

***Title: To assess the Level of Unconscious Bias in the  
CV Review Stage of the Recruitment Process and to  
evaluate the Impact of Anonymised CVs.***

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**To Assess the Level of Unconscious Bias in the CV Review Stage of the Recruitment Process and to Evaluate the Impact of Anonymised CVs.**

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**Abstract**

This study constituted a laboratory experiment to measure the extent of racial discrimination present in the CV review part of the recruitment process, and the impact of anonymous CVs on such discrimination. The experiment, which took the form of a survey, involved asking participants to rate two CVs, with each resume being assigned either a typical Irish sounding name or a typical name from one of the EU New Member States. The participants completed a follow up survey one month later where they reviewed the same CVs without any names on them. It was found that there was no significant difference between the response to either CV in both the original and the follow up survey. The results do not correlate with the academic research in this field; it is surmised that this is because previous studies have been conducted on real employers who were not aware that they were participating in a study, while in this study participants were consciously reviewing just two CVs in an experimental setting. These results suggest that racial discrimination in the recruitment process could be reduced if there was a greater level of consciousness around racism and accountability for or scrutiny of recruitment decisions.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

In 2013, Liberian-born Max Kpakio applied for a role with an airline company in the UK and had his application rejected; he then re-applied but changed his name to a typical British name “Craig Owen” and was invited for an interview straight away, as outlined by Sarah Rushton (2013). There are numerous news articles about this phenomenon where people are “whitening” or “anglicising” their names to ensure they get an opportunity to interview. Discrimination is commonly understood as differential treatment on the basis of group membership that unfairly disadvantages a group. While historically discrimination was obvious actions against a particular group, modern discrimination has emerged into a more subtle form that impacts many employment decisions and is a particularly challenging problem as it is often not recognised by the perpetrator as having an impact on their decision-making. People are often not aware of the impact this ‘unconscious’ bias has on their decisions. Understanding how discrimination works and the presence of unconscious bias will play a key role in helping organizations to eliminate all discrimination both formal and more subtle or unintentional forms. Once discrimination is better understood, preventive measures can be tailored to address the problem and to ensure a more diverse workplace.

In Irish society, there has been a move away from discrimination being either socially or legally acceptable; however in reality it is still a real and present part of our labour market. Despite Irish legislation prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, social research documents the stereotyping and unconscious bias that exists in employment decisions. There is a growing body of research about the disadvantages suffered by immigrants in Ireland, with lower employment and poorer wages than equivalent Irish natives (Barrett and Duffy 2008). As observed



by O'Connell, Joyce and Finn (2012) Ireland was almost exclusively made up of White Irish, but then following a period of rapid immigration after the expansion of the EU, the population demographic changed dramatically. It is clear from recent statistics that those from the New Member States ("NMS"), who are making up a growing proportion of the Irish population are treated less favourably in areas such as employment and wages. As our demographics change, it is more important than ever that there is a greater level of awareness of the impact of discrimination on a societal and organisational level. As noted by Russell, Quinn, Riain and McGinnity (2009 p.4) discrimination "undermines equality in a society" and "may also exacerbate social cleavages and weaken social solidarity, and in the context of employment, can undermine labour standards and lead to an inefficient use of skills". They conducted an extensive survey measuring discrimination at every level in Ireland and found that the largest percentage of discrimination was reported in relation to 'access to employment'. A pivotal piece of work was done by McGinnity, Nelson, Lunn, and Quinn (2009) where they conducted a field experiment into the level of bias in the Irish labour market by presenting equally qualified Irish and non-Irish candidates to hundreds of live jobs across Ireland. Their results showed that discrimination is evidently a concern for Ireland with candidates with Irish names being over twice as likely to be called for an interview than those candidates with non-Irish names, despite both candidates having almost identical skills and qualifications.

## **1.2 Aim**

It is proposed to assess what level of racism and unconscious bias exists in the Irish labour market through a laboratory experiment that will focus on the CV review stage of the recruitment process, which research has shown is where the greatest level of discrimination occurs. The experiment involves presenting equally qualified applicants with similar skills and qualifications and asking

participants to choose which they would rather hire. One candidate will have a stereotypical Irish name and the other a name of someone from the NMS. This experiment will look to supplement the research that is already present by seeing the difference in a controlled laboratory experiment relative to the body of research on the live employment setting. The second objective of this research is to assess the viability of one proposed solution to this problem which is the concept of anonymous CVs whereby candidates do not submit their names to attempt to prevent them being discriminated against based on their ethnicity. This will be measured through a similar style experiment whereby the exact same CVs will be re-sent to the same participants at a later stage but with the names removed to see if they rate them differently.

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

### **2.1 Evolution of Discrimination**

Persistent racial inequality has renewed interest in the possible role of discrimination; however contemporary forms of discrimination are often subtle and covert, which makes it more challenging for social scientific conceptualization and measurement as outlined by Coates (2008). McConahay (1986) observes how attitudes toward social biases and racism have developed over time and he discusses that, while previously prejudiced sentiments were expressed openly and related directly to discriminatory behaviour, this has evolved into ‘modern racism’ where attitudes are becoming less negative over time but the form of discrimination is becoming more complex, subtle and less overt. As a result of this, racial discrimination in particular is not as openly expressed as social standards of behaviour are more clearly defined; however it is occurring more frequently in situations in which appropriate egalitarian responses are less clearly defined. This is backed up by academic research in this area (Ruggs, Martinez, and Hebl, 2011; Sue, Capodilupo, Torino, Bucceri, Holder, Nadal, and Esquilin, 2007) which confirms that while formal discrimination in the workplace is decreasing interpersonal discrimination against minority groups is increasing. As discussed by Hebl, Bigazzi-Foster, Mannix, and Dovidio (2002) in an employment setting there are two forms of discrimination: formal and interpersonal. ‘Formal’ discrimination involves job-related actions that consciously discriminate and it includes differential hiring, compensation distribution, promotions and firing. Morgan, Walker, Hebl, & King (2013 p. 799) describe ‘interpersonal’ discrimination as a “pattern of negativity that consists of verbal, paraverbal and nonverbal displays” and behaviours include hostility, unconscious bias, micro-aggressions and subtle discrimination. Discrimination in the recruitment process is often both unconscious and unintentional which makes

it more difficult to measure and eradicate as discussed by Pager, Western, and Bonikowski (2009). Deitch, Barsky, Butz, Chan, Brief & Bradley (2003) discuss this modern approach to racism where people commonly view themselves as non-prejudiced and therefore do not acknowledge their more subtle form of discrimination as being racist and outlined how much more detrimental this is as it is more difficult to detect and regulate against.

## **2.2 Implicit Bias Theory**

Implicit Bias Theory as discussed by Greenwald and Krieger (2006) result in unconscious stereotyping which is a mental association between a category or social group and a trait. It causes people to make assumptions about categories of people based on previous information which as outlined by Greenwald and Krieger (2006) may or may not reflect a statistical reality. This results in cultural stigmatization and it impacts intergroup judgement and decision-making. Krieger (1995 p.1188) states that “stereotypes where they function as implicit prototypes or schemas, operate beyond the reach of decisionmaker self-awareness and therefore cognitive bias may well be unconscious or unintentional”. People do not often have conscious, intentional control over the processes of social perception, impression formation, and judgment that influence their actions and are often unaware of the social biases they have developed and the impact they have on the decisions and actions they take.

Bodensteiner (2008) says that without a conscious effort to overcome the cognitive mechanism through which we make decisions about people, decisions are often based on the category into which the decisionmaker places the person rather than an assessment of their unique personality and characteristics. Some level of stereotyping and categorization of people is a natural way of interpreting our environment and is a component of our daily lives; however, as outlined by Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami and Hodson (2002) a large portion of stereotyping is not the result of explicit consciously held attitudes, but of implicit beliefs that

are “ automatically activated by the mere presence (actual or symbolic) of the attitude object” and commonly are unconscious and unintentional. Unconscious bias and stereotyping can thrive in situations where decision-makers have unbridled discretion to make subjective employment decisions. Pager et al (2009) finds that theories of implicit bias show that race is often viewed as a heuristic that employer use to evaluate job applicants where they know little else about them in terms of actual performance ability. They rely on group bias to help guide them in making decisions in line with social cognition theory about decision-making. Pager et al (2009) said that heuristics of this type can be very pervasive and are often unconscious and the impact can vary at different stages of the recruitment process as at latter stages more information is provided that can override initial expectations.

### **2.3 Discrimination in Employment**

There are two predominant theories on discrimination in the employment marketplace: firstly “taste discrimination” (Becker (1971)) looks at an employer’s prejudices and their preferences for certain groups or individuals, and secondly “statistical discrimination” (Arrow, 1973; Phelps, 1972) occurs in an environment of imperfect information where employers form expectations based on limited signals that correlate with race. Under statistical discrimination, employers make assumptions that certain characteristics such as ethnicity are correlated with the unobserved determinants of performance. McGinnity et al (2009 p.28) note in Ireland, under the statistical discrimination model, the evidence suggests that Irish employers perceive non-national candidates as having “lower productivity, linked to language skills, knowledge of local labour markets etc. and, therefore, would not be able to do the job as well”. Under this model, the precision of information that is held by employers is taken into account as discussed by Altonji and Blank (1999), so if there is a void of fundamental information about productivity levels, employers will revert to what information is available. As such, even if no prior

beliefs about capabilities are held about minority candidates, employers will choose to positively discriminate in favour of those that they have prior experience with, despite experiences being identical (Aigner and Cain, 1977). McGinnity et al (2009) finds that in the Irish market this could mean that more Irish candidates will be successful at the initial stage as employers are more confident in their ability to judge Irish people.

## **2.4 Homophily**

Homophily is the concept where people like to associate with those who are similar and it is also known as 'own group bias' and it extends across race, age, socioeconomic group, and gender as discussed by McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Cook (2001). As outlined by Edo, Jacquemet, Yannelis (2013) individuals associate with those with similar backgrounds for one of two reasons; firstly due to a preference for homogeneity and secondly they feel they have similar attributes which makes interactions, communication and bonding easier. Edo et al (2013) conducted a review on a large number of studies that assessed discrimination, across a number of different countries and regions, and they noted that the findings are quite similar; that there is a discrimination against minority candidates and preferences for majority candidates. They found that there was clear empirical evidence to support the sociological notion of homogeneity where people will prefer to associate with those they are familiar with. Homophily in the recruitment process can result in taste discrimination where employers have a preference for a certain type of employee that they relate to; Behaghel et al (2011) notes that on one hand it can be seen as discriminatory, on the other hand, it is also rational.

## **2.5 Academic Research**

Sophisticated and methodologically rigorous experimental studies by social and cognitive psychologists have been conducted to assess discrimination and in

particular the level of unconscious bias in the recruitment process, predominantly in the US (see Kaas and Magner 2012; Riach and Riach 2004; Moss-Racusina 2012). The most popular biases that have been analysed are gender (Isaac, Lee and Carnes 2009) and race (Bertrand & Mullainathan 2003); other studies have included studying pregnancy (Morgan et al 2013), sexual orientation (Weichselbaumer 2003), parenthood (Heilman & Okimoto 2008) and age. These studies are generally based around a field experiment where researchers present equally qualified individuals who differ only by the factor being considered and they can assess the degree to which considerations affect access to opportunities. Most studies have documented strong evidence of racial discrimination in the context of employment as discussed by Pager et al (2009) who conducted an overview of a large amount of research in this area. McGinnity et al (2009) conducted the first field experiment measuring discrimination in recruitment in Ireland. They focused their experiment on the comparison between Irish and three minority groups: Africans, Asians and Europeans (represented by the German nationality). The experiment found that candidates with Irish names were over twice as likely to be invited to interview for advertised jobs as candidates with identifiably non-Irish names, even when both had submitted similar and comparable CVs. In a study in the US Bertrand and Mullainathan (2003) found that candidates with, what they define as 'White American' sounding names are 1.5 times more likely to be called for an interview than those with an 'African American' sounding name and Carlsson and Rooth (2007) found that in Sweden applicants who were Swedish were similarly 1.5 times more likely to get a positive response than those with a Middle Eastern name. Thus, the rates of discrimination in Ireland appear to be comparatively higher than other regions although equally only one study has ever been conducted in Ireland so there is not a lot of information to rely on.

