ERASMUS UNIVERSITEIT ROTTERDAM
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An Empirical Analysis of Workplace Discrimination against Muslims in the UK

MASTER THESIS

NIKOLAOS KOTTIS

STUDENT NUMBER: 416196

SUPERVISOR:

PROF. ROBERT DUR

MSc in Economics and Business

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Contents

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ABSTRACT

In this research, I study workplace discrimination against Muslims in the UK. My findings suggest discrimination in terms of payment, employment and status. More precisely, otherwise observationally equivalent Muslims are paid less relative to Christian employees and receive less trainings. Furthermore, Muslim employees are less likely to be satisfied with their involvement in decision making. These findings are supported by the fact that Muslim employees are more prone to depression caused by their workplace, subject to my robustness analysis. To conclude, I perform also an additional analysis in order to examine whether managers have any performance or working relations-based incentive for discriminatory promotion-related practices. However, the results do not indicate the strong presence of such incentives.

I. INTRODUCTION

Discrimination, in general, is one of the most important issues occurring in societies. According to J. Heckman (1998), discrimination is *"a causal effect defined by a hypothetical ceteris paribus conceptual experiment, varying race, gender, etc. (depends on what form of discrimination is examined), but keeping all other constant"*. Hence, discrimination can take many forms. In this study, I focus on religious discrimination occurring in the workplace against Muslims.

Inspired by D. Figart's (1999) approach, I attempt to capture workplace discrimination against Muslims in three dimensions: payment, employment and status. Throughout this research, I select cases -that can be included in the employment and status aspects- and I examine whether discrimination occurs.

My main findings suggest the existence of discrimination in all three dimensions. In terms of payment, Muslims are more likely to be paid less in comparison to otherwise observationally equivalent Christian employees. In terms of employment, I find that Muslim employees receive less trainings relative to Christians. In terms of status, my results indicate that Muslim employees are less likely to be satisfied about their involvement in decision making. These findings are supported by a robustness analysis, where it is denoted that Muslim employees are more likely to feel depressed by their working environment.

I attempt to interpret my findings based not only in standard economic theory, but also in Muslim perception about certain employment aspects, like manager-employee relations and religious expression in the workplace. That is, in the Literature Review Section I provide information not only about workplace characteristics that influence discrimination, but also about certain standard Muslim traditions and views that might explain Muslim reactions against discriminatory behaviors.

By using rich data from the UK, I contribute to existing literature in two ways: First, I am able to study numerous cases where discrimination might occur. This helps to get a better image about workplace discrimination against Muslims, and the implications behind it. Second, the data allows for studying status extensively, an aspect that received much less attention in previous studies.

Except my main analysis, I also perform an additional analysis examining whether managers have an incentive to use discriminatory (in terms of religion) promotion-related practices. However, I do not find strong evidence for such incentives. This suggests that the motivation behind discriminatory promotion-related practices varies from manager to manager.

To conclude, I present the outline of this study. The next part is the Literature Review Section, where I present theoretic insights about workplace discrimination against the Muslims and Muslim perceptions. The Literature Review is followed by the Hypothesis Development, Data and Methodology Sections, where I create my main hypotheses, present my data and design my methodology respectively. Next, I demonstrate my results and perform my robustness analysis. The last parts of my thesis contain the Additional Analysis described above, the Discussion Section and Conclusion.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Discrimination in the workplace

Discrimination in the workplace arises when equal productivity is not rewarded with equal pay (D.J. Aigner, G.G. Cain, 1977). However, more recent studies argue that discrimination within the workplace can be present in more dimensions than payment. More precisely, feminist economist Deborah Figart (1997) argues that discrimination results in different outcomes in payment, employment and status. A more broad definition is given by law science, where "discrimination is

defined as a biased decision based on a prejudice against and individual group characterized by race, class, sexual orientation, age, disabilities, etc…" (B. Mishra, J. Mishra, 2015).
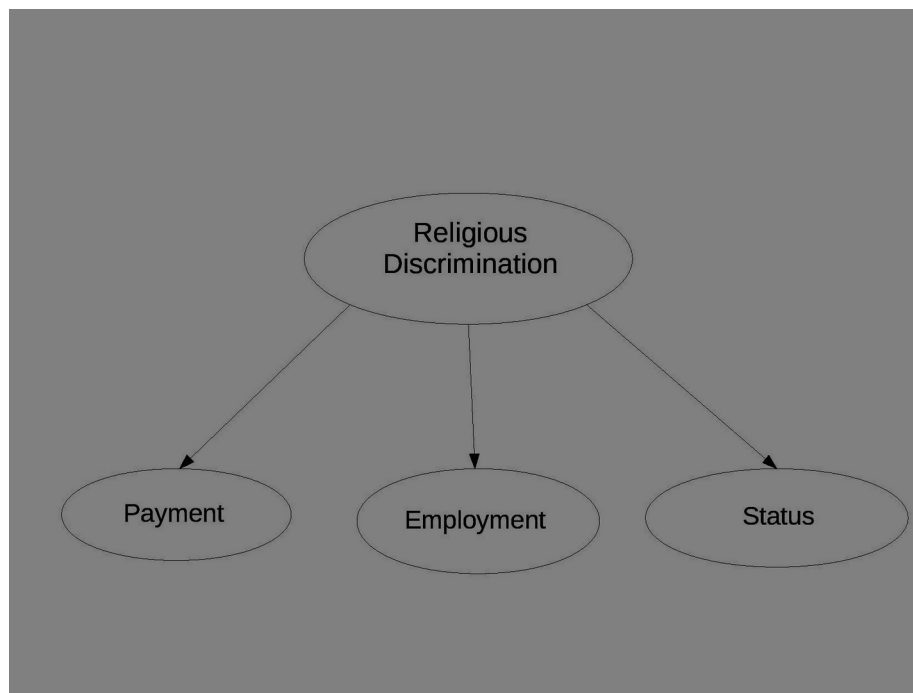
GRAPH 1

Outcomes/dimensions of religious discrimination, by using D. Figart's (1997) approach about discrimination in general

Discrimination in the workplace is distinguished in two categories (J.J. Heckman, 1998; D.J. Aigner, G.G. Cain, 1977). The first category is individual discrimination. This category refers to discriminatory practices that an individual experiences because of individual characteristics. Generally, the nature of individual discrimination makes it difficult to examine. The second category is group discrimination. This category refers to discrimination that an individual experiences because she or he belongs to a certain social group. Hence, race or gender discrimination are forms of group discrimination (D.J. Aigner, G.G. Cain, 1977). However, people belonging to a social group share some similar characteristics. This implies that if a manager does not approve an individual belonging to a social group because of one or more of these characteristics, he or she may discriminate a social group without intending to do so. That is, in group discrimination cases, even nondiscriminatory practices by employers may yield a discriminatory outcome (D.J. Aigner, G.G. Cain, 1977). In addition, although the existence of anti-discrimination laws, it is very difficult for a victim to prove that she or he has suffered discrimination (M. Yavassi, 2007). Because of these issues, J.J. Heckman (1998) states that "the impact of market discrimination is not determined by the most discriminatory participants in the market, or even by the average level of discrimination among firms, but rather by the level of

discrimination where (ethnic) minorities or women actually end up buying, working and borrowing".

Discrimination within the workplace can take several forms: There is evidence for discrimination explained by differences in age (B. Mishra, J. Mishra, 2015), race, gender, nationality/ ethnicity (A.A. Tolbert Coombs, R.R. King, 2005) and health issues/disability (R.T. Roessler, J. Neath, B.T. McMahon, P.D. Rumrill, 2007, B. Mishra, J. Mishra, 2015). However, the last fifteen years, there is a form of prejudice that becomes more and more common, it occurs within or out of the workplace and it can even lead to crimes of hate towards the respectable minorities (A.E. Rippy, E. Newman, 2006). I am referring to religious discrimination, and more specifically towards the Muslims.

2. Religious Discrimination in the workplace

J. R. Scott (2014) defines religion as "all aspects of religious observance and practice, as well as belief, including moral or ethical beliefs, as to what is right or wrong, which are sincerely held with the strength of traditional religious views". Religious discrimination arises when individuals are discriminated because of different religious beliefs.

