Geliş Tarihi:
24 Mart 2024
Kabul Tarihi:
20.09.2024
Yayımlanma Tarihi:
30.09.2024

Kaynakça Gösterimi: Nakay, E. & Keleş, Tayşir, N. (2024). Intergroup discrimination towards migrants and refugees in labor market hiring decisions. *İstanbul Ticaret Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, 23(50),* 1984-2010 doi:10.46928/iticusbe.1456795

# INTERGROUP DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS MIGRANTS AND REFUGEES IN LABOR MARKET HIRING DECISIONS

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# INTERGROUP DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS MIGRANTS AND REFUGEES IN LABOR MARKET HIRING DECISIONS

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**Abstract**

This article deals with two fundamental global issues the world has been deeply engaged in; the worldwide refugee/migration surge, and as its potential outcome, racial/ethnic discrimination across multiple contexts, such as employment, housing, education, welfare, healthcare, and civil rights. Ethnicity triggered by Similarity and Realistic Threat stimulated by conflict and competition has been used to analyze the causality with two criterion variables; Hiring Intention and subsequently Ranking. Ethnic cognition for Turks and perceived realistic threat for migrants were the determining constructs. The online self-reporting survey was conducted using Qualtrics with 232 participants (166 women, 66 men).

**Purpose:** This study aims to understand the extent of intergroup discrimination responsible for consequences on labor market selection processes, by analyzing the hiring and selection challenges the migrants - Syrians (nearly 3,1 million, 2024) and Uzbeks (nearly 60 thousand, 2022) likely to encounter when competing with Turkish candidates. This study aims to reveal the determinants of bias related to ethnic exclusionism driven by ethnic similarities and perceived threat moderated by applicants' ethnic salience, job status and discrimination exposure. The study also digs out the attitude of women in general, comparing with men when applicants' ethnicities are so salient as a discriminatory stimulant.

**Method:** The questionnaire has listed two job postings for each high and low-status job vacancies, and equally qualified CVs of Turks, Syrians, and Uzbeks relating to postings. The questionnaire was available online in two different time frames, the first between March 12th and May 27th and the second phase between August 2nd and September 17th, 2023. Participants were required to express their consent on questionnaire. These dates have coincided with a very notable part of the sociopolitical and sociopsychological periods when the Syrian migrant issue was at its climax.

**Findings:** Analysis indicated that; Ethnic Identity overall, had demonstrated a stronger predictor than Realistic Threat, especially when Turkish candidates were rated, and Realistic Threat emerged as a stronger predictor on migrant candidates' selection assessments where Ethnic Identity has also predicted to some extent; All the estimations in all cases indicating a dominant bias for Turkish candidates and discriminate against the migrants; Job status did not moderate any decision; Gender was not effective in controlling discriminations. Syrians were designated as stigmatized outgroups, and Uzbeks face much lighter form of discrimination than Syrians, supporting the "Prejudice Distribution Account" arguments.

**Originality:** This project is novel in that; it is the first in Türkiye, to explore the hiring considerations when migrants compete with Turkish applicants, taking into account ethnicity coupled with anxiety and conflict constructs, moderated by job status. It is original in that it compares the raters' gender differentiations in attitudes toward the assessment of candidates having ethnic diversities. It is a rare, possibly only example of exploring the attitudes of people who have experienced discrimination, particularly women who experienced gender discrimination, predicting entitative arguments to the literature, given the conceptual framework.

**Keywords:** Ethnic Discrimination, Job Suitability, Integrated Threat, Discrimination in Hiring

**JEL Classification: J15, J16, J61, J71**

# İŞGÜCÜ PİYASASI İŞE ALMA KARARLARINDA GÖÇMENLERE VE MÜLTECİLERE YÖNELİK GRUPLAR ARASI AYRIMCILIK

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**Özet**

Bu makale, günümüz dünyasının derinden meşgul olduğu iki temel sorunu ele almaktadır; artan mülteci/göç dalgası ve bunun doğal sonucu olarak istihdam, barınma, eğitim, sağlık ve sivil haklar gibi çoklu bağlamda etnik ayrımcılıklar. Benzerlik güdüsüyle tetiklenen Etnisite ve gruplar arası çatışma ve rekabet nedeniyle uyarılan Gerçekçi Tehdit, iki bağımlı değişkenle nedenselliği kurularak incelenmiştir; İşe Alma Niyeti ve İşe Alım Sıralaması. Türk adaylar için etnik biliş, göçmenler için ise algılanan gerçekçi tehdit, belirleyici faktörlerdir. Toplam 232 katılımcı (166 kadın, 66 erkek) yanıtları çevrimiçi metotla toplanmıştır.

**Amaç:** Bu çalışma, göçmenlerin - Suriyeliler (yaklaşık 3,1 milyon, 2024), Özbekler (yaklaşık 60 bin, 2022) - Türk adaylarla rekabet ederken karşılaşabilecekleri işe alım ve seçim zorluklarını analiz ederek, gruplar arası ayrımcılığın işgücü piyasası seçim süreçleri üzerinde ne ölçüde sonuçları olabileceğini anlamayı hedeflemiştir.

Etnik benzerlikler ve algılanan tehdit faktörleri güdümündeki etnik dışlayıcılığın neden olduğu ayrımcılıkta, başvuru sahiplerinin etnik ağırlıklarının, görev statülerinin ve ayrımcılık mağduru değerlendiricilerin etkilerinin ortaya çıkarılması amaçlanmaktadır. Çalışma ayrıca, başvuru sahiplerinin etnik kökenlerinin ayrımcı bir uyarıcı olarak bu kadar belirgin olduğu durumlarda kadınların genel olarak erkeklere kıyasla tutumlarını da ortaya çıkarmaktadır.

**Metod:** Çevrimiçi ankette yüksek ve düşük statülü iki ayrı iş ilanı ve bunlara ilişkin Türk, Suriyeli ve Özbeklerin eşit nitelikteki özgeçmişleri listelenmiştir ve bu bilgilerle seçim yapılması istenmiştir. İkinci bölümde ise katılımcıların etnik eğilim ve korku algıları test edilmiştir. Ankette katılımcıların onayları alınmıştır

**Bulgular**: Analizler sonucu; Etnik Kimlik, özellikle Türk adaylar değerlendirildiğinde Gerçekçi Tehditten daha güçlü bir yordayıcı olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Göçmen adayların değerlendirilmelerinde ise Gerçekçi Tehdit, Etnik Kimliğin de bir dereceye kadar etkisinin olmasına karşın, daha güçlü bir faktör olarak ortaya çıkmıştır; Tüm analizler, her durumda Türk adayların kayırıldığını, göçmenlere karşı ise olumsuz ayrımcılık sergilendiğini işaret etmektedir; Görev statüsü herhangi bir kararı etkilememiştir. Cinsiyet, ayrımcılıkları kontrol etmede etkili olmamıştır. Suriyeliler damgalanmış dış grup olarak belirlenmiş ve Özbekler Suriyelilerden çok daha hafif ayrımcılığa konu olarak "Önyargı Dağılımı Hesabı" argümanlarını doğrulamıştır.