## **2.6 Impact of Discrimination**

Krause, Rinne and Zimmermann (2012) state that discrimination in recruitment decisions is a market failure because employers should aim to hire the strongest possible candidate regardless of their race or gender. Petersen and Dietz (2005) highlight the presence of subtle forms of prejudice for employment selection decisions which has an impact on every part of the employment environment. Pager et al (2009) makes the interesting point that research in this field has historically pointed to discrimination being one conscious and clear decision. They find that in fact, research on every aspect of the employment setting leads to the conclusion that discrimination may play a small role in numerous decisions and actions that when culminated together, results in a substantial effect on the aggregate outcomes. Occurring at multiple decision points, together it will have a greater impact than is recognised. Discrimination during employment covers hiring decisions, promotion, salaries and redundancy as well as harassment and abuse in the workplace as discussed by Dobbin (2009); however, as discussed by Krause et al (2012) the fundamental area where discrimination has an impact is on access to employment.

## **2.7 Legal Consequences**

In Ireland at present there is strong legislative protection under the Employment Equality Acts 1998 to 2000 (the “Acts”) which prohibits discrimination related to race in employment practices and recruitment. Under the Acts ‘race’ refers to race, colour, nationality or ethnic or national origins and ‘discrimination’ is defined as treating a person less favourably than another person is, has been or would be treated in a comparable situation. However, any candidate who is rejected following a job application has no comparison to see if they have been discriminated against as they do not have access to the information regarding the reasons for the hiring decision and the quality of the other candidates. Having access to such information is a crucial component of any discrimination case



under the Acts; hence the number of cases in Ireland is low and discrimination in hiring is underestimated in the Irish recruitment market as discussed by McGinnity et al (2009). As observed by the OECD (2008) in order for discrimination to be curtailed and prevented it has to be legally punishable; however in most OECD countries enforcement is based on an ‘individual enforcement model’ where they are reliant on candidates taking cases and asserting their claim. McGinnity et al (2009) notes that taking a discrimination case related to recruitment has proven to be very challenging as it requires a lot of information which is difficult to attain and is hard to measure as there is an element of the recruitment process that is very subjective and so it is difficult to provide concrete objective data. Legal actions in Ireland are traditionally costly and the benefits are uncertain which further adds to why such a small number of cases are taken as noted by McGinnity et al (2009). Russell et al (2009) conducted in-depth research in discrimination in Ireland and found that only 6% of people who had experienced discrimination had made a formal complaint or took legal action. They also noted that to respond to perceived instances of discrimination requires a range of resources such as knowledge of one’s rights, language skills and support and that marginalised groups who are more likely to experience discrimination often don’t have the required knowledge, skills or access to resources.

## **2.8 Solutions**

As outlined by Özbilgin, Beauregard, Tatli and Bell, (2011), finding the right person for the right role helps organisations have stronger retention levels, and increases productivity and efficiency. Subeliani and Tsogas (2005) note that increased diversity can lead to increased ability to attract and retain the best people, greater creativity, better problem solving and greater flexibility for organisations. Price (2011) observes that without a diverse and equal organisation, companies are ‘artificially’ blocking the progress of groups and preventing the

optimal use of an organisation's human capital and therefore discrimination is irrational as you limit the resource value of employees. As outlined by Stevens, Plaut, and Sanchez-Burks (2008) to create a diverse and productive workforce involves having to change how organisations approach their decision-making. Given that in Ireland attitudes towards migrants are relatively positive, as outlined by Hughes, McGinnity, O'Connell and Quinn (2007), how can unconscious bias be prevented from being involved in the hiring process and good equality practice be promoted? According to CIPD, the professional Human Resources association in an article written by Atwell (2012), some prevention methods include having equal opportunities policies, making discriminatory behaviour constitute gross misconduct, equality training, and taking any allegations of discrimination seriously and investigating them and punishing appropriately. It is important to provide more information to both employers and candidates about discrimination in the workplace, the legal responsibilities and moral implication, through a method that is actively engaged with. Employers should put clear policies in place about recruitment practices and moral codes that they want to work against. Daniels and MacDonald (2005 p.112) on behalf of CIPD state that "effective recruitment requires an objective, systematic and planned approach if unlawful discrimination is to be avoided; both shortlisting and selection should be on the basis of candidates' relevant experience, skills, qualifications, knowledge and talent, and should be based on factual evidence". A more radical policy approach, as suggested McGinnity et al (2009), would be to introduce a system of random audits of hiring practices, similar to financial audits, whereby employers had an obligation to keep clear records of job applications and justifications of the reasons why they made hiring decisions. McGinnity et al (2009) notes that technically under Irish legislation and the 'Equality Reviews and Action Plan' such audits are officially permissible however no such audit has ever been carried out. They note that such an action is in line with the OECD (2008) recommendation that enforcement should not be reliant on individual actions

being taken against organisations; as discussed above there are many barriers that make it difficult for individuals to take legal cases. The OECD(2008) recommends that government agencies take more responsibility for investigating companies and taking actions against discriminatory employers.

## **2.9 Anonymous CVs**

Another solution for this issue, is the concept of ‘anonymous cvs’ where discriminatory material such as age, gender or ethnicity is removed from job applications in order to eradicate potential discrimination in the cv review stage. Anonymous job applications have risen in popularity over the past few years, as an attractive policy intervention to reduce or even eliminate discrimination in hiring and to force employers to make decisions based on objective criteria. Within the legal industry there has continuously been feedback from candidates over concern of discrimination by biased employers and that candidates were not being assessed fairly on their merits and capabilities. In France, a law was passed in 2006 that made it mandatory for anonymous cvs for companies who had more than 50 employees although there has been concerns about the exact remit of this legislation and it is not fully enforced at this point. Anonymous cvs are also used as part of the application process for federal administration roles in Belgium. Behaghel et al (2011) observes that while anonymous CVs will help ensure that there is a more diverse pool of candidates being brought to interview stage, it is not clear if this change is enough to overcome bias for the rest of the recruitment process. They note that under the theory of statistical discrimination, employers already have preconceived notions about certain groups and races, so therefore the minority candidate will have to exceed expectations to overcome the perception by demonstrating their credentials and skills above others in order to counteract the perception. Aslund and Skans (2007) assessed the recruitment of public sector jobs where there was an gender anonymous application process and again found that the probability of both being hired was equalized between men and women.

Behaghel et al (2011) conducted an extensive study across 1,000 firms over 10 months using anonymous CVs and their findings were that anonymising cvs did not have an impact on the recruitment process in terms of cost or time to hire. They also found that recruiters who had tended to invite candidates with similar characteristics to themselves were not able to continue to do so and so helped to prevent both conscious and unconscious homophily. Bøg and Kranendonk (2011) conducted an experiment in Holland focusing on ethnicity, measured by the name, and found that during recruitment processes, those with non-Western names were discriminated against. They did a study to measure the impact of anonymous names and found that there was significantly less discrimination. CIPD advisor, Dianah Worman, recommends that anonymous CVs alone will not combat the issue and that it is important that organisations educate their employees on the reasons why diversity and equality are beneficial. Hausman (2012 ) recommends that in order for such practices, like anonymous CVs to have an impact on hiring, incentives such as reduced insurance rates need to be put in place for organisations to encourage them to adapt practices rather than sanctions for not doing them.

## **2.10 Background in Ireland**

Ireland has been through a period of rapid growth in population over the past decade and in particular an increase in non-Irish nationals. As outlined by Barrett and Kelly (2010) during the mid-2000s there was a large increase in non-Irish Nationals mainly due to the EU expansion in 2004 and due to Ireland's strong economic growth, it has become a very attractive destination. The proportion of non-Irish nationals increased by 143% between 2002 and 2011 according to CSO (Central Statistics Office) and a significant proportion of this was made up of immigrants from the EU NMS which includes the 10 countries that joined the EU in 2004. However there has been a clear struggle for access to employment for

immigrants and as outlined by O'Connell, Joyce & Finn (2012) the unemployment rate for NMS nationals in 2012 was 19%, whereas for Irish Nationals it was 14.5%. In the last four years employment among non-Irish nationals fell by 23%, compared with a fall of 13% for Irish nationals as stated in the Annual Monitoring Report on Integration 2012. This report discusses how employment is a key component of both the economic and social integration of non-Irish nationals. A question arises as to the reasons for this disparity in employment rates between these two groups, and this inequality has sparked a debate on whether employers discriminate by race, as discussed in McGinnity et al (2009). There has been a growing body of research on discrimination in Ireland focusing on objective disadvantages suffered by immigrants, particularly those from the EU NMS. There have been many studies to show the clear disparity between natives and non-nationals. Russell et al (2009) conducted an extensive study into all forms of discrimination in Ireland and found that 24% of non-Irish nationals, twice the rate for Irish nationals, who were surveyed felt they had been discriminated against. On average, they earn 18% less and are 20% less likely to be in a higher level occupations than comparable natives according to Barrett & Duffy (2008). Discrimination during the hiring process is a key contributing factor to why many immigrants are working in jobs below their level of education as highlighted by Barrett, Bergin & Duffy (2006). Therefore, many immigrants are in roles that are not challenging or which do not utilise their skill-set, which can have an impact on motivation and productivity levels. Equally they contend, if migrants are more discriminated against, then they need to get more qualifications or experience relative to a native candidate to get a similar position creating a clear disparity in the employment setting. This has impact on both a societal and organisational level if employees are not in roles that are at the correct skill level and they are not motivated and challenged.

## **Chapter 3: Research Objectives and Methodology**

### **3.1 Research Objectives**

The main aim of this research is to analyse the level of racial bias during the CV review stage of the recruitment process and consider potential solutions to this issue, in particular anonymous CVs. To achieve this the following three research objectives will be satisfied:

Objective 1: To conduct a survey to measure the difference in response rates towards an Irish and non-Irish candidate.

Objective 2: To conduct a regression analysis to assess if there are particular demographic or subgroups who reported significantly high or low rates of bias.

Objective 3: To assess the impact of anonymous CVs as a potential solution to prevent bias at the CV review stage of the recruitment process.

Racial bias can often be difficult to measure statistically as respondents are unlikely to admit to it or often are not as aware of how prevalent it might be in their decision-making so a laboratory experiment will be conducted to get a quantitative statistical measure of discrimination. The main objective is to examine how discrimination and unconscious bias manifests itself in the CV review stage of the recruitment process and to see if the results reflect that of the other study done in Ireland (McGinnity et al 2009) and studies done internationally (Kaas and Manager 2012). The chosen comparison is between native Irish candidates and those from NMS due to the high population of immigrants from these countries in Ireland and secondly due to the fact that the large rates of immigration is still a relatively new phenomenon in Irish society.

The second objective is to conduct an analysis on participants' background and understand who shows stronger signs of discriminatory behaviour and see if there are patterns emerging whereby particular sub-groups, such as certain ages or industries, are more prone to bias. One example involves comparing the response rate of Irish participants versus other nationalities and seeing if homophily is present whereby Irish people are more prone to choosing other Irish people to hire as they understand their cultural background. The third objective is to measure the impact of anonymous CVs, a model that is being tested in different sectors, in preventing discrimination or implicit bias at the CV review stage. This will allow the research to assess whether this could be a potential solution as a preventative measure of eradicating bias on the basis of race from the recruitment process.

### **3.2 Challenges in Measuring Discrimination**

Discrimination increasingly occurs in a more subtle complex form which makes it very difficult, even at times for the perpetrator, to be able to identify and separate from all the other elements involved in making a decision. As noted by Bertrand and Mullainathan (2003), conventional methods of measuring the labour market do not apply when trying to measure discrimination and the reasons behind hiring decisions. Rivera (2012) makes the point that it is technically difficult to fully measure the reasons about why a hiring decision is made, as a large element of it is down to subjective and subtle factors. Most of the research to date on hiring decisions has focused on objective data that is attainable and based on easily observed characteristics and demographics. As a result, academics in this field conduct controlled experiments to provide a clear measure of discrimination in the hiring process, ensuring there are control factors to ensure that they are isolating the discriminatory factor. As outlined in the literature review, often decisions in the hiring process are unconscious and unintentional, so asking people directly about the reasons for their decisions is not possible.

### **3.3 Methods of Measuring Discrimination**

Controlled experiments measuring discrimination in the recruitment process have been conducted extensively over the past 40 years globally and there are three main types of experiments: audit studies, correspondence tests and laboratory experiments. Audit studies, as conducted by Cediey and Foroni (2008), focus on the whole recruitment process that leads to a hiring decision, including interviews, personality tests, interviews and references. Correspondence tests are confined to the initial CV review stage and involve sending fabricated CVs, that are identical except for variable being assessed, to real employers for live roles and measuring the response rate (McGinnity et al (2009); Riach and Rich (2006) Bertrand & Mullainathan (2003)). This method has the added benefit of being more cost efficient and therefore scalable across a wider sample size which is important in ensuring results are an accurate reflection of the situation and not merely a coincidence. A final method, that is not as commonly used in academic research on discrimination in employment, is a laboratory experiment that is done in a survey style that stimulates a real life example. As in Peterson & Dietz (2005), this involves inviting participants to a research center to rate hypothetical job applicants. This method has the advantage of being a controllable environment and it is less logistically challenging than other methods Krings and Olivares (2007). While the results gathered are a reflection on perceived opinions rather than factual data from real employers, they still do contribute to the research in this field and go towards providing some context to the hypothesis being assessed.

