. As shown by the results, promoting diversity in organizations does not help to completely eradicate the black sheep effect. Managers and employees should fairly reprimand minority employees when they express undesirable behaviors at work. I believe that this would actually help them to perform better in the long run.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

Although theoretical and empirical evidence has been accumulated over the years to show that people's intentions predict their behaviors (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977; Armitage & Conner, 2001), I can not assume that the results obtained in this research reflect the reality of

the field. Future studies have to replicate the present findings and demonstrate their validity in organizations. I believe that an easy way to replicate these results would be to examine performance appraisals as a function of employees' level of performance and national origin. Such research might also be useful in better understanding existing contradictions in research examining biases in performance appraisals or job interviews when comparing evaluations from majority and minority employees (e.g., McCarthy, Van Iddekinge, & Campion, 2010). The fact that some researchers have found bias and others have not might depend on the performance of the employees who are considered as well as the beliefs of evaluators concerning social norms related to diversity management in organizations.

The current research focused on the way most minority group members were evaluated in comparison to White American citizens. By doing so, it somewhat overlooked interesting patterns of evaluations observed among minority group members. For instance, Mexican immigrant workers were favored over the other immigrant workers when depicted as expressing OCBs in the first experiment. Moreover, the Hispanic Mexican-American applicant was evaluated similarly in the pro-diversity condition, not matter if he was depicted as expressing OCBs or CWBs. As such, he was also evaluated more positively than the others applicants when depicted as expressing CWBs. Taken together, these patterns do not deliver a coherent story across the two experiments, but they do suggest that Mexicans were special in the way they were evaluated. Expectancy violation theory (Jussim, Coleman, & Lerch, 1987) postulates that people are evaluated more extremely when their behavior violates stereotype expectations for their particular social group. Mexican individuals were presented in my experiments as active workers or qualified applicants for a relatively high status occupation. This image might differ from the one of Mexican immigrants traditionally associated with undocumented individuals or farm workers (Lee & Fiske, 2006). One consequence might therefore be that participants overrated Mexican individuals, especially

when they were described as high performers (i.e., Experiment 1), because this image did not fit with their expectancies. However, participants might have been lenient toward them when depicted as low performers (i.e., Experiment 2) because this image represented a better fit with their stereotype of Mexican individuals. Although this theoretical explanation does not allow to capture the complexity of the current findings entirely, it represents an interesting venue to explore in future research.

An important question that the present research cannot answer is: What are the consequences of treating immigrants less harshly than local citizens when expressing deviant behaviors at work? According to the black sheep effect, it would certainly be more difficult for immigrants to improve their image and achieve upward social mobility in the long run. Thus, it is likely that immigrants might have more difficulty than local citizens in distinguishing between appropriate and inappropriate behaviors than native-born workers in certain situations. Locals might also distance themselves from immigrant workers because they might perceive them as acting inappropriately and not be motivated to help them to change their behaviors. Finally, it is possible that immigrants transmit "inappropriate" social norms to their children because they did not have the chance to learn them themselves, so that the second generation might enter the job market with a disadvantage in comparison to children of native-born citizens. As such, I believe that the current research calls for longitudinal research that will allow us to better understand the consequences of the black sheep effect for minority employees.

Conclusion

The current research paves the way for a better understanding of the psychological mechanisms that sustain employment discrimination against immigrant workers. Building on the precept of the black sheep effect, I found that American professionals tended to favor White American citizens described as good performers and to derogate those described as

bad performers in comparison to similar immigrant individuals. Nevertheless, this pattern depended on normative influence concerning diversity management in organizations. While promoting diversity might lead to more equality in the evaluation of good performers, it might give a wrong signal concerning bad performers. As such, American professionals should understand that derogating immigrants who express undesirable behaviors as harshly as locals can contribute to promoting diversity in the long run. Managing diversity does not mean being more lenient toward minority employees, it means that they should be treated equally under all circumstances.