Religious discrimination can be direct or indirect (M. Yavassi, 2007). Direct discrimination refers to cases of direct favoritism against people of different religion, and it can be detected relatively easily. A good example of direct discrimination is when people belong to a minority religious group and have less interview opportunities in comparison with their non-minority competitors, despite having the same qualifications. On the other hand, indirect discrimination is more difficult to capture. Indirect discrimination is related with certain workplace rules or requirements, which impact disproportionally employees of different religious groups. Such requirements can be dress restrictions or general lack of respect towards a religion, like banning someone to pray during working hours.
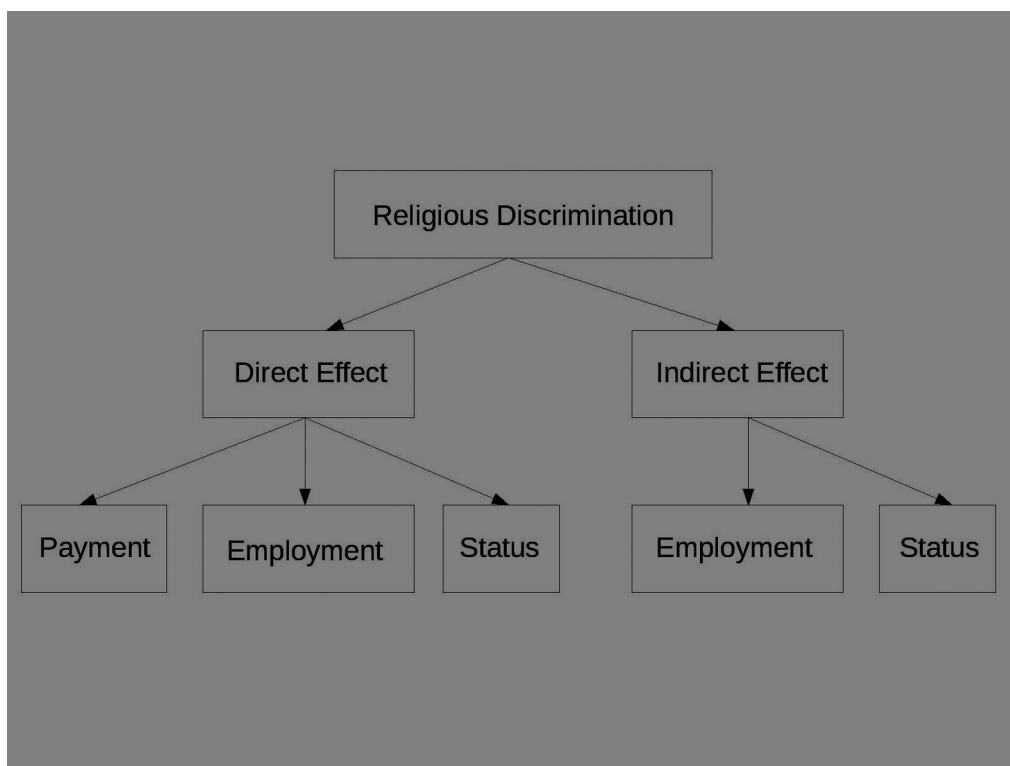
According to M. Yavassi (2007), law cannot solve this problem entirely for two reasons: First, it is not easy to create rules that apply to all religious groups. For instance, it is impossible for a legislation to recognize all holy days and religious festivals as day-offs. Secondly, the law in some occasions does not punish, or even justifies discrimination, especially in cases of indirect discrimination. This is probably why people belonging in minorities gain more from participating in a labor union than their non-minority counterparts (Blinder, 1973): Minority belonging people are more likely to see their labor rights (wages, working conditions, etc.) being disrespected, so the benefit of union membership is greater for them relative to non-minority belonging employees (Blinder, 1973).

Hence, the legal framework can be considered not only as part of the problem, but also as an important factor that sometimes creates room for religious discrimination. Nevertheless, religious prejudice in the workplace is not only related to law restrictions: An important leading factor that gives rise to discriminative behaviors in work is the conflicting "wants" of the respective agents and principals (K.C. Cash, G.R. Gray, S.A. Rood, 2000). To be more precise, a manager wants to reduce costs and the same time demands for higher output. On the other hand, employees demand the best possible working conditions with the lowest possible cost for them. This implies that employees have the incentive to engage in influence activities in order to increase their subjective well-being at the expense of the optimal output, ie. They have an incentive to shirk (Gibbons, 1999). A possible

solution to this issue is monitoring. Having in mind that employees can face several negative feelings created by intensive monitoring -or the nature of the job in general (eg. fear of unemployment, insecurity, etc.)- they might perceive their supervisors' demands as an indicator of "object" treatment. By the term "object treatment", K.C. Cash et al. (2000) refer to behaviors towards employees that make them feel being treated more like non-living objects rather than human beings. "Object" treatment leads to distrust (K.C. Cash et al.). Employees who are subjects of these behaviors are "hungry" for more positive feelings in the workplace, an aspect that *"finds expression in people's desire for a stronger integration of their spiritual and work identity"* (K.C. Cash et al., 2000).

Other possible trends that contribute to religious discrimination can be the increasing religious diversity in the workforce, the increasing expression of religious beliefs and the unique nature of religion itself (S. Ghumman, A.M. Ryan, L.A. Barclay, K.S. Markel, 2013).

A possible solution to discrimination caused by increasing religious diversity in the workforce can be what L.W. Fry (2003) defines as "charismatic leadership". More precisely, following Max Weber's views about leadership, a charismatic leader is someone who has a strong desire to influence other individuals, acts as a role model for the beliefs that he wants his followers to adopt, shows confidence in followers' abilities, motivates employees according to their needs and links followers' identity to the collective identity of the organization (L.W. Fry, 2003). This implies that charismatic leaders have the ability to transform or "match" employees' self-concepts and personal beliefs with the collective identity and values of their organization (L.W. Fry, 2003). Under this perspective, increasing religious diversity in the workforce is not such an impervious obstacle. However, it is very difficult to find leaders who possess all these attributes and talents, which suggests that this view applies only for a few organizations.

Increasing expression of religious beliefs is linked mostly with societal, not workplace-related factors. Increased immigration, the aging of baby boom generation and modern life aspects (like economic prosperity and lack of boundaries between work and personal time) are contributing to a rise in expression of religious beliefs in job (E.P. Kelly, 2008). In this case, the problem can be solved (yet not completely, as mentioned before) by the law.

Speaking about the unique nature of religion, K.I. Pargament, G.M. Magyar-Russel and N.A. Murray-Swank (2005) state that religious faith can be a unique form of motivation, a source of coping and distress that affects people's valuation and significance about several issues that other forms of motivation cannot capture, like mortality and health. I assume that views about issues like

mortality and health affect employees' valuation and perception of subjective well-being, so different-religion individuals might respond differently in various common-used incentive schemes. Ideally, a manager who wants to mitigate discriminative behaviors caused by the unique nature of religion needs to know at least the basic values of his/her employees' religious beliefs and treat them accordingly. Nevertheless, this statement seems overconfident as it might be very costly for a manager to acquire, interpret and use efficiently all this information.

However, S. Ghumman's et al. (2013) view about the factors that are related with religious prejudice has some pitfalls. More specifically, it does not capture political factors. For instance, Muslim Americans were more vulnerable in discrimination after the tragedy of September 11, 2001 (E.B. King, A.S. Ahmad, 2010; G. Bouma, A. Haidar, C. Nyland, W.Smith, 2003), and some politicians in Germany and Austria are likely to influence racism and discrimination in order to get more votes (I. Forstenlechner, M.A. Al-Waqfi, 2010). This implies (agreeing with E.P. Kelly, 2008) that prejudice in the workplace exists not only because of endogenous factors, but also because of other social factors that are not directly linked with workplace. In other words, if there is prejudice in the society for certain, non-employment-related reasons, it is likely that that that discrimination arises in certain social fields, like the workplace.

Furthermore, I am concerned about the morality of the statement that discrimination arises because of the increasing expression of religious beliefs in the workplace, as it might give right to the discriminator. Imagine, for example, a rapist who is trying to justify himself by saying that his victim was too provoking. It makes no sense to me to justify an unfair treatment or action by blaming the victim. My opinion is that every human is responsible for his or her actions. In the case of religious discrimination, there can be circumstances that can lead to discriminative actions; In their study, K.C. Cash et al. (2000) state that a huge proportion of company representatives believed that religious principles and values were a vital part of their organization's culture. This may imply that in some workplaces religious discrimination might be tolerated, if not encouraged.

