New Immigrants' Perceptions of Ethnic Small Businesses

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Abstract

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Recent immigrants in pro-immigration countries face the burden of economic instability due to lack of host country work experience, resulting in job search in the unskilled labor market as cashiers, grocery packers or waiters. At the same time, many other immigrants have taken on entrepreneurship by starting businesses that reflect deep linkages to their mother country (nationalism) in terms of products, network and cultural work environment, establishing a source of unskilled employment for other immigrants. However, there are both practical and theoretical needs to understand intergroup phenomena occurring when an immigrant intends to apply for work in a business of different ethnicity. This paper explores job seekers' perceptions of nationalistic ethnic businesses concerning intergroup feelings (prejudice and group competition), social identity issues (nationalism) and perceived job opportunities. Results on an experiment of immigrants in Montreal indicated that, consistent with the main hypothesis, nationalistic businesses are deemed more prejudiced by job seekers than non-nationalistic ones. Interestingly, the evidence also suggested that job seekers regard each business ethnicity differently and that those prior ethnic impressions affected levels of expected prejudice. Moreover, individual variables such as job seeker's openness to experience and ethnic identification revealed marginally significant impact on perceived prejudice. This work helps enlighten literature in intergroup conflict in the context of job search and ethnic business and enhance literature on immigrant experience. Important practical implications for recent immigrants, ethnic businesses and immigration policies are discussed in favor of reducing perceived prejudice in multicultural countries.

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Immigration: A new beginning full of new opportunities, but at the same time a 180-degree life change that entails struggle, need for determination and faith in a territory plagued with future economic uncertainty. Given these conditions, where do immigrants start? The following stories may help answer this question:

Jin Fei Wang was an experienced Chinese high school teacher right before moving to the city of Nanaimo, British Columbia. Her desire for a new start in life was full of enthusiasm and eagerness to continue her teaching career in a new country that promised to be her gate for success and economic stability. However, Wang's lack of proficiency in the English language and a reluctant B.C. College of Teachers that suggested her study all over again and obtain a Canadian designation were the stonewalls that made her new beginning not as fresh as she thought it would be. In consequence, Jin had to find a partial odd job to survive in the new nation while pondering her options for the future. She worked as a cleaner for a while until she decided to change career paths and study interior design. Today, Wang is a successful interior designer and is regarded as a story of immigrant thriving in Canada (Jetelina, 2011).

The case of Victoria Moreno depicts slightly different, yet with a similar path and outcome. As a Mexican administrator with a degree in International Relations, she arrived to Toronto with the utmost interest of becoming a financial stock broker. Nevertheless, the reality developed differently for her. She realized that Canadian experience was an asset she didn't possess, but that Canadian employers valued as a must. "When you first come here, you are confused because you don't know where to start. You know you have the background and the experience, but some people don't have the confidence to go out and start looking for a good job. Some people when they first come here, even if they have strong work experience back home, they start working as a waiter or something just to start making money." says Victoria. In her first month in the country, she started out as a bartender at a local bar. Meanwhile, she was developing an interest in HR recruitment and applied for an internship at a recognized HR consulting firm, in which she has worked ever since in order to build up valuable Canadian experience (Saunds, 2011).

The story of a family from Hong Kong also draws on the same lines as Wang and Moreno. Benjamin Choi (4-year old) and his parents immigrated to Canada about two decades ago.

The family arrived to and settled in Toronto in a rented basement. Life had been pretty comfortable for them back in Hong Kong. Benjamin's father was a reputable government auditor and his mother was a high school teacher. In spite of their professional backgrounds, both parents had to look for accessible, unskilled jobs in order to cover for basic expenses in the first years. His dad found a job as a waiter and his mom had difficulties finding work. According to Benjamin, they had to make a lot of sacrifices to build a life in Canada. Nowadays, Benjamin is a professional coach of Dragon boat racing in his college thanks to the hard work of his parents, who thrived despite initial difficulties and were able to pay for his education (Roy, 2013).

Like Jin, Victoria, Benjamin and his family, a massive number of immigrants experience the struggle of accommodating economically to the Canadian system. Experienced or inexperienced, professional or uneducated, it matters minimally when it comes to new beginnings from scratch in the host country. As a result, the common starting path lies on finding jobs within unskilled positions in small businesses like bars, supermarkets, restaurants and clothing stores. Jobs as dishwashers, cashiers, food stockers, waiters and waitresses, floor cleaners, supermarket bag packers, and so on are among the most popular low-level roles newly arrived immigrants have easier access to as a means of starting to build some host country experience, covering basic expenses and accommodating to the new way of life.

Lack of Canadian experience, however, may not be the only hurdle in the immigration adventure of finding a job. Specifically, there may even be difficulties when applying for unskilled positions due to reasons that go beyond simple Resume strength. Canada is a welcoming house that has received record levels of immigrants historically. As such, many immigrants who at one time struggled in the Canadian labor market have decided to undertake entrepreneurial paths and start their own businesses. These are small ethnic businesses that generally offer typical and authentic products from another country, which usually is that of the business owner. Moreover, one of the key issues is that these kinds of businesses are found all over Canada, and more prominently in the main cities: Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver. In consequence, there is a large availability of job positions within these ethnic businesses that are the same as the types of jobs generally filled by recent

immigrants—cashiers, bag packers, waiters and so on. In theory, one could conceive of ethnic small business as an important source of jobs for newly-arrived immigrants like Jin, Victoria and Benjamin's family. Nevertheless, the reality may be sharply different from the theory when there is a mismatch between job seeker's ethnicity and that of the ethnic business and business owners.

This paper focuses in understanding some of those phenomena occurring when job seekers are faced with an ethnic business that is deemed nationalistic. By "nationalistic" I mean when ethnic businesses provide physical cues that quickly relate to a national culture work environment (e.g. the display of a Chinese typical red dragon and Chinese language characters in the store front; the traditional Indian attires wore by employees in an Indian supermarket that also exhibits a "Ganesha" figure at the cashier; or a Mexican place with giant "Sombreros", Mexican flags and Aztec calendars placed all over the establishment). Specifically, I evaluate job seekers' perceptions of what a nationalistic image of an ethnic small business communicates to them. As well, this research measures the impact of the nationalistic image of the business in the job seeker's perception of job opportunities. The research examines how the image portrayed by ethnic businesses affects the expectations of job seekers and why these perceptions may hamper positive intergroup relationships in the unskilled labor market.

Thus I study the experiences of new immigrants in the context of job search and job opportunities in ethnic small businesses. The thesis seeks to expand the existing literature on immigration, nationalism, prejudice, social identity, job search, and workplace diversity. It presents insights and practical actions that could significantly reduce prejudice and negative intergroup conflict in Canadian cities.

THEORY BACKGROUND

Immigration to Canada and its Relevance

Immigration around the globe has been massive in the last century. Myriads of people are deciding to undertake the burden of displacement from their mother country in order to seek new and better opportunities in other nations. In this sense, the phenomenon of immigration has triggered higher levels of multiculturalism, heterogeneity and global openness in developed countries such that these concepts are being conceived as essential for today's society and interdependence of countries (Berry & Kalin, 1995, 2000; Fredrickson, 1999; Esses, Dovidio, Jackson & Armstrong, 2001). Subsequently, the topic of immigration has attracted a vast amount of scientists around the world into studying its causal factors (e.g. Weintraub, 1983; Kivisto & Faist, 2009; Doherty, Richardson, & Thorn, 2013a) and consequences (e.g. Esses et al., 1998; Viki & Calitri, 2008; Favell, 2016; Knowles, 2016; Peers, 2016), yet the field remains open to examining the many conflicts and phenomena in which immigration takes on a fundamental role.

Notwithstanding its worldwide occurrence, it is worth noting that immigration has had greater effects in some countries. Canada falls within this category of countries that are especially popular with immigrants (Kaushal & Lu, 2015). The case of Canada provides a clear-cut example as it has been considered to be a "nation of immigrants" and a country "built on immigration" (Kennedy, 1964; Esses et al., 2001). Even the population of Canada has been coded "multicultural" rather than "Canadian" (Bannerji, 2000). Moreover, Canada is famous for its immigration laws and policies that have facilitated the entry of newcomers from the large majority of countries and cultures in the world (Oreopoulos, 2011; Hiebert, 2016). This trend is likely to continue for many years as the underlying reason for these pro-immigration policies is to cope with under-population and lack of skilled workers in the labor market in order to boost up the economy of the second largest country in the world (Waldinger, 1989). Since immigration is considered essential for the country's development, it represents a top priority for the Canadian government (Dolin & Young, 2004), thus it is imperative to understand the Canadian immigration system and the various ways by which foreigners immigrate to the country.

In their research about group conflict and consequences of immigration, Esses et al. (2001) offer a comprehensive summary of the Canadian immigration policies up to the year 2001. The 2001 policies took into consideration two admissible categories of immigration: economic class and family class. Throughout the last 15 years, however, immigration laws in Canada have changed and the Esses et al (2001) overview may be outdated and inaccurate with respect to today's Canadian system. Thus, this research provides an updated review on immigration policies, the latest immigration official intake report (2014 is the latest reported year on actual immigrant admission), as well as the latest reported immigration levels planned for 2014, 2015 and 2016 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2014, 2015).

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) reports on immigration admission rates and establishes immigration levels plans for the following year in an annual basis. Currently within its regulations, CIC encompasses three broad admissible categories by which immigrants can obtain permanent residence: economic class, family class and humanitarian class. Table 1 portrays in detail the 2014 final admission and the 2014, 2015 and 2016 plans for each category. Representing the largest portion of immigrant intake, the economic class comprises immigrants with relevant work skills who are admitted on the basis of their potential contribution to Canada's economic development thanks to their foreign experience, entrepreneurial mindset and business knowledge (CIC, 2015). For the economic category, immigrants can apply through many different work classes: federal and Quebec skilled workers; federal and Quebec business immigrants; provincial and territorial nominees; Canadian Experience Class (CEC) and caregivers; and spouses, partners and dependents of economy-class applicants. Skilled workers benefit from the largest portion of admission (63% officially for 2014; 66% and 54% for the 2015 and 2016 plans, respectively), and are granted permanent residence based on a point-system rating applicants' education (foreign or Canadian), work experience at relevant, in-demand occupations, language proficiency and existing job offers in Canada.

Second, the family class consists of sponsored spouses or conjugal partners, dependent children, parents, grandparents and other close relatives (between 24% and 27% for the last two years). According to CIC (2015), Canada provides a family reunification program that

is one of the most generous in the world. Finally, the humanitarian class involves four types of refugees: government-assisted refugees, private-sponsored refugees, blended visa office referred refugees and asylum-claimed protected persons. This last class accounts for the remaining immigration admission (10%-18%). Throughout the last two years, CIC have expected an immigrant intake of around a quarter million people annually. For 2016, the maximum allowed escalated to almost a third of a million (305,000). What is of utmost relevance in these statistics is that Canada establishes and expects a yearly increment in its population of almost 1% ($\simeq 0.75\% - \simeq 0.85\%$) that comes from immigration alone.

Consequently, the influx of immigrants has been and will continue to be massive. This leaves the country with a great number (approximately 500,000) of recent immigrants with only one or two years in the country that are starting to integrate to society and the labor market. Indeed, Canada has put outstanding effort into opening its doors to the world, providing people from around the globe with opportunities to work and live in the country. Hence, for Canada, it is a priority that immigrants succeed economically in the country because their success is translated into economic development for the nation. According to Esses et al. (2001), there has been substantial evidence that Canada tries to ensure the economic well-being and stability of people who immigrate by deploying resources into programs for immigrants' integration to the society. Nevertheless, the reality has been quite different from plans. Recently arrived immigrants are finding difficulties to enter the labor market. Notwithstanding efforts to integrate immigrants to the Canadian economic system, recent immigrants find job search to be a struggle in their first years in the country (Oreopoulos, 2011).

Table 1 - Canada's Immigration Intake for 2014 and Immigration Levels Plans for 2014, 2015 and 2016

Immigration Class	Levels Plan (2014)	IMM %	Official Admission (2014)	IMM %	Levels Plan (2015)	IMM %	Levels Plan (2016)	IMM %
Economic	Low: 151,400 High: 167,200	63%	165,089	63%	Low: 172,100 High: 186,700	66%	Low: 151,400 High: 167,200	54%
Family	Low: 63,000 High: 68,000	26%	66,661	26%	Low: 63,000 High: 68,000	24%	Low: 75,000 High: 82,000	27%
Humanitarian	Low: 25,600 High: 29,700	11%	28,622	11%	Low: 24,900 High: 30,200	10%	Low: 51,000 High: 57,000	18%
Others	100	0.04%	32	0.01%	100	0.04%	Low: 2,800 High: 3600	1%
Total	Low: 240,000 High: 265,000	100%	260,404	100%	Low: 260,000 High: 285,000	100%	Low: 280,000 High: 305,000	100%
Canada's Population	35,543,700 (2014)		35,543,700 (2014)		35,851,800 (2015)		35,851,800* (2015)	
Percentage of Population	≃ 0.75%		≃ 0.73%		≃ 0.80%		≃ 0.85%	

Notes: The Levels Plans for each year are represented by the expected minimum (Low) and maximum (High) amount of immigrants. IMM % means the percentage that each immigration class represents in that year with respect to the total immigration for that year. Among 2014, 2015 and 2016, the only available official admission numbers were for 2014. The percentage of population represents the total immigration's proportion relative to Canada's population as of July 1st of each year (Statistics Canada, 2015). This percentage was calculated by dividing the total immigration estimate or official admission by Canada's population. Since the official census as of 2016 has not been published, the 2015 population was employed for calculating the percentage of population of Immigration 2016 (*).

Source: Immigration Levels Plans and 2014 Official Admission were retrieved from Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration 2014 (CIC, 2014) - Available: http://www.cic.gc.ca /english/resources/ publications/annual-report-2014/; and Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration 2015 (CIC, 2015). Available on http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/annual-report-2015/. Population indexes were retrieved from Population by year, by province and territory (Statistics Canada, 2015) - Available: http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/demo02a-eng.htm

Employment Difficulties for Recent Immigrants

Studies have pointed out that prejudice and discrimination may be the underlying reason for the immigrant struggle in the labor market. For instance, Oreopoulos (2011) found that workers who immigrated to Canada under the high-skilled program suffer from ethnic-name discrimination when submitting their resume for jobs in Canadian companies. This occurs in spite of the immigrants' possessing relevant skills and academic background. In fact, this same study found that the unemployment rate of recent immigrants is double the rate of non-immigrants of similar age. The evidence suggests that there may be some kind of prejudice and discrimination against immigrants when it comes to finding job

opportunities in the new country. Other scholars have reported similar empirical evidence about this difficulty for immigrants to enter the labor market. Man (2004) discovered that skilled and highly educated Chinese women who immigrated to Canada were forced to "deskill" themselves in order to cope with basic living needs due to the struggle they experienced when applying to Canadian enterprises. The study concluded that there was a gendered and racialized discrimination direct towards people whose academic background and expertise were acquired in other countries. Moreover, King and Ahmad (2010) studied the role religious discrimination and prejudice played in job opportunities for Muslim applicants. Results of this examination showed consistent negative attitudes of job interviewers towards female job applicants who wear religious attire (Hijabs). In general, there were negative ratings of Muslim women who provided stereotype-confirming information in terms of physical appearances and clothing. Hence, there is a large amount of research supporting the idea that immigrants face the burdens of ethnic prejudice, discrimination and stereotyping when looking for job opportunities in the new host country.

Instead, this paper evaluates the perceptions of recent immigrants under the economy (skilled worker), family and humanitarian class who look forward to employment and that, as exposed previously, represent the population of immigrants who might be struggling in this regard.

Looking at the big picture of Canadian immigration admission policies, not all of the immigrants come with high work skills, or with substantial financial strength for future investments in Canada (for example, the business-class immigrants described by Ley, 2006). In fact, the family class and the humanitarian class are admitted on the basis of other criteria other than work skills (e.g. being the relative of a Canadian citizen, political asylum and refugee demands). Immigrants under these classes may or may not be highly skilled for work. They may lack advanced education, may have little or no knowledge of Canada's official languages, and may not have work experience that is relevant in Canada's labor market. As Al Ariss & Ozbilgin (2010) and Doherty, Richardson & Thorn (2013b) posit, many immigrants who don't emigrate from their mother countries focusing on their professional careers, and instead immigrate for family or humanitarian reasons, usually lack high work-skill levels and educational background. Hence, it is highly probable that a

considerable proportion of Canada's admitted immigrants don't possess an adequate professional profile to help with economic development.

In brief, discrimination and prejudice from Canadian employers in the highly-skilled labor market, and a lack of skills among immigrants under the family and humanitarian classes, leaves Canada with a population of recent immigrants who may be struggling to find job opportunities. Facing stonewalls in Canada's skilled labor market, recently arrived immigrants may have to opt for a different path of employment. There are two alternatives that have been used by recent immigrants in order to survive in Canada: entrepreneurship and low-skill employment.

Immigrants as Entrepreneurs and the Small Ethnic Business

On the one hand, many immigrant groups have had a "propensity toward business" (Waldinger, 1989 p.50). Specifically, immigrants who face initial unemployment when arriving to a new country encounter entrepreneurship or self-employment as a means for thriving. Aldrich, Cater, Jones & McEvoy (1981) argue that immigrants engage in self-employment because they feel a racial disadvantage in the host country when looking for jobs in established companies. Studies that evidence discrimination against immigrants in the labor market emphasize ethnicity or race as a major criterion to be prejudiced against (e.g. Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999; McKay & Avery, 2006; Oreopoulos, 2011). Then, a feeling of exclusion from the labor market that may force immigrants to look for their own resources to grow economically is, ultimately, translated into that "propensity" for business, inasmuch as entrepreneurship is thought to be a more profitable, feasible and accessible alternative for immigrants than employment with an existing firm. For instance, a study examined the ability and reasons of immigrant ethnic groups to start-up small businesses through a sample of White, Hispanic and Korean storeowners in New York City (Waldinger, 1989). The article concluded that people look for support (financial, labor, trusted customers) within their own ethnic community, and this, together with their business knowledge and experience from their mother country, serves as a strong basis to start a small ethnic business such as, for example, a restaurant with ethnic cuisine, a supermarket with typical ethnic goods or a store with ethnic and national articles from the mother nation. Interestingly, these examples of small ethnic businesses may suggest a deep

attachment of entrepreneurs with their country of origin in terms of targeted clientele, ethnic network, products offered, ethnic or nationalistic focus of the business and workforce's origin. The work of Li (1993) reflected this reality with the Chinese case in the Canadian environment:

> "In North America, what has intrigued researchers has been the concentration of some minority immigrants in certain identifiable businesses such as food services, retailing and clothing manufacturing that are traditionally associated with the ethnic enclave, especially given the fact that historically many of these immigrants had been the target of severe discrimination. Simply put, the question has to do with why immigrant minorities like the Chinese appear to have been able to overcome hostile social conditions and harsh economic opportunities in various host societies where they were one-time migrants or sojourners to succeed in business entrepreneurship." (Li, 1993 p.219)

Other authors have found strong ties between ethnicity and transnational networks among immigrant entrepreneurs in Canada (Kariv, Menzies, Brenner, & Filion, 2009), highlighting the fact that immigrant entrepreneurs succeed due to strong connections, networks and links they have in their original country and the fact that they turn to these networks because of the high competitiveness ethnic minority groups find in the host country labor market. Within the same line of inquiry, Marger (2001) argues that ethnic minority entrepreneurs rely heavily on social and human capital in the form of ethnic networks and family ties. Finally, Statistics Canada (2005) has found that ethnic small businesses' capital and debt structure is largely composed of informal financing (e.g. personal savings and money from friends or relatives).

Given the massive immigration levels throughout Canadian history, it is relevant to include small ethnic businesses in the research arena since these have served the economic development of Canada by providing employment and investing capital and resources in delivering services and products to the Canadian society. According to Statistics Canada (2005), ethnic small businesses exert paramount influence in many regional economies in Canada. To explore the robustness that ethnic small businesses or, as the institution defines them, visible minority-owned SMEs (Small and Medium Enterprises; Statistics Canada, 2005), represent in the country, the latest available "ethnic small business in Canada" official statistics (2004) are presented with regards to figures in Canada and in the main provinces, namely Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia (See Table 2). Visible minorities

are defined as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-white in color and non-Caucasian in race, including both native-born Canadians and immigrants" (Statistics Canada, 2005 p.1). This definition does not match precisely the population studied in this paper since it includes

Table 2 - Proportion of Visible Minority-owned SME's relative to Total SME's in Canada and in main Provinces (Quebec, Ontario, British Columbia). Data from 2004*

Region	Total SME's (2004) (1)	SME's share (2)	Total Visible Minority owned SME's (2004) (3)	Visible Minority owned SME's share (4)
Canada	1.4 million	100%	134,444	9.6%
Quebec	0.31 million	22%	12,400	4%
Ontario	0.5 million	36%	55,000	11%
British Columbia	0.21 million	15%	29,400	14%

Notes: Column (1) presents the total amount of small and medium enterpresises (SME's) in each region; column (2) shows the proportion of SME's relative to the total amount of SME's in Canada; column (3) portrays the amount of SME's owned by Visible Minorities in each region; and column (4) reflects the percentage Visible Minority-owned SME's represent in each region (e.g. Out of all SME's in Quebec, 4% are owned by Visible Minorities).

Source: Data were extracted from the latest official reports to date (2004) (*). Reports used for this table were: Financing Profile: Visible Minority Entrepreneurs (Statistics Canada, 2005); Financing Profile: Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises in Ontario (Statistics Canada, 2007a); Financing Profile: Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises in Quebec (Statistics Canada, 2007b); and Financing Profile: Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises in British Columbia (Statistics Canada, 2007a).

a different range of population (e.g. includes Canadian-born sons and daughters of immigrants, but does not include Caucasian Europeans or other white in race people who have immigrated to the country). In contrast, the population studied in this paper comprises all immigrants (all countries) born outside of Canada (even Caucasian Europeans born in Europe would be considered immigrants). These data nevertheless serve as a strong reference to evaluate the great influence and presence of immigrant entrepreneurs in Canada and to provide some statistical context regarding ethnic small businesses. In this sense, this thesis utilizes the concept of ethnic business, which follows a broader range of population in terms of the group identity of business owners than the category of visible minority-owned SMEs.

The word "ethnic" means categorization based on differences between people (Petersen, 1980). Upon tying "ethnic" and "group" together, the result is an awareness by the

members of the group, of sharing origin and culture in common (Yinger, 1985; Aldrich & Waldinger, 1990). Aldrich & Waldinger (1990), then, define ethnic business or ethnic enterprise as an organization that characterizes itself for having "a set of connections and regular patterns of interaction among people sharing common national background or migratory experiences" (p.112). Consequently, the ethnic business construct comprises organizations whose owners belong to, or clearly feel identified with, a group that shares their same culture and national values. Although this definition may encompass the group "Canadian" as well, this study excludes this category since the focus is solely on businesses that portray the image and ethnic symbols of nationalities other than the Canadian. Hence, Canadian-born children of immigrants are included within our research since the possibility exists that they create businesses reflecting their family ethnicity.

Summarizing official information provided by the cited statistical reports, Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia account for the highest percentages of SMEs in Canada with 36%, 22% and 15% respectively. Moreover, the portion of the SMEs in each province that is owned and run by visible minorities is 11% in Ontario, 4% in Quebec and 14% in British Columbia. According to the report, 73% of visible minorities in Canada are concentrated in the principal cities of each province, namely Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver (Statistics Canada, 2005). Thus, it follows that the large majority of visible minority-owned SMEs of each province is based in the three mentioned main cities. It is noteworthy, hence, that many immigrants have traced their thriving path through the means of entrepreneurship. In contrast, the other portion, and perhaps the largest, of recent immigrants seek after opportunities in the low-skilled labor market to cover for basic expenses at least in the first two or three years in the country.

Recent Immigrants in the Unskilled and Skilled Labor Markets

Many recently-arrived immigrants who lack host country (Canadian) education and competitive labor market skills search for low level jobs that do not require highly regarded competencies and abilities. As argued by Piore (1979), unskilled immigrants have historically had a tendency to enter the workforce for low level, short-term, dead end jobs. Likewise, it has been claimed that skill level and educational background act as differentiating variables among job seekers, ultimately providing a hint on the level and

type of job that immigrants may land in their first years of immigration (Al Ariss & Ozbilgin, 2010). In addition, and what is more interesting, is that the reality has shown that even skilled immigrants may look for short-term, low skill jobs due to the previously-presented argument of immigrants' struggle against discrimination and prejudice in the labor market. In other words, immigrants to Canada who enter the country under the economy class (skilled and qualified workers) and who don't find a job within the first months in the country may feel the need to look for short term jobs demanding lower skills in order to cover their basic expenses and to cope with circumstantial unemployment. In this regard, Oreopoulos' (2011) study suggests that the dramatically low rates of employment of immigrants in the high skilled labor market forces them to consider the unskilled labor market for more probable and feasible alternatives to work, while striving for an opportunity to pursue their real professional endeavors. Thus, both populations of unskilled and skilled recent immigrants may find in the low-skilled labor market an opportunity to start building work experience in Canada and a means for covering their basic life expenses in the short term.