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Footnotes

[1]One of the reasons why I did not remove participants who failed the manipulation check is that I used five different manipulation checks for the four manipulations. Hence, removing participants who answered to at least one of these manipulation checks incorrectly substantially reduced the sample size from 880 to 317 participants. In this situation, the number of participants per condition varied from 5 to 21, so, I simply cannot test my hypotheses if I remove all the participants who failed at least one of the manipulation checks. When examining the percentages of people who failed these manipulation checks, I observed that 94% answered the MC related to ethnicity correctly, 78% to the MC related to citizenship, 56% to the two MC related to behaviors, and 80% to the MC related to normative influence. Interestingly, many people failed to answer the MC related to applicants' behaviors correctly, while the difference in the evaluation of applicants depicted as expressing OCBs and CWBs was very strong. Similarly, I observed a strong difference between the OCBs and CWBs conditions when people answered another MC item which read as follows: "Overall, how did you perceive the behavior of the applicant?" (1=*Very negative*, 5=*Very positive*). Hence, based on these results, I think that I can disregard the MC related to behaviors, which asked participants about the exact behaviors that were mentioned in the text.

Without considering people who failed to the MC related to behavior, the sample is composed by 526 participants who answered the other MCs correctly (number of participants per condition varied from 10 to 34). To determine whether participants who failed the MCs (vs. those who did not fail) affected my analysis, I first performed a 2(behavior: OCBs, CWBs) X 7(demographic status: White American control, White Canadian-American, White Canadian immigrant, Asian Chinese-American, Asian Chinese immigrant, Hispanic Mexican-American, Hispanic Mexican immigrant) X 2(normative influence: Pro-diversity, status quo) X 2(manipulation checks: correct, incorrect) ANOVA. Results of the four-way interaction

were not significant, indicating that the three-way reported in the manuscript does not differ as a function of whether participants answered the MCs correctly or not. Thus, although some differences could be observed between participants who answered the MCs correctly and those who answered incorrectly, the expected pattern is not significantly different for these two groups.

Then, I also performed a similar analysis to the one reported in the manuscript but only with people who answered the MCs correctly (except for the one related to behavior as explained above, n=526). Results of the ANOVA revealed a main effect of behavior, $F(1, 497)=138.97$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 =.219$, a two-way interaction between demographic status and behavior, $F(6, 497)=2.44$, $p = .024$, partial $\eta^2 =.029$, and a three-way interaction between normative influence, demographic status, and behavior, $F(6, 497)=2.88$, $p = .009$, partial $\eta^2 =.034$. When splitting the three-way interaction based on the normative influence manipulation, results showed a significant two-way interaction between demographic status and behaviors in the pro-diversity condition, $F(6, 240)=3.55$, $p = .002$, *partial* $\eta^2 =.082$, and no significant interaction in the status quo condition. Hence, the general results of the ANOVA when removing 39% of the sample were similar to those obtained when keeping the entire sample. Some differences were observed though when examining specific contrasts of the three-way interaction. In what follows, I only focus on the differences that are relevant for my hypotheses (i.e., those that involve the White American citizen applicant).

In the pro-diversity condition, the Chinese immigrant applicant was evaluated more negatively than both the Chinese-American and the White American citizen when depicted as expressing OCBs, $ps \leq .040$. These differences are not observed with the full sample and tend to contradict my hypothesis (H2a) which postulates that no difference will be observed between the White American citizen and minority applicants in this condition. The consequence of reducing the sample size would therefore be that the hypothesis would be

partially supported instead of fully supported. Further, the White American citizen applicant was evaluated more negatively than White American-Canadian, the Hispanic Mexican-American and Mexican immigrant, and the Chinese-American applicants when depicted as expressing CWBs, all *ps* ≤ .015. In the full sample, no difference was observed between White American citizen and White American Canadian applicants. This difference is in line with my hypothesis (H2b), but does not affect its support given that it remains partially supported.