**Özgünlük:** Bu çalışma, göçmenlerin Türk adaylarla rekabetlerinde, etnisite ile kaygı ve çatışma faktörlerini, iş pozisyonlarının etkilerini de kapsayarak, işe alım süreçleri bağlamında araştıran ilk çalışma olması bakımından önemlidir. Etnisiteleri farklı adayların değerlendirilmesinde, cinsiyet farklılıklarının yordamlamaya etkilerinin değerlendirilmesi bakımından da özgündür. Ayrımcılık mağduru olan katılımcıların, özellikle de mağdur kadınların, etnisitenin öne çıktığı koşullarda, tutumların yordamlanıp, literatüre etkili argümanlar ürettiği az sayıdaki, muhtemelen de tek örnektir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler**: Etnik Ayrımcılık, İşe Uygunluk, Bütünleşik Tehdit, İşe Almada Ayrımcılık

**JEL Sınıflandırması: J15, J16, J61, J71**

## INTRODUCTION

In today's world, the complexity of migration patterns frequently tests the limits of regulatory frameworks, presenting host nations with a diverse array of challenges. These challenges span humanitarian, social, economic, and pathological spheres, manifesting as inequities in opportunities, intensified outgroup segregation, and pervasive discrimination rooted in stereotypical judgments. Such discrimination is a complex phenomenon, intricately woven from the fabric of national and organizational cultures, management strategies, and an array of socio-economic and socio-psychological factors.

Organizational decisions regarding employee selection are critical, influencing the demographic composition and by extension, the performance and interpersonal dynamics within a company (Pfeffer, 1983). Research indicates that employment selection processes often disfavor minorities (Gottfredson, 1988), and missteps in hiring can precipitate a cascade of adverse organizational outcomes. Thus, it is imperative for organizations to meticulously strategize their selection practices.

This research delves into the domain of social psychology and organizational diversity management, examining the nuanced interplay between ingroup bias and outgroup discrimination. These phenomena are underpinned by the emotional and cognitive predispositions of individuals, which in turn are influenced by Ethnic Identities (Social Identity Theory: Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and Intergroup Conflict theories (Stephan & Stephan, 1993a, 1996b, 2000c; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Islam & Hewstone, 1993).

At the core of our inquiry is the concept of group attachment—attraction, belonging, and affiliation—and how individuals navigate intergroup and intragroup dynamics to satisfy their personal needs, as posited by Kenrick et al. (2010). The formation of group identities often results in the distancing from other collectives, fostering intergroup contact, conflict, and ensuing prejudices and stereotypes. It is these very dynamics that this study seeks to explore, setting the theoretical and literature foundation for the analysis. People are engaged in variety of groups formed by demographic communalities, by kinship and township or by some arbitrarily set criteria like supporting a sports team or hobby groupings which is called “ingroup” and they usually position against segregated another, which is called “outgroup”.

An ingroup is a complicated and multifaceted social entity highly influenced by human and social psychology, structured by cultural properties, and constructed by economic behaviors and social ecology. It can be formed in individualist and collectivist cultural settings through different motivations, by dissimilar processes, and targeting different individual, social, economic, and psychological consequences. Self-interest is not the sole incentive to engage in ingroup favoritism but understanding the psychology of intergroup and interpersonal activities is crucial in explaining this phenomenon (Chen, 2019).

This survey research primarily scrutinizes the impact of applicants' ethnic salience and the sociological influences attributed to raters' ethnic orientation, on perceived job suitability and the likelihood of selection of applicants. Moreover, the aim to quantify the extent of discrimination and discern whether prejudices are rooted in cultural constructs (Symbolic Threat) or driven by situational exigencies such as resource scarcity (Realistic Threat). The fundamental questions guiding this study are;

- How do levels of ingroup identification and the intensity of ethnicity orientation influence hiring decisions?
- What impact do ethnic hierarchies between different outgroups have on employment selections?
- How do ethnic identity and perceived threat constructs interplay, as moderated by job statuses, and how does gender factor into these selection decisions?
- Do individuals who have experienced discrimination exhibit distinct decision-making patterns compared to those who have not, particularly when such discrimination is specific to gender discrimination?

**Theoretical Background**

Understanding the dynamics of group identity and the subsequent biases in hiring decisions necessitates a deep dive into the foundational theories that explain these complex social phenomena. At the heart of our social fabric are the groups to which we belong, delineated by demographic traits or criteria that lead to the formation of "ingroups" and their corresponding "outgroups". This demarcation lies at the core of two pivotal theories:

- Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) / Categorization Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel, 1981a, 1982b; Turner, 1982) and,
- Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan & Stephan, 1996)

Social Identity Theory (SIT) as proposed by Tajfel (1974), and Tajfel and Turner (1979), outlines how individuals derive a sense of self from their group memberships, embedding these affiliations with value and emotional significance. This sense of belonging, esteem, and the drive for uncertainty reduction, dictates the strength of one's group associations and is moderated by prevailing cultural norms, ultimately influencing social behaviors such as favoritism and segregation leading to biased behavior eventually ending up with discrimination.

Groups are the basic envelope of social identity and activity revolving around three facets;

- Individual Cognition and Salience: Members categorize themselves cognitively activating their salience (self-definition) to exert influence on others, in return membership influences an individual's attitudes and behaviors to cohere with the group (Turner et al., 1987).
- Group development and Entitativity: Groups develop in five stages, forming, storming, norming, performing, and adjourning (Tuckman & Jensen, 1977), and in each stage, people interact with two kinds of behaviors: Task behaviors, Socio-emotional behaviors.
- Intergroup Context: Salience of membership renders intergroup confrontation, such as competition for scarce resources or social status. However, group salience has no impact if intergroup context is absent.

Preferences for ingroup members may lead to inequality as a negative act toward disadvantaged groups (DiTomaso, 2015; Greenwald & Pettigrew, 2014), emphasizing hostility to outgroup based on biological or ethnic inferiority as the determining conceptualization of discrimination. However, most research suggests that people are more inclined and committed to preferentially benefit ingroup, rather than focusing on harming or derogating outgroups (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel et al., 1971). Therefore, the case is more of an "absence of desired favoritism" rather than exerting actual hostility. Normative ingroups are favored with resource allocations while outgroups are treated with indifference, overlooked, or ignored (Fiske et al., 2002).

Categorization Theory, a complementary facet of SIT, delves into how individuals classify themselves and others into hierarchical categories that range from broad (humanity) to specific (group membership) to personal (individual self). Turner (1982) emphasized that these categorizations are context-dependent and play a critical role in the formation and perpetuation of stereotypes and discrimination.

Expanding upon the Realistic Group Conflict Theory-RGCT- (Sherif, 1966) and Social Identity Theory, Stephan and Stephan (1996) introduced Integrated Threat Theory (ITT), which explicates the conditions under which ingroups perceive outgroups as threats. This perception is shaped by factors like intergroup conflict, status inequalities, strength of ingroup identification, knowledge about the outgroup, and the nature of intergroup contact. Such perceived threats may provoke negative stereotypes and ethnocentric behaviors toward outgroups.