In order to contextualize in more depth, this study defines the low-skilled labor market as those jobs that don't require technical, high-skill abilities, formal education, specialized knowledge, or proficiency in any specific language when the job position does not require direct contact with customers (as it is the case for restaurant hosts or waiters) in order to undertake their inherent tasks and responsibilities. Although this category may encompass blue-collar jobs in large corporations, this study focuses on unskilled positions within small businesses. Examples of these jobs generally sought after by recent immigrants are as store cashiers, supermarket cashiers, store vendors, restaurant hosts/hostesses, restaurant waiters/ waitresses, restaurant dishwashers, supermarket grocery packers and supermarket stockers.

Interestingly, a large proportion of these job positions are available within the previously mentioned ethnic small businesses founded by immigrant entrepreneurs. As posed by Li (1993), what is a tendency for immigrants is to start small businesses in industries such as food, clothing and retailing as a means to making use of their culture, own-country expertise and networks. Moreover, as argued before, since many immigrant business owners decide to undertake entrepreneurial paths as an alternative response to the obstacles

encountered in the host country's skilled labor market, this experience may be likely to make business owners more sensible and understanding of the same difficulties other immigrants may be dealing with, ultimately being prone towards providing employment to recent immigrants as a way of solidarity. Given the large amount of small businesses such as the mentioned present in Canada, given that low-skilled job positions for which recent immigrants may have more opportunities and given the possibility of business owners being understanding, solidary and sympathetic towards other immigrants who undergo the same labor struggles as business owners in their initial years in the country, ethnic small businesses represent a good option for other recent immigrants to apply for short-term, unskilled jobs, even when the business owner's ethnicity differs from the job seeker's. Nevertheless, a closer examination of ethnic small businesses is necessary in order to study job opportunities for recent immigrants in these small organizations.

In the next section, I discuss the concepts and constructs surrounding nationalism before addressing the nationalistic nature that ethnic small businesses might have and how it may be affecting recent immigrants' job opportunities.

A Note about Nationalism, Ethnicity and related constructs

First of all, it is essential to understand that the concept of nationalism has its roots in the construct of *national identity.* National identity has been defined as a positive, important and emotional bond an individual has with a country (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), as a willingness to internalize the national culture, and as a deep significance of national affiliation in the identity of the individual (Festinger, 1954). Furthermore, the concept of national identity can also be found in the literature labeled as *national identification* (Blank & Schmidt, 2003; Kosterman & Feschbach, 1989). Even though national identity suggests an attachment to one's country, the concept does not differentiate between degrees or kinds of emotions, which are addressed more adequately by the concepts of *nationalism* and *patriotism*.

In general terms, nationalism and patriotism respectively reflect detrimental and valuable aspects of national linkage (Viki & Calitri, 2008). The difference between these two lies in the set of attitudes inherent to the attachment. On the one hand, the term nationalism signals

views of superiority of one's national group over out-groups, including negative attitudes towards people who don't share the same national identity of the nationalistic person (Kosterman & Feschbach, 1989). In contrast, patriotism comprises the positive feeling towards the own nation without negative feelings toward out-groups (Calitri, 2005). Patriotism is linked to a sense of criticism of one's own nation that, albeit tied to positive feelings, shows a rather objective standpoint and appreciation of one's country situation (Kosterman & Feschbach, 1989). As posited by Schatz & Staub (1997), the patriotic individual does not idealize the nation, and instead forms an independent, conscious and critical opinion of the nation and what is best for it.

The comparison nationalism versus patriotism is fundamental to this research due to the set of attitudes immigrant groups may have towards out-groups upon arriving to a new, multicultural country. In this regard, the present paper draws on the premises of nationalism in order to examine nationalistic attitudes or practices of ethnic small businesses and how these may affect job seeker's perceptions and job opportunities for out-groups. For instance, whereas patriotism regards inclusion, diversity and multiculturalism as paramount principles, nationalism sees integration of out-groups and heterogeneity as a threat to national identity (Halikiopoulou et al., 2012), which is usually defined by criteria of descent, ethnicity, race or cultural affiliation (Allport, 1995). In fact, underpinnings of nationalism lie under the premises of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), where there is a significant emphasis on processes of social comparison between social groups. Within these processes we find derogation of out-groups on the basis of membership in categories other than the in-group's category. Nationality, thus, takes part as one key social category for which people tend to derogate others for not belonging to the same nation and not sharing the same values as a result. Consequently, the anti-heterogeneity and anti-inclusion nature of nationalism provides a hint on the kind of behaviors that nationalistic businesses might have.

Moreover, since this paper utilizes two different, yet closely-related constructs, namely *nationality* and *ethnicity,* it is of utmost importance to discuss their usage in past research, their relationship and how they are approached here. Sunagawa (1966) defines nationality as a political and legal link that holds an individual to a particular country or nation.

Although this definition suggests that the connection is solely as a means to grant a legal status to individuals, other authors have tackled the concept with a membership-wise perspective. As such, Lauer (1991) supports the idea that nationality is a quality arising from belonging to a nation, regardless of having been born in it. Thus, we can deduce that nationality can be seen as a form of acquired membership, either by birth or by naturalization, to a country. Likewise, ethnicity underlies a sense of group membership yet with cultural connotation. Ethnicity has been defined as social and psychological phenomena linked to a culturally conceived group identity (Jones, 1997). Other scholars relate the concept of ethnicity with a group in which members share common ancestry, historical memories, elements of culture such as religion, customs and language, symbolical attachment to the mother country or territory, and a sense of solidarity among members (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996). In order to evaluate how the two concepts overlap, we can take a glance at the constructs of national identity (previously discussed) and *ethnic identity* or *ethnic identification;* these latter concepts reflecting a sense of belonging to determined and specific groups. While national identity ties an individual and a nation or country together, ethnic identity represents the self-conceptualization resulting from the individual's identification with a broader group or ethnic category on the basis of perceived cultural differentiation with out-groups and common descent with the in-group (Jones, 1997). Therefore, it can be argued that both nationality and ethnicity imply an underlying attachment to a group, either to members of a country or to members of a common culture and ancestry.

Within the same lines of nationalism, yet related to ethnicity instead, we can encounter the term *ethnocentrism* in the literature. Baumann (2004) defines ethnocentrism as the firm belief that one's own cultural community or ancestry (ethnic background or ethnicity) is superior to all other ethnicities (considered out-groups as well), resulting in dislike or hatred of any material, behavioral, or physical characteristics different than one's own. In this sense, ethnocentrism draws on similar negative attitudes towards out-groups as in nationalism (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson & Sanford, 1950).

It is worth noting that this paper utilizes both nationality and ethnicity terms since the underlying phenomenon is the feeling of membership to a group and because both

constructs overlap to different degrees in terms of membership feelings particular to the case of each person. In this sense, individual differences may make people have different configurations and levels of membership in terms of nationality and ethnicity, as well as some people may identify themselves more in terms of ethnicity rather than nationality, or vice-versa. Jewish people, for example, identify themselves in terms of an ethnic culture characterized to be deeply religious and, regardless of the place of birth, many Jews may feel emotional attachment to the State of Israel because of historical religious events and ancestral descent. However, Jewish people may not feel that language of the country in which they were born (e.g. feeling more identified with the Hebrew language than with English or French if born in Canada), for instance, is a criterion of identification (Myhill, 2003).

Another example are Latino or Hispanic people, who represent a massive population of Spanish-speakers and may identify with regards to language and some cultural, Latin customs, yet national values of each country differ sharply and members may feel a stronger linkage with country-specific ethnicities in the form of national culture and ancestry, ultimately mixing ethnic membership and national identity. In this regard, Halikiopoulou et al. (2012) put forward that nationality may carry with it ethnic (e.g. language, creed and descent) and cultural (e.g. traditional values, national way of life, religion, morality) aspects. Furthermore, some people may feel identified in terms of race and the ethnic ancestry that visible, heritable physical features (e.g. skin color, eye shape and hair texture) historically have carried with it. For instance, African-Americans, people from some countries in the Caribbean (e.g. Trinidad & Tobago, Jamaica, Haiti), Africans and all people Black in race in the world may feel a sort of connection with African ancestry and the African continent. Finally, we could refer to the Asian example. Being "Asian" the broad race category, the countries that have historically comprised it (e.g. China, Japan, Philippines, South and North Korea) possess sharply different ancestries, cultures, languages, traditions and religions in spite of all presenting similar physical attributes. In sum, some people's ethnicity may be completely immersed in and overlapping nationality, resulting in national identity and ethnic identity being equal feelings to the individual. In contrast, other people may feel identified with the country where they were

born, regardless of having family and ancestral roots from other part of the world (e.g. family of immigrants).

Indeed, while it may seem that both nationality and ethnicity are not equal constructs, it is impractical to isolate one from the other because of all the different kinds of national and ethnic memberships people may have. To support this, theorists have implemented similar approaches to using more than one socially-conceived ethnic, national or racial term when categorizing samples and populations. One example of this is in the study of Bobo & Hutchings (1996), where empirical evidence suggested that using broad categories referring to ethnicity and/or race (e.g. Black, Asian, Latino) was not controversial and addressed terms generally understood, regardless of being an ethnic or racial category or presenting subgroup differences. In addition, Stephan et al. (1999) measured prejudice against immigrants from two national categories (Cuban and Mexican) and one broad racial or ethnic category (Asian), ultimately suggesting that it is not about homogeneity of categories but about the social conception towards a category or membership. Finally, other studies have even utilized a mixed term such as "racioethnicity" to make reference to both biological (race) and/or cultural (ethnicity) attributes of minorities and to encompass a larger set of categories within one term (Cox, 2004; McKay & Avery, 2006).

This paper employs both terms (nationality and ethnicity) and their related constructs (national identity and ethnic identity; and nationalism and ethnocentrism) as a means to addressing identification with and membership in socially conceived groups or categories. Thereby, I use both terminologies when referring to nationalistic ethnic small businesses, a discussion of which follows in the next section.

The Nationalistic Ethnic Small Business

Previously in this paper, I introduced ethnic small businesses and stated that they were small organizations run by immigrant entrepreneurs who encountered and made use of aid and support within their ethnic community and networks in the host country. Generally, the tendency for these ethnic entrepreneurs is to embed their business endeavors in the industries of retailing, clothing and food services (Li, 1993). For instance, we could observe large numbers of small restaurants, supermarkets and convenience stores all around the

main cities of Canada. What is particular of these ethnic small businesses is the physical display of ethnic-specific and national-specific features such as national flags, particular language characters (other than French or English) on the store front, typical and traditional symbols peculiar to the ethnicity in question and, in many cases, employees wearing representative ethnic pieces of clothing (See Appendix 1 for photos with examples of these businesses). In a nutshell, a set of different symbols that reflect the ethnic and/or national pride of the business owner characterizes these popularly-called ethnic small businesses.

In this sense, one of the primary arguments in this thesis is that ethnic small business present cues that may signal a sense of nationalism on the part of the business owners and the work environment. Notwithstanding being faced with an ethnic cultural environment showing traditions, symbols and customs of ethnicity, I employ the term "nationalistic" prior to "ethnic small business" due to these businesses generally defining themselves in terms of a country in specific (e.g. a Chinese restaurant, a Korean supermarket, an Italian restaurant). Thus, nationalism in the form of supporting a country is tied to ethnicity in the form of ancestral and traditional symbols and customs. Although businesses are socially conceived as "ethnic", those ethnic values are usually connected to a country on which the business is focused.

In this paper, ethnic small businesses are argued to convey a nationalistic image for four principal reasons: ethnic community network, non-diverse workforce, ethnic symbols display and native language. First of all, the quest for resources to start small businesses is intimately connected to availability within the entrepreneur's ethnic community in the host country. As previously mentioned, Waldinger (1989) notes that immigrants take advantage of and rely on their own kin and community for support (e.g. financial aid, workforce, knowledge) which complements the entrepreneur's own capital, business experience in their country of origin and imported skills that, together with their national and ethnic values and traditions, represent a starting point for running a business in the new country. Likewise, and in more general terms, Rieder (1985) claims that it is a common tendency for people to seek support from members of their own social group with which they feel identified (ethnicity, in this research) when they arrive to a new place. In this respect, the initial business interactions of immigrant entrepreneurs are carried out inside an ethnic

environment, which may foster the propensity for owners to make business with suppliers established in their country of origin. For instance, we can see that Chinese supermarkets make an effort to import Chinese products and goods because of strong networks and facilities to make business with their own people, great knowledge of the products they sell and familiarity with the targeted market. As well in this regard, it could be argued that ethnic networks may help entrepreneurs find employees easier within the same ethnic community. These patterns may apply to businesses focused on any nationality and nationality-specific products.

Second, the above-mentioned trend to observe employees of only one ethnicity in the small business may provide a cue that preservation of the cultural work environment and ethnic community is among business owners' desires, ultimately signaling nationalism. In this respect, Ram, Sanghera, Abbas, Barlow & Jones' (2000) qualitative study found that ethnic ties are fundamental criteria when recruiting personnel for ethnic small restaurants. In addition, studies have evidenced a clear preference for business owners to hire people from the same ethnic background because of "trust" issues (Herman, 1979; Kesteloot & Mistiaen, 1997). Thus, research suggests that people of the same ethnicity (or co-ethnics) as the small business in question bear an ethnic advantage over other ethnicities (non-co-ethnics) when it comes to job opportunities in this business. This recruitment trend of ethnic homogeneity among ethnic small businesses signals nationalistic practices due to in-group preferences and out-group exclusion when hiring. From a general perspective, this behavior responds to the theoretical standpoint that nationalistic groups act against integration of other out-groups in the defense of the national community and ethnic culture (Halikiopoulou et al., 2012).

Third, ethnic small businesses display an evident and observable assortment of ethnic symbols and ethnic physical features in the business establishments. Research has reported that this behavior is generally common in the immigrant and ethnic entrepreneurship areas. For example, in a study examining the experiences of small business Chinese entrepreneurs in Canada, Chan (1992) observed a marked tendency for business owners to invoke ethnic symbols in their businesses as a result of high ethnic identity and a deep attachment to national traditions. Moreover, Gans (1979) claims that a feeling of deep allegiance to, love

for and pride in the mother country culture drives the enactment of cultural and ancestral traditions in the daily life in the new country. Notwithstanding being in a different country, ethnic business owners continue expressing their national identity because of an emotional bond with a nation (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and an explicit willingness to internalize national culture (Festinger, 1954) through the maintenance and display of national symbols and traditions. For example, it is very usual to find Indian ethnic symbols (e.g. national flag, Hindi or Punjabi characters in the business front and in the restaurant menu, religious insignias, and cashiers wearing traditional Indian dress) in Indian restaurants; this recreates the Indian culture in a place where typical Indian food is served. Hence, I argue that the display of national and ethnic symbols in the small business may be perceived as nationalistic. In support of this, Sleeboom (2002) posits that the explicit expression of national symbols and values constitutes a fundamental enactment of nationalism.

Finally, language is highly relevant and central to national and ethnic identity, and an essential part of nationalism. De Varennes (1996) devotes his research in understanding the relevance that language plays for each ethnic and national group due to a set of traditions and ancestral values that are attached to the native tongue. In this regard, it is stated that languages mark the boundaries among ethnicities because they reflect the identity of the group, a signal or characteristic that someone belongs to one group and the identity of native-speakers of that language (De Varennes, 1996). In some cases, ethnic groups may identify themselves more with language than with cultural background (Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977). Myhill (2003) emphasizes the "authenticity hierarchy" and posits that ethnic and national groups may regard native-speakers as more nationally and ethnically "authentic" than those who don't speak the language. Therefore, language may represent a crucial criterion of group identification and each country has adopted at least one language that is particular to the ethnicity and historical events related to that country. For instance, Latin American countries embraced the languages spoken by the colonizers (e.g. Spanish language in those colonized by Spain and Portuguese in Brazil, which was colonized by Portugal). Many countries in Asia and South Asia adopted different languages in spite of the majority presenting similar physical features (e.g. Chinese language in China, Japanese in Japan, mainly Hindi and Punjabi in India, Korean language in South and North Korea, Malay in Malaysia). As well, we can find that some countries are divided into subgroups

that speak different languages within the same country. For example, Paraguay's official languages are Spanish and Guarani, the latter being the tongue spoken by native Indians living in the territory; the Wolof language is spoken by the Wolof people (a ethnicity originated in Africa), which is a culture widespread in Senegal, Gambia and Mauritania and represents a great percentage of the populations of these countries, in spite of the official languages being French, English and Arabic, respectively; and also the case of different provinces of Spain that adopted a different language as official over the Spanish language (e.g. Catalan in the province of Catalonia, Basque in the Basque country, and Galician in the province of Galicia). Having exposed the significance of language for ethnic groups, language abilities may as well represent a factor of utmost importance for small business owners. Given the ethnic environment and preference of hiring people of the same ethnicity, we could assume that the ability of speaking the same language as the owners may leverage the opportunities of working there. In this sense, it would seem that ethnic business owners may want to use their native language, instead of Canada's official languages (English and French), to communicate better with employees.

The argument here is that the usage of one language different from the host country's official languages provides cues that the business owners may be nationalistic. In support of this, Fishman (1972) argues that language is central to nationalism, and De Varennes (1996) explains that preference of one language over all others signal a desire of group dominance, which is translated into exclusion and avoidance of out-groups (those who don't speak the language) because the integration of other languages in the ethnic environment is seen as a threat to the culture. These ideas clearly convey a sense of nationalism since in-group members are in more favorable positions and out-groups are implicitly rejected due to unilingual business practices that may deprive them (the non-speakers) from job opportunities. Choosing to speak a language other than host country's official tongues fosters division, sets boundaries, enacts discrimination and hinders multiculturalism, diversity and inclusion in the workplace (Immigration Canada's top priorities), privileging only those of the same ethnicity and who speak the language (Cobo, 1987).

It would be reasonable to conclude that owners of ethnic small businesses give preference to people that share their same values, traditions, customs and spoken language in order to preserve the cultural environment and make the best out of their ethnic network. Nevertheless, there must be other factors taken into consideration in the recruitment process of these small businesses. Like every employer, ethnic small business owners should ponder the capabilities and skills necessary to carry out the responsibilities of the job, ultimately not relying on *just* ethnic ties. Jenkins (1986) proposes that ethnic small business owners seek employees who are "suitable" to the technical requirements of the job position as well as "acceptable" in the context of social relations, the latter referring to commonality of ethnic background and its benefits in the workplace. In this respect, Ram et al.'s (2000) qualitative study found that ethnic restaurants give priority to specific profiles when it comes to hire the most technical, skilled and important position in the food establishment, namely the Chef. It was found that business owners would prefer a person from their own ethnicity who possessed the knowledge of authentic ethnic cuisine to rule the kitchen. In fact, in contrast to the waiters at the front, who may be required to speak mostly the language of the host country, the need for the Chef to be of the same ethnicity extends to the rest of the kitchen staff because of the necessity to speak only one language and to have only one work culture (Ram, 2000). The case of the Chef may apply for other positions not only in a restaurant, but in other types of small businesses. For instance, the merchandise manager of an ethnic supermarket may be required to have great language skills and ethnic networks in order to coordinate the purchase of ethnic products and look for the best opportunities with suppliers in the country of origin; or perhaps the main designer of a typical ethnic clothing store may be preferred to bear technical manufacturing skills that may be generally found in people of the same ethnic group.

The previous discussion leads to the conclusion that within these kinds of businesses there may be some jobs to which people of the same ethnicity as the business owners are more suitable than non-ethnics because of language and technical skills that, intimately intertwined with ethnic background, may be essential for those jobs. Nonetheless, if we take a look at the non-diverse workforce of the classic ethnic small business, it seems that business owners may be applying the same principle for job positions that don't actually require technical skills or specific language requirements. Subsequently, having preferences

for employees based solely on ethnicity could be a signal of discrimination. In order to further elaborate on this matter, it is worth examining the issue from a Canadian legal standpoint by making reference to "Bona Fide Occupational Requirements".

Bona Fide Occupational Requirements

Bona Fide Occupational Requirements (BFOR) in Canada, or Bona Fide Occupational Qualifications (BFOQ) in United States, is a legal term defined as "a justifiable reason for discrimination based on business reasons of safety or effectiveness" (Stewart, Belcourt, Peacock, Bohlander & Snell, 2016, p.42). Bona Fide Occupational Requirements take part on the Canadian human rights legislation as a measure to justify the need of discrimination on behalf of employers in favor of people with specific demographic characteristics to perform a job that requires the recruitment of only people with those attributes or profiles. In this sense, it works as a legal right for employers to incur in *systemic discrimination*, which is the unintentional practice of discriminatory recruitment policies that gives preference to membership in certain groups (not job-related characteristics) because of the possession of certain traits necessary to perform the job adequately. Furthermore, it is stated that employers must demonstrate by legal means that a job is to be performed only by members of a group (e.g. only females for female underwear commercials; only people with eye sight for new car testing) because their characteristics are *essential* for the job at hand, inasmuch as the bona fide occupational requirements must be proven to be legitimate. If not proven to be legitimate, the employer may be exercising illegal discrimination policies. These laws apply in all provinces of Canada and are part of the Human Rights Legislation of the country (Stewart et al, 2016).

Applying bona fide occupational requirements to our case of ethnic small businesses, we could see that there may be a signal of discriminatory practices on the part of business owners. Whereas previously mentioned job positions that truly require membership in a national or ethnic group in order for tasks to be performed in an effective manner may encounter support in bona fide occupational requirements (e.g. the Indian chef who truly knows the flavor of Indian cuisine), other job positions within these ethnic small businesses that do not require special, technical skills (e.g. cashier, grocery packer, food stocker, dishwasher, delivery driver, cleaning staff) are theoretically entitled to be filled by virtually

anyone, irrespective of particular group membership. For example, job-related requirements for being a dishwasher may comprise the ability to wash dishes in a fast and effective manner, some organizational skills and carefulness with delicate objects; a restaurant or supermarket cashier is required to have knowledge of the customer-charging system, the utilization of the cash register and some basic counting math skills; and a grocery packer may be demanded to bag groceries in a fast, organized and agile fashion. However, we must acknowledge that there may be some cases where some low-level positions may require skills proper from the ethnicity in question when there is *direct contact* with customers. Specifically, ethnic owners may know that the business clientele is mostly from the same ethnicity as the business, thus an ethnic restaurant may need co-ethnic waiters that have good knowledge of the culture and are proficient in a specific language in order to address customers' needs in certain ways proper of the culture. As a result, cases as such may encounter support in BFOR.

The job positions to which I refer here are employment opportunities that, in essence, are not related to ethnic traditions or ethnic knowledge, don't require membership in specific groups for tasks to be undertaken and don't call for proficiency of languages (except English or French in Canada when the job positions entails communication with non-co-ethnic customers). Thus, since ethnicity or national origin may not be a valid bona fide occupational requirement for these kinds of low-level positions, we may encounter discrimination based on ethnicity in the context exposed in this paper.

At this point, I return to the previous discussion of "Recent Immigrants in the Unskilled Labor Market" and combine it with this last discrimination-in-ethnic-business idea in order to construct arguments on how recent immigrants may experience or have perceptions of potential discrimination from nationalistic ethnic small businesses, whose job positions constitute a work alternative in the unskilled labor market.

Immigrants' Perceptions of Discrimination from Nationalistic Ethnic Small Businesses

So far, I have argued that ethnic small businesses may portray a visibly nationalistic image as a consequence of practices such as focusing the business on the ethnic nature (e.g. typical ethnic goods produced in the country of origin), frequently hiring ethnically non-

diverse personnel, the display of national and ethnic symbols in the business establishment and the manifest usage of an ethnic language other than English or French. In addition, it was claimed that this nationalistic behavior may foster the practice of discriminatory, ethnic-based decisions when it comes to hiring new personnel for unskilled job positions in the business because of a preference for co-ethnics to fulfill those jobs, ultimately denying opportunities of work to non-co-ethnic, recent immigrants. The recruitment decisions for these low level positions may be generally made based on ethnic background, regardless of possession of the required skills for the job. It has been argued that decisions like these don't have legal support since ethnicity is not a bona fide occupational requirement to undertake the responsibilities of the low-skill job positions treated in this research (e.g. cashier, grocery packer, food stocker, dishwasher, delivery driver, cleaning staff). Subsequently, the main argument and the focus of this thesis lies on whether recent immigrants who face the need of short-term, unskilled employment may perceive the likelihood of discrimination from the nationalistic ethnic business, and whether this affects their perception of job opportunities in these businesses.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND HYPOTHESES

Building a Theoretical Model

In order to tackle my research question and build my theoretical model of recent immigrants' perceptions, reactions and perspectives about the nationalistic image of ethnic small businesses, I draw on two relevant theories on social perceptions, namely schema theory and signaling theory (Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Rynes, 1991; Spence, 1973). In addition, the social-perception constructs are contextualized in and complemented by theories of group conflict, drawing on the constructs of nationalism, prejudice and social identity (Blank & Schmidt, 2003; Poppe & Linssen, 1999; Viki & Calitri, 2008; Halikiopoulou et al., 2012; Shelton, Richeson & Salvatore, 2005; Dambrun, 2007; Guimond & Dambrun, 2002; Stephan & Stephan, 1996; Stephan et al., 1999; Esses et al. 1998; Esses, 2001; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The constructs are proposed to play a role in the perceptions of recent immigrant job seekers when they face a nationalistic ethnic business. Additionally, I enlarge the scope of the study by exploring the effects of two individual difference variables that are characteristics of the job seeker, namely *ethnic identification*

(the extent to which they identify with their own ethnic group) and *openness to experience* (a personality variable that consists of the willingness to accommodate one's beliefs and behaviors when facing new experiences and ideas) The goal is to understand job seekers' perceptions of prejudice and their perceived job opportunities when faced with the nationalistic ethnic small business.