### **3.4 Chosen Methodology**

Originally the proposed methodology was focused around correspondence testing and was going to focus on the labour market in Ireland; however the Ethical Committee had concerns that this was not appropriate for a piece of research at this academic level. With correspondence testing deceit is required as employers receive false applicants for their positions and secondly, due to the unconscious



nature of the experiment, the employers cannot be informed that they are part of a study on discrimination until after the experiment has been run. Secondly, as well as ethical concerns, due to limitations in terms of time and resources that are appropriate for a dissertation at this level, replicating either correspondence testing or audit testing would logistically be very challenging. Therefore, the most plausible option to assess the proposed objectives is an experiment in a survey style that can be carefully controlled allowing the independent variable to be manipulated to measure the effect on the dependent variable. This method will involve stimulating a real life hiring situation by asking participants to review two fabricated CVs of candidates who are similar in terms of experience and asking them to choose who they are more likely to interview. Collis and Hussey (2003) note that experimental studies have the advantage of allowing researchers the opportunity to control the extraneous and confounding variables. The focus therefore will just be on the CV review stage of the recruitment process; as found by Bovenkerk (1992), the CV review stage of the hiring process is where most discrimination occurs. Discrimination is likely to be more prominent at early stages of the hiring process, as information about the applicant is at a minimum and the chances of being caught are lower, as noted by Pager (2007). Focusing on the CV review stage of the recruitment process is also more in line with the research objectives in terms of assessing the impact of a name indicating ethnicity on a CV and the correlating impact of an anonymous CV. Two separate surveys will be conducted; Survey A will gather data on participants and asked them to review two candidates whose names will represent the ethnicity and Survey B will be sent out at a later date to the same participants asking them to re-review the same CVs again but without any names on them.

### **3.5 Survey A**

Survey A will be sent in an email link to participants and will take them to a form that they have to complete. Other academics in this field who have conducted

either audit or correspondence tests, do a regression analysis on the organisations involved; regression analysis is a statistical process for estimating the relationships among variables. As noted by Riach and Riach (2004) researchers would gather extra information about the organisations who are involved, such as the size of the organisation, the race of the interviewer, and the type of role etc. to see if there are notable patterns. The first page of the form will include a list of multiple choice and scale questions designed to (a) collect data around the participants' background in order to be able to provide more depth to the analysis and (b) ensure that they do not suspect the true purpose of the survey, which is imperative to ensure participants act in an honest and natural manner. If participants were aware of the focus, their responses would become more 'conscious' and measured to ensure they are providing the "appropriate" response. Regarding collecting data about participants, the questions asked involve understanding their demographics such as age and nationality and about their working environment (if they are currently employed) such as the type of industry they work in or whether they work in the public or private sector. Questions will also be asked around their recruitment experience to date and whether they have worked in the following capacities: hiring manager, recruiter, interviewer and shortlisting. A key control element of this survey is that the experiment is blind and participants are not aware that their unconscious bias are being assessed, as this will add ensure a more natural reaction. To ensure that participants are kept unaware, slightly innocuous questions will be asked, that tie into the overall theme of the survey which is graduate hiring; these questions help build a storyline and create focus elsewhere. Questions asked will include getting them to rate the impact of participation in college activities in the employability of a graduate and the key attributes that are valued in a graduate. The second page of the survey is the 'activity page' and will include the two CVs and a question to the participant to choose their preferred candidate. As mentioned earlier, the focus of the entire survey is the concept of graduate recruitment so participants will be

given this background information: *“You have been asked to help the hiring team decide which candidate to progress to interview stage with. They are looking to hire a strong graduate for their graduate programme which involves a rotation on three different departments: sales, marketing and finance.”* Recruiting for a more junior role on a graduate programme ensures that participants are led towards choosing the best overall candidate for a relatively broad role. On this activity page, there will be two resumes with the names clearly on top of the profile and then participants will be asked to select either (a) *“I prefer candidate A - Wojciech Kowalski”* or (b) *I prefer candidate B - Jack Murphy*. By including the name in the answer component, it is further focuses the participants’ attention on this element and in particular will cover participants who make a quick decision and decide not to fully inspect both CVs. All questions are compulsory therefore preventing the possibility of ineligible responses.

### **3.6 Survey B**

A second survey will be sent out to participants 4-5 weeks after the participant has completed Survey A. The aim is to assess the impact of anonymous CVs so the participants will be sent the same activity page as before with the same CVs; however the names of the candidates will be removed. The CVs will be identical to the original CVs to ensure a control factor; however due to the time lapse it is unlikely that participants will be able to remember which candidate they have chosen previously. The order in which they appear will also be changed. As the participants have been targeted due to their links to recruitment, they quite possible deal with numerous CVs on a weekly basis and therefore are less inclined to remember specific details. This survey also includes a question about the participants’ awareness around the topic of the first survey. They will be asked: *“What did you think the first survey was about?”* and given options including ethnicity, CV quality and internships. The extra question was not part of the original proposed plan but part of the adopted methodology after receiving

anecdotal evidence from participants who had completed the first survey. Some participants had commented that they had a sense that the survey was related to ethnicity and they therefore acted accordingly. The new question will help to capture that information.

### **3.7 Creating CVs**

The basis of this experiment is ensuring that applicants recognise the ethnicity of job applicants and using ethnically distinctive names is a standard approach in similar research to indicate ethnicity as outlined by Carlsson and Rooth (2007). In order to avoid detection the CVs could not be exactly the same, but they have to represent two candidates of exactly equal skills and capabilities and they have to be realistic and genuinely good candidates for the roles that they are applying for. On each CV the applicants will clearly have been living in Ireland for the previous few years, will have Irish education and all work experience will be from Ireland. This is to ensure that it is clear that both candidates have the visa capabilities to work in Ireland and a native level of English as this has been commonly cited as reasons why some employers are more reluctant to progress with candidates as outlined by McGinnity et al (2009). Both resumes will have similar amounts of volunteering experience, extra-curricular, language capabilities, summer work during college and relevant work experience. In terms of choosing what education they have, in order to prevent bias towards known Irish universities, they will both be graduates of the same university. As outlined by Liu and Cheng (2005) there is often a bias by hiring teams towards alumni from their own university. The candidates will have completed different undergraduate degrees to allow some difference but they will be relatively similar in terms of the skills gained and both will have some business and commerce focus that is suitable for a graduate programme. In order to eliminate any other biases impacting the study, both applicants will be of the same gender and equally that they appear to be of a similar age. In order to be able to fully draw a

comparison between the first survey and the second survey about anonymous CVs, the name element will be the only signifier of race. Elements such as fluency in another language or work experience in that region will be excluded from the CVs. Following research about the most popular Irish name according to the CSO, 'Jack Murphy' has been chosen as the majority candidate. The 'minority' candidate will have a Polish names as Poland was one of the larger NMS to join the EU and immigration of Polish people to Ireland has been significant as outlined in an article by Krings, Bobek, Moriarty, Salamonska & Wickman (2009). One of the most popular Polish names is Jakub Kowalski according to information available from Baby Name Wizard website (2013).

### **3.8 Sample Size**

The population of this research encompasses anyone who has ever been involved in making a hiring decision, an extremely large number of elements which is difficult to enumerate, therefore the focus will be on a sample of a sub group. It is logistically difficult to identify the total sampling frame therefore non-probability sampling will be used to identify a sub-group of participants that have a link to recruitment and who are accessible. As noted by Brown (2006), the advantages of sampling is that it makes the research more manageable, accelerates the speed of primary data collection and results in more research findings. It is important the sample size is a fair and relevant reflection of the population. In identifying the sample size, in order to reflect the real recruitment process, participants were selected for their professional relevance and proximity to the field of recruitment. When deciding the size of the sample, it was important to take into consideration the number of responses required to ensure the results would be both reliable and valid, a key component of any research piece as noted by Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2009). Stutely's (2003) notes that statisticians have shown that a sample size of 30 or more will generally result in a sampling distribution for the mean that is relatively close to a normal distribution. However the concept of the

'*law of large numbers*', a theorem in probability research as outlined by Ross (2009), means that the larger the sample size, the more probable it is that the statistical inferences from the data are more likely to be representative of the population. In conducting the survey, to ensure a level of confidence in the results, a participant rate of 50 was the aim.

The sampling method used is a combination of *purposive sampling* and *convenience sampling* as outlined by Saunders et al (2009); purposive as largely the sample size were targeted due to their proximity to the recruitment field however also *convenience* sampling as it was largely dependent on who decided to actually fill in the survey - particularly in relation to participants who were made aware of the survey through the open professional networking site, LinkedIn. Saunders (2012) observes that, while occasionally it may be possible to collect data from entire population in some cases, generally it is logistically difficult and hence why sampling is needed. As noted by Patton (2002), when using non-probability sampling, it is important that samples are 'appropriate' and their correlation to the population and the insight they can offer are considered. In particular for exploratory research where the objective is to contribute new insights into a phenomena upon which theoretical generalisations may be based as outlined by Saunders (2012). In order to ensure the sample size was appropriate, there was a clear targeted approach to participants. They were enlisted in three main ways: firstly participants were selected from online professional networks, such as recruitment groups on LinkedIn; secondly due to the fact that the researcher's career to date has been working in recruitment across a number of different industries, this allowed access to a network of peers who were willing to participate; and finally the focus was put on the academic network, as many other students who are completing the part time post graduate Masters in HR, are currently working full time within this field. Each targeted person was requested

to complete the survey, however there is no clear control over who actually carries out the research, making this sub-group a non-probability sample. Each participant has been asked to supply their email address, this ensure that each participant can be individually identified and to help to ensure the validity of their responses. In the survey participants are asked for if they have been involved in making a hiring decision and secondly under what capacity they were involved with the following being their options (a) Hiring Manager (b) Recruiter (c ) Interviewer (d) Resume Screener. This will allow the sample size to be measured to ensure that there is normal distribution across the non-probability sample size of this population. Data analysis will be conducted across each sub-group to see if there are any stark contrasts between each. This question also was helpful in validating the sample to ensure that they were a fair representative of the population by checking that they did have a relationship with the hiring process in some way.

### **3.9 Collecting Data**

A quantitative method will be used to gather the results and for ease of analysis and in line with best practice in this research field (McGinnity et al 2009), the outcome is based on a specific action. The responses are recorded on the extent to which one applicant receives a positive response relative to the other applicant. The dependent variable is any positive result from a participant selecting the majority candidate. None of the participants involved are aware that this is an experiment assessing discrimination as this will negate the ‘unconscious element’ and to ensure a more ‘natural’ reaction. The net discrimination is calculated by the proportion of positive responses for the minority application against the total sample size. The other information gathered such as demographic background of the participants and their current working situation will allow more depth to the research and to assess if any clear patterns emerges, a concept known as

regression analysis. As this is a laboratory experiment with a sample of participants representing the wider population, it is not possible to say that any striking results are an exact reflection of the current situation but instead will serve to provide statistical inferences and allow for generalisations to be made. After the data has been collated, a One Sample Z Test will be conducted on the proportions to see if there are significant differences in the findings for both CVs. This test compares the actual results to the what the expected hypothesis or 'norm' was to measure how significant they are.

### **3.10 Ethical Considerations**

This method was selected ahead of correspondence testing as it was considered to be a more ethical approach than targeting live employers and sending them false job applicants; however an element of deceit is unavoidable when measuring a phenomenon such as unconscious bias. The participants in this survey are not made aware of the aim of the research and secondly they are purposely misled to believe the focus of the survey is assessing the quality of graduates and the impact of variables such as education and internships on graduate hiring. When trying to measure something that is considered to be an implicit or unconscious reaction, making participants aware would counteract the goal of the research. While there is an element of deceit in this experiment as participants are not aware of the purpose of the study, it is necessary to prevent the responses being too unnatural and considered. When completing the survey, the only information that was recorded that made the participant's identifiable was their email addresses, for the purpose of sending them the second survey. This information was kept 100% confidential and was not accessible to anyone except the researcher. For ethical considerations, the participants were made aware that their personal email addresses were not shared with others and that the published results were not correlated with individual details. The participants were offered the opportunity to get more information on the research topic once all the data had been collated.