RGCT mainly deal with Realistic Threat and explains bias through competition for resources. The key mechanism the theory proposes is the negative interdependence of the groups which will lead to competition, conflict, and prejudice (Sherif et al., 1961). Studies in psychology, anthropology, and sociology demonstrate that competition for scarce economic resources leads to greater intergroup conflict and hostility as a stronger predictor of prejudice (Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999).

ITT encompasses broader conception of realistic threat covering power, size, status and group well-being constituting realistic threat and extends the definition of threat as such (Stephan & Stephan, 2000);

- Realistic threats based on power, resources, and well-being of the in-group
- Symbolic threats to the; value differences between groups,
- Anxiety concerning social interaction with out-group members,
- Negative stereotypes of the out-group threat.

ITT have been further revised acknowledging predictive capacity of Realistic and Symbolic Threats to measure prejudice comprehensively that they incorporate negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety dimensions, which is why this study have designated these two constructs to analyze the discriminative attitudes of participants in our survey.

**Hypothesis Development and Conceptual Framework**

The concept of "ethnic identity salience" suggests that the stronger an individual's sense of ethnic identity, the more positive their attitudes are toward others with similar identities (Phinney, 1992). Furthermore, the categorization of social groups, particularly within the framework of ethnic diversity, often leads to biases between groups (Van Knippenberg et al., 2004). The Prejudice Distribution Account posits that "Highly identified minorities experience prejudice more frequently than their weakly identified counterparts, partly because members of the majority group tend to react more negatively towards individuals who strongly identify with their minority group than towards those who do not" (Kaiser & Wilkins, 2010).

The Salience of Category:

The previous literature demonstrates that the hiring decisions of multi-ethnic applicants are influenced by three fundamental constructs: the applicant's ethnic salience, job status (quality of job), and the ethnic orientation of the rater. The question here is: which category is determinant in decisions, applicant's ethnic salience or job status? In other words, does job status affect the decision, as in the case of many western samples where high-status jobs are associated with majorities and low status are with minorities, a job fit stereotype. This study aims to analyze if Salience or Job Status is primed by the rater. The differences of impact, attributed to categories influencing decision makers' attitudes is called Category Salience (Crisp & Hewstone, 2007). Thus, the self-designated social category of rater was affected by the accessibility of applicants' ethnicity conciousness rather than the job status, as the most accessible category as relevant information (Higgins & King, 1981; Wyer & Srull, 1981).

The first hypothesis proposes that the salience of category meaning ***Ethnicity vs. Job status*** determines the selection criteria the raters prime, to base their decisions on. Hence, it can be posited;

***(H1): Candidate's ethnic salience affects the category selection on which the decision is based. The higher the Applicant's Ethnicity Salience to the Rater, the stronger is the tendency to choose Ethnicity category in hiring decisions rather than job status.***

The Rater's Ethnic Orientation and Applicant's Ethnic Salience;

The second hypothesis posits that, whichever categorization (H1) indicated as a predictor, be it ethnic identifiers as suggested or else job status, will determine if the raters' decision will be affected by that category (ethnicity). In hiring decisions, the relationship between the rater's similarity to the applicant and ratings of job suitability is moderated by the raters' level of ethnic identity (O'Leary et al. 2009) and job status. Ethnically biased recruiters are more likely to possess negative stereotypes about outgroup members than less biased people (Devine & Elliot, 1995). According to Tajfel and Turner (1986) salient intergroup categorization is a sufficient motivation for ingroup bias and intergroup conflict in the context of resource allocation.

***(H2): Ethnic orientation of the rater will affect the rater's hiring decisions, and applicants having similar ethnicity with the rater, will be rated higher than the dissimilar ones.***

Minority Segmentation in Job Status**;** This segmentation is exhibited when minorities are designated certain jobs with occupational disadvantages to ethnic groups, as well as women in a broader sense as the largest minority group (Kaufman, 2001; Tomaskovic-Devey, 1993; Vaugn-Cooke, 1983). These jobs are less preferred, offer no power or prestige, less job security, easy replacement, and do not promise a long career advancement, eventually marginalizing people (Kaufman, 2001). Ethnically biased raters downgrade the suitability of minority candidates to meet the requirements of the high-status position (McRae, 1991), and they are more likely to possess negative stereotypes about minorities than less biased people (Devine & Elliot, 1995), and they may use the ethnicity and job-status fit criteria in making hiring decisions compared to less biased people.

***(H3): Ethnically biased raters will be more committed when selecting native applicants for high-status jobs than they would, selecting native applicants for low-status jobs.***

Realistic threats occur through competing for scarce economic resources like job offerings and perceived conflict over the well-being of the groups. The competition and opposing interests may generate conflicts. Studies in psychology, anthropology, and sociology demonstrate that competition for resources leads to greater intergroup friction and hostility as a stronger predictor of prejudice (Islam & Jahjah, 2001; Stephan et al., 1999).

Host nationals or majority ingroup members who perceive threat from a particular outgroup (e.g., Syrian ethnics) may resort to discriminatory acts to mitigate the felt threats (Crocker et al., 1998; Derous et al.,

2009). Olzak (1992) argues that if an ethnic threat is faced (i.e., large migration influx or economic disturbances), the dominant ethnic groups react with exclusionary attitudes triggered by the perceived threat (Olzak, 1992: 35). Quillian (1995) suggests that racial prejudice is incurred as a response to threat perception triggered by actual competition, stemmed from either the size of the migrants or fragile and uncertain economic conditions. As the size of outgroup increases, the collective threat perception increases, inducing stronger Realistic Threat from that particular group.

Thus, it may be posited that;

***(H4): If the perceived realistic threat gets stronger, Rater's hiring decision will favor native candidates stronger, and migrants will have a lower possibility for selection than those of equally qualified native applicants for the same job.***

These threats are also observed in situations where outgroups are favored with social policies like affirmative actions for minorities and low-status groups. Conflicts are experienced by members when groups perceive dissimilarity in many aspects of worldviews, are culturally distant from each other, have historical antagonism, either or both sides have an ethnocentric posture against each other or denial of each other's entity, norms, and values (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Stephan et al., 1999). Hence, it can be proposed that;

***(H5): If the perceived symbolic threat gets stronger, Rater's hiring decision will favor native candidates stronger, and migrants will have a lower possibility for selection than those of equally qualified native applicants for the same job.***

As observed in many cases in the literature, context and socioeconomic status as well as historical antecedents may determine if Realistic Threat or Symbolic Threat is in charge of determining potential predictor. Precarious economic conditions and severe conflicts over material resource allocations endorse RTHR, but when lifestyles and social adaptations are in question, STHR is observed to be the determinant (Kauff & Wagner, 2012).

Multicultural climate and intergroup contact are associated with the Symbolic Threat against outgroups (Gonzalez et al., 2008). Hence, one can argue that the nature of mass immigration to culturally and economically advanced countries dictate that, perception of symbolic threat supersedes realistic threat (Sniderman, Hagendoorn & Prior, 2004). By the same token, when the natives compete with migrants over scarce resources material concerns prevail and as a result realistic threat reigns the discriminative climate (Malhotra et al., 2013). Severe economic conditions including high unemployment and inflation was the determining climate in which this study was conducted.