Schema Theory and Signaling Theory

As it has been mentioned, the research questions are addressed through theories of perceptions since the model is perceptual in nature. In other words and simply put, the model relies entirely on job seekers' perceptions as it explores how the job seeker reacts to the nationalistic image of the ethnic business in terms of perceiving potential prejudice and whether they believe job opportunities in unskilled positions in the ethnic business are possible. Thereby, I utilize both Schema Theory and Signaling Theory to explain and disentangle the phenomena of perceptions in the context exposed here.

Schema Theory (Fiske & Taylor, 1991) proposes that people's conceptions of other people, places, events and objects are based on schemas, with schema defined as "a cognitive structure that represents knowledge about a concept or type of stimulus, including its attributes and the relations among those attributes" (p. 98). Schemas provide individuals with prior knowledge or beliefs that are used to perceive, filter, encode and forecast information about any subject surrounding them, easing information processing. For instance, physical attributes provide cues that serve as knowledge used for forming conceptions and perceiving subjects in a certain way. Furthermore, there are numerous categories of schemas, ranging from schemas of the self to social schemas; however, I focus on two types specifically: person schemas and image schemas. Person schemas represent the individual's held conception of a person's or group of people's traits and predispositions (McKay & Avery, 2006), meaning that individuals form impressions of others through prior attribution of traits in order to facilitate the processing of information about others. On the other hand, image schemas are cognitive organizing structures that arise from individuals' interaction, both bodily and social, with the surrounding environment and that enable the construction of mental structures that provide meaning to

the phenomenon or image with which the individual interacts (Johnson, 1987; Santibáñez, 2002).

Signaling Theory (Rynes, 1991; Spence, 1973) posits that job seekers contend with limited or incomplete information about employers or organizations in which they intend to apply for jobs. Information in this regard could vary from undisclosed hiring policies to organizational culture. Subsequently, job seekers rely on first interactions with the business to seek physical characteristics or cues that help them form a perception of the desired information and simplify the decision-making process (Highouse & Hoffman, 2001). For example, job seekers may look for signaling information on the web page of the employer, or may form an overall impression of the business just by looking at its advertisement in the newspaper.

Both schema and signaling theories suggest that individuals form impressions and perceptions out of the information conveyed by the subject they interact with. Extrapolating this premise to this research, it could be argued that recent immigrant job seekers may deduce information and may cognitively construct an overall impression of the ethnic business based on first observations. McKay & Avery (2006) employ a similar approach through schema and signaling theories in order to examine how job seekers may complete their overall conception about employers, specifically about how diverse organizations were, by dragging out diversity cues out of their first visits to the company and first interactions with recruiters. Likewise, by looking at an advertisement of the ethnic business or by just standing in front of the facade of the establishment, job seekers may observe explicit physical characteristics of the business (e.g. national flag, religious symbols, display of ethnic typical artifacts, and workforce of observably common ethnicity) that may lead them to the perception that the business is nationalistic, resulting in the usage of a combination of image schemas and cognitive constructions through signaling. Moreover, the same physical cues may convey necessary information to deduce that the business owners may engage in nationalistic practices such as the maintenance of the ethnic culture in the workplace, the preference for the workforce to be co-ethnic and the predominance of one specific language, ultimately fostering the formation of person schemas (e.g. business owners are nationalistic) through the conveyed information of signals.

Nonetheless, this paper argues that perceptions of nationalism in the context of job search may trigger further perceptual phenomena in the mind of the job seeker. Specifically, I examine whether the perception of nationalism in the ethnic business brings about a feeling or perception of potentially being prejudiced against (especially due to not being co-ethnic) if hypothetically there were intentions to apply for a job in that ethnic small business. Therefore, I firstly explore the theoretical relationship between nationalism and prejudice, discussing what other variable may be at play in this relationship, and then I connect it to previously exposed ideas on job seekers' perceptions.

Nationalism and Prejudice

The relationship between nationalism and prejudice has been vastly explored in the past (e.g. Cullingford, 2000; Hopkins, 2001; Hassin, Ferguson, Kardosh, Porter, Carter & Dudareva, 2009), resulting in a comprehensive number of studies encountering positive correlations between the two concepts. While the concept of nationalism was discussed previously in this paper, the construct of prejudice is introduced in this section. Prejudice has been defined as a prejudgment or attitude towards an out-group for the sole reason of their membership to that out-group (Brendl, Markman & Messner, 2001). The prejudiced attitude has been traditionally held to be negative in nature (Brown, 1995). Hence, the occurrence of prejudice implies a negative and hostile behavior towards people who possess generally social-constructed specific characteristics (e.g. stereotypes) that fall into categories according to group membership and that are not shared by the person who exercises the prejudice.

Both nationalism and prejudice arise from the phenomenon of social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), which formulates the premise that individuals seek membership within groups with which they feel identified due to commonality of one or more characteristics (e.g. ethnic background, nationality, religion, race, economic class). As well, social identity theory highlights both the commitment of group members to seek after the wellbeing and interests of the in-group and the consideration of out-groups as threats to the group's identity. Therefore, social identity fosters division and segregation of groups or classes within the same society, carrying with it intergroup conflict based on the defense of the interests of each group. Intergroup conflict has been extensively studied in terms of its

entailed consequences, one of which is the derogation of and negative attitudes towards out-groups. For instance, Viki & Calitri (2008) put forward the theory of out-group infra-humanization and in-group supra-humanization, which supports the idea that as a result of in-group bias (the inherent tendency to be in favor of one's own group), people attribute more positive human essence or emotions to the in-group and, in contrast, exercise derogation of out-groups by denying the existence of human attributes in them. In other words, the theory argues that out-groups are often considered as less human than the in-group because of lacking certain generally demographic characteristics proper of the in-group. In the same paper, Viki & Calitri discuss the role of nationalism as an engine of supra-humanization and infra-humanization phenomena and posit that nationalistic people tend to hold their own nation and national group as superior to others and, as a result, tend to keep negative feelings towards out-groups such as hate or contempt, ultimately suggesting a form of national or ethnic prejudice.

Moreover, Blank & Schmidt (2003) examined and found strong supporting evidence of the relationship between nationalism and intolerance or degradation of foreigners and minorities in Germany. In this sense, the authors suggest that nationalistic views foster social comparison with others and the derogation of out-groups as a result of feelings of national membership superiority. Blank & Schmidt's main argument encompasses the premise that nationalism brings about discrimination and prejudice towards out-groups and a readiness to reject diversity and multiculturalism because they (out-groups, minorities and immigrants) are not considered to be part of the nation nor possess and believe in the national values, principles and culture. Other authors, such as Halikiopoulou et al. (2012) in the European Union context and Stephan & Stephan (1996) in the U.S. case of prejudice against Mexican immigrants, have drawn on similar lines of thinking as well.

The interest of scholars in the relationship Nationalism – Prejudice has opened the discussion of the underlying phenomena occurring in intergroup conflicts and the reasons why nationalistic or in-group fanatics in general tend to hold pervasive prejudice towards other out-groups. For instance, Stephan et al. (1999) claim that there are four primal factors that intervene in the rise of prejudice that we can relate to the concept of nationalism: realistic threats, symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotyping. *Realistic*

threats pertain to the in-group's beliefs that there is competition for scarce resources (e.g. jobs, economic gains, territory, natural resources) and that out-groups represent potential menace to the welfare of the in-group. One example of explicitly shown feelings of realistic threat is the negative correlation between realistic threat and attitude ratings toward African Americans in the U.S. (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1976). *Symbolic threats* refer to those feelings that the in-group's values, principles, culture, norms and beliefs may be threatened by discrepant out-groups' views and beliefs, leading to negative attitudes toward out-groups. Symbolic threats are more concerned with the group's identity, which may be based on nationality and its inherent ethnic and national values. Such case of symbolic threat was evident in Adolf Hitler's speech against the so-called "impurity" of Jewish people; in ISIS' objective to eliminate non-Muslims; and the historically racist belief that African Americans possess different values from Whites, leading to prejudice against Blacks. *Intergroup anxiety* concerns the fear of personal threat, embarrassment, rejection, exploitation or being ridiculed when interacting with out-groups. It is argued that one of the reasons people may feel this threat is nationalism or ethnocentrism, either due to the self being nationalistic or due to the counterpart being nationalistic. As a result, people who feel intergroup anxiety tend to avoid encounters with out-groups and keep negative beliefs about them. Finally, *negative stereotypes* are stated to be expectations for social interaction based on socially conceived beliefs about out-groups that result in degradation and hostility towards the stereotyped group.

Summing up, this theoretical underpinning provides a signal that the relationship between nationalism and prejudice may be purely based on threats, either over resources, group identity, interaction anxiety and/or negative social conceptions of out-groups. In this sense, nationalistic people, who feel deeply identified with their national identity to the extent that the national group is held to be superior to others and to the extent that out-groups that are perceived to lack the national values and beliefs must be derogated, avoided and shown hostility, will enact negative attitudes or prejudice towards out-groups due to these being regarded as potential threats to resources (deemed to belong only to the "national"), to national identity (due to discrepancy of values, customs and culture), and to in-group members' comfort upon social interaction.

Notwithstanding the clear correlation between nationalism and prejudice, research has left two fundamental gaps in the study of these two intergroup conflict constructs. More specifically, past research has not adequately covered the examination of the relationship from the perspective of the prejudice victim (the person who is or could be prejudiced against), posing the question whether people perceive potential prejudice when faced with a nationalistic entity (person or organization), nor has it considered the role of mediating variables in the relationship. Shelton et al (2005) is one of the few exceptions. In the next section, I explore the Nationalism & Prejudice phenomenon from the perspective of the prejudice target or perceiver (in this case, the job seeker) by extracting arguments from previously presented theories and adapting them to the context of ethnic small businesses. Then I discuss the theoretical background of one variable, namely perceived group competition, which may be mediating the relationship between nationalism and prejudice from the standpoint of the job seeker.

The job seeker's perceptions of Prejudice from the Nationalistic Ethnic Small Business

In order to fit the theoretical background on intergroup conflict, specifically on nationalism and prejudice, to the context in which a job seeker intends to look for an unskilled, low-level job within a small business of different ethnicity than the job seeker's, it is necessary to set the discussion from the stand point of the job seeker and not from the nationalistic entity who enacts prejudice, as it is encouraged in past research (Stephan & Stephan, 1996; Stephan et al., 1999; Viki & Calitri, 2008; Hassin et al., 2009). This way, the variables of nationalism and prejudice are treated differently, yet supported on the same theoretical principles. Thus, I examine how job seekers react to the nationalistic image of the ethnic small business in terms of the extent to which they perceive potential prejudice from the business owners if there were intentions to apply for job.

Shelton et al. (2005) examined the implications of ethnic prejudice expectations on affection and behavior during interactions with someone of another ethnicity. The study suggests that interethnic social interaction seems affected when one of the two people expects that the counterpart will hold prejudice against them, resulting in more negative interactive experiences when the person expected to be prejudiced against prior to the social encounter. Moreover, the same study suggests that being faced with someone of

another group (national, ethnic, religious), people are more aware of potential negative bias that the out-group member may hold against them. Likewise, upon encountering an ethnic small business, the non-co-ethnic job seeker may perceive the image of the business as highly nationalistic, leading to the feeling that business owners may hold prejudiced and discriminatory beliefs against non-co-ethnics/non-co-nationals.

I elaborate on this last point by making reference to various theories that I have cited before. First of all, through schema and signaling theories, job seekers who possess incomplete knowledge about the ethnic business may form impressions and perceptions out of the information conveyed by the nationalistic image of the business, which acts as the schematized subject. Whether it is observed in an advertisement or in front of the façade of the business, the image of the ethnic small business presents various symbols and characteristics particular to a specific national identity (e.g. national flag, religious symbols, display of ethnic typical artifacts, and workforce of observably common ethnicity) that provide job seekers with visible cues of the work environment of that business. Hence, job seekers may perceive both the business owners (through person schemas) and the business itself (through image schemas) as nationalistic after identifying physical attributes and symbolic cues (through signaling) that are indicative of nationalism. The process of information-encoding exposed in signaling and schema theories would help job seekers construct conceptions and deduce unknown information over many aspects of the small ethnic business, one of which being whether there could be an ethnic or in-group bias in hiring policies over unskilled job positions since the business owners are appreciated as deeply identified with their nationality/ethnicity. The in-group bias may be seen as a potential cause of employment discrimination based on ethnic prejudice. In other words, job seekers may perceive potential prejudice from the nationalistic business owners upon considering applying for a low-level job as a cashier, grocery packer, waiter, etc.

In this matter, I argue that job seekers who perceive nationalism in the ethnic business will experience feelings of potential prejudice on behalf of business owners from another ethnicity in the context of job search in the unskilled labor market. Moreover, the previously presented relationship between nationalism and prejudice is claimed to maintain its positive connection, although from the standpoint of the prejudice target (job seeker).

Again, this argument is supported by the fact that people expect to be prejudiced against when they have knowledge that the counterpart (in this case the ethnic business) belongs to another ethnic group; by the fact that job seekers conceive the counterpart to be nationalistic through information obtained from nationalistic cues; and by the fact that nationalism has been significantly related to prejudice and negative attitudes against out-groups. Potential perceived prejudice in this scenario can be thought of as perceptions of potential denial to work due to not being a co-ethnic. In this case, negative attitudes take the form of rejection from employment, and job seekers that hold the small business as nationalistic may perceive lower probabilities of being hired, lower likelihood that employers may trust a non-co-ethnic, lower probability of fair and objective assessment of skills and higher chances of being considered a threat to the cultural environment of the business. Therefore, I hypothesize that there is a positive relationship between the nationalism portrayed by the ethnic business and the job seeker's perception of prejudice from business owners. Recent immigrant job seekers who are looking for short-term job opportunities in unskilled positions within ethnic small businesses will perceive more possibilities of being prejudiced against when the business displays a nationalistic image and work environment.

Hypothesis 1: There is a positive relationship between nationalism of the ethnic small business and the job seeker's perception of prejudice.

Even though there may be a direct relationship between ethnic small business nationalism and job seeker's perceived prejudice, I extend my line of enquiry to posit the following questions: Is there a possibility that this relationship may be driven by another path? Is there a variable exerting a mediation effect between these two constructs? I turn one more time to theories of group conflict to explore the construct of *group competition* in terms of perceptions from the stance of the job seeker and investigate its intervening linkage between ethnic business nationalism and job seeker's perceptions of prejudice.

The Mediating Role of Perceived Group Competition

In order to address the concept of group competition in the context of my research, I refer to the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict (Esses et al., 1998; Esses et al., 2001), in

which the main argument lies on the premise that intergroup conflict arises from competition for resources.

The Instrumental Model of Group Conflict posits that perceived group competition arises from the existence of resource stress and the presence of a salient, potentially competitive, out-group. The competition in this sort of conflict surrounds the resources in question. As a result, the perception of group competition brings about attempts to remove the competitive out-group. Once the mainstream of conflict causality is understood, it is worth looking at each of the elements in the model to be able to connect the theory with the context of this research.

The model begins with two main factors that interplay in order to provoke feelings of competitive threat, namely *resource stress* and *presence of relevant out-group*. In the condition of resource stress, or perception of resource stress, groups realize that there is a set of resources (e.g. jobs, money, power, territory) within society with limited access. As a result, resources are held to be scarce and that not every group possesses means to get them. Moreover, resource stress is also driven by the feeling that there is an unequal distribution of resources, leading to the belief that resources are more limited to some groups than to others. Feelings of scarcity and unequal distribution are especially high within low-status groups. Therefore, resources are more valued when they are perceived as scarce, limited and unequally distributed and, as groups put more stress on obtaining resources, a desire for unequal distribution is created since the groups want more for themselves and less for out-groups. On the other hand, it is claimed that the presence of a relevant out-group is fundamental in starting intergroup conflict over resources. To satisfy the condition of "relevant", the out-group must be salient in society (e.g. increasing its population share or showing tendencies and behaviors that may be having an impact in the community) and distinctive from the out-group, the latter condition being determined by a clear difference of values, beliefs and identity between the in-group and the out-group. In addition, the out-group must have provided signals of likelihood to be a threat to the resources of the in-group. In this sense, the out-group is perceived to have the purpose of appropriating the in-group's resources.

Upon having resource stress and the presence of a relevant out-group, perceptions of group competition are created. The model describes perceived group competition as the feeling that the group is in a fight for resources against out-groups because of the reasons mentioned above. Moreover, this feeling is driven by a cognitive component and an affective component. In the cognitive side, groups perceiving group competition hold zero-sum beliefs, which are based on the feeling that the more the out-group obtains, the less is available for the in-group. In the affective side, groups experimenting group competition undergo feelings of anxiety and fear over the threat out-groups pose and over the potential loss of resources. Furthermore, the model ends with the linkage between perceived group competition and negative attitudes and behaviors towards out-groups (prejudice in essence). In this matter, the authors argue that perceptions of group competition will foster the development of behaviors against out-groups, more specifically attempts to remove the competitive threat that out-groups represent. These anti-competition strategies comprise three fundamental behaviors. First, the reduction of competitiveness of the out-group, which materializes through the expression of negative attitudes against and attributions about those belonging to the out-group, in order to create the in-group's conception that the out-group is inferior and worthless. Under this category of behaviors we can find the enactment of discriminatory attitudes as well. Second, the in-group may try to increase its competitiveness by, for example, enhancing members' skills in particular domains or by allocating resources for the benefit of in-group's members, having as a consequence the conception that only the in-group is entitled to its resources. Finally, in order to ward off the threat and salience of out-groups, the in-group may exercise the strategy of out-group avoidance, inasmuch as the in-group may try to stay away from members of the out-group by denying access to resources (e.g. employment, territory).

At this point, we can relate Esses et al.'s (1998) group-conflict components with some of the previously cited ideas that Stephan et al. (1999) argue regarding the underpinnings of intergroup conflict. Specifically, the factor of realistic threat which states that groups feel that others may desire their resources, creating a sense of resource competition; and the factor of negative stereotypes, which are attributions towards out-groups that may arise as a result of intergroup conflict and that are characterized for its hostile nature against out-groups.

Thus, perceived group competition seems to be at the center of intergroup conflict and it is possible to see it as a mediator of the relationship between nationalism and prejudice. First of all, Esses et al. (2001) consider the role of group membership based on ethnicity and national identity within the framework of Instrumental Model of Group Conflict when measuring negative attitudes towards immigrants and immigration in Canada and United States. Essentially, the authors posit that people's level of nationalism positively affects their perception of group competition for resources, triggering negative attitudes towards immigrants, immigration and other ethnicities in general. Therefore, we could fit the national identity factor within the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict as an element of distinction between groups. Second, according to the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict, the existence of resource stress and out-group salience set the scenario for the origination of perceived group competition. Adapting this idea to our context, nationalistic ethnic business owners that live in a multicultural country that welcomes more and more people from different ethnicities (out-groups) who come in the search for life opportunities in the form of economic resources (e.g. jobs, housing, welfare from government) may feel the necessity to guard the limited resources that their own ethnic community possesses. In this sense, resources such as jobs in the ethnic small business are perceived as scarce and, as a result of nationalistic and in-group biased views, those jobs may be held to only belong to co-ethnics. At the same time, people from other ethnicities or non-co-ethnics are clearly distinctive in terms of ethnic and national origin, language, values, customs, etc., and these may be perceived as potential resource-snatchers since many recent immigrants look for low-level job opportunities in small businesses. Third, as nationalistic ethnic business owners may want to reserve jobs for co-ethnics, it follows that they will hold resource-based zero-sum beliefs in that they may perceive the more for the own ethnic community, the less for the non-co-ethnics and the better off the own ethnic community. Consequently, ethnic business owners may engage in discriminatory practices based on ethnic prejudice, ultimately denying job opportunities to non-co-ethnics as a means of out-group avoidance (attempt to remove competition by avoidance and decreasing out-group competitiveness) and prioritizing employment for co-ethnics (increasing in-groups competitiveness). In sum, we can observe that perceived group competition may serve as a mediation influence on

prejudice when nationalism is put in the lens of intergroup conflict based on resource competition.

Nonetheless, a final piece of the puzzle is necessary in adapting the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict to our context and in building a hypothesis over the mediation effect of perceived group competition. In this respect, it is necessary to reiterate on the fact that we are looking the intergroup conflict from the outlook of the prejudice target, namely the job seeker, and not from the eyes of the potential prejudice holder or enactor, namely the ethnic business and owners.

Drawing on the theoretical foundations described in previous sections, I argue that job seekers may perceive that ethnic small business owners might engage in discriminatory hiring practices that only benefit co-ethnics as a consequence of resource-based zero-sum beliefs. Job seekers who are faced with a nationalistic image of the business may perceive owners to hold competitive threat thoughts over their resources (the more others get, the less my group gets). Thereby, job seekers may perceive potential prejudice from a resource-based perspective. The potential prejudice in this case is perceived from the fact that business owners, who hold in-group biases and may prefer to allocate resources within their own ethnic community boundaries because of perceived group competition, may be conceived as wanting to avoid the employment of outgroup members in order to decrease their competitiveness and increase in-group's economic advantage in society.

Thus, I hypothesize that feelings of potentially being prejudiced against (rejection from employment) by nationalistic small business owners are as well driven by feelings that business owners' hiring practices are based on feelings of perceived group competition, ultimately treating perceived group competition as a mediating variable.

Hypothesis 2: There is a positive relationship between the nationalistic image of the ethnic small business and job seeker's perceived potential prejudice that is mediated by perceptions that ethnic business owners hold beliefs of group competition.

Effects of Job Seeker's Ethnic Identification and Openness to Experience

The scope of this study is extended to also cover the examination of two individual differences variables and their effect on perceptions of prejudice. Specifically, I examine the variables of job seeker's own *ethnic identification* and *openness to experience* and how these may be affecting the extent to which job seekers perceive prejudice from the nationalistic image of the ethnic small business. The first variable, ethnic identification, has been defined as the consistent association of a person with his/her ethnic background (Stayman & Deshpande, 1989). In this sense, and consequent with my previous discussion of national and ethnic identity, ethnic identification supposes an emotional attachment to belonging to a group which membership is characterized by a commonality of culture, descent, race, ancestral values and customs (Jones, 1997). As mentioned earlier, in many cases people's national identity and ethnic identity may overlap to the extent that they are conceived as the same (e.g. the history of the country has entailed the inheritance of values and culture such that ethnic background is embedded in being a national). Therefore, national identification may be a form of ethnic identification in many cases.

In addition, consistent with the main arguments of this research, ethnic identification is central to intergroup conflict as groups that radicalize their feelings towards an ethnic culture (ethnocentrism) or a country (nationalism) present behaviors mainly driven by group identification. First of all, Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) states that people categorize themselves into identity groups in order to both define themselves as distinct from other groups and define others in terms of prototypical attributes particular to each group. As a result, people's feeling of belongingness to an identity characterized for possessing certain values and culture will motivate them to always seek after favorable impressions of the in-group, which is a behavior known as identity affirmation. In the quest for identity affirmation, individuals prefer to be surrounded by activities and be present in environments that serve this goal, which is ultimately affected by identity threats such as discrimination. In this regard, works on intergroup anxiety (Stephan & Stephan, 1985) have suggested that identity threat takes place upon interaction with an out-group and is boosted by the fear and anxiety of being rejected, embarrassed or ridiculed by the out-group. This fear is claimed to be more prominent when people are highly identified with their in-group because they are more likely to perceive differences and make social comparisons between the groups (Thompson, 1999), resulting in a greater likelihood of perceiving prejudice and

discrimination from out-groups when interaction occurs (Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999).

Furthermore, other scholars have supported the proposition that group-identified individuals are more prone to detect group differences and perceive intergroup interaction as more hostile; specifically in the context of job search, work in general and perceived potential prejudice from employers. Cable & Judge (1996), for example, argue that job seekers tend to identify signals of ethnic representation in organizations in which they intend to apply for job in order to find person-organization fit. In this matter, job seekers rely on their own ethnic identity as a criterion to perceive how diverse the organization might be and what this diversity signal may convey in terms of hiring practices and policies, inasmuch as job seekers high in ethnic identification will search for similarities in terms of demographics of the workforce in order to obtain a clear picture of the business culture. This search of personality congruence will act as a means of identity affirmation that help the job seeker uncover potential discriminatory hiring rules.

Moreover, McKay & Avery (2006) allege that because of the need for ethnic affirmation, individuals who acknowledge the potential bias and hiring preferences of employers will form schemas about recruitment policies in order to aid them in discovering potential discriminatory situations that ultimately could be avoided. Other authors, such as Davidson & Friedman (1998), have found empirical evidence that high ethnic identification affected positively the likelihood to report discrimination incidences at work, more so than when ethnic identification was low. Drawing on similar lines, Pinel (1999) examined the extent to which individuals are aware of stereotypes held against their group and as a result expect to be discriminated against, positing that people who feel deep connections to other members of their group (e.g. ethnic, national, religious, political, racial) hold higher expectancies to be discriminated and prejudiced against when socializing with out-groups. Finally, some academics have found significant relationships between ethnic identification and perceptions of prejudice. For instance, Operario & Fiske (2001) found that individuals high in ethnic identity and low in perceptions of personal-group identity discrepancy had more vulnerability to discrimination, meaning that they were more likely to perceive prejudice than people with lower levels of ethnic identification.