In the status quo condition, White American citizens were evaluated more negatively than both Hispanic Mexican- and Asian Chinese-Americans when depicted as expressing OCBs, *ps* ≤ .045. These differences are similar to those observed with the full sample and do not support my hypothesis (H2c). Finally, the Canadian immigrant applicant was evaluated more negatively than the White American, the Hispanic Mexcian-American, the Asian Chinese-American, and the Chinese immigrant when depicted as expressing CWBs, all *ps* ≤ .034. When considering the full sample, the White Canadian immigrant applicant was evaluated more negatively than the White American citizen when depicted as expressing CWBs, but this difference was not significant. This last result does not change the interpretation of the ones I made with the full sample, that H2d is not supported.

In sum, considering how participants answer manipulation checks is an important issue. In the current research, 39% of the sample failed to answer correctly all the manipulation checks (without considering those related to the manipulation of OCBs and CWBs). Among them, only a small proportion failed all the MCs (1.5%), so that the large majority remembered some important details of the manipulation (note that I have performed the analysis without this 1.5% of individuals and results are strictly the same as those obtained with the full sample). As shown above, when dropping 39% of the sample, most results were in line with those that included the full sample. The observed differences

generally impeded the results by making some hypotheses partially supported. Furthermore, one also has to consider the relevance of testing such hypotheses as well as interpreting these results with cells including only 10 participants and others 34. For these reasons, I have decided to keep a larger sample and to not drop people who failed the MCs.

Table 1.

Descriptive statistics of American professionals' evaluations in Experiment 1

Demographic status	Behaviors	
	OCB	CWB
White American citizens	$5.58_{a,b}$	1.97_{b}
	(0.77)	(0.67)
Canadian immigrants	5.31_{c}	$2.12_{a,b}$
	(0.89)	(0.87)
Chinese immigrants	$5.37_{b,c}$	2.24_{a}
	(0.90)	(1.01)
South Korean immigrants	5.38_{c}	2.20_{a}
	(0.83)	(0.91)
Mexican immigrants	5.63_{a}	2.17_{a}
	(0.77)	(0.84)
Salvadoran immigrants	5.24_{c}	2.21_{a}
	(0.93)	(0.92)

Note. Figures that do not share subscripts within each behavioral condition differ at $p \leq .05$.

Standard deviations are shown in brackets.

Table 2

Evaluation of applicants as a function of their behaviors, demographic status, and normative influence

Predictors	*F*	*p*	*partial* η^2
Ethnicity	3.75	.053	.004
Immigrants as % of state population	0.38	.538	.000
Behaviors	249	.000	.230
Demographic status	4.23	.000	.030
Normative influence	0.23	.626	.000
Behaviors X Demo. status	2.37	.028	.017
Behaviors X Norm. influence	0.14	.708	.000
Demo. status X Norm. influence	0.78	.582	.006
Behaviors X Demo. Status X Norm. influence	2.14	.047	.015

Note: R^2 = .28, *Adjusted* R^2 = .25.

Table 2.

Descriptive statistics of American professionals' evaluations in Experiment 2

Normative influence	Demographic status	Behaviors	
		OCB	CWB
Pro-Diversity	White American citizen	5.46_{a}	3.91_{c}
		(0.66)	(1.13)
	White Canadian U.S. citizen	5.29_{a}	$4.28_{b,c}$
		(0.75)	(1.08)
	White Canadian Non-U.S. citizen	5.32_{a}	$3.88_{b,c}$
		(0.77)	(1.11)
	Hispanic Mexican U.S. citizen	5.17_{a}	4.82_{a}
		(1.02)	(0.84)
	Hispanic Mexican Non-U.S. citizen	5.14_{a}	4.40_{b}
		(1.10)	(1.04)
	Asian Chinese U.S. citizen	5.35_{a}	4.39_{b}
		(0.75)	(0.94)
	Asian Chinese Non-U.S. citizen	5.03_{a}	$4.10_{b,c}$
		(1.04)	(0.72)
Status quo	White American citizen	4.78_{b}	$4.12_{a,b}$
		(1.12)	(0.91)
	White Canadian U.S. citizen	$5.14_{a,b}$	4.25_{a}
		(0.91)	(0.83)
	White Canadian Non-U.S. citizen	5.17_{a}	3.76_{b}
		(0.71)	(0.98)
	Hispanic Mexican U.S. citizen	5.54_{a}	4.44_{a}
		(0.77)	(0.64)
	Hispanic Mexican Non-U.S. citizen	$5.21_{a,b}$	4.35_{a}
		(0.80)	(0.81)
	Asian Chinese U.S. citizen	5.37_{a}	4.32_{a}
		(0.82)	(1.00)
	Asian Chinese Non-U.S. citizen	$5.11_{a,b}$	4.53_{a}
		(0.97)	(0.68)