Hence, it can be posited that;

***(H6): Realistic threat is a stronger predictor of hiring decision than symbolic threat, given the extant socio-political structures in Turkiye.***

Olzak (1992) suggests that "ceteris paribus" Realistic Threat will be the determinant driver when;

- The labor force supply is increased particularly by the migrant influx where the demand in the labor market is limited and the economy is saturated or shrinking, or
- Even if the labor force is stable but the scarce resources are decreasing.

This suggests that perceived realistic threat drivers, are stronger causes of discrimination regardless of other factors, such as job status moderations or gender effects.

***(H7): Migrant discrimination in hiring can be attributed more to realistic threat as a stronger predictor than social identity (raters' ethnicity orientation) regardless of the status of the jobs because the threat does not differentiate job statuses. In other words, job status cannot moderate discrimination if the threat is highly salient.***

***(H8): Rater high in ethnic identity will perceive more threat, as such there is a positive relation between ethnic identity level and threat, predicting selection decisions.***

Previous research has revealed that gender stereotypes are broken into; Communal and Agentic (Broverman et al., 1972). Communal traits are more demonstrated by women relating to kindness, emotional, nurturing and affectionate whereas Agentic traits are more associated with men relating to assertiveness, ambitiousness, dominance and controlling. Previous studies have found men to have more traditional gender belief systems than women, across cultures (Nierman et al.,2007). Women often loaded stereotypically with traditional female traits of social sensitivity, compassion and service orientation (Eagly, 1987). In extending this view it may be extracted that rating differences of ethnic minority candidates are expected, based on gender belief differences of male and female raters in evaluating the minority migrant candidates who compete with the natives.

Gender attitudes toward *migrants* differentiates as such, males demonstrate stronger negative attitudes than females when interacting with minorities (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010). Therefore, it can be posited that;

***(H9); Females show less tendency to discriminate against an outgroup applicant than males.***

Discriminated individuals tend be more reactive to high levels of psychological stressor experiences (Franklin & Boyd-Franklin, 2000) through the augmented perception of being victimized, appraising stronger threat to individual well- being which is explained with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). Perceived ethnic discrimination is significantly related to PTSD (Brown et al., 1999; Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000). Hence, it can be posited;

***(H10); Discrimination perception of Raters moderate the Ranking decision through the mediation of ethnic orientation and perceived threat of raters.***

**Conceptual Framework**

The Conceptual framework is sketched displaying causality and moderations in effect pertaining to our model in Figure 1 below which are explained in detail in succeeding sections.

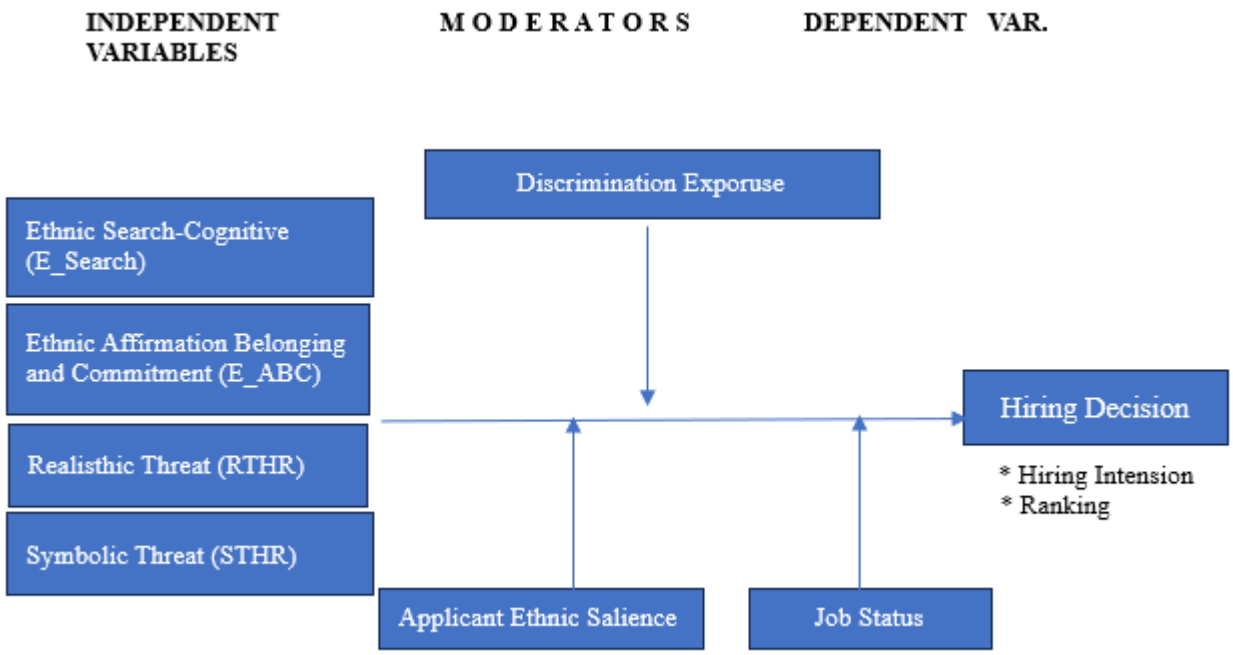


**Figure 1**. Conceptual Framework

## METHODOLOGY

Our study utilized an online survey that included a consent form for participants, a demographic profile sheet, rating items, ranking forms, job application CVs, and a questionnaire derived from adapted measures, totaling 30 questions. A total of 232 participants engaged in our study, comprising 166 females and 66 males. Participants were required to express their consent on questionnaire. Survey was approved by İstanbul Ticaret University Ethical board on November 3rd, 2023 with ref. no E-65836846-044-268835.

The first part of survey encompasses raters' evaluations of hypothetical job applications through "Rater's Ranking Form,' devised to record their hiring preferences. Raters sequentially ranked candidates employing a ranking scale of 1 to 3, and 4 for no selection.

To mirror the dynamics of real-world hiring, two job categories were simulated:

- A low-status position: "Delivery Specialist"
- A high-status position: "Manager"

For each role three fictitious resumes were crafted, each embedded with subtle ethnic cues — names and affiliations — emblematic of Turkish, Uzbek, and Syrian backgrounds. To ascertain the robustness of our comparative analysis, each resume was rigorously appraised by experts. Table 1 provides an overview of the participants' demographic information.

**Table 1.** Participants' Profile

| **Variables** | **N=232** | **Freq.%** |
|---|---|---|
| ***GENDER*** | | |
| Male | **66** | 28,4 |
| Female | **166** | 71,6 |
| ***EDUCATION*** | | |
| High School and lower education | **16** | 6,9 |
| Undergraduate/College | **112** | 48,3 |
| Graduate | **104** | 44,8 |
| ***HIRING STATUS*** | | |
| HR workers | **34** | 14,7 |
| Hiring Positions | **87** | 37,5 |
| Non-Hiring Positions | **97** | 41,8 |
| Student | **14** | 6,0 |
| ***HIRING TENURE*** | | |
| None | **95** | 40,9 |
| 1 – 3 Years | **38** | 16,4 |
| 3 + Years | **99** | 42,7 |
| ***DISCRIMINATION EXPOSURE*** | | |
| Never exposed to any exposure | **78** | 34 |
| Exposed one or more types of discrimination | **154** | 66 |

The second segment was strategically crafted to tease out the participants' intrinsic attitudes and biases toward the candidates. The questionnaire was designed and borrowed from the relevant measures.