For these reasons, I argue that job seekers with a higher degree of ethnic identification will experience greater perceptions of potential prejudice. First of all, due to the ethnic business portraying physical cues that may be conceived by the job seekers as nationalistic, the job seeker may construct the schema that the business owners may prefer to keep the work environment surrounded by the national culture and, as a result, may prefer to hire co-ethnics (people with their same personality). In turn, the fact that the job seeker may see this as a possible incongruence with his/her own ethnic identity (no identity affirmation), together with the knowledge brought about by formed schemas regarding hiring practices, may exacerbate the perception that a hypothetical job application for a short-term job in the ethnic business will result in being prejudiced against on the basis of ethnicity. Thus, I hypothesize that ethnic identification of the job seeker will affect positively the perceptions of prejudice from the ethnic small business.

Hypothesis 3: Job seekers with higher ethnic identification will perceive more potential prejudice from the nationalistic ethnic small business than job seekers with low ethnic identification.

I also explore the effects of a Big Five personality trait, namely job seeker's openness to experience, on perceived potential prejudice. Openness to experience is defined as individuals' readiness to adjust their beliefs, attitudes and behaviors when exposed to new ideas, situations and experiences (Flynn, 2005). From an environmental perspective (that is in terms of situations), people with high levels of openness to experience have been regarded as cultured, curious, imaginative and broad-minded (Barrick & Mount, 1991). Other authors have attributed open-to-experience people with divergent thinking (McCrae, 1987), a willingness to try new things (Costa & McCrae, 1992) and to experience and welcome novel culture interaction (Flynn, 2005). Moreover, studies have shown that openness correlates positively with Universal-Diverse Orientation, which is a measure focused on the extent to which people are aware and accept similarities and differences between them and other people (Strauss & Connerley, 2003).

Furthermore, openness has been argued to lower levels of stress triggered by acculturation, which is the process of adaptation to a new culture, inasmuch as openness reduces what is known as acculturative stress (Duru & Poyrazli, 2007; Poyrazli, Thukral & Duru, 2010).

Within acculturative stress we can find two factors relevant to this research, namely perceived discrimination and alienation, and culture shock. Whereas perceived discrimination and alienation pertain to the feeling of being judged on the basis of one's own race or ethnic background, resulting in the reception of detrimental treatment and the experience of social isolation, culture shock concerns the struggle of adapting to a new set of norms and expectations proper of the new culture (Poyrazli, Thukral & Duru, 2010). Thus, people high in openness experiment less hassles of this sort upon being faced with a new culture. In support of this matter, Swagler & Jome (2005) found empirical evidence of the relationship between openness and cross-cultural adjustment. At first glance, it may be argued that job seekers who conceive themselves as open to experience may see the ethnic small business as an opportunity to grasp the feeling of another culture.

Moreover, in regards to attitudes toward out-groups, openness seems to show a significant positive tendency in that higher openness demonstrates a stronger willingness to avoid being driven by stereotypes and to welcome an objective appreciation of people from different demographics and backgrounds. For instance, the work of Flynn (2005) demonstrates that open-to-experience individuals are more receptive to stereotype-disconfirming information when interacting with someone of another racial or ethnic group in order to avoid pre-judgmental thoughts, even when knowing that the counterpart may have in-group favoritism (nationalism/ethnocentrism). This premise may go along the lines of this research in that job seekers high in openness may not judge the ethnic business based on its nationalistic image, but rather being open to discover the business cultural environment and desiring to form objective impressions *after* the first interactions. In fact, as Flynn (2005) states, openness is intimately related to a willingness to form favorable and positive impressions of people of other ethnic and racial groups even prior to any interaction. Hence, this suggests that people with levels of openness will inherently perceive less prejudice and threat from other groups, and instead, they will let themselves to form impressions during actual interaction. Accordingly, job seekers who score high in openness may not ponder the nationalistic factor in our case and, consequently, may value the ethnic business as the opportunity to stumble on a new culture and to live new experiences, leading to less perceived prejudice.

The nature of this individual difference in personality characteristics, the propensity to ease acculturation processes, the likelihood towards obtaining stereotype-disconfirming information and the inclination towards forming objective impressions of people regardless of group membership provide enough arguments to test a negative relationship between job seeker's openness to experience and perceived potential prejudice from the nationalistic ethnic small business. Therefore, I hypothesize that higher levels of openness to experience in the job seeker will affect negatively perceptions of prejudice from the ethnic business, meaning that more openness will lead to less perceived prejudice.

Hypothesis 4: Job seeker's openness to experience will affect negatively perceptions of potential prejudice from the nationalistic ethnic business.

Moving on, a final analysis is done in order to complete my research model. Particularly, other perceptual consequences that the nationalistic cues of the business might have on the job seeker. In this case, then, I explore the effects of business' nationalism on job seeker's perceptions of job opportunities.

Job Seekers' Perceptions of Job Opportunities in the Nationalistic Ethnic Business

Because recent immigrant job seekers are actively looking for a short-term, low level job, it is worth examining whether the nationalistic image of the business may have some implications in their judgement on the extent to which it is actually possible to work there coming from a different ethnic background than the ethnic business'. Thus, I take a look at whether job seekers believe they have real chances or not of working in the ethnic small business after perceiving the nationalistic cues and attributing sense of nationalism and in-group bias to business owners.

I draw on three main theoretical streams to explain this relationship. First of all, Shelton et al. (2005) propose that real and potential intergroup interactions generate expectations of being discriminated against and this produces changes in affect and behaviors that help the individual undergo less negative experiences. In this sense, the authors argue that individuals who expect potential rejection or counterpart's in-group bias will try to reduce the possibility of adverse outcomes for the self by, for instance, avoiding interaction with

the out-group counterpart. In our case, this could be translated into a behavior in which the job seeker considers that by not applying for work in the ethnic business, the probability of undergoing negative interethnic experiences in the form of rejection from employment will be reduced. Second, Relative Deprivation theory (Stephan & Stephan, 1996; Guimond & Dambrun, 2002) postulates than groups experience relative deprivation upon perceiving deprivation from resources and societal well-being in comparison to other groups. At the individual level of analysis, the same phenomenon occurs. It follows that people who perceive resources are being allocated to others instead of to the self will feel deprived of those resources. Equally, since nationalistic cues convey a likelihood of only-co-ethnic hiring policies, expectations of negative attitudes in the form of employment rejection arise. Thus, the job seeker may feel deprived from employment in these kinds of sites, affecting their perceptions of job opportunities. Third, Self-Verification theory (Swann, 1983, 1990) put forward that individuals search for social interaction that helps them corroborate and ratify their self-impressions, these latter being either favorable or unfavorable. Correspondingly, individuals who face social interaction that does not go along with their self-view may tend to be resistant to what this theory defines as self-discrepant feedback. Self-discrepant feedback may take the form of negative attitudes (e.g. stereotypes and prejudice) from other people, and expecting for people to hold detrimental thoughts about the self will give rise to a desire to avoid situations in which self-views are jeopardized. Thus, if job seekers perceive that ethnic owners will hold nationalistic views that could result in biased decision in hiring, job seekers may try to evade the interaction with ethnic business owners and may not consider applying for a job if self-views are at stake. This may result in lower perceptions of job opportunities attributed to a greater possibility of neglecting the consideration of applying for work in the ethnic business. Thereby, it is hypothesized that the nationalistic image of the ethnic business will reduce job seekers' perceptions of job opportunities (negative relationship).

Hypothesis 5: There is a negative relationship between nationalism of the ethnic small business and the job seeker's perception of job opportunities.

Figure 1 contains the graphic representation or model of the hypothesized relationships in the present research.

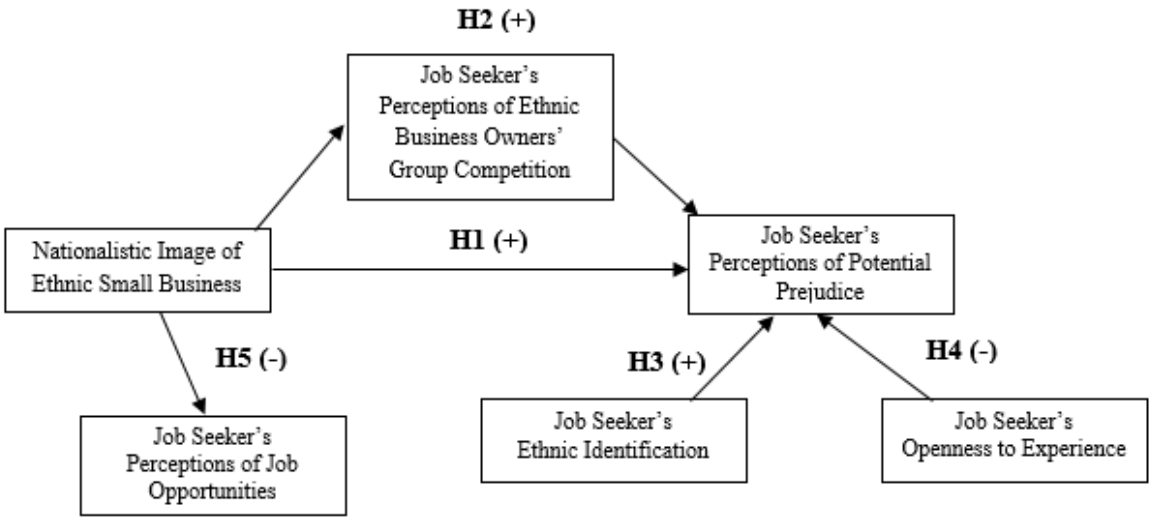


Figure 1. Research Model

Methodology

Participants

The sample consisted of 177 respondents who had recently immigrated (2 years or less by the time of the study) to Montreal, Canada. Among participants, 55% of respondents were women (*n=98)* and the age range was from 18 to 62 years old (*M=29.6, SD=7.47)*. The country of origin of participants was distributed as follows: 55% were Latinos, 11% were Asians, 11% were West European, 7% were Middle Easterners/Arabs, 7% were South Asians, 6% were Africans, and the remaining 4% was composed of East Europeans, Indigenous (South America) and North American (U.S.).

Procedures

The recruitment

Participants were recruited through Facebook. An invitation to participate in the study was posted on the Facebook pages of self-named ethnic groups (e.g. Montreal Indians, Venezuelans in Montreal, Brazilians in Montreal, Moroccans in Montreal, etc.). The invitation explained that potential participants would complete a 10-minute online survey about "experiences of recent immigrants in Montreal". Furthermore, compensation through participation in a raffle for gift cards from a recognized Dollar store was made as a form of encouragement to join the study. Following posting, volunteers personally expressed their interest in participating either via Facebook or via e-mail. Those interested in the research were asked how much time they had been in Canada and only those who had been here for two years or less were provided with the online survey web address. Those who had more than the mentioned period in Canada were thanked for their interest and were informed of the reason they couldn't participate. Given the nature of the sample, the survey was translated to and offered in English, French and Spanish.

The experiment

The study consisted of an online questionnaire that started with control questions such as demographics: gender; time in Canada; languages spoken; work status; education level; and age. Afterwards, the survey informed that participants should imagine they were looking

for a short-term job (e.g. as a cashier or grocery packer) to cover for basic expenses for the next three months, and they were shown the advertisement of a supermarket that was looking for employees. There were five versions of the advertisement—two of them were nationalistic ethnic supermarkets, two were non-nationalistic ethnic supermarkets, and one was a (baseline-control) Quebecois supermarket. The nationalistic ethnic versions showed supermarket advertisements displaying national flags, ethnic language characters, national and/or religious symbols, and a picture of ethnically identifiable business owners. The non-nationalistic ethnic versions showed regular supermarket advertisements without any kind of national icon, yet with a picture of ethnically identifiable business owners. Two ethnicities were used in these four versions: Chinese and Indian. The Quebecois control version showed a supermarket with typical Quebecois symbols and phrases written in French. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the five versions of the advertisement—a between-subjects experimental design. Details are presented in the next section and Appendix 2 contains the advertisements shown to respondents together with the standard questionnaire used in the experiment.

After seeing the ad, participants responded to questions related to the advertisement. Here the main variables were measured: perceived job opportunities; perceived group competition; and perceived prejudice. Then, participants answered the questions that measured the remaining two variables, "openness to experience" and "ethnic identification". The survey ended with measures of participants' ethnicity and their stereotypes of the ethnicity shown in the advertisement.

There were between 34 and 36 participants in each of the five groups. The main reason for having three different nationalities is to increase generalizability of the conclusions.

Measures

Independent variable: Nationalism of the ethnic business: this independent variable was manipulated in the experiment. Experimental groups were presented the advertisement of a supermarket with nationalistic cues. In one version (Nationalistic ethnic Chinese), the cues comprised national and cultural Chinese symbols such as the flag, the traditional Chinese dragon, Chinese language characters, Chinese business name, a picture of the Chinese

owners and their family wearing typical Chinese outfits and pictures of the supermarket stocks filled with Chinese products for the Chinese case. In the second version of the experimental materials (Nationalistic ethnic Indian), the Indian flag, the image of Ganesha (a Hindu god), the "Om" symbol, the picture of Indian owners, Hindi language characters and pictures of the supermarket stocks filled with Indian products were used in the advertisement. An attempt was made to have both Chinese and Indian versions as nationalistically similar as possible.

Two other versions (Non-nationalistic ethnic) were ads for supermarkets which had Chinese and Indian owners, yet these did not portray any national symbol or icon. Instead, the name of the supermarket was neutral, the only flags shown were the Canadian, Quebecois and Montreal's, there were no information in languages other than English or French and the supermarket stocks contained products of international brands. The only signal of ethnicity was the picture of identifiable Chinese and Indian business owners respectively.

Finally, version 5 of the experimental materials was an ad for a typical Quebecois supermarket. It displayed symbols such as the Quebec's flag, the Fleur-de-Lis (Quebec's emblematic flower), pictures of the supermarket with products made in Quebec, French language phrases, and a French business name for the Quebecois case.

The main reason for having two different nationalistic advertisements was an attempt to increase generalizability of the conclusions. The Quebecois advertisement served as a control, since it would be interesting to explore and compare people's reactions to a business which ethnicity is the same as the province people live in. All people were surveyed in Montreal (Province of Quebec), and perhaps people may feel more comfortable with the idea of applying for a job in a business with characteristics particular to the province they live in because of language facilities (French), because they feel more acquainted to some level with the Quebecois customs, values and workstyle, or simply because they have previously worked in Quebecois businesses or Quebecois-owned businesses in Montreal. Thus there were three levels of the manipulation—Nationalistic ethnic, Non-nationalistic ethnic and Quebecois control groups.

Although assignment of participants to versions of the experimental materials was largely random, it was necessary to ensure that participants responded to an advertisement that was *not* of their own ethnicity. For instance, a Chinese participant would not be assigned to the Chinese advertisement and an Indian respondent would not be assigned to the Indian advertisement. This filter was possible because the data collection was through ethnic-identified Facebook pages, moreover, participants' names signaled a possible Indian or Chinese nationality. Note that once participants filled out the surveys, their responses were anonymous.

Perceived prejudice: Two sources of measures were combined for a total of four items. First, I used two items from the perceived discrimination subscale of the Acculturative Stress Scale for International Students (ASSIS; Sandhu & Asrabadi, 1994) and then adapted them to the study. The subscale has been used by Wei and her collaborators, and found to have high reliability (Wei, Heppner, Mallen, & Ku, 2004; and Zakalik & Wei, 2006). Perceived discrimination has been employed as an equal construct as perceived prejudice since both imply perceptions of negative attitudes from others towards the perceiver based on demographic characteristics (e.g. gender, race, sexual orientation, ethnic origin, and religion) (Zakalik & Wei, 2006). The two items were adapted from the ASSIS 8-item perceived discrimination subscale and were presented as follows: "I feel that I would receive unequal treatment in this business because of my nationality" as a changed version of the original item ("I feel that I receive unequal treatment); and "I would be denied working in this business because I am not Quebecois" (Quebecois case) as a changed version of the original item ("I have been denied housing because of my gayness"). As it can be seen, the items were reworded in order to put the participant in a hypothetical situation of considering applying for a job in the ethnic business. Moreover, the two other items for the perceived prejudice scale came from a second source, which was Billiet & Witte's (1995) "attitudes toward out-groups" 7-item scale. This scale examined whether people from Belgium held prejudice and had attitudes towards immigrants (out-groups), ultimately underlying a measurement of prejudice of respondents. Two items were adapted in order to evaluate job seekers' feelings of potential prejudice against them on behalf of the ethnic business owners. The retrieved items were "Generally speaking, immigrants can't be trusted" and "Muslims are a threat to our culture and customs", and

were adapted and reworded as: "Non-Chinese people would not be trusted to work in this business" (Chinese case); and "the owners would consider non-Quebecois people to be a threat to their cultural work environment" (Quebecois case). The four items were assessed through a 5-point Likert type scale (1 being "strongly disagree" and 5 being "strongly agree"). High scores on perceived prejudice mean the job seekers feel that they would experience discrimination and negative attitudes based on ethnic origin if applying for work in the ethnic business.

The reliability of this four-item measure in this study was $\alpha = .85$, $M = 2.56$, $SD = 1.05$.

Perceived group competition: This variable was measured through two items adapted from the 14-item Zero-Sum Beliefs scale (Bobo & Hutchings, 1996; Esses et al., 1998). It was unnecessary to use the whole scale since the majority of items relate to issues and resources other than employment such as, for instance, power, politics, education and government financial aid. The scale serves as a measure of perceptions of competition of resources. Zero-sum beliefs, put simple, mean a general perception that "the more the other group gets, the less my group or I get." For purposes of this research, utilized items were adapted to the perspective of the job seekers and their opinion on whether or not the ethnic business owners would be competing for resources. For example, one item from the zero-sum beliefs measure stated "When immigrants make economic gains, Canadians already living here lose out economically." On my questionnaire, this was changed into "The owners would think that the more economic gains for other cultures in Montreal, the less available for the Chinese" (Chinese case) in order to reflect the job seeker's perspective. The other item (for example, "The owners would think that employment for the Indian in Montreal should be a priority" (Indian case)) was tailor made, but in line with the zero-sum beliefs premise. The measure used a 5-point Likert type scale (1 being "strongly disagree" and 5 being "strongly agree"). High scores on perceived group competition reflect the job seeker's perception that the ethnic business owners reserve economic resources or jobs for their own ethnic group.

The correlation between the two items in this measure was $r = .558$, $M = 2.91$, $SD = 1.12$.

Ethnic identification of job seeker: Ethnic identification of the job seeker was measured by using six items of the 13-item Ethnic Pride scale developed by Barry (2002). A shorter

version was utilized due to survey length matters, and items were selected under factor loading criteria, as shown in Barry's (2002) study. The scale measures ethnic identification in terms of language identity and sense of belonging to the ethnicity. Two examples of the items used in this study are: "I am proud to be able to speak my native language;" and "my ethnicity/nationality is an important part of who I am". As well, a 5-point Likert type scale (1 being "strongly disagree" and 5 being "strongly agree") was employed. High scores on this scale mean that the job seekers are highly identified with their own ethnicity/nationality.

The reliability of this six-item measure in this study was $\alpha = .82$, $M = 4.36$, $SD = .68$.

Openness to experience: openness to experience was measured by using all 10 items of John & Srivastava's (1999) Big-Five inventory for personality traits. This scale has been popular in usage in the psychology field (e.g. Lang, John, Lüdtke, Schupp & Wagner, 2011; Salgado, 2003), and has reported adequate reliability when measured in isolation from the other BIG four personality traits. For instance, Duckworth, Kirby, Tsukayama, Berstein & Ericsson (2011) observed internal reliability of .68, and Ilies & Judge (2003) reported a Cronbach alpha of .73 for openness to experience. Two example items of this measure are: "I consider myself curious about many different things"; and "I value artistic, aesthetic experiences". A 5-point Likert type scale (1 being "strongly disagree" and 5 being "strongly agree") was used. High scores on this measurement signal high openness to experience in the personality of the job seeker.

The reliability of this measure in this study was $\alpha = .82$, $M = 3.91$, $SD = .61$, and no item had to be deleted.

Perceived job opportunities in the ethnic business: The measurement of this variable reflected the perception that job seekers have regarding possibilities of work when faced with a nationalistic ethnic business of a different nationality than theirs compared to the same perceptions when faced with a non-nationalistic business owned by people from a different nationality than theirs. This effect is expected to provide insight with respect to the actual job opportunity hindering factor, inasmuch as whether job opportunity perception is affected by the nationalistic image or it is instead affected by the owners being from a

different nationality. A significant difference between scores on perceived job opportunities in the ethnic business within the experimental group and scores within the control group would signal that the nationalistic factor is indeed affecting job seekers' perception. On the other hand, if no difference is reported between the two groups, further discussion is necessary as to whether the sole fact that the owners (and not the business image) are from another ethnicity is enough to affect perceptions of job opportunities. The variable was measured with two items: "It would be difficult for me to find a job in this business;" and "the probability that the owners of this place would hire me is very low". The first item was adapted from Grasslin's (2006) 6-item measure for perceived job opportunities. The second item was self-developed. High scores for this scale mean that job seekers find low possibilities of employment in the ethnic business. All items were evaluated through a 5-point Likert type scale (1 being "strongly disagree" and 5 being "strongly agree").

The correlation between the two items in this measure was r = .751, M = 3.09, SD = 1.20.

Control variables

The survey contained questions regarding demographics that were controlled in order to isolate the effects of the desired variables and to broaden the exploratory scope of the research. *Gender, age* and *nationality/ethnicity* are among simple demographics that were controlled for. Nationality/ethnicity was requested in order to ensure that participants' ethnic origin and the version of the questionnaire did not match. Three questions were posed in order to avoid this undesired match: first/main nationality; family nationality; and ethnicity with which the respondent identified the most. In addition, other variables were added to the survey in order to rule out alternative explanations of the data.

Languages spoken: both native and others, languages were included in the controlling variables since it was imperative to avoid biases in terms of language possibilities and possible ethnicity commonality between the job seeker and the ethnic business (e.g. a person who speaks Chinese as a second language and is not Chinese in nationality might encounter more possible to obtain a job in the Chinese business because of language proficiency, ultimately biasing the results).

Working status: asked in terms of either full-time, part-time or unemployed, working status was controlled owed to potential biases on behalf of people with jobs by the time of the survey. Since the ideal sample for the study are unemployed recent immigrants, already having a job may create the feeling of not needing to apply for jobs, hence not fully engaging in the role required in the experiment ("Imagine you are looking for a short-term job as a cashier or grocery packer to cover for expenses for the next three months").

Stereotypes: participants responded to a 12-item scale measuring stereotypes that they may hold towards the ethnicity of the supermarket in the advertisement. Stereotypes have been defined as cognitive associations, positive or negative, towards people based on their membership in categories such as age, gender, race, ethnic origin, sexual orientation and religion (Brewer, 1988; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). Hence, when stereotypes are held toward an ethnicity and are activated upon being faced with a member of that specific group, or in this case being faced with a business and business owners of a different nationality/ethnicity, behaviors and judgment towards that person are affected and biased by the stereotype (Hamilton, Sherman & Ruvolo, 1990; Stangor & Lange, 1994). Hence, stereotypes, positive or negative, that participants may hold towards the ethnicity in the advertisement prior to participating in the study would have an effect on results, ultimately being this the reason why stereotypes are controlled for. In the scale used, participants rated to what level they believed the ethnicity in the advertisement resembled each of the 12 adjectives presented in a 5-point Likert type scale (1 being "strongly disagree" and 5 being "strongly agree"). The list of adjectives comprised six positive attributes (e.g. intelligent, easy to get along with, reasonable, efficient, honest and tolerant) and six negative attributes that were reverse scaled (e.g. selfish, unreliable, rude, weird, aggressive, slow). The scale was self-created, yet adjectives were retrieved from three studies that measured stereotypes: Loch, Hengartner, Guarniero, Lawson, Wang, Gattaz & Rössler (2013); Bobo & Hutchings (1996); and Poppe & Linssen (1999). Higher scores in the stereotypes scale indicate a rather positive perception of the ethnicity of the supermarket's owner/manager.

The reliability of this measure in this study was $\alpha = .83$, $M = 3.46$, $SD = .62$, and no item had to be deleted.

Results

The Impact of Nationalism on Perceptions of Prejudice, Group Competition and Job Opportunities

One-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was carried out in order to determine if there were significant differences between the means of Perceived Prejudice (H1) in the three main groups, namely Nationalistic Ethnic (Experimental); Non-nationalistic Ethnic (Control); and Quebecois Control (Baseline control group). The same procedure was run for Perceived Group Competition (H2) and Perceived Job Opportunities (H5). Table 3 offers the descriptive statistics for the main variables under each experimental condition.

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics of Main Variables under the three experimental conditions

		Perceived Prejudice		Perceived Group Competition		Perceived Job Opportunities	
	N	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Nationalistic Case (Experimental)	71	2.85	1.08	3.13	1.09	2.35	1.03
Non-Nationalistic Case (Control)	72	2.22	0.97	2.63	1.16	3.53	1.16
Quebec Nationalistic Case	34	2.66	0.99	3.04	1.12	2.76	1.01

The scales were 5-point Likert scales in which 1 represented strongly disagree and 5 meant strongly agree with presented statements. Taking the case of perceived prejudice, for instance, whereas a score of 1 means no perception of perceived prejudice, scores of 2, 3 and 4 mean incremental levels of perception. Thus, a score of 3 (midpoint) does not mean neutral, but rather "medium" level of perception.