S. Ghumman et al. (2013) state that employees usually report religious prejudice on four grounds. First, they can be treated disparately in comparison with their peers, in terms of reward (wage, promotions) and daily working life conditions (discipline, privileges). In general, individuals belonging in religious minorities are more likely to be employed in less prestigious jobs and their wage is lower in comparison with the salary of non-minority employees (N. Drydakis, 2010). Secondly, employees can face cases of religious harassment, where they are (not) required to express and exercise their religion at work, as a condition of employment. Religious harassment can negatively affect the victim's self-esteem (S. Ghumman et al.,2013). Third, the workplace may fail

to adapt religious beliefs or needs to the working environment. This failure might be either because of individual reasons, or because of sociopolitical reasons, like the relationship of the state with the church (M.W. McConnel, 1985). Fourth, employees belonging to religious minorities might face punishment (retaliation) for asking to exercise or express her or his religion at work. This issue can become very problematic, as it can create perceptions linked with inequality in more grounds, like race and gender (A. McColgan, 2009).

In general, the presence of workplace discrimination is a problem not only for the victims, but for the whole company, as it is negatively related with employee motivation and performance (I. Forstenlechner, M.A. Al-Waqfi, 2010). In addition, prejudice is harmful for the efficient allocation of human resources (G. Bouma et al., 2003). For instance, imagine a Christian Catholic nurse being fired because she refused to participate in an abortion incident (G. Bouma et al., 2003). Because of religious discrimination, the respectable hospital might lose an important human asset, while there could be other alternative solutions (ask another employee to do the job). Prejudice has also a negative impact in human capital acquisition within the workforce. As J.J. Heckman (1998) states, if a victim of discrimination and his or her family receive lower rewards for obtaining skills, they are likely to invest less if they face the same tuition costs as other, not discriminated individuals. This implies that prejudice is related with lower-skilled workforce in the long run.

As mentioned before, D.Figart (1997) declares that in general, discrimination's outcomes are present in three dimensions: payment, employment and status. All the other studies cited above, although they focus on religious prejudice, they do not provide information about in which dimension discriminative behaviors occur. To be more precise, in the study of S. Ghumman et al. (2013), disparate treatment can occur in both payment, employment and status. However, their study does not indicate the extent in which disparate treatment is linked with these three dimensions (Graph 3). In other words, my argument is that existing literature does not clearly distinguish the dimensions in which discrimination has an effect.
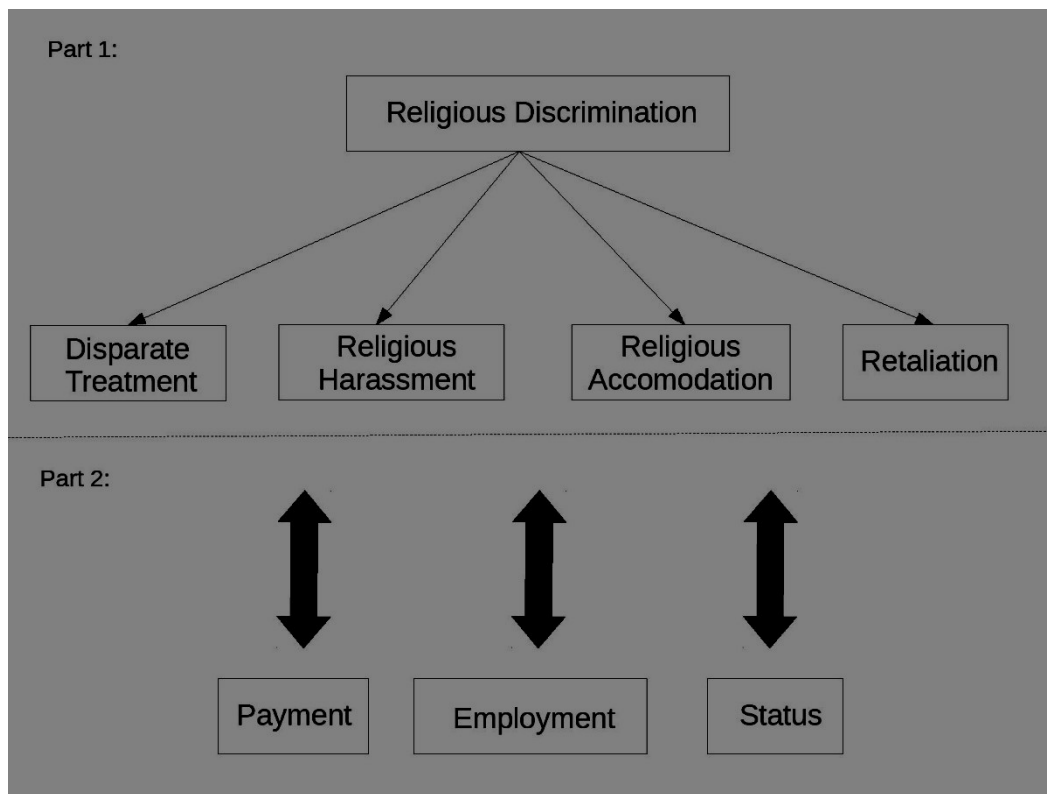
GRAPH 3:

In the first part of the graph, I present S.Ghumman's et al. (2013) approach about the grounds in which religious discrimination occurs. In the second part of the graph, I try to link S. Ghumman's et al. (2013) approach with D. Figart's (1997) dimensions of discrimination. I believe that by this way I can "highlight" two major drawbacks of Ghumman's et al. (2013) approach: First, it is not clear whether discriminative outcomes (e.g. payment) occur because of discriminative actions (e.g. disparate treatment) or the opposite (reverse causality). Secondly, there is no clear distinction of payment, employment and -especially- status, which might limit the creation of other clearer solution-oriented approaches.

In general, I assume that religious discrimination can be caused by many different factors that can be examined either individually or either by a societal perspective. However, in both occasions it is difficult to distinguish the reason from the outcome and define clearly in which grounds prejudice occurs.

3. The Muslims as religious minority group

Nowadays, Islam is the second largest religion in Europe (S.M. Croucher, 2013). According the Pew Research Center (2011), the number of Muslims in Europe as of 2010 was 44,138,000, consisting of 2.7% of the total population. Actually, as of today (2016), it seems very difficult to confirm these numbers. The tragedy in Syria, and in general the war against ISIS, has led many people to leave their country, creating huge refugee flows. For instance, from the beginning of 2015 until July 2016, more than 1,000,000 refugees arrived in Greece, and this number is still growing (source: The United Nations Refugee Agency).

In general, the attitude of Europeans against Muslims is negative (S.M. Croucher, 2013, Z. Strabac, O. Listhaug, 2007): In Western European countries like France, Germany and Finland, Muslims are less accepted than other immigrant groups (Z. Strabac, O. Listhaug, 2007), while in Netherlands one out of two people have negative feelings towards the Muslims (K.V. Gonzalez, M. Verkuyten, J. Weesie, E. Poppe, 2008). In addition, in Eastern European countries, like Ukraine, Bulgaria and Romania prejudice against Muslims is much more intense relative to Western European countries (Z. Strabac, O. Listhaug, 2007). This attitude is primarily driven by threat-related concerns: W.G. Stephan and C.W. Stephan (1996), study the sources of prejudice and their main finding suggests that prejudice arises when people feel threatened. As mentioned before, Western Societies are more biased towards Islam after the terrorist attacks in the US (9/11/2001) (E.B. King, A.S. Ahmad, 2010; G. Bouma, A. Haidar, C. Nyland, W.Smith, 2003) and the UK (5/7/2005) (S.M. Croucher, 2013). Of course, more attacks have occurred recently (Paris, 13/11/2015; Brussels, 22/3/16), but there has not been evidence so far about how people reacted to these due to the fact that they were very recent. Most likely, however, these attacks have had a negative impact on the perception of Muslims by the Europeans.

S.M. Croucher (2013) states that prejudice arises when people feel threatened. Hence, it makes sense to claim that the attacks mentioned above led to an increase of discriminative behavior. However, there is also the case that some politicians either do not accept Muslims or either try to exploit the feelings of the voters for their own self-interests, accusing Muslims for issues like increasing unemployment and crime rate (S.M. Croucher, 2013). As expected, these accusations make the environment more hostile for Islamic beliefs.