Measures were translated into Turkish, and then back-translate into English accomplishing due translation processes.

**Measures**

- **Ethnic Perspectives;** Phinney's (1992) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) was used to examine the ethnic identity with Cognitive (5 items) and Emotional (7 items) components in two subscales.
- **Realistic Threat**: (Stephan et al., 1999) A 7-item realistic threat scale was used to measure the degree to which individuals report anxiety generating threats to the physical, material, or welfare of the ingroup or its members.
- **Symbolic Threat;** (Stephan et al., 1999). A 7-item symbolic threat scale was used to capture the perception of the threat posed by perceived differences relating to cultural values, morals, and beliefs between the natives and migrants which threaten the 'way of life' of natives.
- **Hiring Intention and Confidence;** (McIntyre et al., 1980). A two-item scale was used for hiring intention.

## STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

The participants' have categorized their preferences based on job status and ethnicity. The data is summarized in Table 2, which illustrates the ranking of applicants by categories.

**Table 2.** Ranking of Applicants by Categories

| N=232 | 1. st Preference % | | | | | | 2. nd Preference % | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Turk | | Syrian | | Uzbek | | Turk | | Syrian | | Uzbek | |
| Job Status | High | Low | High | Low | High | Low | High | Low | High | Low | High | Low |
| *% of Frequency* | 60,8 | 61,2 | 21,1 | 5,6 | 16,8 | 28,9 | 20,3 | 24,1 | 20,3 | 40,5 | 55,2 | 29,3 |
| **Gender** M=66, W=166 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Female* | 61,4 | 61,4 | 21,1 | 4,8 | 17,5 | 29,5 | 22,9 | 25,3 | 17,5 | 39,2 | 54,8 | 28,9 |
| *Male* | 59,1 | 60,6 | 21,2 | 7,6 | 15,2 | 27,3 | 13,6 | 21,2 | 27,3 | 43,9 | 56,1 | 30,3 |
| **Education** UG=128 G=104 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Under Graduate* | 60,0 | 59,4 | 19,5 | 3,1 | 20,3 | 30,5 | 18,8 | 21,9 | 23,4 | 43,8 | 53,1 | 32,0 |
| *Graduate* | 61,5 | 63,5 | 23,1 | 8,7 | 12,5 | 26,9 | 22,1 | 26,9 | 16,3 | 36,5 | 57,7 | 26,0 |
| **Hiring Status** HR=34, Hr. Pos.=87, N. Hr. Pos.=97, Std.=14 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *HR* | 64,7 | 64,7 | 11,8 | 5,9 | 29,4 | 23,5 | 14,7 | 17,6 | 20,6 | 23,5 | 52,9 | 52,9 |
| *Hiring Person* | 59,8 | 58,6 | 26,4 | 5,7 | 10,3 | 33,3 | 17,2 | 24,1 | 24,1 | 47,1 | 55,2 | 20,7 |
| *Non-Hiring P.* | 57,7 | 60,8 | 20,6 | 6,2 | 19,6 | 26,8 | 24,7 | 26,8 | 17,5 | 43,3 | 55,7 | 26,8 |
| *Student* | 78,6 | 71,4 | 14,3 | 0,0 | 7,1 | 28,6 | 21,4 | 21,4 | 14,3 | 21,4 | 57,1 | 42,9 |
| **Hiring Tenure** None=95, 1-3 years=38, 3years+=99 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *None* | 62,1 | 66,3 | 20,0 | 5,3 | 17,9 | 25,3 | 25,3 | 23,2 | 16,8 | 38,9 | 55,8 | 30,5 |
| *1-3 Years* | 52,6 | 63,2 | 28,9 | 2,6 | 15,8 | 34,2 | 21,1 | 18,4 | 31,6 | 47,4 | 47,4 | 26,3 |
| *3 + Years* | 62,6 | 55,6 | 19,2 | 7,1 | 16,2 | 30,3 | 15,2 | 27,3 | 19,2 | 39,4 | 57,6 | 29,3 |

- Women scored higher average than men in 1st and 2nd ranking preferences for all ethnicities and for both statuses.

- Both men and women consistently scored higher average for Uzbeks than they did for Syrians, again for both statuses.
- Turks had a higher percentage in first ranking than the combined scores of Syrians and Uzbeks together, and Uzbeks dominated 2nd ranking (55,2%) in the high-status job while Syrians dominated 2nd ranking preference (40,5%) for the low-status job.
- Based on overall means and std. dev., In ranking of all ethnicities, Turks are overwhelmingly designated as the first rank candidate, Uzbeks for second and Syrians for third.
- Women consistently scored lower than men for Syrians relating to the first ranking of high and low statuses and second ranking for high-status jobs and scored higher than men for Uzbeks in both statuses for the first ranking.
- Education level has shown a similar tendency to gender for the first ranking of high and low-status jobs.
- HR has scored strongly for Turks for high as well as low-status jobs and scored much higher for Uzbeks than Syrians.

The conclusion which may be extracted is that the hiring pattern is so that Turks dominate for first preference and Uzbeks are the alternatives as an indication of Prejudice Distribution Account, hierarchizing among minorities.

**Exploratory Factor Analysis**

EFA analysis conducted on fundamental measures are;

**Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure- (MEIM)**

EFA has indicated multicollinearity between Item 8 and Item 11, and Item 8 was dropped off to resolve the issue. KMO=0.913, $\chi^2$Bartlett test (55) =1560,224, and significance p=0.000 prove adequacy and sphericity of data have proven very satisfactory. Ethnic Search (Cognition) accounted for a total variance of 36,14% and Ethnic ABC- Affirmation/Belonging/Commitment- (Emotion) represented by 6 items (item 8 excluded) accounted for a total variance of 31,46%. Reliability is explained by Cronbach's α, Ethnic Search (α = 0,853), and Ethnic ABC. (α = 0,910) have satisfied internal consistency.

**Realistic Threat Measure**

KMO=0,775, $\chi^2$Bartlett test (21) =500,317, and significance p=0.000 of data have proven good and satisfactory. EFA on RTHR extracted two factors, the first factor accounted for a variance of 34,22% and second factor accounted for a total variance of 29,4, and the aggregate of 63,63% provides a statistically sound indicator. RTHR data has proven multivariate normal and Cronbach's (α = 0,783) has satisfied internal consistency.

**Symbolic Threat Measure**

EFA on STHR reported a total variance of 47,69% and had multivariate normality. KMO=0,854, $\chi^2$Bartlett test (21) =452,075, and significance p=0.000 of data has proven satisfactory. STHR data has proven multivariate normal and Cronbach's (α = 0,815) has satisfied internal consistency.