In general, people in the study felt almost "moderate" or half-point-below-scale-midpoint prejudice (M = 2.56, SD = 1.05), meaning that the supermarket advertisements did not have a strong effect on people's perceptions of prejudice. Nevertheless, ANOVA results reflect that scores on Perceived Prejudice were significantly different among the three groups (F (2,174) = 6.979, p =.001). The highest level of prejudice was perceived in the nationalistic ethnic advertisement, with average scores around the midpoint of the five-point scale. The lowest level of prejudice was perceived in the non-nationalistic ethnic advertisement. Subsequently, Bonferroni Post-Hoc testing was conducted in order to see where those mean differences were present. Only two groups were significantly different from each other. In the Nationalistic Ethnic Cases participants perceived higher prejudice than in the Non-nationalistic cases (Control) (p=.001). Interestingly, there was no significant discrepancy between the scores in perceived prejudice of the Non-nationalistic ethnic and Quebecois Control cases (p=.115), in spite of the latter portraying a nationalistic image. In fact, it is worth noting that the Nationalistic ethnic and Quebecois control cases did not reveal mean differences between each other (ΔM = .183, p=1). Therefore, relevant inferences could be made when analyzing the three groups in terms of Perceived Prejudice. First of all, the main hypothesis (H1) is supported by the fact that the Nationalistic factor had an overall, moderate impact on perceiving prejudice in the cases of Chinese and Indian businesses taken together, leading to the interpretation that recent immigrant job seekers perceive more prejudice from ethnic businesses that portray a nationalistic image than from non-nationalistic ethnic businesses owned by people from another ethnicity. In addition, notwithstanding an apparent significant effect of the nationalistic factor in Chinese and Indian cases, the results on the Quebec case seem to not hold this tendency. These results give the impression that people do not perceive the same level of prejudice from nationalistic Quebecois employers, or at least, not as much as if the nationality was Chinese or Indian.

Furthermore, the sample revealed an overall, moderate, around-mid-point average of perceived group competition (M = 2.91, SD = 1.12), meaning that people felt to a moderate extent that business owners were resource-based competitive in general. ANOVA outputs for Perceived Group Competition reflected significant differences among groups (F (2,174) = 4.139, p =.018). As in Perceived Prejudice, the post-hoc Bonferroni test shows a

significant difference between the nationalistic ethnic business group and the non-nationalistic ethnic group (p=.019), suggesting that people perceive the business owners as more competitive over resources if the ethnic business portrays a nationalistic image than in a non-nationalistic business situation. Nevertheless, recent immigrants seem to regard Quebecois business owners as less competitive over resources than nationalistic owners from Chinese or Indian origins. In this sense, the statistical analysis reflected no mean differences between the Quebec case and the non-nationalistic ethnic Control group in regards to perceived group competition (p=.206). Thus, there is an indication that the mediation effect (H2) may be held significant only to some cases contingent on the business ethnicity itself, specifically, being the nationalistic factor less prominent on perceiving group competition from owners when the business ethnic origin is the same as the region, province or country in which the job seeker resides.

Finally, results on perceived job opportunities also revealed interesting trends. The overall average score on this variable was slightly below the midpoint (M = 2.91, SD = 1.20), meaning that respondents acknowledged moderate probabilities of being hired in the supermarket they were shown. Higher results in this measure indicate higher expectations of being hired in the small business. Firstly, we encounter significant mean differences between the Nationalistic ethnic condition and the non-nationalistic ethnic Control condition (p<.001), indicating that the usage of a Nationalistic advertisement vs. a non-Nationalistic advertisement worked out satisfactorily, that recent immigrant job seekers did perceive nationalism in the experimental condition and that nationalism is affecting significantly perceptions of job opportunities. In other words, people believe they have more chances to be hired in a non-nationalistic small business owned by ethnic people than in a nationalistic ethnic business. Hence, hypothesis 5 is supported. This latter evidence also suggests and supports the theoretical premises of this paper in that explicitly shown ethnic symbols in the business (e.g. cultural symbols, national flags, and national language characters) do signal a sense of nationalism. Second, recalling the results in the Quebecois case regarding perceived prejudice and perceived group competition, in which people seem to feel less potential threat in these matters when the ethnicity of the small business is the Quebecois, the case for perceived job opportunities exhibits the contrary, nonetheless. Upon comparing the non-nationalistic Control condition with the Quebecois control case, I

found significant difference concerning the perception of job opportunities (p=.002), which suggests that notwithstanding not perceiving as much prejudice and competitive attitudes from business owners as in the nationalistic Chinese and Indian cases together, people that were shown the Quebecois case tended to perceive less job opportunities than in regular non-nationalistic businesses. Although suggesting that the nationalistic factor may be as well impacting perceptions of job opportunities in the Quebecois case, the mean for this condition was lower, yet not significantly different than the mean for the nationalistic condition (ΔM = .413, p=.209). These results reveal that the nationalism has a significant effect on perceptions of job opportunities.

The mediating effect of Perceived Group Competition

Hypothesis 3 proposed that the effect of the nationalistic image of the business on the job seeker's perceived prejudice, was through the mediation of perceived group competition. First, the zero-order correlation (see Table 5) showed a significant positive correlation between Perceived Group Competition and Perceived Prejudice (r=.69, p<.01). Second, when evaluating mean differences through ANOVA, the Nationalistic ethnic businesses (experimental) and the non-nationalistic ethnic businesses were significantly different in terms of perceived group competition (p=.019), meaning that the nationalistic factor is not only affecting perceived prejudice in a direct relationship, but also is affecting directly the variable of perceived group competition (first relationship for a mediation path). However, it was found that there was no significant discrepancy between the non-nationalistic ethnic cases and the Quebecois control case, thus, further discussion will follow on this issue. Third, I opted for employing another method to assess this causal path towards perceived prejudice. The utilized statistical tool was PROCESS.

PROCESS (Hayes, 2013) is an extension for the statistical software SPSS that was created and developed by Dr. Andrew Hayes, Ohio State University. The PROCESS tool enables the researcher to embrace the possibility of testing a wide range of models in which mediation and moderation effects are included. When adding the tool extension to SPSS and starting to input the independent, dependent, mediating and moderating variables, the software requests the choice of one over 76 available model options. Since there is a piece

of my model in which I want to test the mediation effect of perceived competition, I extracted the following from my model (See figure 2) and matched it with Model 4 (Hayes, 2013):

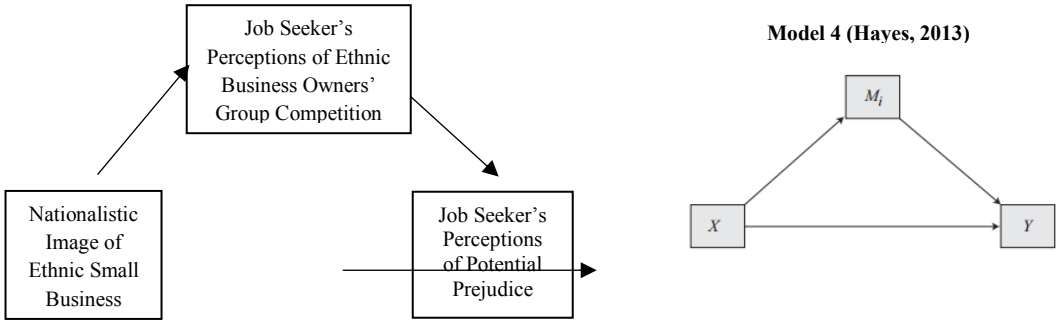


Figure 2. Section of Research Model matching Hayes' Model 4

I started the procedure by separating my data into two main categories: Nationalistic (Experimental + Quebecois Control) and Non-nationalistic (Control). This was done in order to prepare the independent variable to be computed in the PROCESS tool. The nationalistic ethnic and Quebecois control conditions were clustered together because the Nationalistic component was present in both categories, thus providing a clear picture about the general effects of nationalism as an independent variable in the mediation path. It is worth noting that the inclusion of the Quebecois case in the nationalistic category for this analysis did not have a significant impact on results. In this sense, the same analysis was carried out excluding the Quebecois control condition and the statistical results were almost identical as in the method actually employed. The Nationalistic category (N=105) was coded "1" and the Control (N=72) was coded "0".

I then proceeded with the PROCESS analysis by computing Type of group (Nationalistic (1) or Non-nationalistic (0)) as the independent variable, perceived prejudice as the dependent variable and perceived group competition as the mediator. What the PROCESS tool does in this case is to take the independent and mediating variables, regress them separately and then regress the dependent variable on the other variables in order to see the different direct and indirect effects and relationships. An advantage of implementing this

tool is the allowance to bootstrap the analysis for more accurate results by resampling the data to enhance representativeness of the population. In this sense, I opted for 5,000 bootstrap samples under a 95% confidence interval. Table 4 shows the PROCESS output with the necessary regression analyses to determine the existence of a mediation relationship.

Table 4

PROCESS output with Regression Models to test Mediation

Model 1. IV: Type of Group, DV: Perceived Group Competition (R^2=.045, p=.005)

	B	Std. Error	*t*	Sig.
(Constant)	2.625*	.130	20.298	.000
Type of Group	.480*	.168	2.857	.005

Model 2. IV: Type of Group, Perceived Group Competition, DV: Perceived Prejudice (R^2=.

	B	Std. Error	*t*	Sig.
(Constant)	.574*	.163	3.530	.001
Perceived Group Competition	.627*	.052	12.066	.000
Type of Group	.266*	.118	2.258	.025

Model 3. IV: Type of Group, DV: Perceived Prejudice (R^2=.070, p<.001)

	B	Std. Error	*t*	Sig.
(Constant)	2.219*	.120	18.484	.000
Type of Group	.567*	.156	3.638	.000

Indirect effect of Type of Group on Perceived Prejudice through Perceived Group Competition

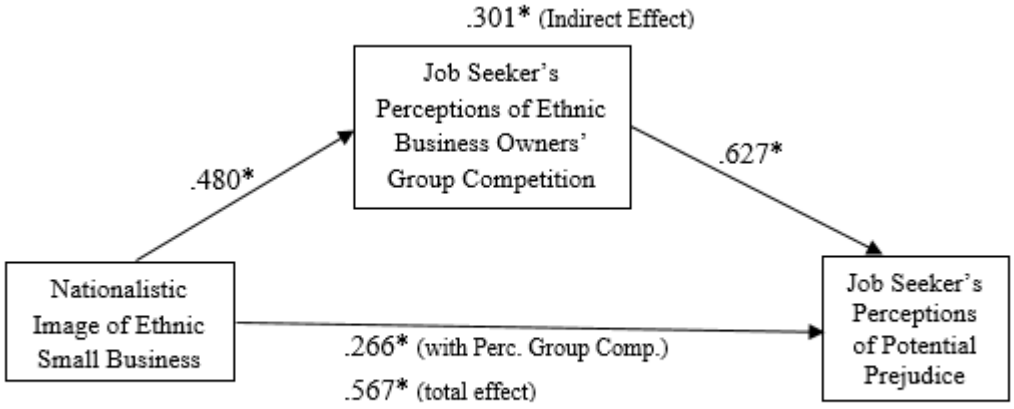
	Effect	Boot Std. Error	BootLLCI	BootULCI
Perceived Group Competition	.301*	.108	.096	.521
	(.480 x .627) = .301*			

N=177

*Significant at 0.05 level

Results reveal a significant indirect effect of the Nationalistic factor on Perceived Prejudice through the mediation effect of Perceived Group Competition (Indirect Effect of .301, significant at the 0.05 level). This calculation is the total of multiplying the effect (beta) of the Nationalistic factor on perceived group competition (Model 1: B=.480, p=.005) by the effect of perceived group competition on perceived prejudice (Model 2: B=.627, p<.001). As it can be seen, the significance of the effects of Nationalism on perceived group competition, of perceived group competition on perceived prejudice and subsequently of

the indirect effect of nationalism on perceived prejudice indicate that the mediation of the variable perceived group competition exists and is statistically supported through regression. Thereby, the nationalistic image of ethnic businesses impact job seeker's perceived prejudice both directly and indirectly (through feelings that business owners are competitive in terms of resources), supporting hypothesis 2. Figure 3 displays a representation of the quantitative effects of the variables in the model:



*Significant at the 0.05 level

Figure 3. PROCESS output on Model with direct and indirect effects of Nationalism on Perceived Prejudice

Ethnic Identification and Openness to Experience on Perceived Prejudice

Bivariate Pearson Correlations were conducted in the SPSS software in order to take a first glance at the relationships between variables of individual differences and perceived prejudice (See Table 5). Regarding Ethnic Identification and Openness to Experience, there seems to be no significant correlation between either of them and Perceived Prejudice (r=.10, p>.05 for Ethnic Identification; and r=-.11, p>.05 for Openness to Experience). However, further regression analysis is done in following sections in order to test these relationships from other statistical angle (Hypotheses 3 and 4).

Table 5

Means, Standard Deviations and Correlations Among Main Variables and Control Variables

	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Perceived Prejudice	2.56	1.05	*.85*							
2. Perceived Group Competition	2.91	1.12	.69**	*.72*						
3. Perceived Job Opportunities	2.91	1.20	-.57**	-.51**	*.86*					
4. Openness to Experience	3.91	0.61	-.11	-.07	.10	*.82*				
5. Ethnic Identification	4.36	0.68	.10	.07	-.09	.24**	*.82*			
6. Stereotypes	3.46	0.62	-.21**	-.21**	.14*	.08	.01	*.83*		
7. Age	29.58	7.47	-.05	-.08	.01	.10	.12	-.08	-	
8. Gender	1.55	0.50	.06	.09	-.05	-.08	.05	.05	.06	-

N = 177. Measure Reliabilities are shown in the diagonal.

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (1-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

Notes: The variable "Stereotypes" corresponds to the overall impression that participants held towards the ethnicity shown in their respective advertisement cases. The higher the stereotypes scores, the more positive the impression towards the ethnicity in the ad.

In order to test Hypotheses 3 and 4, linear regression was conducted in order to determine whether both job seeker's ethnic identification (M=4.36, SD=.68) and job seeker's openness to experience (M=3.91, SD=.61) have significant effects on perceived prejudice. This analysis was done on the total sample (N=177). An additional analysis separated nationalistic and non-nationalistic cases, yet the effects of both variables on perceived prejudice were not significant at that instance. Table 6 shows the SPSS output for the regression model with ethnic identification and openness to experience as independent variables and perceived prejudice as dependent variable. It is worth noting that the overall model resulted marginally significant at a level of confidence of 90% with these two predictors according to ANOVA results (F (2, 174) = 2.622, p=.076, R^2=.03).

Table 6

Regression analysis on Perceived Prejudice with Ethnic Identification and Openness to Experience as predictors

	B	Std. Error	Std. Beta	*t*	Sig.
(Constant)	2.582	.650		3.975	.000
Ethnic Identification	.212	.120	.136*	1.772	.078
Openness to Experience	-.244	.133	-.141*	-1.828	.069

N=177

*Significant at the 0.1 level

Regarding ethnic identification, as it can be seen, the output shows a marginally significant positive influence of being ethnically identified on perceiving prejudice from both nationalistic and non-nationalistic business owners from other ethnicities. Although the relationship is not entirely strong, with 90% of confidence we could infer from ethnic identification's standardized beta (Std. b=.136, p=.078) that the higher the degree to which the job seeker is identified with their own ethnicity/nationality, the higher the perceptions that a nationalistic or non-nationalistic out-group (e.g. the business owners) will be prejudiced against the job seeker. Nevertheless, we have to be cautious when making inferences on this variable because ethnic identification's average score seems to be very high (M=4.36) on a scale of 5 as the highest with a relatively small standard deviation (SD=.68), meaning that the average level of ethnic identification in respondents was elevated and being this a limitation due to a restriction of range in the sample. However, at the same time, it is worth discussing that even though the range of scores in this variable was not wide, it seems like subtle changes in levels of ethnic identification have significant impact on perceived prejudice, as it can be deduced from the model. Therefore, hypothesis 3 is partially supported and is subject for further analysis and discussion.

Concerning openness to experience, we can observe a negative marginally significant effect of the predictor on perceived prejudice (Std. b=-.141, p=.069 on 90% confidence). The negative symbol of the coefficient indicates that the higher the degree of openness to experience in the job seeker, the less prejudice is perceived from business owners of other ethnicities. This trend corresponds to what is stated in hypothesis 4, yet it is worth noting that the mean for this variable portrays a relatively high score (M=3.91) with a relatively low standard deviation (SD=.61), leading to the conclusion that respondents were in average high in openness to experience. Although this may represent a limitation due to a lack of heterogeneity and restriction of range in the sample in terms of various different levels of openness to experience, it seems like slight changes of openness to experience are relatively determinant in perceiving prejudice because the relationship reports to be slightly significant. Hence, hypothesis 4 is partially supported and pending for further analysis and discussion.

Summary of Support for Hypotheses according to Results

Table 7

Summary of Support for Research Hypotheses

	Result	Comments
H1 Nat.Image. --- (+) ---> Perc.Prejudice	Supported	Potential presence of business owners' ethnicity as moderator
H2 Mediation of Perc.GroupComp.	Supported	Potential presence of business owners' ethnicity as moderator
H3 EthnicIdent. --- (+) ---> Perc.Prejudice	Partially Supported	Further discussion necessary. Presence of limitation in sample
H4 OpenToExp. --- (-) ---> Perc.Prejudice	Partially Supported	Further discussion necessary. Presence of limitation in sample
H5 Nat.Image --- (-) ---> Perc.JobOpport.	Supported	-

Supplementary Analysis

Comparing Nationalistic factor on Main Variables in Sub-groups

In order to adequately consolidate conclusions about the nationalistic factor effect on main variables we have to also observe differences among sub-groups. Thereby, I conducted ANOVA to determine whether there were significant differences among the five conditions in the experiment and to subsequently determine through Bonferroni post-hoc test where those differences stand.

The five conditions analyzed here are: Chinese Nationalistic; Chinese non-nationalistic; Indian Nationalistic; Indian non-nationalistic; and Quebecois control. Table 8 provides the descriptive statistics for the variables of perceived prejudice, perceived group competition and perceived job opportunities under the five sub-groups.

Table 8

Descriptive Statistics of Main Variables under the five Sub-groups

		Perceived Prejudice		Perceived Group Competition		Perceived Job Opportuniti	
	N	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Chinese Nationalistic	36	2.90	1.15	3.31	1.16	2.15	1.10
Chinese Non-Nationalistic	36	2.40	1.14	2.78	1.28	3.44	1.21
Indian Nationalistic	35	2.79	1.01	2.94	0.99	2.56	0.93
Indian Non-Nationalistic	36	2.04	0.74	2.47	1.01	3.63	1.12
Quebec Control	34	2.66	0.99	3.04	1.00	2.76	1.01

The results shown by the one-way ANOVA reflect the presence of significant differences among the five groups in terms of perceived prejudice ($F(4,172) = 4.087$, $p=.003$), perceived group competition ($F(4,172) = 2.962$, $p=.021$) and perceived job opportunities ($F(4,172) = 11.639$, $p<.001$). Following Bonferroni post-hoc test revealed whether each two-group comparison was significant, bringing about interesting results.

Perceived prejudice: the only two significant differences were present in the mean comparison between the Chinese Nationalistic and the Indian non-nationalistic ($p=.005$), and between the Indian Nationalistic and Indian non-nationalistic ($p=.022$). This first evidence leaves room for discussion regarding the specific cases of nationalities/ethnicities. First of all, the nationalistic factor did not seem to have a significant impact when comparing both Chinese scenarios - Nationalistic ($M=2.90$) and non-nationalistic ($M=2.40$) - ($\Delta M = .500$, $p=.387$), suggesting that even in the Control condition (the case of a regular non-ethnic-specific supermarket) people seem to feel similar levels of potential prejudice when the owners are of Chinese origin, regardless of the type of business (nationalistic or non-nationalistic). This leads to consider that either Chinese business owners are generally regarded as high in prejudice or the nationalism manipulation did not have a significant effect in the Chinese cases because people may have perceived Chinese business owners as low in prejudice in both conditions. However, the former statement in the last sentence

would make more sense because the means for both nationalistic and non-nationalistic conditions in the Chinese cases are relatively high compared to the cases for the Indian ethnicity. The results lead to believe that when the business owners are from Chinese origins, job seekers' perceptions of prejudice are more driven by the ethnicity of the owners than by the nationalistic image of the business.

Furthermore, the previous findings in the Chinese cases did not resemble the results for the Indian cases. As stated previously, there was a significant mean difference between the nationalistic and non-nationalistic conditions in the Indian case ($\Delta M = .751$, $p=.022$), meaning that the nationalistic factor was statistically relevant and that Indian business owners may be held low in prejudice if the business does not show nationalistic cues. As opposed to the Chinese cases, the fact that owners are from Indian background is not relevant to perceiving prejudice. Instead, feelings of potentially being discriminated against are more prominent if the Indian business exhibited nationalistic cues.

Finally, and again noteworthy, there were no differences between any other sub-group and the Quebecois control case. The mean of perceived prejudice for the Quebecois example ($M=2.66$) was sufficiently high to not be significantly different from the nationalistic conditions (China and India) but at the same time sufficiently low to not be different from the non-nationalistic conditions (China and India). This reiterates on previous findings of this study about the fact that the ethnicity resulted the same as the region in which respondents lived and how this may reflect lower expectations to be prejudiced against.

The Quebecois-case findings, along with evidence on the Chinese and Indian sub-groups, open the debate on the moderation of the specific ethnicity variable on perceptions of potential prejudice. Since job seeker's perceptions of prejudice were found to be driven by a) ethnicity in the Chinese case; b) business nationalistic image in the Indian case; and c) host society ethnicity in the Quebecois case, hypothesis 1 is partially supported at the sub-group level due to the nationalistic factor reflecting a significant impact only in the Indian case and due to this relationship potentially being affected by a moderator: ethnicity of business/owners.

Perceived group competition: when analyzing mean scores for perceived group competition, only one significant difference was encountered, namely between the Chinese Nationalistic and the Indian non-nationalistic (p=.012). This difference accounts for the overall significant difference found in the first section between the nationalistic conditions together and the control conditions together.

However, attention must be paid to the rest of comparisons that did not resulted in significant discrepancy; specifically upon contrasting both conditions in the Chinese scenarios (ΔM = .542, p=.374), both conditions in the Indian scenarios (ΔM = .470, p=.720), and between the Quebecois case and control sub-groups (Indian and Chinese). The lack of significant differences indicate that scores for perceived group competition may not be dependent on whether the business is nationalistic or not, but contingent on other factors such as the fact of not sharing the same ethnic background as the business owners, considering them as members of out-groups and attributing them a competitive attitude over resources. This may be supported by the results depicted in Table 8, showing that the means for perceived group competition are relatively high compared to the middle point on the Likert-type scale (which is a score of 3), resulting with the highest mean (Chinese nationalistic with M=3.31) above the scale's middle point and the lowest mean (Chinese non-nationalistic with M=2.78) slightly below the middle point, and being these two means not statistically different from each other (here I exclude the mean of Indian non-nationalistic case since it was significantly different from the mean of the Chinese nationalistic).

Additionally, there is a tendency in respondents that may reiterate on the fact that ethnicities in the experiment were seen differently, exposing ethnicity as a potential moderator between nationalism and perceived group competition. For instance, the two Chinese cases, both within each of their experimental conditions, presented the highest scores on perceived group competition. The Indian cases, in contrast, revealed the lowest means within each experimental condition. In a nutshell, although perceptions of group competition have been evidenced to serve as a mediator of the relationship between nationalism and perceived prejudice, this relationship may be subject to the moderation effects of specific ethnicity of owners/business.

Perceived job opportunities: mean scores for perceived job opportunities reflected significant differences when contrasting Nationalistic (Chinese and Indian) vs. Control (Chinese and Indian) sub-groups and Quebecois vs. Control sub-groups (Chinese and Indian). In the case of the former comparisons, the Chinese Nationalistic was statistically different from both the Chinese non-nationalistic ($p<.001$) and Indian non-nationalistic ($p<.001$). The Indian Nationalistic presented similar tendencies when compared to the Chinese non-nationalistic ($p=.007$) and the Indian non-nationalistic ($p<.001$). Hence, upon analyzing perceptions of job opportunities, it seems like nationalistic cues in the small business may be affecting job seekers' expectations of working there.

In addition, the Quebecois control case was significantly different from both the Chinese non-nationalistic ($p=.093$) and the Indian non-nationalistic ($p=.011$). These results indicate that regardless of the fact that scores for perceived prejudice affected by the nationalistic factor were not significantly different in some cases to Control conditions (e.g. Experimental vs. Control Chinese cases, and Quebecois vs. Control cases), perceptions of job opportunities were still impacted prominently by the nationalistic factor. Generally speaking, recent immigrant job seekers seem to be less likely to apply for low level positions when businesses portray a nationalistic image. Therefore, hypothesis 5 encounters further support upon putting the lens on experimental sub-groups.

Additionally, the previously mentioned potential moderation effect of ethnicity was not evident in the relationship between nationalism and perceived group opportunities. Notwithstanding potentially driving the linkages between nationalism and constructs such as perceived prejudice and perceived group competition, ethnicity was not found to be a factor when it comes to actual expectations and beliefs of working in the small business. Even when faced with a Quebecois business, people who are not Quebecois believe they have fewer chances of finding employment there than in a regular non-nationalistic business.