Of course, this lack of acceptance is reflected in many aspects of social life. Such an aspect is employment (E.B. King, A.S. Ahmad, 2010). In terms of payment, wages of Muslims in the U.S. declined after the tragedy of September 11, 2001 (N. Kaushal, R. Kaestner, C. Reimers, 2007). Though, these differences might be explained more by race discrimination and less by religious prejudice (G.H. Awad, 2010; I. Forstenlechner, M.A. Al-Waqfi, 2010).

Discussing about job opportunities, useful information can be found in the experimental study made by King and Ahmad (2010). To be more specific, in a job-interview experimental setting they found that Muslim applicants encountered more negative behavior (e.g. rudeness) and the respectable managers (interviewers) were less likely to spent time with them, in contrast with other non-Muslim applicants. Nevertheless, their most important finding was that discrimination was greater towards Muslim applicants who did not address Muslim-identifying stereotypes, in comparison with Muslim applicants who behaved according identifying stereotypes (e.g. dress-code). This finding is in line

with the finding of G.H. Awad (2010): In a questionnaire-based survey in the U.S. examining the impact of acculturation on Arab American minorities, she found that Muslims who tried to adapt or adhere to dominant society values, beliefs and behaviors experienced the most discrimination. In other words, when a minority-belonging person tries somehow to adapt to the dominant environment, he or she is more likely to face obstacles because of suspiciousness.

On the other hand, Muslims' traditions seem to be more conflicting with the mainstream western culture, and they are more likely to create minority groups aiming to sustain their culture, rather than adapting to the new environment (G.H. Awad, 2010). In addition, D.S. Shammas (2009) found that when people belonging to minorities maintain mainly same-minority friendships, they feel more discriminated. Hence, this probably means that prejudice arises not only because of discriminative behaviors against a minority group, but also by the way that the discriminated party handles these behaviors. More precisely, this implies that in order to have a better understanding about discrimination against the Muslims in the workplace, I need to examine how Muslims perceive workplace, and work in general.

According to the Qur'an, work is an essential activity that leads to happiness via individual spiritual growth and an intrinsic path to prosperity (G. Bouma et al., 2003). It is important to note that Islamic thought does not distinct secular from religious labor, and an activity is considered as "work" only if it involves toil and/or trouble (G. Bouma et al., 2003). That is, if work is a totally secular activity, it is perceived as an alienation factor that "separates" the workers from both the output of production and society (G. Bouma et. al., 2003). In other words, according to Muslim religious beliefs, if an individual is not prepared to work or face his/her economic obligations -in an innovational, mental or manual way (toil or trouble)- he/ she cannot be part of the Islamic Society (Unmah)(G. Bouma et al., 2003).

This approach towards labor makes clear that for Muslims work is not just an activity that will improve their well-being, but it is a more complex term that includes morality issues and schemes. More precisely, the Islamic perception of work "designs" a different perception of capitalism in general, in comparison with western cultures: G. Bouma et al. (2003) state that capitalism is an economic system that lacks morality. This implies that for Muslims the disadvantages of capitalism (greed and corruption) overshadow the advantages (incentives to exert effort, economic progress) (G. Bouma et al., 2013). For the exactly opposite reason, Muslims reject socialism: According to Islamic scholars, socialism does not provide incentives to exert effort and limits the fulfillment of personal ambitions (G. Bouma et al., 2013).

In general, Islamic perception about labor and capitalism can be found in Muslim traditional views about working relations. In contrast with capitalism, where the employer-employee relationship is related with bargaining and conflicts, Islamic tradition suggests that employers and workers must be bonded by fraternal and mutual understanding (G. Bouma et al., 2013). I assume that this view highlights a different way of approaching status and employment conditions in employment relations.

However, acknowledgments about how Muslims perceive labor are not enough in order to understand behaviors and approaches towards workplace. As mentioned before, religious accommodation is a common ground for religious discrimination (S. Ghumman et al., 2013). Hence, it is important to identify the content of Muslim religious practices that can be accommodated by workplace. Some distinctive characteristics of Islamic religious practices that exist in the workplace are religious exercise (eg. prayers, ceremonies, etc.), religious special periods that influence professional behavior (eg. Ramadan) and dress-code.

According to the Qur'an, Muslim faithfuls must pray five times per day, with their sight watching towards Mecca (G. Bouma et al., 2003). At least two of them occur during working times (most commonly the noon and the afternoon prayers). In addition, the increased lack of boundaries between work and personal time is a predictor for increasing religious expression in the workplace (E.P. Kelly, 2008), and this might lead to further discrimination in the working environment, both in terms of different religious holidays and religious practices (G.H. Awad, 2010). This probably implies different treatment in payment, employment and status.

Another important aspect of Islamic religion is Ramadan. Ramadan is the ninth month of Islamic calendar, and during this period faithfuls have to follow certain rules that are related mostly with nutrition and behavior. In terms of nutrition, food and water can only be consumed before dawn and after sunset, while in terms of behavior people have to be moral and frank. In other words, Muslims don't consume food or water during the most common working hours. This has a negative effect in performance (F. Campante, D. Yanagizaiva-Drott, 2015), as individuals feel tired, they don't keep diets and their will for work is reduced (N. Karaagaoglu, S. Yucecan, 2000). There might be some positive effects, like the drop of drugs (N. Karaagaoglu, S. Yucecan, 2000) and the increase of subjective well-being (F. Campante, D. Yanagizaiva-Drott, 2015), but in general the effect of advantages is overshadowed by the consequences in performance caused by the disadvantages. Hence, I assume that these issues can create differences mostly in wage and employment conditions.

A very important Muslim distinctive characteristic is their attire. G.H. Awad (2010) states that one reason that might explain why Muslims are so vulnerable to bigotry is their dress-code, as their different appearance (e.g. beard, hijab) makes them a "visible" religious minority. This view is in line with King and Ahmad (2010), where they found that women in Muslim attire are likely to face difficulties in employment. In general, Muslim dress-code is alien to western culture, so it is important to understand its meaning and the culture behind it. G. Bouma et al. (2003) state that women attire in Islamic world functions as a protection against unwanted male attention and is a declaration that individuals (both men and women) should be valued according to their mental qualifications rather than their physical attributes. According to T.C. Reeves and L. Azam (2012), many Muslim women avoid to wear hijab during work because of fear of discrimination or reputation concerns. This might imply failure of the workplace to accommodate different religious beliefs. Men also have to follow certain dress-code rules, like having beard, but they are not so strict in comparison to women. I expect that Muslim dress-code can lead to differences mainly in employment and status.

To sum up, the factors that give rise to prejudice are subjective. Both the discriminator's and the victim's perceptions matter. However, the outcomes of discrimination are objective, and usually harmful for both the victims and the society in general.

In the following sections, I first develop my hypotheses and provide information about the data and the methodology. Next, I present my results, followed by the discussion section and conclusion.

III. HYPOTHESES DEVELOPMENT

As mentioned above, discrimination in the workplace can be found in three grounds (D. Figart, 1997): payment, employment and status. Clearly, this a more general approach. In the case of religious discrimination, S. Ghumman et al. (2013) tried a more specific approach, which, as explained before (Graph 3) contains certain pitfalls. Hence, I assume that in order to examine religious discrimination, I need to capture specific cases that suggest prejudice. However, if I solely try to examine various specific situations, I might focus in schemes that are not that important relative to other, more important cases that imply discrimination. Consequently, I need to categorize these situations in certain dimensions. A good way to overcome this obstacle is to use D. Figart's (1997) three grounds of discrimination and find cases that reflect discrimination in terms of payment, employment and status.

About payment, there is a plenty of studies that show lower levels of payment for people belonging to Muslim minorities than their native peers (M. Yavasi, 2007; I. Forstenlechner and M.A. Al-Waqfi, 2010; N. Kaushal, B. Kaestner and C. Reimers, 2007). Hence, existing literature suggest that Muslims, in countries where they compose a minority, are paid less, which is also my first hypothesis:

H1. Muslims, when they are a minority in a country, are paid less in comparison with native-religious employees.