**Hiring Intention Measure**

EFA reported a total variance of from 77 to 90% for each ethnic group which is perfect and had multivariate normality. Results of KMO tests are all 0,5 for each ethnic group which is the cutoff value, however, this is very normal for two item tests and p=0,000 for all indicating satisfactory results.

**SEM Single Model Fit Analysis (CFA) and Path Analysis**

SEM – Structural Equation Modeling, was used to test the research hypothesis, explaining the relations of observed variables and latent variables, and among latent variables, acting to predict dependent variables in a structural equation model, which includes- Factor Analysis (Model Fit test) as measurement model, and Path Analysis – estimating Regression weights (β). First, a baseline model was established to frame a common platform for measurement analysis between independent variables and pivotal latent variables upon which the models were applied, configured to test our hypothesis through path analysis as sketched in Figure 2 below. Endogenous variables of Hiring Intention and Ranking were moderated by ethnic groups (Turks, Syrians, Uzbeks), by job status, and by gender, followed also by gender breakdown in the multigroup analysis method, and moderated by people exposed to discrimination.

Factor validity checks initially exhibited multicollinearity (r = 0,945) between Realistic and Symbolic threat items, and Realistic threat having higher loadings and better explaining the variances on relevant scale items, Symbolic threat was dropped off from this study A refined Measurement Model of Baseline was proven to be a good fit by a chi-square value of 139,483 with 84 degrees of freedom, CMIN/DF 1,661, and Relative indexes of CFI=0,968 and RMSEA= 0,053 yielding a very good fit.

The single-group model tests, that was built on top of this baseline, have demonstrated good fit, and proper convergent and discriminant validity values, and they all have proven multivariate normality. The whole CFA considerations for a plausible model appear to be reliable and sound. Factor correlations of the baseline model are all below the threshold of 0,8 relieving any multicollinearity issue, E_ Search has a positive correlation with E_ABC (0,681$^{***)}$, RTHR has a positive correlation with E_ABC, but no significant correlation was reported between RTHR and E_ Search (0,120 p=0,148).

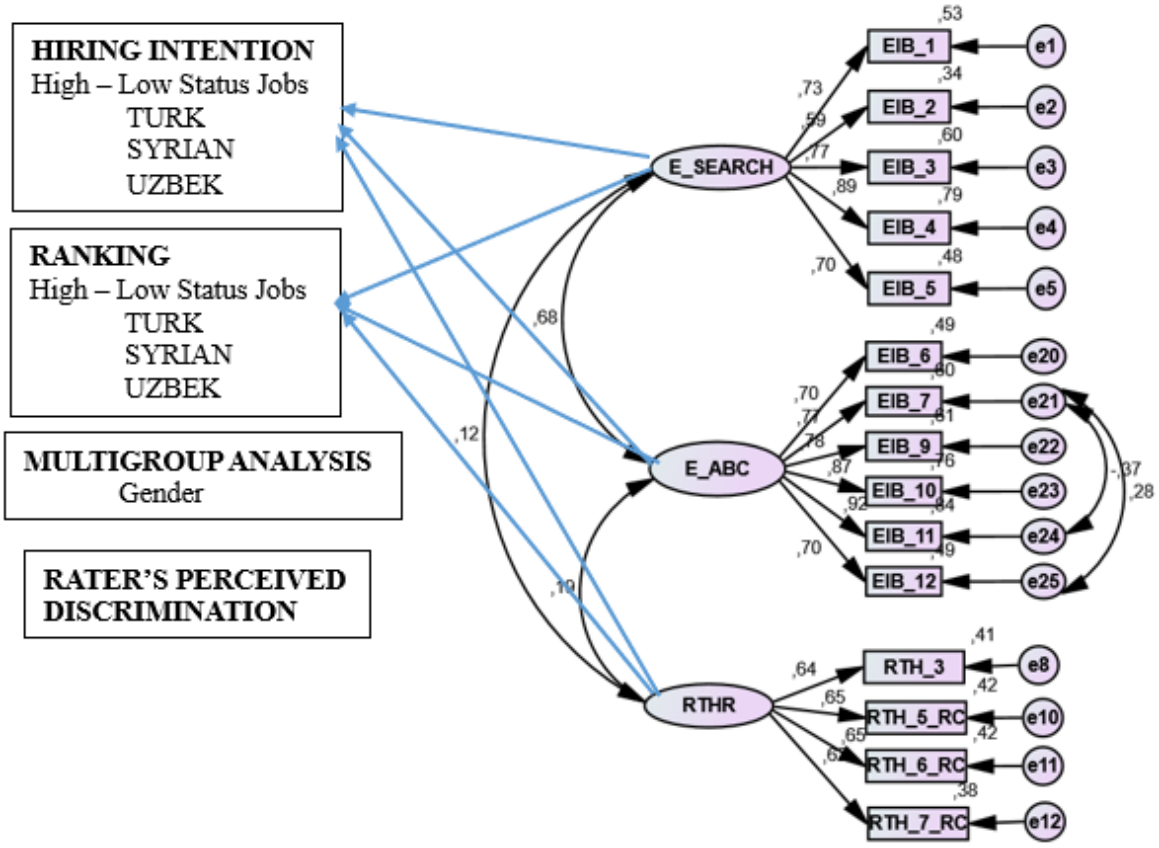


**Figure 2.** Structural Baseline Model-Modified Improved

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

SEM models were used to obtain goodness of fit to trace the measurement errors and causational strength of paths in multivariate form and tested through multigroup extension as suggested by Bagozzi and Yi (2012) and Byrne (2016). Based on theoretical explanations, related literature and our inferential assessments, hypothesis were evaluated with data presented in Table 3 below.

**Table 3.** Estimates of Structural Model of Hiring Intention and Ranking

| DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS | | | | | INFERENTIAL ANALYSIS | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Means & Std. d. | Median | | | E_SEARCH | E_ABC | RTHR |
| **Estimated Standardized Regression Weights- β** | | | | | | | |
| **Hiring Intention** (Suitability + Confidence) | | | | | | | |
| Turk H. Status | 3,99 (,77) | **4** | | | **,222*** | -,080 | ,145 |
| Turk L. Status | 3,87 (,83) | **4** | | | ,143 | -,046 | ,007 |
| Syrian H. Status | 3,52 (,92) | **3** | | | **-,338**** | ,071 | **-,315***** |
| Syrian L. Status | 3,15 (,95) | **3** | | | **-,316**** | ,093 | **-,488***** |
| Uzbek H. Status | 3,73 (,74) | **3** | | | **-,283**** | ,049 | **-,339***** |
| Uzbek L. Status | 3,58 (,91) | **3** | | | **-,352***** | ,118 | **-,250***** |
| **Ranking** | | | 1. Rank Freq. in Number & | % | | | |
| Turk H. Status | 1,66 (,89) | **1** | **141** | **60.8%** | **-,215*** | ,079 | **-,175**** |
| Turk L. Status | 1,56 (,83) | **1** | **142** | **61,2%** | **-,238*** | ,141 | -,073 |
| Syrian H. Status | 2,49 (,95) | **3** | **49** | **21,1%** | **,325**** | -,074 | **,228**** |
| Syrian L. Status | 2,64 (,81) | **3** | **13** | **5,6%** | -,129 | ,092 | **,466***** |
| Uzbek H. Status | 2,15 (,71) | **2** | **39** | **16,8%** | -,068 | ,027 | **,155*** |
| Uzbek L. Status | 2,21 (,93) | **2** | **67** | **28,9%** | ,138 | -,031 | -,065 |