### 3.11 Limitations

As discussed a lot of academic research involves sending CVs to real employers in a live setting whereas this experiment is in a more controlled and conscious environment. Therefore, while it will give a good indication of the situation, it is not possible to say that it is a true reflection of the labour market in Ireland. However as discussed by Calfee (1985) the data from any one study can only ever provide a partial account of any circumstances. Studies such as this, will help generate a research landscape that will contribute to the discussion in this field. When measuring concepts such as implicit bias and the impact of homophily, due to the unconscious element of the decision-making process, it will never be possible to make definitive statements about the reasons why participants make certain decision. As noted by Bertrand and Mullainathan (2003), even in experiments that follow either the correspondence test or audit test to measure discrimination, the results will always be a crude measure and cannot be seen as an exact representation of the level of discrimination in the market place. They further note that another limitation of such studies is that the CVs do not directly report race but instead suggest race through personal names. Tourangeau, Rips and Rasinski (2000) discuss the difficulties with surveys in terms of getting an accurate response from participants due to factors such as respondent's not reading the questions properly, not understanding the meaning of questions, using inaccurate estimation, having difficulty choosing one response in multiple choice and also not filling in information correctly. According to Tourangeau and Yan (2007) survey's that measure more sensitive topics can result in participants simply evading the truth. They conduct research on the success of surveys measuring sensitive topics and they find that delicate questions have lower response rates and show greater levels of in-accuracy. By choosing to have a large sample size, ensuring that the tested variable is carefully controlled, and trying to replicate real world conditions as closely as possible, the data collated can be a

valuable contribution to the current research as outlined by Collis and Hussey (2003).

### **3.12 Hawthorne Effect**

The “Hawthorne Effect” is a concept first outlined in 1955 by Henry A. Landsberger; after reviewing extensive research he concluded that there is a phenomenon whereby participants in experiments will act in an improved manner when they are conscious that they are being observed. Therefore when there is increased monitoring of particular actions, it causes the actors to act in a more heightened or exaggerated manner than they potentially would in an unsupervised setting. Orne (2000) identified a concept of ‘Demand Characteristics’ whereby the participants are aware of what the researcher is trying to investigate or anticipates finding. He focuses on how helpful participants were, as they tended to believe in the benefit of science hence the reason they volunteered. Therefore they were keen to have a positive contribution to the study as they sought to satisfy the perceived needs of the researcher. Klein, Doyen, Leys, Miller, Questienne and Cleeremans (2012) find that it is important when conducting an experiment to identify and document the social context in which the experiment takes place. With the method that was chosen in targeting participants, there were a certain percentage of participants who were known to the researcher, and therefore who had both a vested interest in this survey and secondly who might have been aware that their answer would be scrutinised and hence wanted to ensure they were giving what they saw as the appropriate answer. In order to assess this concept further, participants were asked in the second survey to clarify what they felt the original survey was measuring to gauge whether there was an awareness that the focus was ethnicity and race.

## **Chapter 4: Findings**

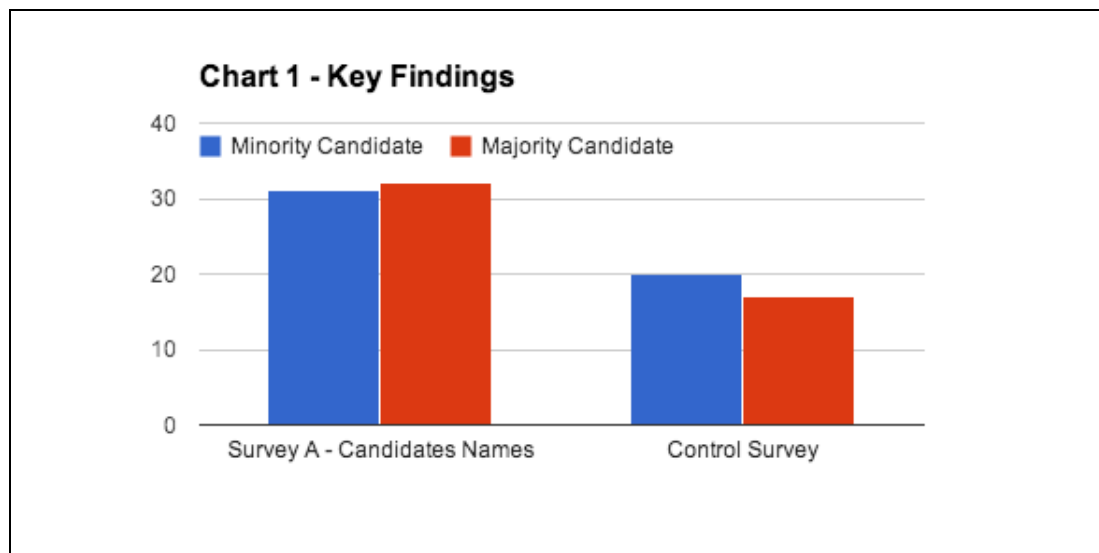
### **4.1 Introduction to Analysis**

The process of coming up with conclusions about the population based on the collected data is known as statistical inference; this allows you to calculate how probable it is that a result, given the sample size, could have been obtained by chance. Researchers generally work at a rate of 95% certainty which means that allowing for a 5% margin of error, they are content to infer the population's characteristics with confidence at a rate of 95%. For this research, the majority of results are based on the proportion of participants that chose one candidate over the other and so significance testing will be conducted on these statistics. This testing will involve a One Sample Z Test for the Proportion and it will assess the significance of the finding to see if the results are statistically accurate. In total Survey A had a population size of 63 and Survey B had 42 participants. The results from the Surveys are outlined below, predominantly in Bar Chart form to represent the difference in response between those that chose the Majority Candidate relative to the Minority Candidate. Please note that in Survey B, the CVs are still referred to as 'Majority' and 'Minority' Candidates as, even though they did not have names on them, the CVs were exactly the same as Survey A and for ease of reference, the same titles remain.

### **4.2 Key Findings - Survey A**

In Survey A, the main research question involved asking participants to give their preference between two candidates with similar experience; Candidate A represented the 'Majority Candidate' and had a typical Irish name (Jack Murphy) and Candidate B represented the 'Minority Candidate' and had a representative name of someone from the NMS (Jakub Kowalski). Chart 1 (below) depicts the relationship between the number of participants who chose either Candidate; the vertical axis shows the number of participants involved and the horizontal axis

explains what survey the results are representing. The first set of bars in Chart 1 represents the results from Survey A and as seen, there is not a significant difference between the results for both candidates. The null hypothesis is that if there was no discrimination present, both CVs which are technically similar, would get the exact same result and there would be an even split. A One Sample Z Test for the Proportion was computed to assess if the ratio of candidates choosing one CV over the other was significantly different to an expectation of an even split. There was no significant difference observed [ $z = -1.25$  ,  $n = 63$  ,  $p = 0.89$ ]. This results shows that there is no significant discrimination present in these results.

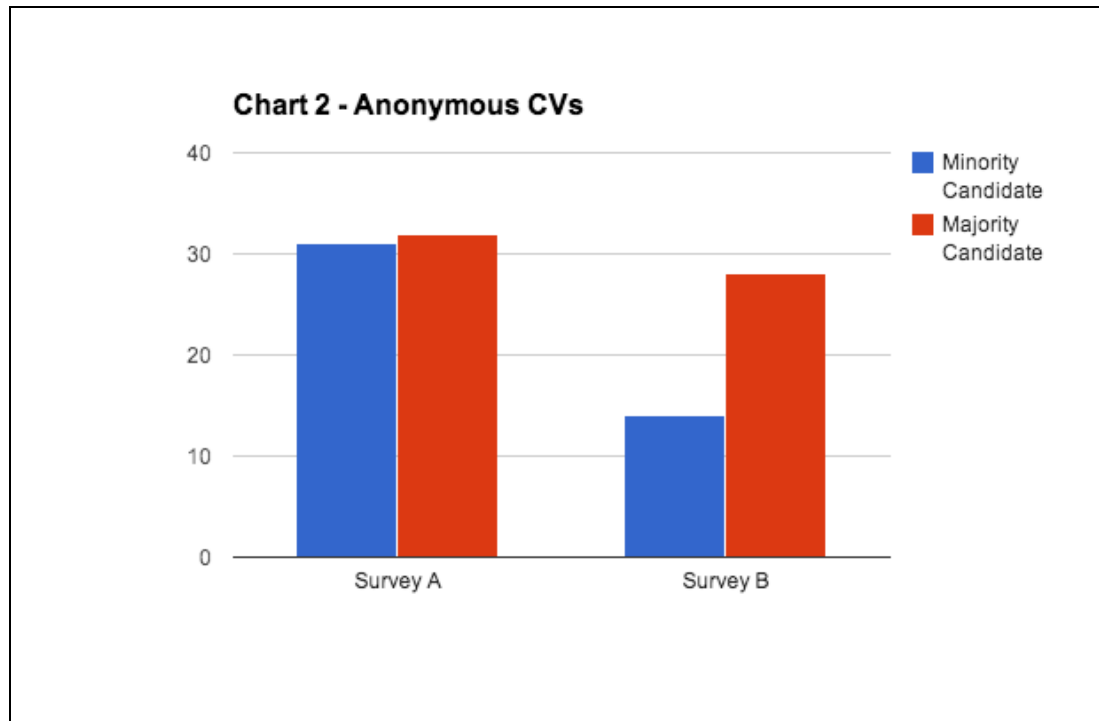


### 4.3 Control Test

The second set of bars in Chart 1 represents the extra control test that was conducted. Once over 50 responses were received for the original survey, the data collected was reviewed and it showed that there was not a substantial difference between the outcomes for both candidates. As this result did not correlate with other academic research in this area, an extra control factor was added. A new

reformatted survey was sent out to another range of participants who had not completed the survey previously. For this control survey, all questions were exactly the same except for the activity page. On the activity page, where participants were asked to review both CVs and select their preference, the names of both candidates (which were the only sign to indicate ethnicity) were completely removed. This allowed the researcher to see if there was a marked difference in the quality of the CVs. With an experiment of this nature, while every effort is made to ensure the quality of both CVs is the same, it can be difficult to ensure they are exactly equal without being too obvious. This extra control allowed the researcher to test if there was any clear bias towards any particular CVs that was impacting the results of the original survey. For this control test, as outlined in Chart 1, the results were that 20 participants choose the CV belonging to Candidate A and 17 choose the CV belonging to Candidate B showing that there was no distinctive difference in the quality of the CVs [ $z = 0.49$ ,  $n = 30$ ,  $p = 0.62$ ].