In terms of employment, things become more complicated. Employment is a very general term, which is difficult to capture. This implies that I need to capture some aspects that define ideal employment and examine the extent in which they apply to Muslims. In other words, in order to capture general conditions about employment, the general approach is not that useful, so I need to examine smaller employment issues that compose the "big image". Furthermore, as mentioned above, examining discrimination is related with perceptions. Hence, the aspects of "ideal" employment I need to discuss here are issues about conditions that if they are fulfilled, they are well-perceived by the employees.

The first employment issue I would like to discuss is about promotion opportunities. In a non-discriminative environment, individuals do not face disparate treatment (S. Ghumman et al., 2013), so I assume that they have equal promotion opportunities, ceteris paribus. This means that promotion opportunities is a field (part of employment) that can uncover discriminative behaviors. However, a basic question arises: How can I measure employment opportunities? A possible answer to this question can be found in the study of I. Grabner and F. Moers (2015) about human capital acquisition. More precisely, they showed that employee trainings can be predictors of promotions, i.e. trainings provide human capital to the employees, so they become more productive and hence, they are more likely to be promoted. Following these results, I study possible differences in promotion opportunities by examining whether Muslim employees receive less trainings.

H2a. Muslims receive less trainings in comparison to their native-religious peers.

On the other hand, disparate treatment might occur not only in cases of promotion or rewards, but also in cases of firing or punishments. According to D.A. Yousef (1997), job security is linked positively with higher job satisfaction and organizational commitment. In addition, individuals who are subject to discrimination are less committed (J.J. Heckman, 1998). So, having also in mind that

existing literature suggests the existence of discrimination in terms of employment against the Muslims, the second part of my second hypothesis is the following:

H2b. Muslims face higher job insecurity than their native-religious peers.

At last, another important aspect of employment conditions is the quality of human relations occurring in the workplace. In terms of hierarchy, an employee has relations with lower, equal or higher hierarchy individuals. So, a big part of the quality of human relations in employment is about how do superiors treat their -equal among them- subordinates. In other words, it is important to examine what Muslim employees believe about their relationships with their superiors in comparison with their non-Muslim co-workers. Moreover, King and Ahmad (2010) state that Muslims are more likely to face challenges to employment because their religious identity is not fully accepted, so the last part of my second hypothesis is focusing on discrimination related to the quality of relations with superiors:

H2c. Muslim employees are more likely to perceive negatively the superior-subordinate relations in a workplace in comparison with native-religious employees.

The last ground of discrimination that I examine is status. According to Max Weber, *"the term of status will be applied to a typically effective claim to positive or negative privilege with respect to the social prestige so far, based on factors like living, education, birth, occupation, etc."* (D.B. Grusky, 2014). So, I assume that status is perceived subjectively based on objective criteria. In the workplace, a working team or group is composed by individuals of different characteristics (for instance, different education level), so it is safe to say that the members of a working team or group differ in terms of status. In addition, when a group has to make a decision, and its members are characterized by different status, then status and its characteristics (i.e. age, sex, etc.) affect group members' performance evaluations and expectations, and thus the distribution of participation, influence and prestige (J. Berger, B.P. Cohen, M. Zelditch Jr, 1972). In a company working group, the main decision maker is usually the manager or the team leader. So, I assume that an effective way to examine the outcomes of religious discrimination against Muslims in the area of status is to check the extent to which a manager permits Muslim employees' participation in decision making.

However, participation in decision making is again a broad subject that might fail to capture important characteristics of status. Imagine, for instance, a start-up firm that has several teams and maintains a certain policy that involves all team members equally in decision making. In order to surpass this obstacle, like in the case of employment, I need again to find smaller parts that putting

them together compose a "bigger image". Hence, the participation of employees in decision making is just one of these "smaller parts", and it is examined in the first part of my third hypothesis:

H3a. Muslim employees are less likely to be satisfied about their influence in decision making compared to native-religious employees.

As mentioned before, status is based on objective criteria, but it is perceived subjectively. Though, in the second part of my third hypothesis I will try to examine status from a Muslim perspective. In the literature review, I stated that Muslim tradition faces the employee-employer interaction as a fraternal relationship (G. Bouma et al, 2003). This probably means that a manager who wants to avoid discriminative behaviors against Muslim employees should face his Muslim or non-Muslim subordinates in a more fraternal way. In organizations where fraternal relationships occur, communication and coordination are encouraged by the fact that employees and employers share common goals (J. Kerr and J.W. Slocum Jr, 1987). I assume that when individuals share common goals, the view of comrades matters. So, the second part of my third hypothesis is the following:

H3b. Managers are less likely to attempt to understand the views of Muslim subordinates in comparison with native-religious subordinates

At last, according to Max Weber, status is also a matter of prestige (D.B. Grusky, 2014). A prestigious person is someone that people respect. In other words, the last part of my third hypothesis aims to capture whether a manager respects his subordinates equally. In my opinion, a simple way to show respect to someone is by treating him or her equally and honestly, rather that ignoring him/her. So, a manager who is not prone to discriminative behaviors doesn't ignore his/her subordinates. That is:

H3c. Managers are more likely to ignore (not to treat fairly) Muslim subordinates in comparison with native-religious subordinates.

In general, my hypotheses aim to capture both objective and subjective issues. Payment is always objective. In contrast, employment contains both subjective and objective criteria, while status is mainly subjective. My approach to these issues is to capture smaller parts of the "big image", which combined together will provide useful insights for the schemes that they compose (i.e. employment and status).

IV. DATA

My data comes from the Workplace Employment Relations Study (WERS) 2011. WERS is a British national survey that aims to gather information about working relations in the United Kingdom. More precisely, since 1980, WERS collects data via questionnaire from employers, employees and employee representatives. Except 1980, data was also collected five more times (1984, 1990, 1998, 2004 and 2011). In this study, I use data collected from employees from the last wave of the survey (2011). The employees were randomly selected consisting groups (up to 25 employees each group) from each workplace participating in the survey.

This dataset contains numerous advantages. First of all, it is very rich, as it contains responses from 21,981 employees from 2,680 British workplaces. Secondly, as mentioned in the previous paragraph, the main goal of WERS is to collect reliable information about working relations in the UK. This implies that the questionnaire was designed specifically for this purpose, which is also a purpose of this study. Hence, the design of the questionnaire "fits" very well with the needs of this thesis. Third, the dataset contains a sufficient number of Muslim observations, representative of the Muslim population in employed workforce. More specifically, after excluding non-sufficient observations (934 in total – refuse to respond or not-applicable answer), Muslims compose 1.7% of the data population (Graph 4). Furthermore, according to the Muslim Council of Britain (2011), Muslims' percentage of general British population is 4.8%. From this percentage, 44.8% (811,279 in total number) are economically inactive (retired, young or incapable to work), which means that the labor force of the Muslim population in the UK is around 999,650 people. Having also in mind that 178,354 of them are unemployed (Muslim Council of Britain, 2011), approximately 1 in 5 Muslim workforce members is unemployed, which implies that the WERS data provide an accurate percentage.
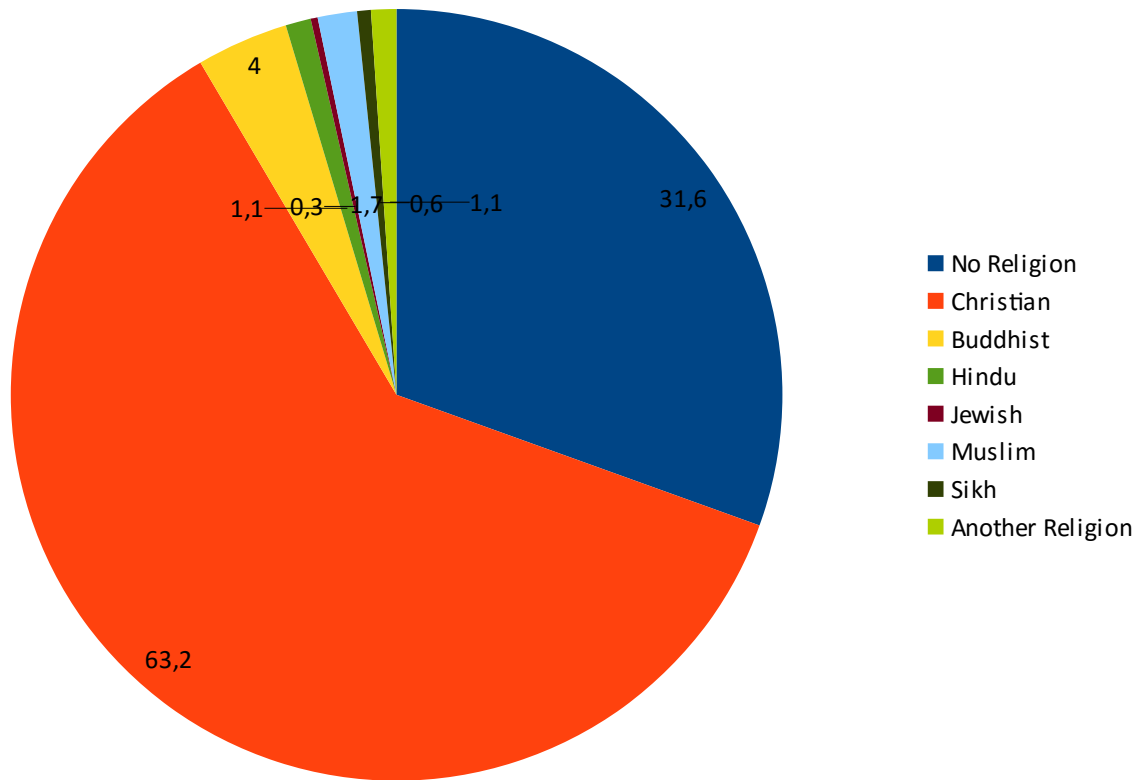
GRAPH 4:

Representation of religious groups in WERS 2011 data: No religion: 31.6%, Christian: 63.2%, Buddhist: 4%, Hindu: 1.1%, Jewish: 0.3%, Muslim:1.7%, Sikh: 0.6%, Another religion: 1.1%

A possible drawback of the WERS 2011 dataset is that it uses observations from only one year (2011). However, if I add previous waves my results might be less representative. To be more precise, the previous WERS wave before the last one (2011) occurred in 2004. As mentioned in the literature review section, terrorist attacks caused by Muslim extremists affected negatively the perception of western people towards Islam (S.M. Croucher, 2013). In the UK, such an attack occurred in 5/7/2005, which is obviously after the WERS 2004 wave. Hence, I am concerned that in that case using previous years observations might yield biased outcomes, that are not representative of the reality.

On the other hand, it would be very interesting to test the same hypotheses using the WERS 2004 data and compare the results with the 2011 findings. By this way, I would be able to make assumptions about whether the terrorist attacks influenced employees' perceptions and discriminative behaviors. However, this is not possible because the WERS 2004 data does not provide any information about the religion of respondents. It would be an interesting extension, though.

In general, WERS 2011 dataset is very rich and informative, and I would for sure suggest it to researchers that examine working relations and labor workforce.

V. METHODOLOGY

First of all, as mentioned before, Muslims are a minority in the UK. This implies that in order to examine any discrimination (from the majority towards a minority), I need to find which the dominant religion in the UK is. As of 2011, according to the Office of National Statistics (UK), the dominant religion in Britain is Christianity (59% of British people are Christians, which is very close to my sample too, as presented in Graph 4), so my main objective is to capture differences in treatment between Christians and Muslims.

In my data, information about religious beliefs of the subjects is obtained by the question *"What is your religion?"* with 8 listed possible answers. After excluding all non-sufficient observations, my sample includes 11,839 cases in total, consisting of 2 possible religious groups. That is, the variable about religious beliefs is binary, and equals to 0 when the respondent is Muslim or 1 when the respondent is Christian. In order to test my predictions, as my main data consists of ordinal variables, I use ordered probit approaches.

For my first hypothesis (H1), I use the following model:

$$Y = \alpha + \beta X + \psi \quad \text{(1)}$$

where Y denotes wages, X denotes religion, α is the intercept term and ψ is a set of controls. Information about wages is obtained by the question *"How much do you get paid for your job here, before tax and other deductions are taken out?"*. About control variables, specific information is provided at the end of this section.

My second hypothesis (H2) is examined via the study of three sub-hypothesis (H2a, H2b and H2c). Though, I need to use three different models. The model for H2a is the following:

$$Y = \gamma + \delta X + \psi \quad \text{(2)}$$

X, like under (1) is about religious beliefs. Y denotes the variable for testing H2a, as it contains information about the number of trainings each subject receives. In WERS 2011 questionnaire, data for this case is gathered via the question *"Apart from health and safety training, how much training have you had during the last 12 months, either paid for or organized by your employer? Please only include training where you have been given time off from your normal daily work duties to undertake the training."* In my opinion, this question fits very well, as it tries to specify trainings as

investment in human resources via underlining part of the cost imposed to the employer (i.e. *"you have been given time off from your normal daily work"*). Like above, γ and ψ stand for the intercept term and controls respectively.

Similarly, the model for H2b is:

$$Y = \zeta + \eta X + \psi \qquad (3)$$

The dependent variable Y captures job security, and it is measured via the Likert-scale responses in the statement *"I feel my job is secured in this workplace"*. X stands for religious beliefs, ζ is the intercept and ψ denotes controls.

The same approach also stands for H2c:

$$Y = \theta + \kappa X + \psi \qquad (4)$$

Y captures employee perceptions about manager-employee relations. Again, like under (3), Y is measured via the responses in a Likert-scale question. More precisely, this question is *"How would you describe relations between managers and employees here?"*. X, θ and ψ stand for religious beliefs, intercept and controls respectively.

My third hypothesis is about the status of Muslim employees. In order to test my first sub-hypothesis (H3a), I use a model of the following form:

$$Y = \lambda + \mu X + \psi \qquad (5)$$

In this case, the dependent variable Y captures employees' satisfaction about their influence in decision making. In the WERS questionnaire, data about this measure is obtained from the question *"Overall, how satisfied are you with the amount of involvement you have in decision making?"*. The independent variable X, like previously, stands for religious beliefs, λ is the intercept term and ψ denotes controls.

The second part of my third hypothesis (H3b) examines the attempt of managers to understand subordinates' views. Hence, the model used here is:

$$Y = \nu + \xi X + \psi \qquad (6)$$

For one more time, the independent variable X indicates religious beliefs. Y captures employees' perceptions about managers' attempt to understand employees' views. Data for this measure is obtained from the Likert-scale statement *"Managers here are sincere in attempting to understand employees' views"*. Again, ν and ψ denote the intercept term and controls respectively.

Finally, the last basic model of this study tests the last sub-hypothesis of my third hypothesis (H3c). That is:

$$Y = \rho + \sigma X + \psi \quad (7)$$

In the WERS questionnaire, Y aims to capture differences in treatment fairness and is measured by the Likert-scale statement *"Managers here treat employees fairly"*. X indicates whether the respondent is Christian or Muslim, ρ is the intercept term and ψ denotes controls.

In all the ordinal regression models described above, I control for the same aspects. First, I control for gender. Women are more likely to face discrimination in general (D. Figart, 1997), while Muslim women are clearly in a more difficult position in terms of employment than non-Muslim females or Muslim males (King & Ahmad, 2010). Secondly, I control for education and membership in trade unions. Education is controlled because people belonging to discriminated minorities tend to invest less in learning, as they expect to be discriminated ex-ante, which implies more investment costs than gains (J.J. Heckman, 1998). For the exactly opposite reason, I choose to control for union membership, as discriminated minorities gain relatively more from unionization (Blinder, 1973). My last controls refer to current workplace tenure, age and marital status.

In the next section, I demonstrate my results, which are followed by the discussion part and conclusion.