Note. Figures that do not share subscripts within each social norm and behavioral condition differ at $p \leq .05$. Standard deviations are shown in brackets.

Appendix A

Material used in the second experiment.

EMPLOYEE INFORMATION					
Position applied for: Assistant store manager (Chicago)					
Candidate: ___ (*Joe Smith; Jian Li; José García)*					
Ethnicity (voluntary given) : ___ (*Asian; Hispanic; White)*					
U.S. citizen: Yes No *(U.S. citizen, Non-U.S. citizen)*					
Age: ☑ Over 18 years old					
CANDIDATE EVALUATION					
	Outstanding	Above satisfactory	Satisfactory	Below satisfactory	Unsatisfactory
Business knowledge		☑			
Decision making / Problem solving			☑		
Communication skills		☑			
Customer service		☑			
Organization/Planning skills			☑		
SUMMARY					
Based on our discussion on his former experience as an assistant store manager in ___ (*Minnesota*; *Canada*, *China*; *Mexico*), I think that Mr. ___ possesses solid skills for this position. Nevertheless, given that he was working in a grocery store, he is not very familiar with the processes used in some of our departments yet. His references described him as a hard worker ___ (*and he also gave me the impression of being someone who is trying to produce as much as he his capable of at all times*; *but he gave me the impression of being someone who sometimes performs his job below acceptable standards*). In terms of supervision, he is used to working with a smaller team than those we have here, so management styles might somewhat differ. In this regard, ___ (*he mentioned that he is willing to give his time to help coworkers with problems related to their work*; *he mentioned that he has started arguments with coworkers*). This might say a lot about his leadership skills… Because speaking English well is so critical to this job, I will comment on this *–He is Canadian-American and speaks excellent English (he was born and lives in Minnesota!). He is Chinese-American and speaks excellent English (he was born and lives in Minnesota!). He is Mexican-American and speaks excellent English (he was born and lives in Minnesota!). He is an immigrant from China but he speaks excellent English (he was born in China and lives in Minnesota!). He is an immigrant from Mexico, but he speaks excellent English (he was born in Mexico and lives in Minnesota!). He is an immigrant from Canada, but he speaks excellent English (he was born in Canada and lives in Minnesota!). He is a White-American citizen and speaks excellent English (he was born and lives in Minnesota!)*. To test his organization and planning skills, we performed the usual in-basket exercise. He did OK. At the end of the interview, we talked a little bit about his career plans and he showed interest to work in the company in the long run. Overall, he could certainly do a good job even if he is not the perfect fit. ___ (*Moreover, in my opinion, it would be great to have more ___ in the group; we should put more effort into promoting diversity/internationality in this company*; *But in my opinion, we already have enough ___ in the group; we don't need to promote more diversity/internationality –Canadian-Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, Canadian immigrants, Mexican immigrants, Asian immigrants; Moreover, in my opinion, it would be great to have more White American citizens in the group; we don't need to promote more diversity/internationality in this company*; *But in my opinion, we already have enough White American citizens in the group; we should put more effort into promoting diversity/internationality in this company*). Anyway, the decision is yours.					