#### 4.4 Anonymous CVs

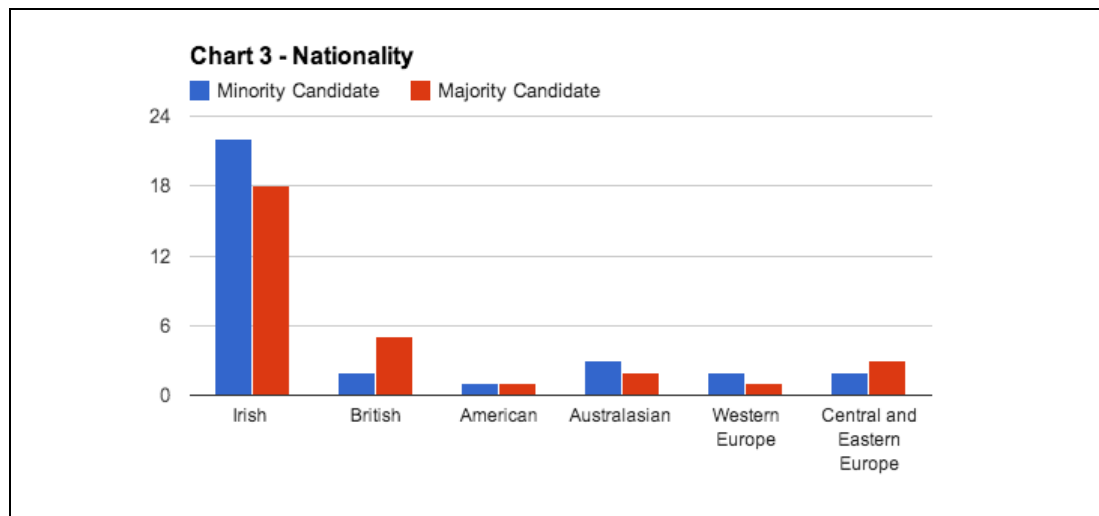


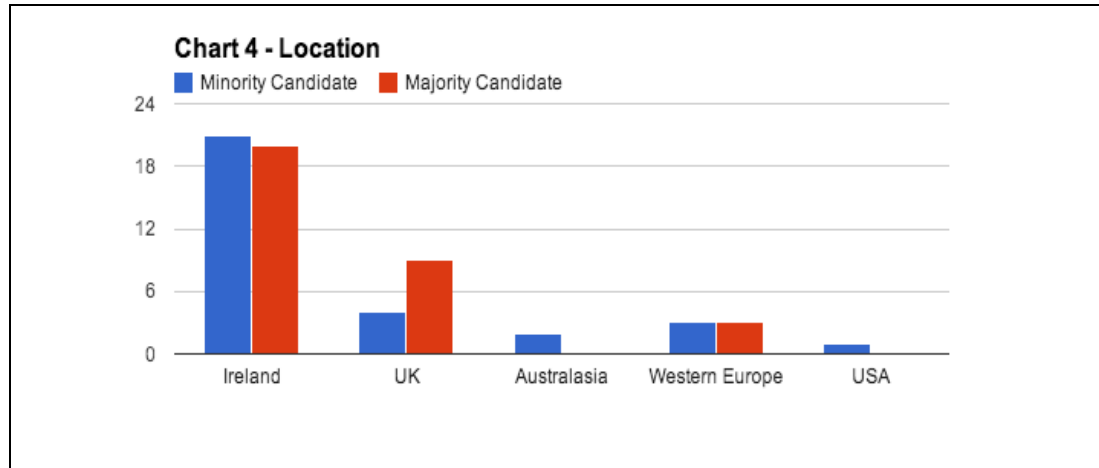
A month after Survey A was conducted, the same participants were sent another survey ('Survey B') which duplicated the first survey except for the fact that the CVs were anonymous and had no names to represent ethnicity. Chart 2 depicts the comparison between results from the first survey where names are on the CVs to the second survey where the CVs were anonymous. 61 participants had completed Survey A and only 42 participants did the follow up survey. While Survey A shows little difference between the two candidates, Survey B, shows a more significant result. 28 participants chose the Majority Candidates CV and 14 chose the Minority Candidate's CV [ $z = -2.1$ ,  $n = 42$ ,  $p=0.03$ ]. The null hypothesis of this research is that the result of Survey B should reflect Survey A, if participants were not impacted by the difference of having a name on the CV or not, as if they chose one candidate based on their experience and skills in the first round, their

reasons for choosing that CV should be the same in the second survey as there is no difference between the CVs in both surveys. Based on the academic research to date, the expected result was that more candidates would have chosen the Majority candidate in the Survey A as they were influenced by the ethnicity of the candidate and then in Survey B the results should be an even split as both CVs are almost identical in terms of qualifications and experience. However this is not reflected in these results and in the discussion the potential reasons will be outlined.

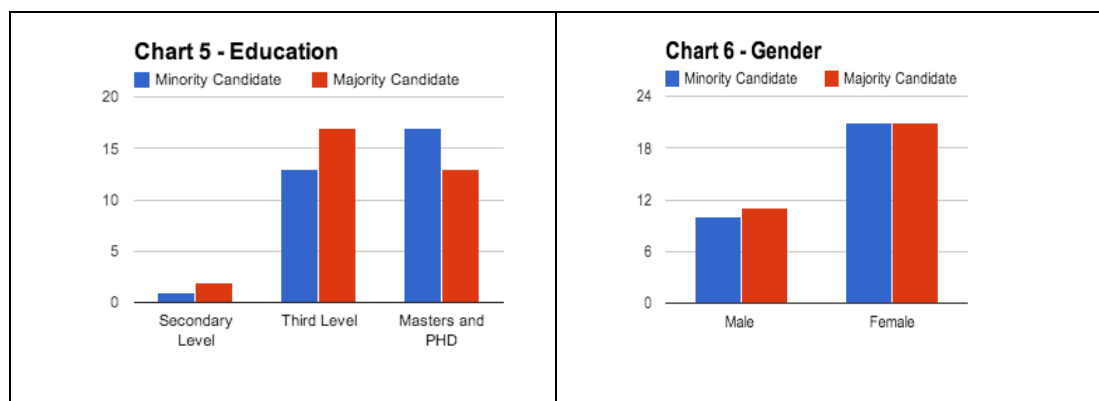
#### 4.5 Analysis of Participants' Background

Charts 3 to 12 document the relationships across a variety of variables relating to the participants' backgrounds and their choice of candidate. This allows the researcher to analyse the results to see if there are any correlating and prominent variables that resulted in significantly different results. Therefore we can see if there are any key findings to help us understand who is more likely to choose a native candidate.



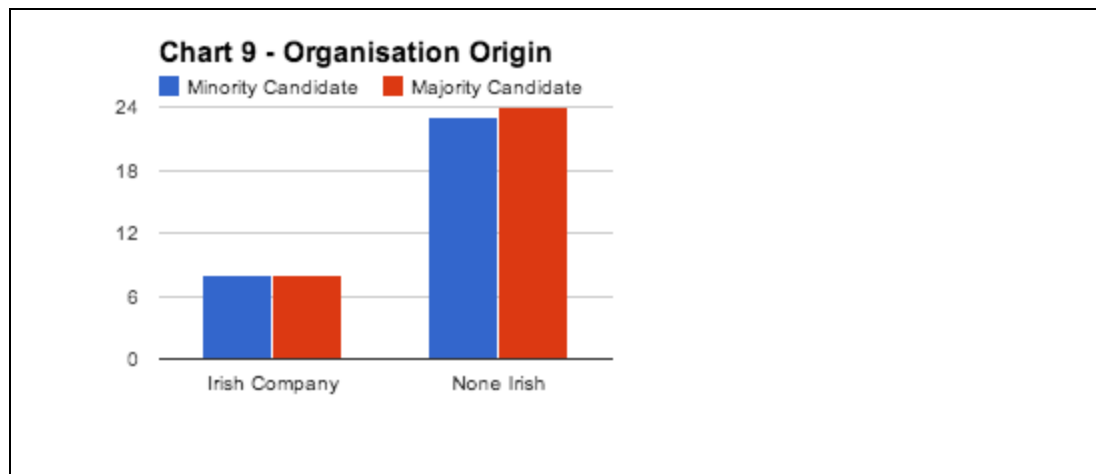
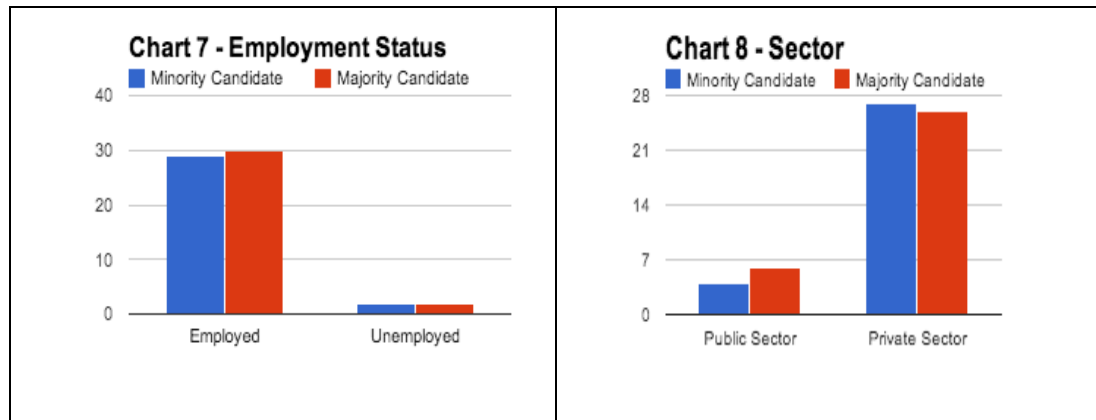


As per Chart 3, participants who had Irish nationality had a higher preference for the Minority candidate with 22 choosing him and only 18 choosing the Majority candidate [ $z = 0.63$ ,  $n = 40$ ,  $p = 0.52$ ]. Interestingly, a difference ratio can be seen for those who classed themselves as British, with 5 choosing Jack Murphy's CV and only 2 choosing Jakub Kowalski [ $z = -1.13$ ,  $n = 7$ ,  $p = 0.25$ ]. The results reflected similar findings, when assessing the current location of participants. Chart 4 shows that those based in Ireland had a slight preference for the minority candidate and those based in the UK had a slight preference for the majority candidate.





As seen in Chart 5, those who had completed both secondary level and third level education showed a preference for the Majority candidate however at a Masters and PHD level the preference was for the Minority candidate. Chart 6 depicts the relationship between genders with no significant difference being reported, [ $z = -1.13$ ,  $n = 7$ ,  $p = 0.25$ ] leading to the conclusion that gender is not a variable that impacts how people make hiring decisions.



Charts 7-9 documents participants' current working situation, the sector they work in and their organisation's origin. Whether participants were employed or not did

not play a significant role in their choice of candidate (Chart 7). Chart 8 outlines how within the public sector the preference is for the majority and within the private sector there is a preference for the minority candidate [ $z = 0.13$ ,  $n = 53$ ,  $p = 0.89$ ]. As per Chart 9 there is no difference in responses from participants who work in an Irish organisation; equally for those who work in a non-Irish organisation, the results are not significant with 24 choosing Majority and 23 choosing Minority. [ $z = -0.14$ ,  $n = 47$ ,  $p = 0.88$ ].

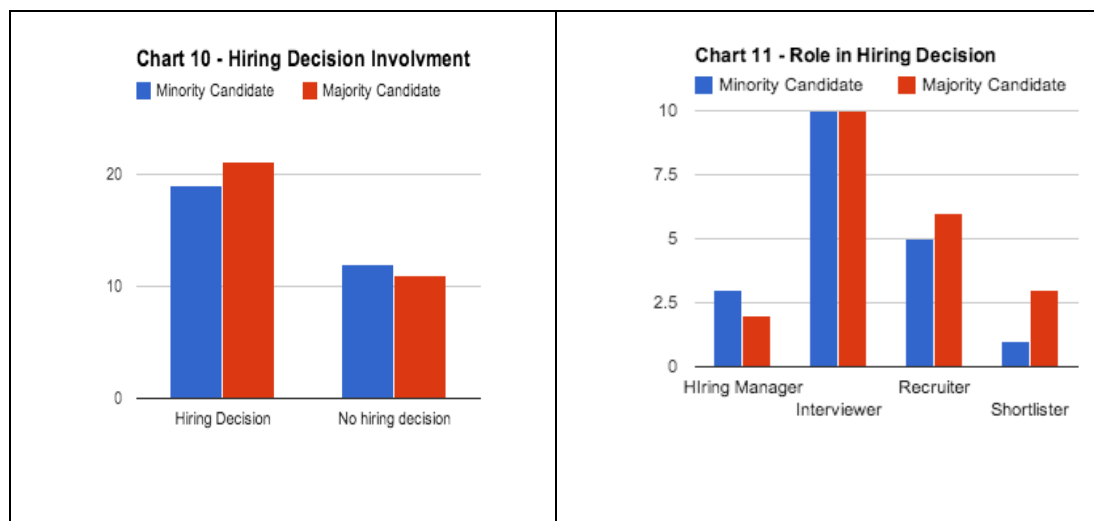


Chart 10 outlines whether the sample size were involved in making a hiring decision previously. 40 participants were involved in making a hiring decision previously and out of that 21 choose the Majority Candidate with 19 choosing the Minority Candidate [ $z = -0.31$ ,  $n = 40$ ,  $p = 0.75$ ]. For those who have never been involved in the recruitment process previously, there was no substantial difference with 12 choosing the Majority Candidate and 11 choosing the Minority Candidate. In terms of their roles within the recruitment process, those who classed themselves as interviewers rated both candidates exactly equal. Often interviewers only receive the CVs of the candidate who make it to the interview stage and not the large number of CVs that were reviewed prior to that. Hiring managers had a slight preference for the Minority candidate and those involved with short listing

chose the Majority candidate as a preference, however the sample sizes were 5 and 4 participants respectively, a statistically small sample to draw an inference from.