VI. RESULTS

1. Descriptive Statistics

Table 1, which contains information about the frequencies of my data, can be found below:

TABLE 1: Descriptive Statistics- Frequencies

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Religion		
Christian	11557	97.6%
Muslim	282	2.4%
Total	11839	100%
Gender		
Male	4871	41.1%
Female	6968	58.9%
Total	11839	100%
Education (Number of academic qualifications/ diplomas)		
0	214	1.8%
1	2586	21.8%
2	2988	25.2%
3	2410	20.4%
4	1895	16.0%
5	1094	9.2%
6	396	3.3%
7	167	1.4%
8	62	.5%
9	14	.1%
10	6	.1%
11	3	.0%
12	1	.0%
14	1	.0%
15	2	.0%
Total	11839	100%
Marital Status		
Single	2036	17.2%
Married or living with partner	8615	72.8%
Divorced	985	8.3%
Widowed	203	1.7%
Total	11839	100%
Union Membership		
Yes	4669	39.4%
No, but have been in the past	2118	17.9%
No, never have been a member	5052	42.7%
Total	11839	100%
Tenure		
Less than 1 year	1138	9.6%
1 to less than 2 years	1035	8.7%
2 to less than 5 years	2772	23.4%
5 to less than 10 years	2933	24.8%
10 years or more	3961	33.5%
Total	11839	100%

Age		
16-17	44	.4%
18-19	104	.9%
20-21	161	1.4%
22-29	1366	11.5%
30-39	2272	19.2%
40-49	3610	30.5%
50-59	3256	27.5%
60-64	758	6.4%
65 and above	268	2.3%
Total	11839	100%
Weekly Wage		
£60 or less	354	3.0%
£61-£100	370	3.1%
£101-£130	361	3.0%
£131-£170	542	4.6%
£171-£220	869	7.3%
£221-£260	853	7.2%
£261-£310	1055	8.9%
£311-£370	1273	10.8%
£371-£430	1193	10.1%
£431-£520	1338	11.3%
£521-£650	1331	11.2%
£651-£820	1138	9.6%
£821-£1,050	621	5.2%
£1,051 or more	541	4.6%
Total	11839	100%
Trainings in last 12 months		
None	3497	29.5%
Less than 1 day	1445	12.2%
1 to less than 2 days	2062	17.4%
2 to less than 5 days	2817	23.8%
5 to less than 10 days	1245	10.5%
10 days or more	773	6.5%
Total	11839	100%
Perceived Job Security		
Strongly disagree	656	5.5%
Disagree	1730	14.6%
Neither agree or disagree	2551	21.5%
Agree	5005	42.3%
Strongly agree	1897	16.0%
Total	11839	100%
Perceived Manager-Employee Relations		
Very poor	399	3.4%
Poor	1232	10.4%
Neither good nor poor	2738	23.1%
Good	5177	43.7%

Very good	2293	19.4%
Total	11839	100%
Satisfaction about involvement in decision making		
Very dissatisfied	556	4.7%
Dissatisfied	1866	15.8%
Neither dissatisfied or satisfied	4457	37.6%
Satisfied	3944	33.3%
Very satisfied	1016	8.6%
Total	11839	100%
Perceived managerial attempt to understand employees' views		
Strongly disagree	610	5.2%
Disagree	1767	14.9%
Neither agree nor disagree	2856	24.1%
Agree	5167	43.6%
Strongly agree	1439	12.2%
Total	11839	100%
Perceived fairness in treatment		
Strongly disagree	770	6.5%
Disagree	1490	12.6%
Neither agree nor disagree	2811	23.7%
Agree	4995	42.2%
Strongly agree	1773	15.0%
Total	11839	100%

The dominant religion in this sample is Christianity, as only 2.4% of respondents are Muslims. Furthermore, three out of five respondents are females, which implies stronger female presence in this study. In terms of marital status, the vast majority of my sample consists of married individuals or people who live with their partner (72.8%). Unionization seems to be a common trend, but not a dominant one, though. More precisely, 4,669 out of 11,839 respondents are active union members, which means that a bit more than 60% of this sample consists of non-unionized employees. However, there is a big fraction of non-union members that used to be unionized in the past (17.9% of the total sample).

Furthermore, I can assume that otherwise observationally equivalent employees are quite experienced; Almost 80% of them have been working to the same place for more than 2 years, while 3 out of 5 individuals are between 40 and 59 years old. This is probably why 1 out of 3 had no trainings during the last 12 months.

Except trainings, probably high tenure and age are explanatory of the attitudes of the otherwise observationally equivalent employees towards their workplace; More than the half of the sample believes that their job is secure and report well-perceived manager-employees relations in their workplace. In addition, 43.6% of the sample believes that their manager tries to understand their views, while only 1 out of 5 believes that their manager does not treat employees fairly.

More information about my sample can be found in Table 2, where mean analysis results are reported:

TABLE 2: Descriptive Statistics – Mean Analysis

Variables	Mean*
Religion (Christian)	.9762 (.15249)
Gender (Woman)	.5886 (.49211)
Age (Category)	5.95 (1.320)
Marital Status	1.95 (.566)
Education (Number of Academic Diplomas/ Qualifications)	2.80 (1.601)
Weekly Wage before tax or other deductions (Category)	8.40 (3.320)
Workplace Tenure in years (Category)	3.64 (1.285)
Union Membership	2.03 (.906)
Trainings in the last 12 months (Category)	2.93 (1.595)
Perceived Job Security	3.4863 (1.09320)
Perceived Manager-Employee Relations	3.6532 (1.01209)
Satisfaction about involvement in decision making	3.2532 (.97869)
Perceived managerial attempt to understand employees' views	3.4272 (1.04678)
Perceived fairness in treatment	3.4655 (1.09104)
N	11839

* Standard Deviation in parentheses

The mean of age (5.95) suggests that the mean age of the respondents is around 40 years old. Average tenure in current workplace is around 5 years (3.64) and the mean weekly wage before tax or other deductions is approximately £311-£370 per week or £16,121-£19,240 per year (8.40). Moreover, most of the respondents possess 2 to 3 academic diplomas/ qualifications (2.80) without

taking into account the weight or the importance of each qualification. In conclusion, the mean values of the variables religion, gender, marital status, children and union membership reflect the findings presented in frequency analysis (Table 1).

In terms of workplace relations, the employees of my sample in general seem unsure whether they perceive them well or bad. However, the fact that the means for perceived job security, manager-employees relations, managerial attempt to understand employees views and fairness in treatment have a bit higher average value than 3, probably suggests a tendency for positive perceptions.

In general, descriptive statistics suggest that my sample is quite representative of the real workforce, a trait that adds point of validity to my study.

2. Main Results

In this section, I demonstrate my main results derived from testing my hypotheses. All main results are presented in Table 3.

TABLE 3: Main Analysis Results

Independent Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Religion								
Muslim	-.275***	-.128**	-.008	.121*	-.144**	.110*	.060	.263***
	(.062)	(.065)	(.064)	(.065)	(.064)	(.065)	(.064)	(.067)
Christian	0ª	0ª	0ª	0ª	0ª	0ª	0ª	0ª
Gender								
Male	0ª	0ª	0ª	0ª	0ª	0ª	0ª	0ª
Female	-.736***	-.036*	.072***	.197***	.061**	.181***	.094***	-.134***
	(.020)	(.020)	(.020)	(.520)	(.020)	(.020)	(.020)	(.022)
Union Membership								
Yes	147***	.246***	-.202***	-.379***	-.316***	-.331***	-.326***	.226***
	(.022)	(.023)	(.023)	(.023)	(.023)	(.023)	(.023)	(.024)
No, but have been member in the past	-.037	.081*	-.134***	-.175***	-.160***	-.159***	-.174***	.083***
	(.027)	(.029)	(.028)	(.029)	(.028)	(.029)	(.029)	(.081)
No, never been a member	0ª	0ª	0ª	0ª	0ª	0ª	0ª	0ª
Tenure								
Less than 1 year	-.272***	.203***	.079**	.440***	.196***	.427***	.435***	-.395***
	(.037)	(.038)	(.038)	(.039)	(.038)	(.039)	(.039)	(.043)
1 to less than 2 years	-.247***	.212***	.001	.223***	.047	.273***	.245***	-.194***
	(.037)	(.039)	(.039)	(.039)	(.039)	(.039)	(.039)	(.042)
2 to less than 5 years	-.197***	.129***	-.026	.112***	-.040	.085***	.070**	-.091***
	(.027)	(.028)	(.028)	(.028)	(.028)	(.028)	(.028)	(.030)
5 to less than 10 years	-.171***	.028	-.008	.039	-.081***	.033	.010	-.039
	(.025)	(.027)	(.026)	(.026)	(.026)	(.026)	(.026)	(.028)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
10 years or more	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]
Age								
16-17	-1.194*** (.199)	.312* (.180)	-.101 (.179)	-.275 (.182)	-.506*** (.176)	-.420** (.178)	-.338* (.179)	.121 (.223)
18-19	-.507*** (.127)	.649*** (.128)	-.050 (.129)	-.115 (.132)	-.474*** (.127)	-.113 (.130)	-.350*** (.129)	.241 (.154)
20-21	.189* (.106)	.718*** (.112)	-.148 (.111)	-.397*** (.113)	-.546*** (.110)	-.439*** (.111)	-.426*** (.111)	.740*** (.126)
22-29	.894*** (.072)	.528*** (.077)	-.226** (.075)	-.453*** (.076)	-.451*** (.074)	-.377*** (.075)	-.488*** (.075)	.734*** (.090)
30-39	1.101*** (.068)	.463*** (.073)	-.319*** (.071)	-.412*** (.072)	-.394*** (.070)	-.336*** (.071)	-.414*** (.071)	.682*** (.086)
40-49	1.082*** (.066)	.413*** (.071)	-.431*** (.069)	-.436*** (.070)	-.385*** (.068)	-.377*** (.069)	-.431*** (.069)	.619*** (.084)
50-59	1.079*** (.066)	.347*** (.071)	-.339*** (.069)	-.377*** (.070)	-.376*** (.068)	-.332*** (.069)	-.383*** (.069)	.594*** (.084)
60-64	.708*** (.073)	.146* (.079)	-.212* (.076)	-.375*** (.077)	-.384*** (.076)	-.308*** (.076)	-.329*** (.076)	.378*** (.091)
65 and above	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]
Marital Status								
Single	-.015 (.078)	-.008 (.082)	-.017 (.081)	-.136* (.082)	-.027 (.081)	-.019 (.081)	-.050 (.081)	.150* (.090)
Married	.113 (.073)	.024 (.078)	.023 (.077)	-.094 (.078)	.056 (.076)	.012 (.077)	.024 (.077)	.013 (.086)
Divorced	.047 (.079)	.080 (.084)	-.045 (.083)	-.155* (.084)	-.019 (.082)	-.038 (.083)	-.039 (.083)	.066 (.092)
Widowed	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]	0[a]
No of academic diplomas/ qualifications	.174*** (.006)	.082*** (.006)	-.022** (.006)	.008 (.006)	.029*** (.006)	.023*** (.006)	.033*** (.006)	.005 (.007)
No of observations	11839	11839	11839	11839	11839	11839	11839	11773
Log-Likelihood of ordered probit	29026.887	17266.027	14349.218	13509.047	13868.723	14029.208	14351.013	11896.111