Notes: * p < 0,050 ** p < 0,010 *** p < 0,001. † Shaded areas are statistically non-significant.
†† Ranking question: "After reviewing the applicant resumes, please rank the applicants in the order in which you would choose to hire them?" 1=1st ranking, 2=2nd ranking 3= 3rd ranking 4=no-ranking
††† Hiring intention question: "1-How suitable do you believe this applicant is for this function? 2-What is the likelihood that you'd invite this individual for an interview? Confidence question: How confident would you be in your decision to hire this candidate? (1 to 5 Likert scale, 1 very negative, 5 very positive)

E_ABC has demonstrated totally non-significant statistical explanations for all predictions, meaning the emotional component of ethnicity attitudes is not any concern for the respondents. the statistical estimations relating descriptive and inferential analysis are explained below.

## HIRING INTENTION

E_ Search predicts Turks only in high status evaluations β= 0,222, as one unit increase in ethnic cognition increasing the Hiring Intention for Turk applicant by 22%. Both constructs, E_ Search and RTHR exhibit very decisive predictions across all ethnic group and job statuses, RTHR overwhelmingly scoring higher than E_ Search, except in Uzbek low status. RTHR reports β= -0,315 and β= -0,488 for Syrians, and β= -0,339 and β= -0,250 for Uzbeks, respectively for high and low status predictions**.** E_ Search also reports comparatively lower than RTHR, but considerably very strong predictions of β= -0,315 and β= -0,488 for Syrians, and β= -0,283 and β= -0,352 for Uzbeks, respectively for high and low status estimations. This evidences outright discrimination against the outgroup at a very conspicuous scale.

**RANKING**

E_ Search predicts consistent attitudes when assessing Turks for both statuses at similar weights of regression, β= -0,215 and -0,238 for high and low statuses respectively, as one unit increase in ethnic cognition lower the ranking preference towards 1.st selection for the high status by 22%, and for the low status by 24%, that is selecting Turks for the first choice. This tendency is supported by RTHR at β= -0,175 for high status job, as one unit increase in RTHR lowers the ranking preference towards 1.st selection by 18%, but showing no effect for low status.

RTHR predicts consistent attitudes when assessing Syrians for both statuses at considerably different weights of regression, for high β= 0,228 and for low β= 0,466 almost double the high status, as one unit increase in RTHR increases the ranking preference away from the 1.st selection towards 2nd or 3rd ranking by 24% for high and 47% for low statuses. E_ Search only predicts for high status at β= 0,325, higher than RTHR in strength, again as one unit increase in E_ Search increases the ranking preference by 33% just as RTHR does, but showing no effect for low status. Thus, it can be inferred that it is the RTHR which predominantly impacts ranking decisions for Syrians in the form of "bias against" driven by perceived threat and supported by E_ Search which is only instrumental in high status. This also means that predictions for high status is governed by two constructs decisively, nevertheless, the strength of prediction at low status by RTHR is much higher.

For Uzbeks, the only statistically significant predictor is RTHR on high status job β= 0,155, as one unit increase in RTHR increases the ranking preference by 16%.

Overwhelming scoring for the Turks over the migrants- (H2) - indicates that decisions are triggered by ethnic similarity- (H1) -, regardless of job statuses, hence (H1) and (H2) are both supported, and raters bias their decision in Hiring Intention as well as in Ranking, strongly favoring the native applicants based on ethnic similarities.

RTHR is the dominating predictor in Syrian evaluation, job suitability perception, that is "Job Fit" is not considered even for the low-status job (H4), which is also predicted by identity affiliation (E_ Search) (H2). This clear discrimination against Syrians can be attributed more to RTHR than E_ Search because RTHR dominantly predicts in both decisions; Hiring Intention and Ranking, and in both statuses. Hence (H7) is supported.

RTHR regression weights (**β**) were lighter for Uzbeks compared to Syrians signaling Uzbeks as the second favored, putting them in the 2nd Ranking behind Turks which can be explained with priming "ethnic salience in categorization" (H1), similarity to ethnicity rather than job status- having ancestral Turkic origin (H2)- as well as with frequent use of "Arab dislike" rhetoric (Higgins, 1996) and perceived threat (H7).

(H3) hypothesis was not supported. Job statuses did not moderate the discrimination attitude. Turks, as the dominating group scored almost equally for both job statuses, around 61% as the selection preference was influenced by ethnic factor (E_ Search) as the sole predicting construct.

(H5) hypothesis was not conducted because our symbolic threat data has caused a discriminant validity issue causing multicollinearity.

Although Symbolic Threat was not included in models, nevertheless EFA was conducted for STHR and much lower loading and weaker statistical properties were exhibited compared to RHTR. Therefore, (H6) can be supported.

E_ Search has shown, no statistically significant correlation with RTHR in any single or multigroup model tests. Therefore, we cannot prove any relation between E_ Search and RTHR and (H8) is not supported.

In evaluating across all ethnicities, for Turk candidates RTHR shows significance for high-status jobs although E_ Search heavily influenced the decision. In evaluating migrants though, RTHR was stronger in predicting decisions, hence (H7) is directly supported. (H4) was also supported because raters' decision to favor natives was instigated by threat perception from migrants.

Ranking decision analysis by gender is also conducted to infer and differentiate the attitudes of males and females as presented in Table 4 below.

**Table 4.** Inferential Findings' Summary – Ranking by Gender

| | **Estimated Standardized Regression Weights- β** | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | E_SEARCH | | | E_ABC | | | RTHR | | |
| | Factor Ranking | Female | Male | Factor Ranking | Female | Male | Factor Ranking | Female | Male |
| Turk H. Status | **-,215*** | **-,264*** | -,214 | ,079 | ,054 | ,167 | **-,175**** | **-,226*** | -,173 |
| Turk L. Status | **-,238*** | **-,242*** | -,241 | ,135 | ,070 | ,287 | -,073 | -,028 | -,014 |
| Syrian H. Stat. | **,325**** | **,276*** | **,470*** | -,086 | -,052 | -,173 | **,228**** | **,182*** | **,381**** |
| Syrian L. Stat. | -,122 | -,138 | -,045 | ,090 | ,021 | ,153 | **,466***** | **,513***** | **,416**** |
| Uzbek H. Stat. | -,037 | -,049 | -,047 | ,024 | ,047 | -,006 | **,155*** | **,213*** | ,136 |
| Uzbek L. Stat. | ,172 | ,129 | ,123 | -,037 | ,103 | -,242 | -,086 | -,072 | -,110 |

Notes: * p < 0,050 ** p < 0,010 *** p < 0,001. Shaded areas are statistically non-significant.