Exploring Ethnicity of Business owners as Moderator

Empirical evidence in this paper has generated interesting discoveries. One of these discoveries is the fact that the causal link between nationalism and both perceptions of

prejudice and group competition may be influenced by the ethnicity of business owners. In sum, people regarded Chinese owners as prejudiced and competitive regardless of being nationalistic or not; people held Indian owners to be more prejudiced and competitive in the nationalistic condition; and people considered Quebecois owners to be less prejudiced and less competitive than nationalistic owners, yet slightly more than non-nationalistic ones. Even though the range of ethnicities included in the cases is insufficient to actually provide critical empirics on moderation, I make an attempt to explain why these ethnic-group differences take place by using collected data on stereotypes.

As stereotypes are associations made towards someone that is member of a specific ethnic group and these associations could therefore affect behavior and biased judgment upon being faced with that other-ethnic person, people in this study may have had preconceived stereotyping ideas about the ethnicity of their respective survey and their corresponding scores on perceived prejudice and group competition may have been affected as a result. Scores on stereotypes, therefore, could reveal a hint with respect to why we are finding differences based on ethnicity of advertisement. Measures of stereotypes in this study represented an average of the overall impression that respondents held towards the ethnicity in their survey. The higher the values (with 5 as highest), the more positive the overall impression towards the ethnicity; and vice versa with lower averages (1 as lowest) representing rather negative impressions. Furthermore, as it is shown in table 5, the overall zero-order correlation between stereotypes and perceived prejudice was -.21 (p<.001). This means that the more positive stereotypes or overall impressions the job seeker holds towards an ethnicity, the less prejudice is perceived. Nonetheless, that correlation corresponds to all the sample (N=177) and we will need to look at the differences for each of the three ethnicities. The mean of stereotypes for each of the three ethnicities was as follows: Stereotypes towards Chinese (M=3.51, SD=.60); stereotypes towards Indian (M=3.42, SD=.60); stereotypes towards Quebecois (M=3.42, SD=.70). ANOVA was conducted and resulted in no significant differences among the means (F (2, 174) =.446, p=.641), meaning that people had very similar perceptions of the ethnicities in the surveys.

In spite of the means not being different, regression analysis of the effect of stereotypes on perceived prejudice and on perceived group competition divided by advertisements'

ethnicity generated interesting results. Table 9 shows the correlations, ANOVA and regression results in this regard.

Table 9
Correlations, ANOVA and Regression statistics of the effect of Stereotypes on Perceived Prejudice and Perceived Group Competition per Advertisement' Ethnicity

Stereotypes on Perceived Prejudice

		Correlation		ANOVA		Regression		
	n	*r*	sig.	(*F*)	sig.	Stand. Beta	*t*	sig.
Chinese	72	-.33	.003	8.31	.005	-.326	-2.88	.005
Indian	71	-.14	.122	1.38	.244	-.140	-1.18	.244
Quebecois	34	-.13	.239	.51	.479	-.126	-.72	.479

Stereotypes on Perceived Group Competition

		Correlation		ANOVA		Regression		
	n	*r*	sig.	(*F*)	sig.	Stand. Beta	*t*	sig.
Chinese	72	-.37	.001	10.82	.002	-.366	-3.29	.002
Indian	71	-.12	.156	1.04	.312	-.122	-1.02	.312
Quebecois	34	-.08	.330	.197	.660	-.078	-.444	.660

Correlations, ANOVA and regression results show a stronger effect of stereotypes on both perceived prejudice and perceived group competition when the ethnicity of the advertisement was the Chinese. Notwithstanding a similar mean of stereotypes as in the other two ethnic cases, stereotypes towards Chinese seem to affect perceived prejudice and group competition in greater proportion than in the Indian and Quebecois cases. This provides room for discussion about and explanations to the high scores on perceived prejudice and perceived group competition in both the Nationalistic ethnic and non-nationalistic ethnic cases, which were not significantly different from each other in the Chinese scenario.

Following in effect size we find stereotypes towards Indians, which did not affect significantly perceived prejudice nor perceived group competition. This result seems understandable and unsurprising since previous statistical analysis showed that the nationalistic image of the business was affecting people's perceptions more than the actual ethnicity in the Indian scenario.

Finally, showing a weaker relationship than in the Indian case, stereotypes about Quebecois reflected non-significant effects on either perceived prejudice or perceived group competition. Thus, if neither stereotypes nor a seemingly nationalistic image exert significant influence on perceptions of prejudice and group competition, then we could argue what was expected of this scenario at the beginning of the analysis. Specifically, respondents may have felt more comfortable when faced with the ethnicity of the province and the society they live in.

All stereotype means were very similar and statistically non-different from each other, yet the effects on two of the main variables of this study in each ethnic scenario reflect that people see ethnicities differently and the levels of prejudice they perceive from people may be largely affected by others' ethnic membership. In sum, since the three scenarios have portrayed discrepant results that lead to sharply different conclusions, the idea of moderation is truly something to discuss on.

Other Supplementary Analyses

Additional statistical procedures were conducted in order to further explore interesting phenomena that the sample could bring in the context of job search within small ethnic businesses and the perceptions of prejudice. As shown in Table 5, correlations between demographics, such as gender and age, and main variables of this study (perceived prejudice, group competition and job opportunities) did not reflect a significant relationship. Moreover, I analyze two control variables that showed particular trends worth to be disclosed and discussed in this research. These variables are *job seeker's work status* and *job seeker's ethnicity*.

Work Status: In this supplementary analysis, I discovered that work status had no impact on the measures of perceptions of prejudice. A one-way ANOVA was carried out comparing participants who had "full-time employment" (N=64), "part-time employment" (N=33), and "no employment" (N=80). The main reason why I controlled for this variable was for the potential bias of employed people, which could have affected results because they might have felt less necessity for employment and less engagement with the hypothetical situation described in the study. Nevertheless, and contrary to expectations, work status

resulted insignificant with regards to perceiving prejudice from the nationalistic ethnic business (F (2,174) = .277, p=.758) and with regards to perceiving job opportunities (F (2,174) = 2.242, p=.109). Thus, whether people are employed or not does not represent a critical condition for perceiving different levels of prejudice from nationalistic small business owners. In other words, when it comes to considering applying for a job in a nationalistic ethnic small business, people who are unemployed perceive the equivalent level of prejudice as people with jobs.

Job Seeker's Ethnicity: Since the sample was largely composed of people from Latin America (around half of the sample) ethnic heterogeneity in this study was not great, ultimately representing a potential limitation. However, this distribution served as a basis to evaluate or compare the perceptions of Latin Americans and the perceptions from people from other parts of world. I examined whether Latin American people were more or less prone to perceive prejudice and other constructs studied here than people from other parts of the world. Subsequently, in order to do this, I split the sample into two categories: "Latinos" and "Other ethnicities". ANOVA was conducted for analyzing significant mean differences between the two groups in terms of both perceived prejudice and perceived job opportunities. With respect to perceived prejudice, the Latino group (M=2.55, SD=1.07) did not result significantly different (F (1,175) = .017, p=.898) from the group of people from other ethnicities (M=2.57, SD=1.04). Nonetheless, the story is completely different when it comes to perceiving job opportunities in that Latinos (M=3.07, SD=1.17) reported significantly higher scores (F (1,175) = 3.888, p=.050) than other ethnicities (M=2.72, SD=1.23) within a confidence interval of 90%. These results suggest that whereas perceiving prejudice from nationalistic ethnic businesses may not be contingent on the job seeker's ethnicity, people from Latin American background tend to perceive more opportunities in these kinds of businesses than people from other origins. Latinos may seem to be more willing to apply for jobs in nationalistic ethnic businesses in spite of feeling potential prejudice.

In order to find explanation on the tendency for Latinos to expect more job opportunities, I relied on scores of openness to experience and reiterated in dividing the sample into two groups: "Latinos" and "Other ethnicities". Hence, I conducted ANOVA in order to compare

the means of openness in both groups. Surprisingly, I found a significant difference between the groups. Latinos (M=4.06, SD=.50) reported significantly higher levels of openness to experience than people from the rest of the world (M=3.72, SD=.67) in the statistical comparison (F (1,175) = 15.284, p<.001). The results could help disentangle the reason why Latinos perceive more job opportunities upon faced with non-co-ethnic business owners.

Discussion

On Nationalism and Job Seekers' Perceptions

The present research aimed at providing a closer examination to recent immigrant job seekers' perceptions of nationalistic small ethnic businesses. Specifically, I studied whether the nationalistic image of the ethnic small business would convey specific cues that could lead the job seeker to think about being potentially discriminated or prejudiced against if the intention of applying to work in the small business was present. Consistent with theories of signaling and schema-formation, results show that people truly perceived the nationalistic cues of the nationalistic businesses' ads, resulting in attributing prejudiced attitudes to business owners. Overall, findings revealed that people in the experimental condition perceived more prejudice from the ethnic business than people in the control condition. Recent immigrant job seekers do react towards nationalistic signals in the small business. The fact that ethnic small businesses exhibit typical ethnic symbols in their advertisements and/or at their store front is having an impact on the way people from other ethnicities (non-co-ethnics) conceive potential upcoming or hypothetical interactions (e.g. applying for a job) with the owners/managers of that small business. In light of this, this research helps capture the reactions of job seekers towards nationalism in the context of job search. Consequent with past research, the relationship between nationalism and prejudice holds even from the lens of the prejudice victim.

At first glance, we could infer that job seekers consider a nationalistic business image as more impacting than just knowing that business owners are from another ethnicity, as it is the case in the control condition in which we observe a regular non-nationalistic supermarket. Thus, the symbols, the flags, the national language characters, the religious

icons and the typical physical features of a culture that convey a nationalistic attitude are triggering feelings in job seekers that a fair, equal and objective assessment of skills when applying for a low-level job would be precluded by prejudice and discrimination based on ethnicity.

The owners of ethnic small business may have valid and understandable reasons to maintain their culture at work. These reasons may vary from marketing strategies (e.g. displaying national symbols may convey to customers that the business is ethnically authentic) to deep attachment to the mother country and network linkages with the ethnic community in the city. However, maintenance of cultural work environment should not extend to the diversity of the total workforce (e.g. hiring *only* co-ethnics) since it may constitute a discriminatory practice and since ethnic/national origin may not be a Bona Fide Occupational Requirement to certain unskilled job positions (e.g. cashier, grocery packer, food stocker, dishwasher). Hence, the possibility of fulfilling one of those positions in these sorts of businesses exists in theory; yet in practice, job seekers are feeling that the fact of business owners being nationalistic is reason enough to think that the possibility of working there is reduced.

Although the scope of this study did not encompass a criticism towards nor a study of small ethnic businesses' hiring practices, it did address how these practices are figured out by job seekers from other nationalities by encoding signals and forming schemas, and how this phenomenon may be causing feelings of potentially being prejudiced against and subsequent feelings of lower employment opportunities. Thereby, this thesis serves to expand the line of inquiry among researchers exploring the relationship between nationalism and prejudice in that this relationship is tackled from the perspective of the potentially discriminated victim.

Furthermore, these first findings contribute to the examination of interethnic interactions and its consequences by evaluating clash of cultures in the context of two interesting sets of the population, namely recent immigrant job seekers and nationalistic ethnic small businesses. This paper aids to open the discussion in regards to the main factors why ethnic small businesses generally have a non-diverse workforce. In this matter, the question arises:

Are recent immigrant job seekers holding back from applying for work in these businesses due to the possibility of being prejudiced against? Although not explicitly asking whether the respondent would apply for job in the business, results of this study suggest a lower perception of job opportunities when faced with nationalistic advertisements; and this indicates that rather than hypothetical discriminatory practices *per se* or the knowledge of existence of these practices that wouldn't allow non-co-ethnics to work in the small business, the driving factor of not applying may instead be the prior-to-apply perceptions that business owners *will* be prejudiced and *will* reject any job application. In fact, the business owners might be in favor of diversity in the workforce; nevertheless, their business advertisement and image seem to communicate the opposite to job seekers.

Now, the second question is put in place: Why are job seekers feeling potential prejudice from owners of other ethnicities and how is this related to a nationalistic image? Diverse elements may interplay in these perceptions. One may be language as job seekers observe different physical cues of national or ethnic cultural environment, ultimately concluding that business owners may advocate the usage of their national language over the host country's official tongues. Thus, lacking the ability of speaking Chinese, Hindi or Punjabi could be influencing the perception of potentially being rejected. Second, since little time in the host country may account for a lack of acknowledgement of the work laws, recent immigrants may be ignoring the fact that discriminatory hiring practices are illegal and employment opportunities are backed up by the law (BFOR), ultimately not considering that business owners should not enact prejudice and discrimination when employing workforce. However, it may be the case that job seekers do acknowledge legal regulations in this regard, yet the nationalistic nature of the business could be so strong that creates a cognitive cultural barrier in the mind of the non-co-ethnic. Third, the nationalistic business image could communicate to job seekers that the business aims at maintaining an ethnic-only environment, acting this as a ward-off device and triggering self-discrepant thoughts in job seekers that make them realize a mismatch of ethnic values, principles and identity with the small business.

Furthermore, in line with theoretical grounds that intergroup interactions yield prejudice expectations as a result of perceived or acknowledged bias on behalf of the interaction

counterpart, ultimately fostering changes in behavior that help avoid undesired negative interaction experiences (Shelton et al., 2005), job seekers seem to perceive less job opportunities in nationalistic small businesses as a consequence of expecting potential rejection from ethnically biased business owners and likely biased hiring practices. Not only is the establishment of a boundary of job opportunities in the mind of the job seeker driven by feelings of potential rejection, but also by feeling deprived of resources (Guimond & Dambrun, 2002) as the nationalistic image signals only-co-ethnic preferences of personnel. Also, findings on perceptions of job opportunities go along the theory of self-verification (Swann, 1983, 1990) in that job seekers may be perceiving the nationalistic attitudes to be inherently prejudiced and to further entail negative self-discrepant feedback (rejection and prejudice) that is to be avoided. In turn, perceptions of job opportunities are affected.

Indeed, one of the objectives of this study was to determine if job seekers who were faced with nationalistic ethnic businesses would feel less job opportunities than when faced with a non-nationalistic ethnic business (owned by immigrants from another origin). Participants of the study felt more probabilities of being hired in unskilled positions in regular non-nationalistic businesses owned by people from a different ethnicity than in a business that portrayed nationalistic symbols and cultural cues. The nationalistic factor functioned as a prominent factor in lowering those hiring expectations. Essentially, people may have connected the nationalistic symbols to the hiring practices of owners and may have attributed them a sense of preference towards hiring only people who shared their ethnic background, which can be further translated into feelings of potential future rejection. As proposed, this phenomenon can be explained by past research in that feeling the likelihood to be rejected on ethnic grounds already sets a predisposed attitude in the job seeker to avoid being actually rejected. Avoidance in this case equals less consideration of applying for a job, which in turn equals less perceived job opportunities.

Now, what factors may be playing a role in this phenomenon? By referencing to past research, I proposed, firstly, that job seekers may identify business owners' in-group bias and this is automatically linked to expecting prejudice, ultimately associating the interaction with negative outcomes and, in turn, attempting to avoid engaging in it. Second,

from a social/group level of analysis, job seekers may feel that nationalistic attitudes are related to depriving non-co-ethnics from resources reserved for co-ethnics. Nationalistic owners may be conceived as favoring the maintenance of uniquely ethnic environments at work, which then are perceived to extend to the workforce. Even when the job opportunities cluster around unskilled, low-level positions, job seekers perceive the right to obtain these jobs belongs to co-ethnics due to the owners' likely desire to keep culture. As a result the job seeker feels resource deprivation and lower job opportunities. Finally, from an identity perspective I proposed that job seekers would feel that the best outcome for them would be to hypothetically dodge interactions with the nationalistic business because of a fear of suffering self-discrepant feedback that don't go by the hand with their self-views, generating a conflict between their own identity and the negative outcome they expect from interaction. Despite these theoretical proposals, this study did not address empirically the reasons for which job seekers perceive less job opportunities in nationalistic businesses; hence, room for discussion is wide open to complement or counterattack the proposed theoretical grounds.

For instance, one influential factor in this relationship might be that the nationalistic business signals the usage of a language unknown by the job seeker. Since ethnic businesses are likely to gather one ethnicity together (workforce, clients, networks, suppliers), the job seeker could assume that people working in that business may be more comfortable speaking with each other in their mother country tongue. Consequently, job seekers could feel that either their not speaking the language already represents a disadvantage compared to other job applicants or their not speaking the language would create a hostile work environment for them in the hypothetical event of actually being hired since other co-workers may want to speak the native language, limiting communication with the non-co-ethnic. The lack of language proficiency in this sense could be affecting job opportunities when the business is nationalistic.

On the Mediation of Perceived Group Competition

The direct relationship between nationalism of ethnic businesses and perceived prejudice was the main focus of this research. However, this relationship is theoretically grounded on

the idea that nationalism equals in-group bias that is perceived by the job seeker and, in turn, the job seeker expects to be prejudiced against because of not sharing the same ethnic background. Other of the objectives of this research was to explore alternative paths of causality in this relationship. Thus, I examined the relationship from a resource-based perspective by introducing perceived group competition into the equation.

Consistent with the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict (Esses et al., 1998; Esses et al., 2001), perceptions that nationalistic business owners held zero-sum beliefs (competitive beliefs that the more others get, the less my group gets) mediated the relationship between the nationalistic image of the business and perceived prejudice. In this sense, job seekers reported significant levels of beliefs that the nationalistic business owners were more competitive in regards to resources (e.g. jobs and economic gains) than non-nationalistic owners. Consequently, perceived group competition had a significant effect on perceived prejudice. The results confirmed that perceived prejudice was affected by the nationalistic image in two ways: a direct linkage and an indirect linkage through the mediation effect of perceived group competition.

This is an issue worth discussing since the nationalistic image is also working as a predicting factor of schemas that job seekers may form of the business owners. In this case, that perceived group competition was significant as a mediator means that a nationalistic image in the ethnic business creates the impression of economic competitiveness. In other words, job seekers think of nationalistic business owners as being reserved and jealous of the resources they possess. In this sense, job seekers perceive that reservation of jobs to be in favor of co-ethnics, something that brings about feelings of prejudice since this competitive attitude further leads to potential rejection of employment or the perception that competitive owners may want to avoid non-co-ethnics to not benefit out-groups in Montreal and to not increase their economic share.

The bottom line here is that perceived prejudice has been evidenced to be a negative feeling fed by *at least* two mainstreams in the context of the present research. One is the direct relationship with the nationalistic image that is based mainly on identity issues. The other is

the indirect influence of nationalism through perceptions of group competition in business owners, which is based on resource-based competitive issues.

On Business Owner's Ethnicity as a Moderator

Notwithstanding initial support for the hypothesized effect of the nationalistic image of the business on job seekers' perceptions, interesting findings manifest an alternative influence that may be tempering this liaison. I make reference to the part of the analysis in which I evaluate the linkage between nationalistic image and perceived prejudice from a sub-group angle. Three key discoveries can be drawn from this statistical analysis: Chinese owners were perceived as inherently prejudiced; Indian nationalistic image as the driving factor; and the attenuation effect in the Quebecois case.

Firstly, when conducting a detailed examination of where the specific significant differences were taking place, I encountered that the Chinese cases (both the experimental and control conditions) set themselves apart from the rest of cases. In short, the nationalistic advertisement and the non-nationalistic advertisement did not have significant discrepancy in terms of perceived prejudice when the ethnicity of the supermarket was Chinese. This phenomenon suggests that rather than the nationalistic image of the business, it is the Chinese ethnicity itself the one exerting the impact on perceived prejudice. Whether the business portrays national symbols or not does not matter as long as the business owners are of Chinese background in order for job seekers to attribute potential prejudiced attitudes to business owners. However, it may alternatively be argued that it could be the opposite and that Chinese business owners in general may be conceived as non-prejudiced or just low in prejudice; thus, claiming that despite displaying cultural symbols and cues of nationalism, Chinese business owners are not perceived as discriminators. Nonetheless, the average scores for perceived prejudice for the Chinese example were the highest in both experimental and control conditions when compared to other ethnicities in the study. Hence, this strengthens the conclusion that people regarded Chinese business owners as prejudiced in the work context regardless of any nationalistic sign. But what is most interesting of the Chinese case is that people appear to perceive owners of non-nationalistic businesses (e.g. a regular supermarket, convenience store, and clothing store) as potentially

discriminatory, in spite of perceiving more job opportunities in this condition. The findings on the Chinese case represent a breakthrough to the model of this research since they furnish initial empirical evidence that ethnicity of owners may be a moderating agent in the relationship between nationalistic image and perceived prejudice.

Contrary to the Chinese case, advertisements with the Indian ethnicity did show a significant relationship between both experimental conditions, being this the scenario that mostly accounts for the support for hypothesis 1. As argued in this paper, the nationalistic image of the ethnic small business has a significant impact on job seekers' perceptions of prejudice, and the Indian example resulted an advocate of this argument. Interestingly, people do not conceive Indian business owners in general as prejudiced as in the Chinese instance (at least to a lower extent); rather, people's perceptions of potential negative attitudes from business owners were more influenced by the degree of nationalism portrayed by the ethnic business itself. Again, this constitutes valuable support for the apparent moderation role enacted by the ethnicity of owners, which is less prominent in the Indian case than in the Chinese.

Finally, the Quebecois baseline condition brought about additional fundamental questions to be addressed in this discussion. As found in the experiment, people in the Quebecois nationalistic condition did not score significantly distinct than respondents in the experimental condition nor than respondents in the control condition in terms of perceived prejudice. These results may essentially signify two things: a) Quebecois business owners are not perceived as potentially prejudiced as owners from other ethnicities; and b) people feel more comfortable with the ethnicity of the host region or country in which they live. People's perceptions of prejudice were less influenced by a seemingly nationalistic Quebecois image when compared to the other experimental groups. In other words, people saw the Quebecois background of owners as slightly less threatening and less discriminatory than the nationalistic Chinese and Indian cases, yet as equivalent in lower levels of prejudice as non-nationalistic ethnic owners. The results indicate a certain level of comfortability with the consideration of job search within Quebecois businesses in that people may be feeling that natives from Quebec would hold lower levels of prejudice despite being nationalistic. This feeling of apparent comfort could be the consequence of

living in the Quebecois society. As recent immigrants, people who were accepted to reside and work in Quebec may hold thoughts of gratitude towards people who are native of the province, ultimately transforming this gratitude into a lower readiness to think that Quebecois are highly prejudiced people and into a higher conception of Quebecois business owners as pro-diversity at the workplace. Within this line of thinking, it could be inferred that the factor "host society ethnicity" is connected to and is impacting the level of prejudice perceived. The potential moderation of ethnicity gains support one more time with the Quebecois case.

Referring to the case of perceived group competition, results were somewhat similar to those for perceived prejudice in terms of inferring a possible moderation of business ethnicity. People regarded both Chinese and Indian business owners as more competitive than Quebecois owners, signaling a certain level of comfort of respondents with owners from Quebec. Because it was found that nationalism affected perceived prejudice through an alternative path based on perceived resource-based competition, it would be reasonable to think that business owners' ethnicity moderate this causal path as well.

Why would the business' ethnicity affect how people see nationalistic and non-nationalistic business owners in terms of prejudice and group competition? Additional statistical steps were taken to analyze the discovery of a potential intervening variable in the main research question of this paper. In order to find the answer to that inquiry, I focused on stereotypes held towards the business' ethnicity. Interestingly, results showed a corresponding trend when observing the three nationalities, in spite of these being very alike. People's stereotypes towards Chinese seemed to affect in greater proportion their perceptions of prejudice and group competition. Regardless of being faced with seemingly nationalistic or not business owners, people perceive Chinese business owners as prejudiced and competitive because of prior impressions and stereotypes held towards the Chinese ethnicity. In contrast, the effect of stereotypes on perceptions of prejudice and group competition was lower for both Indian and Quebecois ethnicities, respectively. This is consistent with previous discussion that, in the case of the Indian ethnicity, people thought of owners as more prejudiced and competitive when they showed nationalistic characteristics and significantly lower when the business wasn't depicting a purely ethnic

environment. As well, same inferences could be drawn for the Quebecois ethnicity, which is observed as the lowest in stereotypes effect on perceived prejudice. Despite reflecting almost the same levels of stereotypes, the three ethnicities differ in the effect sizes stereotypes enact over perceived prejudice. This may lead to the conclusion that stereotypes towards nationalities and ethnicities vary in the extent to which they affect how people expect more prejudice and competitive attitudes from some cultures than from others.

On Job Seeker's Ethnic Identification and Openness to Experience

Another goal of this research was to explore if individual differences could play a role in perceiving prejudice from business owners from other ethnicities. The trends are consistent with the past theory cited earlier. Results of the study revealed marginal significance of the effect of these two variables on perceived prejudice. It was pointed out that this lack of strong significance may be due to the short range of different scores on the individual-difference variables. Nevertheless, what was observed leads to interesting conclusions.