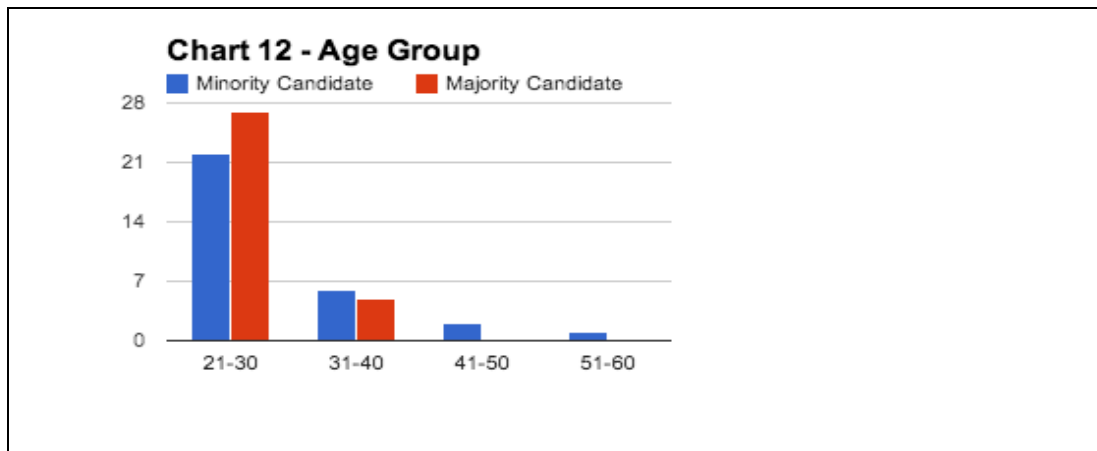


Chart 12 outlines the various age groups of participants and what their preferences were. Those who are in the age bracket of 21-30 show a greater preference for the Majority Candidate in comparison to the other age group where the minority candidate was favoured. A One Sample Z Test for the Proportion was computed to assess if the ratio of candidates choosing the Majority Candidate was significantly different to an expectation of an even split. There was no significant differences observed [ $z = -0.71$ ,  $n = 49$ ,  $p = 0.49$ ]. For the age groups from 31-60 the preference lay with the Minority Candidate although the sample size was relatively smaller for this age group with only 14 participants in total.

#### 4.6 Change in Responses

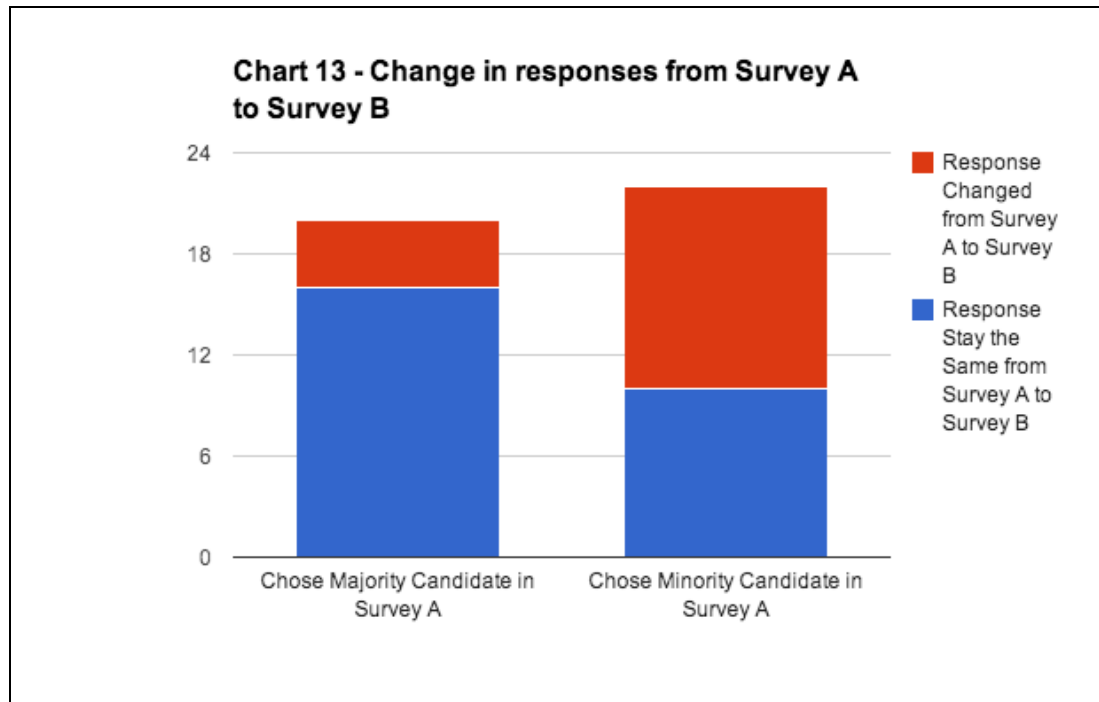
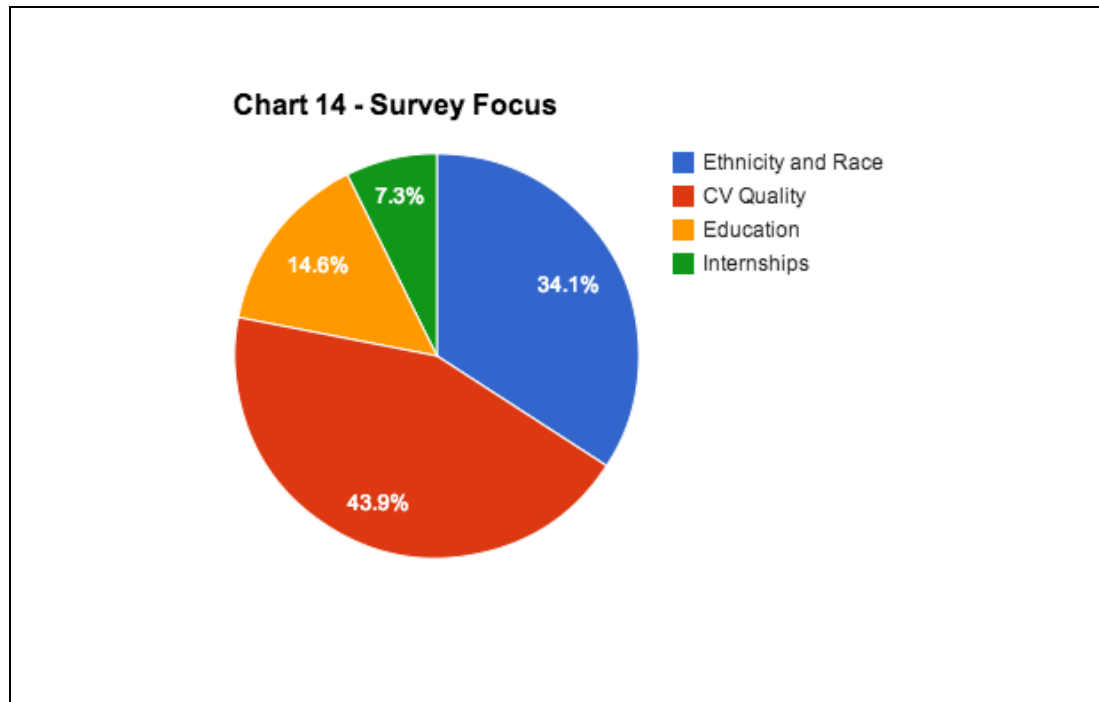


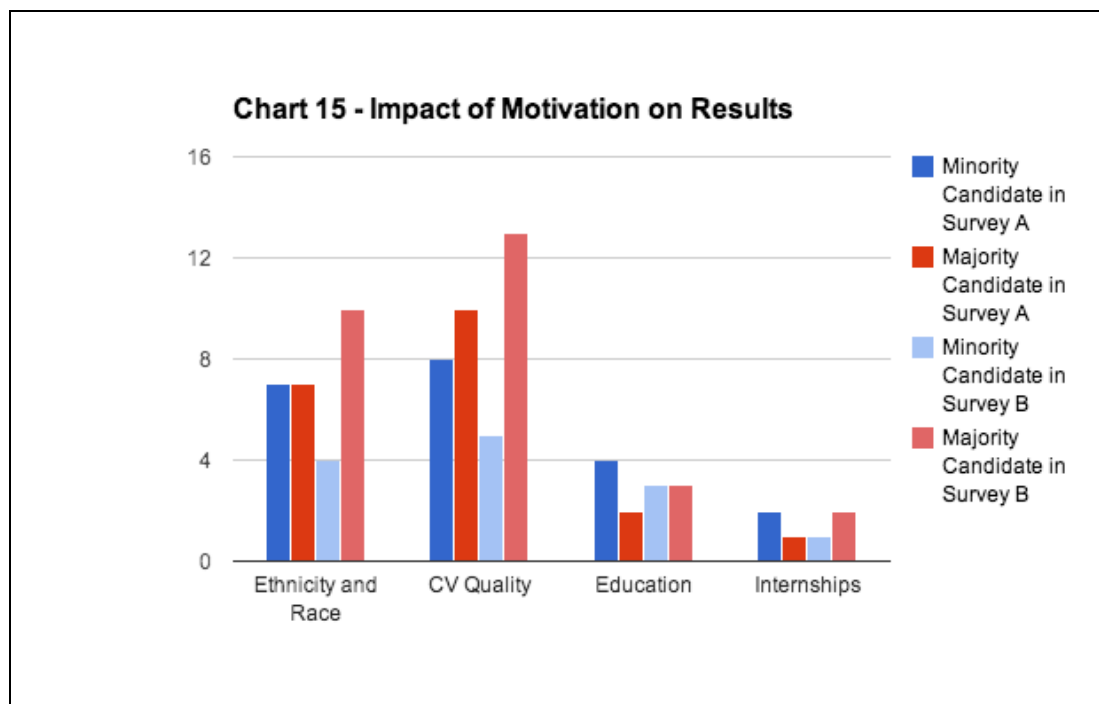
Chart 13 documents the change in responses from participants in Survey A to Survey B where the CVs do not have a name. The first bar shows that a much smaller percentage (20%) of participants who had chosen Jack Murphy's CV in the first survey then proceeded to change their answer when they were presented with the same anonymised candidates in the second survey. However a very striking result can be seen in the second bar which documents the response rate of those who chose the Minority Candidate in the first survey. 54% of participants who had selected Jakub Kowalski in the first survey went on to select the CV of Jack Murphy in Survey B. This raises significant questions about why they chose the Minority candidate when it appears that their preference was for the other CV. The results are that 16 participants (38%) changed their response and 26 stayed the same when the CVs were anonymised [ $z = -1.54$ ,  $n = 42$ ,  $p = 0.12$ ].

#### 4.7 Motivation of Participants



In Survey B, participants were asked to document what they felt Survey A was focusing on and Chart 14 shows a pie chart depicting the results. 43.9% of participants felt that the focus was on CV Quality and 34.1% felt that the Survey was looking at Ethnicity and Race. In Survey B, even though participants were shown the exact CVs as previously (except for removal of the name) 15 out of 42 participants (36%) changed their response from Survey A to Survey B. The majority of those who changed their mind from the first survey were those who had chosen the Minority candidate, a total of 11 participants, and 4 participants who had originally chosen Jack Murphy's CV in Survey A changed their response in the second survey to choose the other CV. Survey B reflects their preference purely on the basis of the skills and qualifications laid out in the CV. It raises an interesting question about why those 15 participants made their decision in the first survey. The goal of this research is to assess if the presence of a candidate's name signifying ethnicity has an impact on people's hiring decision and here it

has shown that it had for 36% of participants. However the change was significantly higher for those who chose the Minority candidate in the first survey (11 out of 15). Chart 15 documents these changes and correlates them with the answers from Chart 14 regarding participants' understanding of the focus of the study. These results raise questions around the motivation of participants in choosing a candidate.



#### 4.8 CV Quality

A key component of research assessing bias is to ensure both CVs are identical in terms of quality so you can attempt to isolate race as the defining factor in participants' decisions. In Survey A, both CVs received almost identical results (31:32 as seen in Chart 1) and in Survey B where there were no names, the majority CV was received more favourably (28:14 as seen in Chart 2).

Interestingly those who felt the research was focused on CV Quality rated the Majority CV higher in both Survey A and Survey B which suggests that it could potentially be a stronger profile (see Chart 15). However the control test did rate the Minority candidate slightly higher (20:17). Further proof that the Majority candidate's CV was more favourable can be seen when reviewing the results of those who felt the survey was focused on Ethnicity and Race. They rated both CVs equally when the names were present and in Survey B, there was a clear shift towards favorability for the Majority CV (71%). The large change in the results, could imply that in the initial survey, certain participants who thought the focus was on Ethnicity, made a conscious effort to choose the minority candidate as this was a more socially acceptable response, whereas when that element was taken away and the focus was only on the content of the resumes, the Majority Candidate was rated higher. However the control survey contests this theory as the Minority Candidate was rated higher (see Chart 1 20:17). This concept will be considered further in the Discussion Chapter.