Female scores strongly favoring Turk candidate Ranking through ethnic cognition- E_ Search- for high status (β) = -0,264*, for low status to -0,242* and perceived Threat for high status (β) = -0,226*, yet male raters' scores do not show any correlation for either status. In Syrian candidates' Ranking, female estimations for high status were comparatively low, E_ Search (β) = 0,276* and RTHR (β) = 0,182* versus male scores' E_ Search (β) = 0,470** and RTHR (β) of 0,381**. In low-status ranking, females scored higher for RTHR (β) =0,513*** than males (β) =0,416**. It can be stated that, in high status, female discrimination weight is lower than male, but higher in low status. For Uzbeks, female predicts only in high status (β) = 0,213*. This makes it difficult

to generalize any conclusion, suggesting that female attitude is less moderate than men, and therefore (H9) is not supported.

**The Effects of Raters' Discrimination Perception on Decisions**

Table 5 explains the Ranking decision comparisons of raters who have not experienced discrimination with those who have perceived to experience one or more type of discriminations as; Gender, Ethnicity, Religion, Sect, Political View, Linguistic insufficiency and Dialect, Socioeconomic status, Education level and not being Affiliated with a social group.

**Table 5.** Ranking by Types of Discrimination Raters Experienced

| **Type of Discrimination** | **Standardized Weights (β)** | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | TURK | | SYRIAN | | UZBEK | |
| | Means & Std. dev. | High Pos. | Low Pos. | High Pos. | Low Pos. | High Pos. | Low Pos. |
| **Never experienced any discrimination** 78 Responses *34% of Responses*. | | | | | | | |
| E_ Search | 2,84 (,87) | | | | **-0,470**** | | |
| E_ABC | 3,20 (,84) | | | | **0,376*** | | |
| RTHR | 3,81 (,66) | | | | **0,578***** | | |
| **Experienced one or more types of discrimination** 154 Responses *66% of Responses*. | | | | | | | |
| E_ Search | 3,07 (1,0) | **-0,288*** | **-0,483***** | **0,407***** | | | **0,264*** |
| E_ABC | 3,31 (1,0) | | **0,413***** | | | | |
| RTHR | 3,82 (0,9) | **-0,265**** | | **0,256**** | **0,443***** | **0,227*** | |

People not exposed to any discrimination, report discrimination only against Syrians in low-status jobs with predictions in which RTHR was stronger at **(**β= 58%) than E_ Search at (β= - 47%). E_ Search estimations for Turk candidates were intense, (β= -29%) for high and (β= -48%) for low, while RTHR for high status was (β= -27%). Syrians have come out as a stigmatized group from this analysis, as RTHR was stronger at (β= 26%) for high status (β= 44%) for low status, and E_ Search at (β= 41%) for high status. For Uzbeks moderate predictions of RTHR (β= 23%) for high status and E_ Search (β= 26%) for low status. There is a big difference between "Any of all" and *"None* discrimination, people discriminate strongly if they have been discriminated, meaning (H10) is supported.

Raters favored Turks driven by ethnic cognition -E_ Search- not by emotional dimension -E_ ABC-. E_ ABC has no significant effect on almost any structural model and acts contrary to the other two constructs.

Even though RTHR and E_ Search did not correlate or covary, they always acted in parallel in the same direction, representing distinct parameters. RTHR influenced the decisions on Syrian and Uzbek candidates for both statuses, discrimination towards Uzbeks was much lighter, and in some cases was in the form of indifference rather than "bias against" indicating a hierarchy of discrimination between migrant groups. Syrians were designated as the 3rd ranking and Uzbeks as 2nd which indicates a "prejudice distribution account" situation rather than a "job fit" perception. In Ranking Turk candidates, only Female estimates were statistically significant triggered by E_ Search for both statuses and RTHR for high status only. Male scoring did not have any statistical significance for any construct. This denotes that female bias for the Turks while male displays no attitude either way. In Ranking Syrian candidates, both genders' discrimination was driven by RTHR for both statuses and E_ Search for high status only. Uzbek candidates did not have any significance whatsoever, for any gender and any status.

People who have never experienced any discrimination (78 respondents, 34%) exhibited discrimination only for Syrian low-position candidates across all three factors in Ranking decisions. People who have been exposed to one or more types of discrimination are heavily biased for Turks and biased against Syrians. Those people who have experienced Political or Religious/Sectoral discrimination have had only RTHR as a statistically significant construct to predict discrimination. People who have not experienced any form of discrimination, discriminate much less than those who have been exposed to any form of discrimination, and women are triggered more by similarity and men by threat. Women who experienced discrimination, show very strong RTHR stimulus for low-status job decisions. E_ Search has only stimulated discrimination in victimized women cases, only in high-status decisions for Syrians. Men when experienced discrimination other than gender, exhibit stronger discrimination than women, stronger than women who experienced gender discrimination.

## CONCLUSION

This research has empirically evidenced that, ethnic drivers overshadowed antecedents of threat, in evaluating ethnically similar ones which can be attributed to situations when the high level of migration influx and severe economic conditions are prevailing. This rationale is also supported by Quillian (1995), Scheepers et al., (2002) and Olzak (1992) suggesting that "ceteris paribus", Ethnic Competition combining ethnic cognition and perceived realistic threat, is stronger causes of discrimination regardless of other factors, such as job status moderations or gender effects. These determinants in cognitive and material sense (Ethnic Search and Realistic Threat) carved the attitudes, leaving no room for emotions or any form of loading to alleviate the adamant stand. Corroborating this comprehension, our research has also revealed that respondents have discriminated against migrants, at differing scales triggered by ethnic competition, moderately against Uzbeks, and blatantly against Syrians.

This study has also revealed that both genders have exhibited similar attitudes towards outgroups, although literature argues that men are more prone to prejudice, our findings have demonstrated otherwise (Herek, 2002; Hughes & Tuch, 2003), that severe conditions impact both genders to display similar attitudes. it can be stated that, perceived discrimination by the raters is significantly and positively correlated with discriminative decisions towards migrants, hierarchically presented according to outgroups.

Furthermore, Turkiye being a collectivist culture is also categorized as high on uncertainty avoidance, paternalistic, and high-power distance (Paşa et al., 2001; Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005). Collectivism postulates that positive outcomes are reached through reciprocity by ingroup members (Niles, 1998). Previous research on Turkish organizations have revealed human resource management (HRM) practices characterized with informal hiring, strong favoritism to ingroup members, and "quid pro quo" type of interpersonal relationships in a very loosely formalized structure. Accordingly helping closely associated ones is not unethical, generates a positive appreciation and gratitude by ingroup and provides an enviable social status (DiTomaso, 2015). This research may shed light on HR practices to concentrate on diversity matters, accountability and social information, and safeguard organizational efficiency. Diversity offers many potential benefits to organizations in addition to hiring more skilled people, and firms might benefit broader grasp of international market behaviors, better competitive edge, easier access to customers, and lowered costs.

This study has certain limitations that should be considered in future research. Alternate approaches (field and lab studies) with longitudinal replications will improve the content validity and having balanced (comparable size of men and women) and heterogeneous participant configurations will increase plausibility.

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