For job seeker's ethnic identification, findings indicate that subtle changes in the small range of scores of this variable affect how job seekers see business owners in terms of prejudice. This means that the more people are identified with and proud of their own ethnicity/nationality, the more likely they will attribute prejudiced attitudes to potential employers of other nationalities. If we observe a marginally significant effect for a small variety of ethnic identification levels, then it follows that the effect could be discovered to be stronger if there was more sample heterogeneity in this regard. Thus, the fact that a job seeker is highly or lowly identified with his own ethnic background would be a determinant fact in how much prejudice the job seeker expects from a business owner from other ethnicity. This conclusion is in accordance with theories of intergroup conflict in that job seekers rely on their levels of social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) in order to categorize themselves apart from business owners who have a different ethnic membership, leading to seeing the latter as out-groups and leading to a greater chance of perceiving prejudice from these. The conclusion also leads to further questions. Would people deeply identified with their ethnicity/nationality be more reluctant to work for people from other backgrounds than low-identified individuals? Would this reluctance be as a result of expecting certain

levels of prejudice from those business owners, as a result of job seekers being ethnically biased, or perhaps as a result of a preference to look for opportunities in businesses of their same nationality? The answer to these questions could entail an interesting discussion on one of the potential reasons we don't find much workforce diversity in nationalistic ethnic small businesses.

Likewise, openness to experience reflected similar tendencies as ethnic identification. People in the sample reported relatively high levels of openness over a small range of average scores, yet results indicated that the effect of this variable on attenuating or reducing perceived prejudice was somewhat significant. In other words, people who are slightly more open to experience than others tend to perceive less prejudice. Again, having had wider heterogeneity of this variable in the sample could help arrive to more determinant conclusions. Nonetheless, what we observed here suggests that being more or less open to experience will affect the way job seekers see business owners in terms of prejudice expectations. The nature of this relationship supports past theory in that people with openness tend to be more ready towards accepting new ideas and more receptive towards interacting with other ethnicities and cultures. In turn, expectations that the business owner from another ethnicity will be prejudiced are reduced.

On Participants' Work Status

It was interesting to discover a lack of significance of respondents' job status at the moment of the survey with it comes to its effect on perceived prejudice and job opportunities. This translates into an equivalent level of perceptions regardless of being employed full-time, part-time or unemployed. Apart from the fact that this signals a resembling experimental engagement on behalf of all participants, these results reflect something more interesting. Specifically, people do not rely on their current employment situation in order to judge whether potential employers are prejudiced or not and whether there is actual chance of being hired there being from a different ethnic background. Rather, it is a matter of intergroup conflict and social identity issues. When employed and unemployed people think of the hypothetical situation of considering applying for low-level, unskilled job in businesses with owners from a different ethnicity, they will ponder their perceptions more

heavily on lack of ethnic commonality, discrepancy of national values and identity, ethnic stereotypes and/or nationalistic image of the business, as other results of this study reflect.

On the Seeming Moderation of Job Seeker's Ethnicity

The sample was composed of a great majority of people from Latin America and about half of the sample was comprised of people from the rest of the world. Although representing a lack of demographic heterogeneity in the sample, the situation served as an opportunity to evaluate and come across another potential moderation in job seeker's perceptions: job seeker's ethnicity. The analysis showed that there was no discrepancy on perceived prejudice, yet Latinos seem to feel more job opportunities in businesses with owners of a different ethnicity. Regardless of being nationalistic, non-nationalistic, Chinese, Indian or Quebecois, the small business was seen with more employment opportunities by Latinos than by people from other parts of the world. This could mean that Latinos have more readiness to apply for jobs even in nationalistic businesses than other cultures. Moreover, this also suggests that Latinos may be less prone to ponder job opportunities in ethnic businesses based on perceived prejudice than other ethnicities. Now, the higher willingness and job expectations of Latinos could be something to dig deeper on. Why do Latinos perceive more job opportunities in both nationalistic and non-nationalistic small business than other cultures? Necessity? Hard workers? Perhaps, more open to experience? I attempted to find an answer to these questions by putting the lens on individual differences and comparing Latinos with the rest of the world in terms of openness to experience. Perhaps it may not be the best approach to make concrete and determinant inferences on this issue since the sample does not give enough heterogeneity for the benefit of generalizability, yet it is still a good starting point to consider that levels of openness to experience may vary depending on job seekers' ethnicity and that this may be determinant in perceiving more or less job opportunities in businesses of other cultures. Results indicated a significant difference that suggests a higher level of openness in Latinos. If we guide ourselves by theoretical underpinnings, it makes sense to think that people who are more open to exposition to new ideas, values, customs, etc. will have more propensity towards thinking positively of working with other ethnicities. Thus, as Latinos report

greater openness, it follows that they would see more job opportunities in non-co-ethnic-owned businesses than people from other parts of the world.

Limitations

There are several limitations to put attention on in this study. First, the main purpose of the research was to obtain a clear picture of what recent immigrant job seekers perceive from nationalistic small ethnic business and in what measure these perceptions are different from those when faced with a non-nationalistic business with ethnic owners. I tested the main hypotheses on this matter by requesting participants to put themselves in the shoes of someone looking for a short-term job as a cashier or grocery packer and to observe the advertisement of a supermarket that varied in terms of being nationalistic or not, and in terms of ethnicity (Chinese, Indian or Quebecois). Although the sample was comprised solely of recent immigrants, it is not known if participants were actually looking for a job at the moment of the survey. The methodology did not filter whether people were actively in job search nor did it ask the question. Instead, the study limited to ask job current job status. The intended status of job seeker required by the experimental design was contingent on actual engagement of participants in the experiment, which is something difficult to control for. Attempts were made in order to involve respondents with the experimental situation and to make them observe nationalistic cues when the advertisement portrayed national and ethnic symbolism. Indeed, results of the study reflected that the intentions of the experimental design were satisfied, yet the issue is whether a different approach to test these hypotheses might help arrive at more determinant results. Using a sample of recent immigrants who are actually looking for employment might have helped increase robustness of results. Alternatively, asking current job search status might have divided the sample into those who were actively fishing around and those who were not, providing additional spacing to explore a potential moderation effect by job search status. Despite this sampling limitation, generalizability of initial results is not truly threatened since the experiment proved satisfactory as it is reflected in results on the impact of nationalism on perceptions of prejudice, group competition and job opportunities. As well, the fact that the sample consisted of recent immigrants gives a hint on the sort of economic situation newly arrived people confront in the host country. Thus, this helped infer that people were either

familiarized with recent job search, actively in job search or at least considering job search in the near future in order to start off in the Canadian labor market, assuming that people intend to work at some point after arriving to the country in order to cover life expenses.

Second, one of the paramount discoveries of this research was the potential moderating effect of business owners' ethnicity in the level of prejudice job seekers attribute to them in the context of nationalistic and non-nationalistic businesses. People perceived ethnicities in the study (Chinese, Indian and Quebecois) differently in terms of prejudice in both experimental conditions. Nevertheless, the lack of a wider assortment of business ethnicities to be included in the study guarantees non-determinant conclusions around the explored moderation impact. Additionally, time constraints restricted amount of data gathering and limited the allocation of a fair number of participants to each of the five utilized experimental conditions. Even though I provide initial evidence that people account some ethnicities as inherently more prejudiced than others, it is necessary to enlarge the study and encompass more ethnicities and nationalities of businesses that are commonly seen in the biggest immigration cities. Stronger and generalizable conclusions could be made as a result. Of course, the demand for a bigger sample, more time and greater research resources arises along with this inquiry.

The third encountered limitation corresponds to heterogeneity in the sample in terms of openness to experience and ethnic identification. Results showed small score ranges for these two variables, suggesting that people in the sample had similar levels of identification and openness. Earlier in the discussion I argued that since the small range of scores accounted for certain level of significant effect on perceived prejudice, subtle variations in identification and openness were somewhat determinant in predicting scores of perceived prejudice. However, although the marginal significance of both variables does point out a certain tendency in people, greater heterogeneity (wider range of scores) of levels of openness to experience and ethnic identification would have been beneficial for stronger hypotheses support. Moreover, one issue that this lack of heterogeneity brings up is regarding measurement. Scales for measuring these variables were obtained from past scholars (Barry, 2002; John & Srivastava, 1999) whose works have shown adequate internal reliability. Likewise, the same goes for the reliabilities for this study. Nevertheless,

it may not be a problem of reliability, but instead a problem of self-views. The items of each scale touch on positive parts of the self that each person may be likely to hold true of them. Pride about ancestors, mother tongue, own country, customs and culture is a feeling that is possible to be present in the majority of people. By the same token, self-perceptions of being original, innovative, deep thinker and adaptable may be as well biased by their positive nature and the likelihood that people want to attribute themselves positive characteristics. Hence, it may seem normal from one perspective that people score high in both ethnic identification and openness to experience. Notwithstanding, generalizability is hampered at this instance owed to people with actual low levels of ethnic identification and openness to experience not being represented in the sample.

Fourth, this study lies on the grounds of immigration and recent immigrants. As such, when we think about immigration, we think about people from all over the world. Indeed, Canada has made a humongous effort for accepting people from virtually all countries. In order to have a fairly adequate sample of the immigrant population, heterogeneity of nationalities and ethnicities in participants was something crucial for the sake of this study. Unfortunately, one limitation of this study was the large quantity of Latinos (more than half) in proportion to people from other nations, which hindered a greater variety of ethnic demographics. Indeed, willingness to participate in the study was expressed in larger scales by Latinos than by other ethnicities. The reason for this tendency remains unknown. In consequence, if we focus on ethnic background of participants, generalizability cannot be fully guaranteed as the sample may not be an accurate representation of the population.

Implications

Research Implications

Job Seeker Literature:

The results of this paper have several implications for future literature. First of all, this research contributes in a highly neglected area of recruitment literature such as the analysis of job seekers' views of potential employers. Mckay & Avery (2006) put forward that much work is needed to understand in more depth the reactions of job seekers towards

signals from employers (e.g. their article evaluated how diversity perceptions in site visits affected further job acceptance). In spite of these and some other authors contributing in this regard (e.g. Highhouse, Stierwalt, Bachiochi, Elder & Fisher, 1999), the field needs scholars to dig deeper into job seekers' perceptions of employers as this is a key issue in comprehending factors that affect job seekers' decisions of future job application. Moreover, in a more specific line of inquiry, this research contextualized job seekers' views of employers with regards to intergroup conflict phenomena, immigration and unskilled job positions in ethnic small businesses. To date, this is the first work on exploring the combination of these three areas, resulting in valuable insights concerning negative perceptions that recent immigrant job seekers have when faced with nationalistic images of ethnic business and businesses with owners of other ethnicities. Future research should make efforts to explore further the ideas and results presented in this paper looking for and recommending strategies to reduce these negative perceptions. In the next section, I present some approaches to doing this.

Furthermore, in light of the main variables measured in this paper, nationalistic images of ethnic businesses increase perceptions of prejudice and impact negatively perceptions of job opportunities, leaving behind the question whether perceptions of prejudice and job opportunities could predict further willingness to apply in the business. In other words, job seekers reacted to nationalistic businesses and to regular businesses with ethnic owners on the basis of what the business itself communicated, yet realistic consideration and readiness to apply was not in the experimental scope. Scholars should seize this opportunity to explore interesting relationships between these variables and job seeker's application decision making. Perhaps by utilizing similar or different experimental approaches, researchers can expand the boundaries of this paper and discover key factors that may affect job seeker actual application for unskilled jobs in ethnic small businesses.

In addition, one of the main inferences that one could draw from this research is the fact that job seekers are perceiving differently the signals of a business in terms of nationalism. Some factors such as job seeker's held stereotypes and ethnic identification, and perceptions of prejudice and group competition are making job seekers keep negative views of ethnic business owners that portray nationalistic symbols in their business establishments

or advertisements. Either because of job seekers' views or because of what the business communicates, job seekers have negative discernment of these businesses in the context of ethnic background discrepancy, nationalism and employment. According to Cable & Judge (1996), job seekers should attempt at obtaining essential and useful information about employers that make them build an objective assessment of fit between the applicant and the organization. By the same token, recent immigrant job seekers should collect valuable information that help them isolate their judgment of the business from stereotypes and negative intergroup perceptions. In the next section I propose some recommendations for practice in this regard, yet future research should make reasonable efforts as to explore what sort of information may be deemed valuable and useful enough for job seekers to edify objective appraisal of an ethnic business as a potential employer. Put differently, what factors job seekers must take into consideration in order to consider employment based on realistic facts and not on perceptions triggered by social identity and ethnic membership issues.

Another point that has brought my attention to be aimed at in future research is the evidence found on the relationships between perceived prejudice and the variables of openness to experience and ethnic identification. The marginally significant coefficients in this respect suggested that there may be an interesting relationship between the variables that has been partly hampered by the fact that there was restriction of range in openness and ethnic identification. Notwithstanding results indicate subtle changes of these variables correspond with fairly good effects on perceived prejudice (each in different directions), future research should help support and corroborate these inferences by obtaining a more heterogeneous sample. One way to tackle this problem is by using different scales than the ones employed in the present thesis, which were actually reliable; nonetheless, other methods may be considered more accurate and could aid in obtaining a wider range of scores in openness to experience and ethnic identification that reinforce or cast doubt (since significance was marginal) on the results of this study.

A key insight is the discovery of business owners' ethnicities as a relevant variable. Past researchers have found that employers' impressions of each ethnic group have salient impact in employer-candidate interactions in recruitment processes (Bell, 1985;

Kirschenman & Neckerman, 1991). In contrast, evidence of this research put in discussion the presence of a moderator within negative perceptions of job seekers (instead of employers' impressions). Respondents of this study viewed the three ethnicities of the experiment (Chinese, Indian and Quebecois) in sharply different ways, having as a consequence that Chinese owners were seen as prejudiced regardless of being nationalistic or not, nationalistic Indian owners were regarded more prejudiced than non-nationalistic ones, and Quebecois owners were deemed as low in prejudice as non-nationalistic owners of other ethnicities. This sets the scenario for further inquiry in this regard because we may claim with stronger support that some ethnic owners are seen more prejudiced than others solely by the fact of being of one specific ethnicity. I claimed that a causal link can be found in prior held stereotypes of job seekers towards ethnicities, inferring that people are affected by negative or positive generalizations contingent on ethnic background when they judge the attitudes of business owners. Future research should address these issues in order to arrive to more consistent interpretations. One recommendation for this that may be simple, albeit effective, is the inclusion of more targeted ethnic businesses (wider assortment of nationalities).

Finally, and of utmost importance, theorists should start paying attention to a sample of the population on which research has not exhaustively focused: recent immigrant job seekers. It has been argued that pro-immigration countries like Canada currently receive around a quarter of a million immigrants per year. These immigrants come with the purpose of building new lives and finding better opportunities, ultimately impacting the economy of the country and representing a massive portion of the available skilled and unskilled labor market. It is highly important to explore and understand the experiences of recent immigrants in their first years of immigration in the context of work. Although this research contributes in this regard by putting the lens on job alternatives that they may find in ethnic small business, scholars should make efforts in including this specific, albeit increasingly prominent portion of the Canadian population in their lines of inquiry.

Ethnic Business Literature:

Furthermore, there are many issues worth highlight regarding ethnic businesses and future literature in this matter. Since this research looks at intergroup phenomena from the perspective and opinions of job seekers, numerous questions are left unattended for the other side of the coin: ethnic owners and ethnic businesses. First, what is the actual view of ethnic small business employers on diversity at their workplace? Do owners think that authenticity of the ethnic environment is lost when hiring non-co-ethnics? Answers to these questions would be fundamental in understanding the reasons why owners may opt for only-co-ethnic personnel over a diverse one, or vice versa. A strategy to tackle this may well be through qualitative methods that capture in depth all the factors interplaying in their diversity decisions. Moreover, are business owners actually competitive over resources and prejudiced? This research found that job seekers perceive nationalistic ethnic business owners as such, making this question essential in complementing findings of this paper. Future theorists can measure levels of prejudice and group competition against non-co-ethnic job seekers in ethnic owners of small businesses, and could also try to find whether differences in these levels may be affected by the type of business (nationalistic vs. non-nationalistic) that they run.

Second, concerning the nationalistic image itself, further inquiry arises from this paper. First, the roots of the nationalistic image of the business are yet to be studied. Earlier it was explained that ethnic owners may choose to start up ethnic businesses because of deep attachment to their countries, knowledge of products, reliance on ethnic community in the host country and commercial networks in their mother nation. However, it may be that the choice of building up a business with authentic ethnic context is purely based on profitable and marketing objectives. In this regard, future research should direct efforts in discovering variances in the reasons to edify nationalistic images in businesses apart from deep attachments and linkages with the mother country. For instance, coming back to the marketing idea, business owners may have knowledge that clientele of the local area have preferences towards international and authentic foreign food, hence, setting up enterprises that serve local customers with typical ethnic dishes in order to satisfy the demand.

A final research implication pertains to the reasons behind ethnic small businesses' hiring policies. Although it may be argued that we can observe more diversity in some businesses

than others, the common trend has been to notice employees of one ethnicity in establishments of this nature. What factors motivate owners to hire more or less nationalities in their businesses? One approach to responding this inquiry is by looking at customer preference. Clientele proclivity for being served by people from a specific ethnic origin when they walk in an ethnic business may be a determinant decision-making hint for hiring practices. Perhaps, customers prefer to be served by people who match the ethnicity of the place they are buying from in order to have a feeling of "authentic" service. Or, in contrast, people may value other businesses characteristics over employee ethnic authenticity: customer service, prices, quality of products, etc. In addition, it may also depend on the type of business. For instance, that an Italian waiter serves consumers in an Italian restaurant maybe more valued in terms of authenticity of the business than when the Italian business is a supermarket, where the cashier's or the food stocker's ethnicity may not play a role in clients' perceptions of business' genuineness, and instead may be contingent on finding original Italian products. Consequently, future research should exert effort in understanding how and in what scenarios clients' preferences affect recruitment practices in ethnic small businesses.

Practical Implications

There are numerous implications for practice at various levels of analysis as a consequence of this investigation. This research found salient evidence that nationalistic images of ethnic businesses are perceived by recent immigrant job seekers as a signal of prejudice and group competition in business owners and as a device for lower perceived job opportunities, suggesting that nationalistic symbols in the advertisement or in the physical establishment of an ethnic business affect cognitively how job seekers pre-judge attitudes of owners and let these cues guide their perceptions. In addition, it was discovered that job seekers perceive ethnicities differently, which was argued to potentially be as a consequence of an interaction between stereotypes held towards the business' ethnicity and the size of the effect of stereotypes when face with each ethnicity in specific. Thus, it would be safe to say

that without applying for work or actually engaging in interaction with business owners, job seekers' judgement of the business is predisposed as a result of interethnic conflicts (stereotypes, prejudice, group competition) and negative outcome expectations (rejection, discrimination, less job opportunities, deprivation) that are brought about by the image of the business.

So, how can we reduce negative perceptions and increase perceived job opportunities in job seekers? As an attempt to attenuating or reducing pre-judgmental thoughts in job seekers that are affected by the image of the nationalistic ethnic business or by the simple fact of owners being from another ethnicity (refer to the Chinese case in this study), job seekers should make reasonable efforts to collect enough information from the business and owners in favor of a more objective and fact-based assessment of owners' attitudes and actual job opportunities. Necessary information to achieve an objective appraisal of the ethnic business as an employer may comprise (but not limited to) actions that require physical displacement to the business establishment and perhaps some little research. First, evaluating how diverse the workforce actually is in order to observe the presence of other ethnic groups apart from co-ethnics with business owners. Second, keeping record of the kind of clientele that frequents the business and analyzing how the non-co-ethnic job seeker's skills may complement the necessities of the business and help address and reach more ethnic groups as consumers. For instance, a Chinese restaurant located in an area populated in big proportion by Latinos may benefit from employing Latinos or Spanish speakers in that they may understand the potential clientele and how to attract them. Another example may be a supermarket of any ethnicity located in multicultural areas of a city such as downtown. Since customers can be virtually from anywhere in the world, a more diverse workforce may be able to cover more international languages than just English, French or the one from the business' ethnicity. Third, as most of job applications in these kinds of small businesses occur on-site by Resume personal delivery, real interaction and conversation with business owners is beneficial for job seekers due to the opportunity to sell oneself and one's abilities to owners, ultimately going beyond handing out Resumes. In this "tell me about yourself" conversation, the job seeker could highlight potential upsides and contributions that his employment could bring, as the ones mentioned previously. This opportunity may also be seized by the job seeker to assess the personality,

attitudes and first impressions of business owners in regards to potential future prejudice and willingness towards diversity. By the same token, job seekers cannot fall in the assumption that because a business may seem nationalistic and in-group biased, owners will be inherently prejudiced.

By following aforementioned recommendations, job seekers might be more likely to consider applying in the business based on actual facts/experience and not holding back based on pre-perceptions of prejudice and job opportunities. Moreover, the mentioned proposals serve as an approach to isolating stereotypes out of the job search in that job seekers would tend to fall less into negative generalizations. As claimed in this paper, job seekers' perceptions of prejudice may be biased by their own prior impressions of the ethnicity of the business, triggering generalization and wrongly pre-attributing prejudiced attitudes to ethnic business owners. For instance, this study found that job seekers' stereotypes towards Chinese owners weighted more heavily on attributing prejudice than towards other ethnicities (Indian or Quebecois), and this happened even when the business was not nationalistic. Thus, if job seekers strive and thrive in making a more objective analysis of the ethnic employer as suggested here, the effect of stereotypes would not be an intervening factor in their perceptions regardless of the business being nationalistic or not.

Consequences of job seekers' taking active steps towards greater job opportunities in these businesses and not holding back from applying because of negative perceptions include at the individual level (job seeker): a) the opportunity to work with and be immersed in another culture; b) the encouragement and motivation to perceive less prejudice and be less driven by stereotypes and nationalistic superficial images; c) and the development of more openness to experience (open to work along new cultures). At the industry level of analysis, a positive outcome is the encouragement of ethnic diversity in workforces in other ethnic businesses across the country (snowball effect), in the hopes that multiculturalism at work becomes a trendy paragon and not a dodged parasite. In turn, the snowball effect would extrapolate to the country level if immigrants of many different ethnicities start comprising the personnel of ethnic businesses in major cities of Canada.

Looking at the side of employers and ethnic business owners, it is worth repeating that this research does not imply that ethnic business owners are indeed prejudiced, discriminatory or competitive. Rather, I have argued that the usually portrayed image of their businesses may be considered nationalistic and is having an impact in job seekers' perceptions as a result. In order to change observed levels of perceived prejudice, group competition and job opportunities exposed in this study, additional actions may be taken by employers to aid in this pro-multiculturalism-at-work process. In this sense, a first step entails that ethnic business owners become aware of the results of this research and realize that the image of their enterprise is communicating high levels of nationalism that incite job seekers from other ethnicities to perceive them as prejudiced and competitive and perceive less job opportunities, even in the event of this being an unintended objective or even if they are pro-diversity in reality. This undesired effect on job seekers can be mitigated by taking further active steps toward showing and enacting work practices that advocate and welcome diversity in their personnel.

First, ethnic business owners that realize what their business image signals to non-co-ethnic job seekers should therefore be informed about the advantages of having an ethnically diverse workforce. According to Mckay & Avery (2006), these advantages comprehend a) a wider coverage of labor shortages since they have a more extensive population of potential employees, not just co-ethnics; b) the avoidance of undesired legal scrutiny since employment based on ethnicity is in essence discriminatory and does not find legal support on Bona Fide Occupational Requirements at all instances; c) the enhancement of business image as a fair and objective employer that provides opportunities to everyone based on skills, abilities and experience; d) a larger access to and legitimacy of customers of other ethnic communities in the city; e) a potentially increasing market share since all major cities of Canada count on multicultural populations, hence being able to address and attract clients from virtually everywhere as heterogeneous ethnic representation is present in the business. The last point touches on issues of ethnic identification in that clients may become more loyal if they have the possibility to have contact with people of their own ethnic group in a business of a different ethnicity. For instance, a Greek supermarket may find that a big portion of their frequent clientele is from Middle East and from Latin America because their loyalty is attached to the fact that some employees are Iranian,

Lebanese, Puerto Rican and Colombian and to the fact that customers like to be served by "their own people".

Once realization of nationalistic image impact and benefits of diversity exists, it should become clearer to business owners that employing non-co-ethnics serves as a dual device to both improve the business image and improve sales. So, how can ethnic business owners achieve these objectives towards multiculturalism if non-co-ethnic job seekers are feeling warded off by the nationalistic image of the business? I want to put forward a few suggestions in this respect. First, owners of ethnic small businesses could make changes in the way they advertise their business by including representation of other ethnicities in the ad without having to quit their authentically ethnic image. For instance, by adding pictures of ethnically diverse employees in their duties or with the business uniform, employers may communicate that people from other backgrounds are welcome to work. Another example is by including translation to more languages than just English, French or the owners' tongue. In this sense, if it is an Indian business located in an area inhabited in large proportion by Italians and Portuguese people, the advertisements could incorporate messages in Italian and Portuguese so both clients and job seekers feel more attracted to the business. Furthermore, if owners opt for posting available jobs in the newspaper or the internet, they should try to avoid nationalistic symbols because showing these are deemed useful to attract customers that want authentic ethnic products rather than attracting future employees. Instead, employers should post jobs with a neutral image that does not repel non-co-ethnic job seekers; for instance, just by putting the name of the restaurant, the position, the skills needed and the urgency of the position fulfillment in either English or French might be enough for job seekers to consider applying for the job and not perceive prejudice or group competition.