#### **4.9 Summary of Findings**

The first objective of this research was to measure the response rate in terms of favorability towards an Irish candidate and a non-native candidate from the NMS. The results have shown that in this laboratory survey, there was no significant difference between both candidates with a 31 participants choosing the candidate with the Polish name and 32 choosing the Irish candidate. Therefore no clear bias is reported as due to the fact that both CVs are similar, an equal response would be expected if no discrimination was present. The next goal of this research was analyse the participants' profile to see if there any variables that showed a significantly higher response rate to either candidate. While gender and employment status did not make a big impact on the results, education, age group, nationality, and role in the hiring process did all seem to be factors in influencing the decisions making process. However what appeared to be the most significant

factor was the participants' motivation and understanding around the purpose of the study. Those who thought ethnicity and race was being assessed, gave very contrasting results from when the names were present on the CV to when they were anonymised. The third objective of this research was to look at the impact of anonymous CVs as a potential solution to preventing bias in the hiring process. It is clear from the dramatic change in results from Survey A to Survey B that anonymous CVs does have ramifications for how decisions are made on the shortlisting of candidates and in Chapter 7.3 a further discussion of the applicability of anonymised applications is outlined.



## **Chapter 5: Discussion**

### **5.1 Comparison**

Before discussing the impact of these results, it is important to consider that as noted by Heckman and Siegelman (1993 p.198) ‘there is no reason to imagine that every instance of differential treatment constitutes discrimination’. Instead these results will help contribute to the academic research that has been conducted to date, to help us understand the level of bias in the recruitment process. It is interesting to compare the practical reality of the labour market in Ireland, previous studies done on the recruitment market and the results of this experiment. As mentioned in Chapter 2.10 of the literature review, the factual reality of the situation in Ireland is that people from NMS are discriminated against in terms of employment; as noted by O’Connell, Joyce & Finn (2012) and Barrett & Duffy (2008). In terms of academic research based on the live recruitment market, it is clear that hiring teams’ preference is for ‘majority candidate’ (Pager et al 2007, Carlsson and Rooth 2007, Moss-Racusina 2012) and this is reflected in Ireland by McGinnity et al (2009)’s study which showed that candidates with Irish names were over twice as likely to be invited to interview for advertised jobs as candidates with identifiably non-Irish names, even though both submitted equivalent CVs. However in this survey, only 55% of Irish participants and 51% of total participants chose the ‘Majority Candidate’. It raises the question of why is there a difference between the actual employment setting and experiments on the live market versus this survey.

### **5.2 Methodology**

It is interesting to compare the different methodology between research outlined in the literature review that focuses on the live job market with hiring teams who are unaware they are being tested and this more ‘fabricated’ scenario with participants consciously being asked to choose between two candidates. As

outlined earlier, the most popular form of research in this area is ‘audit’ tests whereby fabricated CVs are to hiring teams, who are unaware that they are part of an experiment, in amongst the genuine applications. The setting in which CVs are reviewed in these audit tests is quite different to this survey. Here the participants knowingly volunteer to do the survey, then after spending time answering recruitment based questions, are very clearly asked to choose between two candidates with very similar backgrounds. The fact that they are only reviewing two CVs as opposed to a large numbers in a busy work environment makes their attention more focused and therefore it is considerably more likely that they did read beyond just the names and review the two CVs entirely. Due to the layout of this survey, it would have been quite difficult to only read the tops of the CVs as you had to scroll through each one to get to the end of survey. The questions leading up to reviewing the CVs concentrate the participants’ minds on considerations such as value of internship versus participation in college life and that potentially could have created more awareness around reviewing graduate CVs and weighing up each factor carefully. In a real recruitment setting, high volumes of CVs are reviewed in the most efficient way possible and there is no element of accountability or ‘watchdog’ element. McGinnity et al (2009) think that in their research, employers did not take the time to read the CVs entirely and would make quick judgements based on the names because if employers had reviewed both resumes fully and looked past the name, they would have noticed that both candidates did their education and work experience in Ireland therefore negating any concerns they might have about language skills, visa constraints or lack of knowledge of local market. They observe that employers could have automatically presumed that a ‘foreign’ sounding name on the top of CV made it less worthwhile to actually read the rest of the CV.

The results of most studies done on the live employment environment have consistently shown that employers, in line with statistical discrimination, will choose the majority candidate that they are more familiar with yet these results display a different finding. It raises an interesting question about why there was a balanced and fair response to both candidates in this survey, yet in real life, studies have consistently shown that there is a bias towards the majority candidate (Riach and Rich 1991; Bertrand and Mullainathan, 2004; Carlsson and Rooth, 2007). When these participants were in a situation where they had taken the time and effort to consciously review both CVs, a fair response was recorded. If this sense of watchdog element could be incorporated into a work setting it is possible that it would have a positive effect on preventing biases impacting on hiring decisions.

### **5.3 Regression Analysis**

This research allows for a deeper analysis into the background of participants than other audit studies as there is a mechanism to record factual information about participants' details such as age-group and nationality. When assessing the various sub-groups a few interesting observations were made that can help understand what factors could be involved in the decision making process. Gender did not have an impact with both genders making similar decisions which reflects other research in this area as in the review of the academic literature, there was no significant reference made to gender being a decisive factor. Interestingly, those in the age brackets above 30 and those who were more educated (Masters or PHD level) both had higher preferences for the minority candidate. As noted by Beaman, Chattopadhyay, Duflo, Pande and Topalova (2009) exposure to prejudiced groups can have a big impact in reducing the negative associations of stereotyping and unconscious bias. A younger person is less likely to have worked with greater varieties of international employees and equally has less life experience. Therefore is it possible to suggest that as people gain more life

experience and education they begin to gain better understanding of a wider range of backgrounds and awareness of the benefits of equality; leading to the potential conclusion that an increase in campaigns promoting equality could help alleviate this problem. No significant difference was reported between different types of organisations or their origins and their response rate. However the information gathered about where the participants' current work situation was relatively limited and it did not gather data such as the size of organisations, whether or not they have an educational programme around diversity and other key factors. An area that would be interesting to focus on in future is to compare the demographic make-up of various organisation and see whether those that had a stronger focus on diversity training and equality in the hiring process had a more diverse workforce and stronger rates of fairness in the workplace.

#### **5.4 Role of Hiring Team**

As found by Bovenkerk (1992), the CV review stage of the hiring process is where most discrimination occurs and this survey reflected that observation. Both those who classed themselves as either a 'recruiter' or a 'shortlister' reported a clear preference for the majority candidate, whereas the 'interviewers' had equal responses and the hiring managers' preference was for the minority candidate. In the workplace, recruiters and those who have to shortlist CVs deal with the largest bulk of applications and usually have the task of making quick decisions on CVs and selecting those that they feel are most likely to be successful at interview stage. The majority of organisations will strive to have a low interview to hire ratio as interviews take up time and resources and therefore when reviewing candidates there is generally a push to find the most likely to be hired candidate. Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) allude to the concept of a lexicographic search by employers when they are reviewing numerous CVs at a time whereby they might use quick heuristics to speed things up. A sample heuristic is not reading

further when they see a minority name to get the context of the CV. Interviewers, in this survey, reported similar responses to both candidates and seemed not to be impacted by the ethnicity of candidates. Often in the hiring process, interviewers are not exposed to the full number of applications and only seen the CVs that have been presented at interview stage. Their focus is then purely on the interview itself and measuring if the candidate is providing the correct answers and whether they have the skills to do the job.

### **5.5 Motivation of Participants**

After conducting the original survey, on a casual basis some participants had commented afterwards that they had an idea about the purpose of the survey and that they were careful to make what they perceived as the ‘correct choice’ i.e choosing the minority candidate. While this evidence has been given in an anecdotal manner, it is possible to question the impact of the Hawthorne Effect and ‘Demand Characteristics’ on participants in this experiment. As noted by Klein, Doyen, Leys, Miller, Questienne, and Cleeremans (2012 p.572) participants in experiments often enter research with certain ‘expectations, motivations and emotions’ and such factors can often play a role in influencing participants’ performance. In total 36% of participants changed their responses from the original survey to the anonymised survey, which is substantial figure considering the CVs stayed exactly the same in both surveys except for the presence or removal of names. The second survey highlights participants’ true preference in terms of the actual CVs as they could only focus on candidates’ skills, qualifications and experience to make their decision. Therefore it raises the question around what was the motivation factor involved when they made their first choice. When analysing the results of the participants who thought the focus of the research was ethnicity, they had an equal response to the candidates when the names were present; however in survey B, 71% of them chose the Majority candidate’s CV. If their preference was for the skills and experience of the

Majority candidate why did so many chose Jakub Kowalski? It is possible to suggest that because they felt their responses were being gauged to assess discrimination and racism they felt morally obliged to make the socially acceptable response, in line with the Hawthorne Effect. Therefore the results of this survey are not as accurate in terms of measuring the level on an unconscious bias on hiring decisions unlike other academic research in this area on the live market. These findings highlight the limitations in understanding the conscious and unconscious social cognition factors that impacts how someone approaches decision making. Participants may not or may not have been aware of their subconscious need to choose the socially acceptable answer and equally they may have been influenced by a wide range of other factors. As noted by Pager et al (2009) hiring decisions are influenced by a range of factors and racial attitudes are just one element. With this survey, as the results show, 67% of participants felt the experiment was about elements such as internship experience, graduate education and the quality of CVs and therefore it was more likely that these are the factors that influenced their decision and contributed to the even results that appeared in Survey A (31:32). McGinnity et al (2009) outlined that in their survey on the Irish market, one of the key reasons that the minority candidates had such low response rates relative to the Irish candidate was because hiring teams simply had not taken the time to look beyond the name on top of the CV. However in this survey, with an increased awareness that a discriminatory element was potentially being assessed and with greater time and consciousness being dedicated to actually reading both CVs, the two candidates had similar results. This shows that when short listing CVs, if hiring teams are more focused on key attribute such as skills and qualifications, they would be more likely to make a reasonable choice. The main theory behind the benefit of anonymous CVs (Behaghel et al 2011) is that it will force reviewers not to eliminate candidates because of race but instead to focus on choosing the best fit for the role.

## **5.6 Limitations of surveys**

Researchers are often limited to drawing conclusions about the amount and nature of discrimination based on perception of unequal outcomes between groups making it difficult to classify it as an exact science as noted by Russell et al (2009). They (2009 p.3) note that as “discriminatory behaviour is rarely observed directly, researchers must infer its presence and consider whether or not the behaviour would have been different if the person had been a member of another group”. So while the results give an interesting insight, it is important that they are interpreted in light of other academic research in this area and the factual reality of the labour market and rates of discrimination in Ireland. It is clear that more research needs to be conducted to get a clearer picture of the level of unconscious bias. If similar research using this methodology is to be used, it is recommended that the researcher incorporates more CVs. In order to make the scenario closer to real life, asking the participants to review a higher number of CVs would help replicate the situation that hiring teams face. With 34% of participants who were tested stating that they felt the research was about ethnicity, a greater number of CVs, would make the focus a little less obvious. A second area that would be interesting to focus on is focusing on participants from particular companies and conducting a comparison in results between organisations who have higher awareness and training around discrimination and the benefits of equality versus organisation who are less informed. As there has only been one study to date in Ireland assessing the live recruitment market, it is clear that more research will be beneficial in terms of getting an understanding of this situation in order to raise awareness.

## **Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendations**

### **6.1 Introduction**

The goal of this research was to conduct a survey to assess the extent of unconscious racial bias in the recruitment process. The result of this survey, with both the minority and majority candidates getting a fair response, contrasts with the findings of research done in live recruitment settings. In the Discussion Chapter, an analysis is done on why these results differed. In line with the second objective of this research, an analysis was done on the demographic and sub-groups of participants to find out the key correlations of groups who reported significantly higher or lower rates of discrimination. The results of Survey B have shown that anonymous CVs have a potential role to play in precluding hiring teams from being influenced by candidates' names as is seen by the comparison in results between the anonymous CVs and the original CVs. As outlined in the literature review, the facts surrounding levels of unemployment for minority candidates, rates of discrimination and treatment of minority candidates relative to native Irish candidates, clearly show that there is a problem with discrimination in Ireland. Further the difference between McGinnity's survey of real employers and this survey based on a more conscious environment show clear differences, highlighting the need for increased levels of awareness around equality, discrimination and the benefits of diversity. A number of potential solutions that have been suggested including: anonymous CVs, recruitment audits, increase in equality training, greater awareness of the benefits of diversity and the detrimental nature of discrimination, transparency regarding hiring decisions and increase in equality cases being taken against organisations who act in a discriminatory fashion.



## **6.2 Solution 1 - Increased Education**

The concept of ‘unconscious’ or ‘implicit’ bias, as outlined earlier, is where people make decisions based on biases without conscious awareness of the impact such biases have. The results of this experiment have clearly shown that when there is an awareness of making decisions and a highlighted need to make a socially acceptable choice, the occurrence of bias is reduced. When participants were completing this survey, there was an element of them making a conscious decision as they were motivated to do the socially acceptable action as they knew their decision was going to be monitored. Dr. Fiske (2004) after conducting extensive research on bias, finds that policy makers and managers need to facilitate motivation to encourage those decision makers to not allow biases to impact their evaluations of other people and also to ensure that they are always making accurate decisions. By encouraging an atmosphere of ‘thoughtful’ reasoning about others, and accountability and transparency, it helps ensure that the best candidate for the job is chosen and that bias has less of an impact. Russell et al (2009), found that discrimination in Ireland is often of such a subtle form that it is difficult for either the recipient or the discriminator to fully recognise it as such, leading both parties to assume the reason for the discriminatory behaviour was caused by other factors. They recommend that it is the responsibility of employers to ensure that they are conscious of what groups are vulnerable and ensure that they are putting measures in place to prevent this. As observed by Price (2011) discriminatory values can have a deep psychological basis and prejudice can be difficult to remove. He contends that in order for ‘equality of opportunity’ to be accomplished organisations need to have a practical and systematic approach in order to foster an environment and culture that supports diversity. They will have to invest time and resources into putting a clear programme in place that encompasses training, development practices, equality policies and a clear communication strategy across the organisations. Organisations need to be clear on what their equality message is and how they are

going to educate their workforce. For something as sensitive as equality and discrimination, no one training will suffice and it will take time and energy to incorporate it into the value, policies and culture of an organisations. This will have implications for organisations from a resource perspective however due to the growing awareness of the benefits of a more diverse workforce, it is a step that will ultimately be beneficial.

### **6.3 Solution 2 - Recruitment Audits**

As discussed in the literature review, the idea of ‘recruitment audits’ has been suggested by some academics as a potential solution to prevent implicit bias during the recruitment process (McGinnity et al 2009, Pager and Western 2012). The concept is similar to how many organisations have to complete financial audits to ensure they are complying with fiscal and tax requirements. As noted by Singh (2013) financial audits are more beneficial in terms of acting in a preventative supervisory role rather than as an investigative discovery of wrong-doings. As such, the awareness of a recruitment audit, similar to the supervised element of this survey, would aim to create enough awareness to reduce the impact of bias being involved in hiring decisions subconsciously. By requiring employers to provides reasons why they reject candidates, you ensure increased transparency and also create an environment of accountability whereby employers will be aware that they have to justify hiring decisions. There is very little empirical data available that outlines the practical implications for organisations to track the rejection reasons for every resume that passes through the recruitment process. It is clear that this is an area that will need substantial more research and practical consideration in order to assess its feasibility to implement on a wide scale.

### **6.4 Solution 3 - Anonymous CVs**

The results of the survey proved that when the CVs were anonymised, 36% of participants chose a different candidate than they had originally. The concept of using anonymous CVs is actively being reviewed as a potential solution across numerous different regions including Germany, Canada and Belgium (Krause et al 2012) to ensure that each candidate is assessed on their skills and experience alone. It is quite common for countries to encourage job seekers to remove age and gender from CVs to prevent ageism or gender discrimination. However it is still a relatively new concept and there is not a large amount of empirical data available to assess the impact this is having; however any research that has been done to date has shown positive results. Krause et al (2012) contend that anonymous job applications do appear to reduce hiring discrimination and that it is a practice that can be implemented without much investment or cost to the employer. Behaghel et al (2011) after conducting extensive research into anonymous CVs find that they play a large role in preventing recruiters hiring candidates with similar characteristics to themselves, which is a common occurrence known as homophily whereby people have a clear preference to work alongside those who have similar backgrounds to themselves. The question can be raised about whether a name on a CV is necessary to assess if someone has the capabilities to do the job. Interestingly while this experiment has shown the clear benefit of using anonymous CVs, Krause et al (2012) observes that the organisations involved had voluntarily signed up as they were already conscious of this issue and keen to help resolve it. Most of them already had practices and policies in place to promote minority groups. Therefore if anonymous CVs is a method of combatting issues of bias, it is important that organisations are bought in to the reasons and benefits of being an equal opportunities employer as discussed in Solution 1. A clear limitation of anonymous CVs is that they only focus on the initial stages of the recruitment process, so it is imperative that a sense of awareness must be created to ensure that candidates are treated fairly and

impartially at interview stage as well or else anonymous CVs will only postpone the discrimination to later stages instead. However it is interesting to consider that at CV review stage, often hiring teams will unconsciously choose the majority candidate due to familiarity and homophily; therefore the concept of anonymous CVs increases exposure of minority candidates to interviewers and can lessen the impact of discrimination. As noted by Beaman, Chattopadhyay, Duflo, Pande and Topalova (2009) exposure to prejudiced groups can have a big impact on reducing the negative associations of stereotyping and unconscious bias. It is more likely that once you have interviewed two equally skilled candidates with similar qualifications and experience, you will be more likely to choose the best candidate for the role.

There will always be certain industries, markets and job types that will not benefit from the use of anonymous CVs such as arts, politics, sports positions, highly skilled roles, senior roles such as CEO, and roles where your reputation within that market is of importance. Therefore it wouldn't make sense for countries to enforce a blanket obligation to use anonymous CVs as they don't apply equally in every situation; however without some form of obligation, it is unlikely that organisations will take it upon themselves to enact such practices as can be seen in France where despite legislation this law on anonymous CVs is not implemented and its therefore having little impact as outlined by Behaghel et al (2011). Hausman (2012) recommends that in order for such practices to have an impact for hiring in the US, incentives such as reduced insurance rates, need to be put in place for organisations to encourage them to adapt practices rather than sanctions for not doing them. It is clear from a governmental level, a programme would need to be put in place to incentivise and activate organisations to adopt this solution and to outline where it is appropriate for organisations not to implement this. Krause et al (2012), from their study on organisations using anonymous CVs, found that to move to a model of accepting anonymous CVs did

not have large financial and practical implications for the organisations. However this study was done on a relatively small scale and the companies all had vested interest in doing the trials. It is still not apparent what level of change, both from a practical and motivational perspective, it would take to get all companies nationally to convert. It is clear that more research and analysis needs to be done into anonymous CVs as a feasible solution that takes into consideration all the factors and parties' interests, but it has the potential to dramatically reduce the impact of bias in the CV review stage of the hiring process.

### **6.5 Conclusion**

By looking at discrimination and bias at the point of hire, field experiments have uncovered the depth of racial disadvantage in the labour market. This survey has shown that when an element of consciousness is incorporated in decision-making there is the propensity for hiring teams to make the right decision. It is clear that legislation in this area is not having as much of a preventative force as anticipated and therefore the onus lies on organisations themselves, government agencies and marginalised candidates to raise awareness for instances of discrimination occurring on a day to day basis. By not getting fair access to employment, minority candidates are not being given the opportunity to work in a challenging role and therefore the opportunity to contribute to the society around them. The subtle nature of contemporary discrimination in most situations leaves most parties unaware of its impact and the subsequent differential treatment. It is clear there is a need for direct measures to help prevent this implicit bias impacting our labour market further and a greater focus on the best candidate for the role to ensure a productive and efficient workforce. Greater awareness of the amount of bias involved in decision-making should be the first step towards mitigating the impact of this contemporary discrimination.

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## Chapter 8:Appendix

### 8.1 CVs

#### **Jakub Kowalski**

245 South Circular Road

Dublin 8

#### **EDUCATION & TRAINING**

2010-2014: Business and Finance Degree. National University of Ireland (Second Class Honours, Upper)

Modules that I'm undertaking include Organisational Behaviour, Operations Management, Innovation and Entrepreneurship, Accounting and Marketing.

Got highest grade in my class for my dissertation on "Impact of Social Media on Building Brands".

Was nominated for student of the year 2013.

2005-2010: Completed secondary level education.

#### **WORK EXPERIENCE**

October 2013 to Present – Coffee Heaven

Position: Supervisor

Responsibilities include preparing coffee and providing the best possible customer experience. By regular quality inspections and anticipating buyer needs I helped increase the sale of whole bean coffee in our store. I am also involved with dealing with customer complaints and compliments; cashing up at the end of the shift and closing off accounts at the end of the day; inspecting the duties of other staff members to ensure completion and consistency; handling and counting the business takings and doing daily lodgements; completing orders, monitoring stock take and ensuring there is optimum stock levels; and locking up at the end of the night or opening in the morning.

January 2007-September 2010 – Dunaree Bed and Breakfast

I started working in this B&B at the age of 13 and spent three years here, I was involved mainly in reception work, cleaning and general house management. I was also required at certain times to manage the B&B for week-long periods while the proprietor was away on holidays. This allowed me a lot of independence and responsibility in carrying out my duties.

**ACHIEVEMENTS**

I completed the El Camino De Santiago on two occasions (2011 & 2013). This is a world renowned pilgrimage which stretches 800 kilometres across Northern Spain. I walked for 28 days in succession in order to complete this pilgrimage, an achievement of which I'm extremely proud.

I spent the summer of 2012 travelling across South America in order to help me embrace other countries, culture and to broaden my mind

I'm an active member in college; previously I've been involved in the Snow Sports Society and I'm currently in my second year of being in a representative position for the Business Society

Spent 4 weeks doing an internship at Digital Bravas, Media Agency, doing general administrative work. (2013)

**SKILLS**

I am highly proficient in Microsoft Word, Excel and PowerPoint. I completed an ECDL (European Computer Driving License) course in fourth year and finished first in my year.

In my secondary school, I was an active member of the Student Council, being part of the Student Council for two years in succession. I was also 'Class Captain' for two years running.

I have taken part in several fundraisers for charity, from on street collecting to bag packing for charities such as ISPPCC (Irish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children) and Suas Educational Development.



**Jack Murphy**

180 Deerpark Avenue, Dublin 14, Ireland

**EDUCATION**

National University of Ireland. Completed Economics and Commerce Undergraduate Degree (2010-2014)  
Received an overall 11.1 grade and received a high 1st in both Accounting and Finance & Investments.  
Other modules completed include Marketing, Organizational Behaviour, Economics, Mathematical & Statistical Methods.

Completed Secondary School education and was in the top 10% of my school. (2005-2010)

**EXPERIENCE**

Loco Gecko Restaurant, Myrtle Beach, (June 2013 – August 2013)

Worked as a Server waiting tables for the first month and soon built a great rapport with the staff, promoted to Expediter after my first month. My role consisted of assuring the kitchen ran smoothly in busy periods. Successfully managed and delegated to a large group of kitchen staff. Helped increase the coordination between the kitchen staff and the serving team. Funded and supported myself in the US for the summer.

O'Briens and Sons Solicitors (May 2012- September 2012)

This internship allowed me build up strong experience in the areas of client management, attention to detail and gave me a strong insight into the workings of a professional firm. I performed general intern duties such as processing Stamp Duty payments, collating conveyancing files, and writing letters to clients of the firm.

**COLLEGE INVOLVEMENT**

Treasurer, Entrepreneurial Society (2012-2014)

Responsible for:

- Finances of the society, this includes planning budgets for the year, preparing regular
- Securing revenue through membership, grants and mainly sponsorship.
- Leading a committee of 15 people, in association with the Chair and Secretary.
- Managing revenue of over €50,000 for the year.

- Academic and career development activities including organising guest speakers, account updates for the committee and authorizing all expenditure. business forums and representing companies in their goal of hiring students

### **ACHIEVEMENTS**

2 weeks spent volunteering in Oxfam Charity shop in Dundrum;

2 weeks spent volunteering at the Clancy Night Shelter in Dublin. The shelter is an emergency night shelter for homeless drug addicts.

1 week's work experience spent working at the Irish Centre for European Law, doing general secretarial work.

- References available upon request.

## 8.2 Survey questions

- What age bracket are you in?
- What is your nationality?
- What is your gender?
- What is your highest qualification level?
- Where are you currently based?
- Are you working at present?
- Do you work in the Private or Public sector?
- Is your company an indigenous Irish owned organisation?
- Do you work for a multinational company?
- Have you been involved in making a hiring decision before?
- If yes, in what capacity were you involved in the hiring decision?
- When hiring graduates which of the below attributes do you think is the most important?
- Do you think real life experience or strong academic grades is more important when hiring graduates?
- How highly do you rate experience gained during internships?
- How highly do you rate involvement in college life?
- Please provide your email address.
- Please review the two CVs below and confirm which candidate you prefer to interview? You have been asked to help the hiring team decide which candidate to progress to interview stage with. They are looking to hire a strong graduate for their graduate programme which involves a rotation in three different departments: sales, marketing and finance.