Ethnic owners engaging in activities of the sort suggested here should expect a higher probability that job seekers from various ethnicities show interest in working in the business. If the ethnic business exhibits multicultural personnel, the result will be a greater likelihood that non-co-ethnic job seekers observe them as prejudiced and resource-based competitive and perceive more job opportunities. Also, high diversity cues such as those reflected in advertisements, job postings and current workforce would help job seekers rely

less on stereotypes and in-group bias and value more that the job opportunity becomes more tangible and probable for them. In addition, as argued at the beginning of this paper, employers should avoid hiring based on ethnicity for certain unskilled positions that don't objectively require ethnic membership or proficiency in special languages to be fulfilled. This practice may be deemed discriminatory as ethnicity may not encounter legal support as a Bona Fide Occupational Requirement. Hence, if ethnic employers make efforts towards ethnically mixed staff, they will be less likely to be seen as illegally discriminatory and more likely to build a reputation of providing equal and fair job opportunities to everyone on the basis of objective skills.

Of course, it is worth highlighting that the phenomena explored in this paper ultimately affects the macro level of the country because, in the bottom line, workplace multiculturalism in the country is what is at stake. Results of this research indicate that even in a pro-diversity country such as Canada, people may perceive prejudice from other ethnic groups as in the case of nationalistic ethnic businesses. This implicates that policies of immigration that look forward to integrating multiculturalism in the Canadian society are not being put adequately in the same equation as embeddedness or overlapping of ethnic groups. That job seekers are perceiving prejudice from nationalistic images of businesses is something to worry about because that means people are not perceiving equal job opportunities everywhere in Canada, thus, intergroup conflict is present and Canada is ending up with a population divided by small groups that seem to be reluctant to mix together. People hold stereotypes, in-group bias, strong social identities attached to mother countries and perceptions that there is competition over resources and prejudice from other ethnic groups, and all because of group membership. Put simply, Canada is making efforts towards increasing its population and integrating immigrants into Canadian society; however, efforts are yet to be so extensive that new immigrants adopt a new, common identity that eliminates conflict between different ethnic communities that hinders positive dynamics in the multicultural population (multicultural workforces and perceptions of job opportunities).

With the objective of accomplishing a more intertwined, non-conflicted Canadian multicultural society, some measures could be applied at the governmental level for

enhancing and complementing the impact of the recommendations made here for job seekers and employers. The primary strategy concerns Bona Fide Occupational Requirements (BFOR) awareness and its propagation in society. I divided this strategy into two main courses of action: education and enforcement. Firstly, Canada should strive towards educating new immigrants about BFOR laws and about the rights to equal and fair employment by any company across the country. Pamphlets in immigration welcoming packages, internet articles on Citizenship and Immigration Canada's website and publicly shown and printed notices on the walls of governmental offices are examples of how recent immigrants can be illustrated on BFOR. By doing this, immigrants are more aware of the employment rights they count on when they look for a job in any business in Canada. Likewise, immigrants that own a small business such as the ethnic ones explored in this paper should be educated. Government's encouragement for workplace diversity and compliance with BFOR can come in the form of notices attached to the business tax forms and letters sent periodically by mail reminding businesses of the emphasis that must be put in fostering multiculturalism at work. Plus, the addition of short articles in newspapers (e.g. those handed out in the Subway) that address the importance and the benefits of diversity at work would contribute enormously in this educative activity. Secondly, Canada should enforce laws about discrimination at work and BFOR. Yes, more and more companies are starting to comply each year with laws of diversity inclusion; yet, it seems like the enforcement may be limited to big and medium enterprises, leaving unattended a fair proportion of small businesses (e.g. ethnic small businesses). Efforts should be made on behalf of the Canadian government to evaluate how these laws can be enforced as to encompass small businesses that may apply discriminatory hiring policies. By educating on and enforcing BFOR, Canada would be targeting the change of perceptions of prejudice, group competition and job opportunities that job seekers seem to hold for nationalistic ethnic businesses. Job seekers would count on enough information to know that the legal right of employment should not be threatened by ethnic membership.

Alternatively, the problem caused by differences in social identities, which seem to the underlying factor in intergroup conflict, can be addressed by putting the lens on past literature. One of the key issues that immigration brings to the table of the welcoming, host country is that newcomers arrive with a set of customs, values and social identities that

differ from the new country's national identity. Upon putting too many different identities into one big pot, what results is a set of small communities that are together, albeit not mixed, as results of this study seem to suggest due to intergroup phenomena such as stereotypes, prejudice and competition. In this regard, I cite the work of Gaertner & Dovidio (2000) for the sake of finding a point where all ethnicities within Canada meet halfway. In their study, the authors emphasize the necessity of increasing the importance of a common group identity. The common group identity is by no means based on ethnic values, customs, religion or national origin, but rather it is composed of a common membership to one big group in which members are interdependent. In turn, a shared common identity produces positive attitudes towards people that were formerly considered out-groups and now are regarded part of the in-group within a different categorization. With respect to the present paper, ethnic groups that displace to a new country share an inherent and irrevocable condition: all are immigrants. If newcomers develop a new identity as immigrants, they start seeing other immigrants as members of their group. What might they share? Similar immigrating experiences, the goal of learning the host country's languages, the goal of becoming resident and citizen and building a family in a country of opportunities, the understanding of the feeling of leaving one's own nation, the interest of learning about other cultures now that they are faced with more multiculturalism, and so on and so forth. The point is that being an immigrant is already a categorization that somehow provides the individual with a new identity from the moment of arrival: "I am an immigrant". Thus, the objective is that all immigrants realize that they are one group with similar goals. In fact, after many years in Canada, there have been, there are and there will be many generations of Canadians sons of immigrants who once had the shared objective of bringing up their children and grandchildren in the same country.

How can immigrants be encouraged to adopt a second identity? Without having to abandon or set aside their first identity, immigrants may be educated in this regard through governmental initiatives. One great strategy is that recommended by Esses et al. (2001) in which messages, editorials and articles tied immigration and the Canadian nationality together by emphasizing common roots of immigration and a common goal in present and future: working and building a better Canada all together. The messages also reunited native-born Canadians and immigrants into one Canadian identity that would be likely to be

shared at one point of life (once immigrants became citizens and their commitment with the country was sealed). Therefore, I suggest the usage of articles in newspapers, special issues in various governmental websites and informational brochures in immigration welcome packages that truly highlight the inclusion of everyone into one common identity: Canadian immigrants that work for the prosperity of the country and future generations of sons of immigrants. By doing this, we would be promoting the elimination of in-group biases, prejudice and stereotypes. If initiatives like these are undertaken, negative perceptions of job seekers when faced with ethnic businesses would be attenuated since immigrant business owners are part of a larger in-group and may be perceived less prejudiced and competitive.

Furthermore, federal and provincial governments could work together in the production of big events that help boost integration of new immigrants. One example in this regard could be the creation of an "Ethnically Diverse Business Festival", which main features would be a) the opportunity for small ethnic businesses to showcase their products and services to customers and increase their market share, b) the opportunity for these businesses to collect Resumes and get to know potential employees from all ethnicities, c) the possibility for consumers to discover new and different ethnic small business that are located in their cities, d) and the chance for new immigrant job seekers to explore job opportunities within ethnic small businesses as well as to engage in fruitful conversations with business owners from other ethnicities. This festival could be held quarterly (four times a year) in main cities of Canada and would aid enormously in the integration of new immigrants to a multicultural society because it works as a networking device. Moreover, the establishment of events of this nature mean direct contact between job seekers and ethnic employers, resulting in a great space for both parties to forget about stereotypes, ethnic membership and negative pre-judgmental feelings and to truly engage in "on-site" job interviews that would encourage diversity inclusion at the workplace.

Plus, a paramount step towards facilitating job finding can be taken by the government. Specifically, and in the case of the city of Montreal, community centers that are generally utilized for Quebec's Francization of new immigrants programs, different extracurricular activities for people of all ages (i.e. sports, music, culture) and courses of many sorts. My

suggestions is that the government could open free job search courses in these community centers that help new immigrants get helpful tips to land job positions in their new city. This course could instruct how to structure and polish a Resume (including grammatical and spelling correction in English and French), how to approach employers (either personally in a small businesses or by on-line application), how to highlight the job seeker's capabilities and show how those capabilities fit well in a diverse business, how dress correctly for direct contact with employers and job interviews, etc. The application of this method not only would help immigrants find opportunities in low-level, short-term positions but also immigrants that aim higher in terms of professional opportunities in the high-skill labor market.

Finally, the technological era we live in nowadays calls for business adaptability in an increasing rate day after day. Internet is accessible to virtually everyone in developed countries, and because of that many people have encountered opportunities by just one "click". For instance, today we have job search portals such as Indeed.ca, Jobillico.com, Monster.ca, JobBoom.com, LinkedIn.com, and many more that give the possibility to people to find job postings by local companies that are currently in recruitment processes. However, low-level jobs such as the ones discussed in this paper are generally not found in these websites, and by the same token, rarely do ethnic small businesses look for employees through these means. My suggestion is the creation of a government web portal that charges no fee to small business employers and that gives the possibility to ethnic owners post job vacancies. Likewise, new immigrants benefit from the portal by having more accessibility to low-level job positions available within small businesses. The portal would boost the connections between small business employers and a wider and more diverse labor market comprised of Canadians and immigrants.

Conclusion

In an effort to expand literature on intergroup conflict, immigration experiences and ethnic enterprise, this research addressed how recent immigrants perceive ethnic businesses in terms of expected prejudice, competitive attitudes and job opportunities in the context of job search within the unskilled labor market. A fundamental takeout is that ethnic

businesses that portray nationalistic images through ethnic/national symbols are impacting non-co-ethnic job seekers' perceptions in a negative way. It has been found, however, that the degree or level of job seekers' perceptions may also be dependent on the ethnicity of the business where they intend to apply for work. Specifically, some ethnic owners are being held more prejudiced than others, suggesting that job seekers hold different levels of prior ethnic stereotypes towards each ethnicity, which together with high levels of ethnic identification along with confronting a salient nationalistic business image may represent a perfect cocktail of negative intergroup attitudes based on social identity differences that ends up influencing expectations of discrimination and job opportunities.

As findings of this investigation indicate a disturbing reality of immigration conflict in the context of job search and recent immigrant integration to the system, it is essential to exert efforts and strategies that help reunite immigrants, encourage diversity at workplace and reduce prejudicial feelings among ethnic communities in a pro-multiculturalism country such as Canada. In virtue of this, I have suggested that concrete actions from all participants involved must be evaluated and executed properly in order to adequately address the herein highlighted problems and attain the desired objectives in favor of a more prejudice-free Canadian immigrant society. The strive should be promoted initially by the government through the implementation of informational and educational programs that foster the development of one common social identity among immigrants (Canadian immigrants or simply Canadians) and that enlighten both ethnic small businesses in terms of the benefits of diversity at the workplace and recent immigrants with respect to the legal anti-discrimination rights they count on upon job search. As well, ethnic business owners may contribute by firstly acknowledging that nationalistic images and advertisements are repelling non-co-ethnic job seekers and are communicating prejudiced attitudes. Subsequently, actions suggested here can be put into practice in order to mitigate this perception among job seekers and to convey a sense of pro-diversity hiring tendency. Not only do efforts should be made at the governmental and ethnic business levels, but also at the job seeker's. In this regard, recent immigrants who aspire to find short-term jobs in unskilled positions must try to dissipate negative judgement about ethnic business owners by taking steps towards structuring an objective assessment of the business and the real job opportunities that exist. As a result, job seekers gain the opportunity to work with and be

immersed in another culture, the encouragement and motivation to perceive less prejudice and be less driven by stereotypes and nationalistic superficial images, and the development of more openness to experience (open to work along new cultures).

A final note lies in the hopes that this paper contributed significantly in the process of Canada's successful integration of newly-arrived immigrants. Massive immigration brings with it inherent intergroup conflict and a society inevitably shattered into small ethnic communities as a result of discrepancies in national identities and values. Notwithstanding the seeming complexity of the phenomena that immigration brings about, simple steps towards a better fit of multiculturalism into the new host country can have paramount outcomes. This is a country with multicultural roots that should extend to every corner and every business in the territory. It is never too late to start "doing one's bit" to reduce prejudice, expand job opportunities for recent immigrants in ethnic small businesses, smoothen their transition to the new country and support them in this new beginning.

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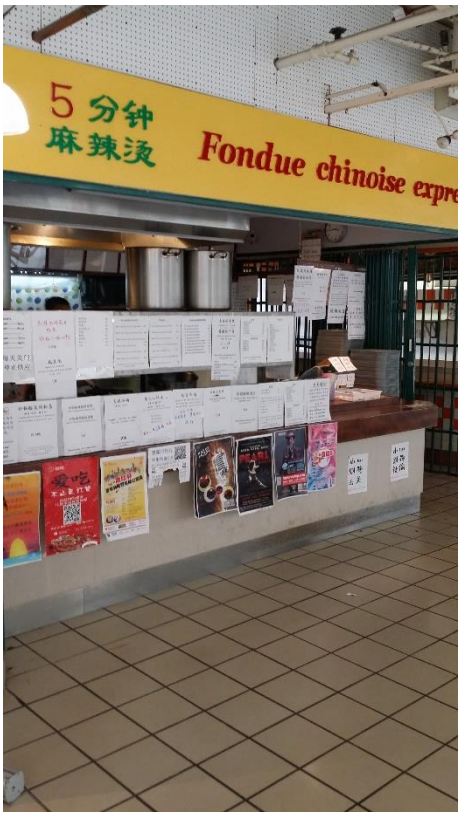
Appendix 1.

Photos of Ethnic Small Businesses in Montreal


福园祥
RESTAURANT CHEZ CHEN
CUISINE AUTHENTIQUE SICHUAN ET DU NORD-EST DE LA CHINE
AU CŒUR DU CENTRE-VILLE DE MONTRÉAL
Authentic Szechuan and Northern Chinese Cuisine in Downtown Montreal
市中心唯一的东北菜
1618 AVENUE LINCOLN
514 933-6888
chezchen.ca
LIVRAISON GRATUITE!*
FREE DELIVERY*
WiFi
SPÉCIAL DU MIDI
Lunch Special
lundi au dimanche, 11h30 à 16h00
Monday to Sunday, 11:30 am to 4:00 pm

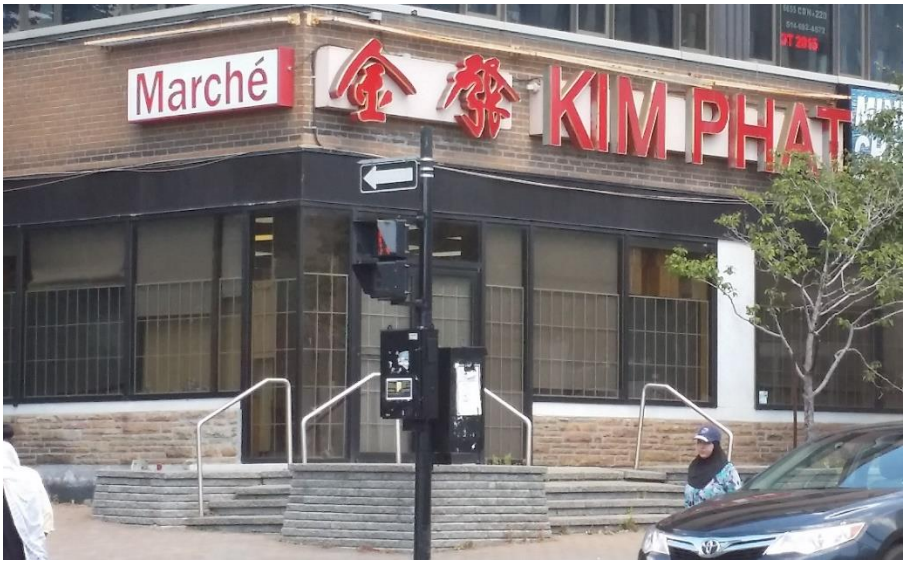

5 分钟
麻辣烫
Fondue chinoise


514-495-0495
SPÉCIALITÉ SOUPES TONKINOISES


Chez la Mère Michel


東方漢医院
ACUPUNCTURE
HERBES
597-1777
CLINIQUE
D'ACUPUNCTURE
ORIENTALE
NATUROPATHIE
MASSOTHÉRAPIE
765
동방한의원


福泰
MARCHE FU TAI


Marché
金發
KIM PHAT


金城餐館
KAM SHING
RESTAURANT
LICENCE COMPLETE
514-731-1401
Cantonaise & Szechuannaise
OUVERT


PHO BANG NEW YORK
SPÉCIALITÉ SOUPE TONKINOISE 954-203
鵬牛肉河粉 CUISINE VIETNAMIENNE AUTHENTIC


SWATOW PLAZA
長盛廣場
SPÉCIAL DU CHEF
Sincrama
華景假期
5e étages → 5th floor
TOYOTA RAV4


常來
CHANG LAI
RESTAURANT 飯店

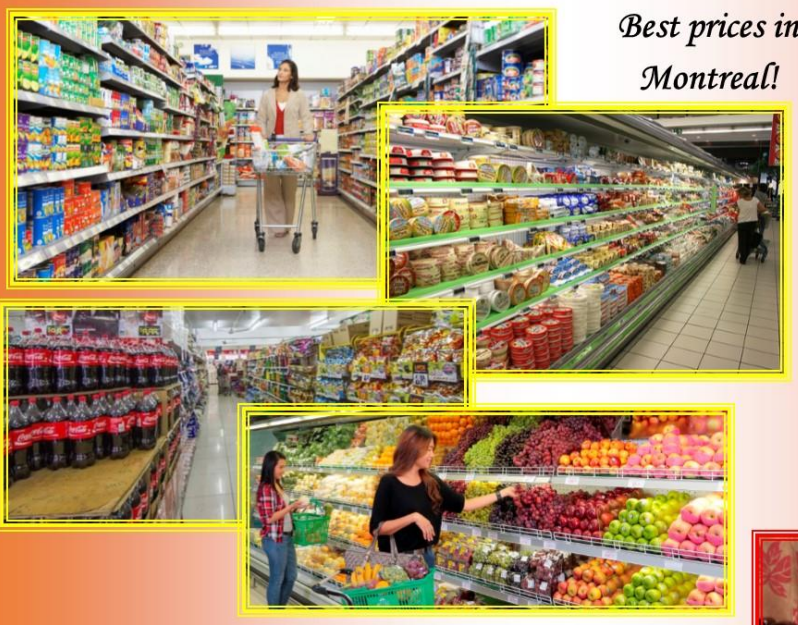

BANGKOK

Appendix 2.

Advertisements used for the experiment

Imagine you are looking for a short-term job as a cashier or grocery packer to cover for your basic expenses for the next three (3) months. You find the following advertisement of a supermarket that is looking for employees:

Supermarché "Best Price"



Best prices in Montreal!

Delicious and Excellent Food and Products!

Over 3.000 products!

- *The best products you need in Montreal.*
- *Quality brought to you since 1983.*
- *Enjoy fresh, delicious and exclusive food.*
- *We bring you the best ingredients for your meal!*

Supermarché "Best Price"

5737 Rue Sherbrooke O, Montréal, QC

H4A 1W9

Phone: +1-514-700-1234

Email: supermarchebestprice@gmail.com

""We are committed to delivering excellent customer service. Excellent and efficient service given in a warm and nice environment is our first priority!"

Jian & Chun Ming– Owners

Best service... Best prices!

Supermarché Jaipur India

सुपरमार्केट जयपुर भारत

प्रामाणिक भारतीय भोजन

Authentic Indian Food and Products!

Over 2.000 imported products directly from India!

- *The Indian products you need in Montreal.*
- *A piece of India brought to you since 1983.*
- *Enjoy fresh, typical and exclusive Indian food.*
- *We bring you the best ingredients for your Indian meal!*

"This is a piece of India for you. We are committed to helping keep our culture and our traditions in Canada. Excellent and efficient service given in a warm Indian environment is our first priority!"

Rasbir & Harmeet Maraj—Owners

Supermarché Jaipur India

Address: 151 Avenue Laurier O, Montréal, QC H2T 2N6

Phone: +1-514-700-1234

Email: supermarchejaipurindia@gmail.com

चीन हमारी प्राथमिकता है

Supermarché "Best Price"

Best prices in Montreal!

Delicious and Excellent Food and Products!

Over 3.000 products!

- *The best products you need in Montreal.*
- *Quality brought to you since 1983.*
- *Enjoy fresh, delicious and exclusive food.*
- *We bring you the best ingredients for your meal!*

"We are committed to delivering excellent customer service. Excellent and efficient service given in a warm and nice environment is our first priority!"

Rasbir & Harmeet Maraj – Owners

Supermarché "Best Price"

5737 Rue Sherbrooke O, Montréal, QC

H4A 1W9

Phone: +1-514-700-1234

Email: supermarchebestprice@gmail.com

Best service... Best prices!

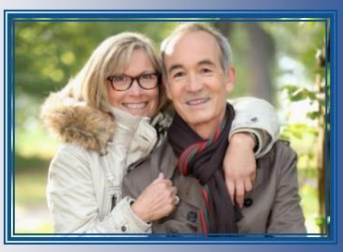
Supermarché Sainte-Anne

"Le Saveur Québécois"

"Tout ce que vous avez besoin"

Authentic Quebecois Food and Products!

Over 2.000 products from Quebec!



- *The Quebecois products you need in Montreal.*
- *A piece of Quebec brought to you since 1983.*
- *Enjoy fresh, typical and exclusive Quebecois food.*
- *We bring you the best ingredients for your Quebecois meal!*

Supermarché Sainte-Anne

Address: 2070 De Maisonneuve O, Montréal, QC H3H 1K8

Phone: +1-514-700-1234

Email: supermarchesainteanne@gmail.com

"This is a piece of Quebec for you. We are committed to helping keep our culture and our traditions in Canada. Excellent and efficient service given in a warm Quebecois environment is our first priority!"

Benoît & Dianne Fournier—Owners

"Le Québec authentique près de chez vous!"

Questionnaire used for the experiment (Chinese case). Note that the only difference between questionnaires was the name of the ethnicities in the statements where they are named

QUESTIONNAIRE

The following questions are about yourself:

1. - Gender: O Male O Female

2. How long have you lived in Canada? Years_____ Months_____

3. What is your native language? _____

4. - Please state other languages that you speak: _____

5. - Are you currently working? O Full-time O Part-time O No

6. - What is the highest education level you achieved:

O Elementary/Middle school
O High school
O College/CEGEP
O University graduate

7. - Age: _____

8. - Please state your opinion on the following statements about the supermarket in the advertisement (1 being "*strongly disagree*" and 5 being "*strongly agree*"):

	strongly disagree				***strongly agree***
It would be difficult for me to find a job in this business.	1	2	3	4	5
The probability that the owners of this place would hire me is very low.	1	2	3	4	5
Non-Chinese people would not be trusted to work in this business.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel that I would receive unequal treatment in this business because of my nationality.	1	2	3	4	5

The owners would think that the more economic gains for other cultures in Montreal, the less available for the Chinese.	1	2	3	4	5
The owners would consider non-Chinese people to be a threat to their cultural work environment.	1	2	3	4	5
The owners would think that employment for the Chinese in Montreal should be a priority.	1	2	3	4	5
I would be denied working in this business because I am not Chinese.	1	2	3	4	5

9. - Please state your opinion on the following statements about *yourself* (1 being "*strongly disagree"* and 5 being "*strongly agree"):*

	strongly disagree				***strongly agree***
I consider myself original, someone who comes up with new ideas.	1	2	3	4	5
I consider myself curious about many different things.	1	2	3	4	5
I am proud to be able to speak my native language.	1	2	3	4	5
I consider myself ingenious, a deep thinker.	1	2	3	4	5
I have an active imagination.	1	2	3	4	5
I consider myself inventive.	1	2	3	4	5
When strangers ask me where I am from, I am proud to tell them my ethnicity/nationality.	1	2	3	4	5

I value artistic, aesthetic experiences.	1	2	3	4	5
My ethnicity/nationality is an important part of who I am.	1	2	3	4	5
I prefer work that is routine.	1	2	3	4	5
I am proud of my ancestors	1	2	3	4	5
I like to reflect, play with ideas.	1	2	3	4	5
I have few artistic interests.	1	2	3	4	5
If I were to be born again, I would wish to be born of my current ethnicity/nationality.	1	2	3	4	5
I consider myself sophisticated in art, music, or literature.	1	2	3	4	5
My ethnic group is very special.	1	2	3	4	5

10.- In your opinion, Chinese people are generally characterized to be: (1 being "*strongly disagree*" and 5 being "*strongly agree*")

	strongly disagree				***strongly agree***
Intelligent	1	2	3	4	5
Selfish	1	2	3	4	5
Easy to get along with	1	2	3	4	5
Unreliable	1	2	3	4	5
Reasonable	1	2	3	4	5
Rude	1	2	3	4	5
Efficient	1	2	3	4	5
Weird	1	2	3	4	5
Honest	1	2	3	4	5
Aggressive	1	2	3	4	5
Tolerant	1	2	3	4	5
Slow	1	2	3	4	5

11. - What is your first/main nationality? _____ (ex: Italian, Indian, Chinese)

12. - What is your family ethnicity/nationality? _____ (ex: Italian, Indian, Chinese)

13. - With what ethnicity do you **identify** yourself the most? _____ (ex: Italian, Indian, Chinese)