a This parameter is set to 0 because it is redundant. **(1)** Dependent variable: Weekly wages. (**2**) Dependent variable: Trainings. **(3)** Dependent variable: Perceived job security. **(4)** Dependent variable: Perceived quality of manager-employees relationship. **(5)** Dependent variable: Satisfaction about involvement in decision making. **(6)** Dependent variable: Perceived managerial attempt to understand employee's views. **(7)** Dependent variable: Perceived fairness in treatment **(8)** Dependent variable: Depression caused by working conditions. Significant at the ***1%, **5% and *10% level. Standard Errors in parentheses. Post-estimation marginal effects presented in appendix.

As expected, these results suggest that there is discrimination against the Muslims in terms of payment. To be more precise, in Column 1, there is a negative relationship between the variables "Muslim" and "Wages", which implies Muslims are less likely to earn a high wage relative to Christian employees. More precisely, Muslim employees are approximately 1% more likely than Christians to be paid below the average wage, for all wage levels This result seems very low. On the other hand, the number of Muslims in the UK (999,650, The Muslim Council of Britain, 2011) is high, and many British-Muslim households depend on the wage of one or more individuals. Hence,

I believe that even such a small difference might affect in some extent the sustainability of these households, so I consider the finding of Column 1 economically significant. This outcome is well in line with a huge literature (M. Yavasi, 2007; I. Forstenlechner and M.A. Al-Waqfi, 2010; N. Kaushal, B. Kaestner and C. Reimers, 2007), which indicates that Muslims face discrimination in terms of payment. Hence, I do not reject H1. In my opinion, the most valid explanation about this finding is provided by J.J. Heckman (1998) and it is also included in the literature review: Minority groups (and thus, Muslims in the UK), anticipate that due to existing discrimination they will obtain less rewards if they face same tuition costs as the majority. Hence, they probably are less likely to invest in education, which leads to lower wages. In this sample, I control just for the quantity of academic qualifications, not the quality. Consequently, it could be that the quality of academic qualifications obtained by Muslim employees is lower than the quality of academic qualifications of Christian employees.

Another possible explanation could be the minority status of Muslims in the UK. More precisely, King and Ahmad (2010) state that Muslims face more difficulties relative to non-minority belonging employees in terms of finding a job. As a result, they are probably more likely to accept a lower wage, in order to increase their probabilities of being hired.

Except religious discrimination, it is worth mentioning that the coefficients in Column 1 suggest also gender discrimination. More specifically, the relationship of wages and being a woman is negative, which implies that women are less likely than men to have a high wage. Furthermore, wages are linked positively with tenure. This might imply payment tied to tenure. At last, people with more diplomas/ qualifications are more likely to expect higher payments, likewise unionized employees.

Results of testing H2a are presented in Column 2. As expected, Muslims are less likely to have receive trainings in comparison to Christian employees. More importantly, compared to Christians, Muslim employees are 0.2% more likely to receive trainings for a less than 1 day time extent or no trainings at all. Again, in terms of economic significance this outcome seems very low. However, the variable of interest (trainings) is ordinal and I do not have any information about training intensity and importance. Hence, in the case of high-importance trainings this finding might be economically significant. Consequently, I do not reject H2a. In general, as mentioned in Table 1, 1 out of 3 employees in this sample did not receive any trainings in the past 12 months. This happens probably because of high tenure. However, in the case of Muslims, there could be something more, as the finding is statistically significant. Probably the profile of current Muslim employees -certain characteristics, like experience- does not make investment in ability optimal. Alternatively, it can be

just a case of favoritism. This outcome also provides room for speculations about promotion opportunities; as mentioned in the Hypothesis Development section, trainings can be predictors of promotions (I. Grabner & F. Moers, 2015). Nevertheless, even if I cannot support empirically such an outcome, I can speculate that Muslims might be discriminated in terms of promotion opportunities.

In addition, the coefficient of education is positive and significant. This probably shows the tendency of organizations to invest in human capital acquisition of employees with higher ability. On the other hand, the coefficients about age are significantly higher for the age groups between 18 and 21 years old. This makes sense, as younger employees (ie. with lower experience) tend to receive more trainings. That is, these results, except religious discrimination, probably also highlight a common internal labor market scheme used in the UK: Trainings are more likely to be provided to younger, highly educated employees.

Results of testing H2b can be found in Column 3. As predicted, the relationship between being a Muslim and feeling job security is negative. However, this relationship is not statistically significant, so I cannot accept H2b. It can be the case that Muslims feel job insecurity, but not to an extent to be able to denote a correlation. I assume that this result is not significant due to other sample characteristics, like tenure. More precisely, average tenure is around 5 years (Table 2). Hence, this is probably why otherwise observationally equivalent Muslims do not feel significantly that their job is insecure; The negative insecurity feelings are in some extent mitigated by high tenure. In addition, this coefficient is not economically significant, as its value is very low.

In contrast with Column 1, discrimination against females does not seem to be present, as females feel significantly that their job is secure. Higher education seems to be related with higher perceived job security, which might imply that human capital acquisition reduces the probability of being fired. On the other hand, employees with higher tenure and union members feel that their job is less secure. In the case of unionized workers, this outcome makes sense: I assume that workers who believe that they are likely to be fired choose to participate in a union in order to reduce the probability of being fired. In the case of tenure, this outcome is probably linked with the uncertainty created by financial recession, as employees of almost all age groups (except the very young) feel that their job is relatively insecure.

My last sub-hypothesis about employment (H2c) is about how well do Muslim employees perceive manager-employee relations in their workplace. The results of testing H2c are demonstrated in Column 4.

Contrary on what I expected, Muslim employees appear to perceive better the manager-employee relations in their workplace in comparison to Christian employees, ie. Muslims are 0.2% more likely not to perceive worse manager-employee relations relative to Christians. The value of this finding is very low. Furthermore, it is difficult to examine human relations because they can be driven by irrational factors. Thus, I consider this finding economically insignificant. It is surprising that this coefficient is positive, especially after taking under consideration the results presented in Columns 1 and 2. A possible explanation of this outcome can be found in the way that the main question of interest ("*In general, how would you describe relations between managers and employees here?*") is presented in the WERS 2011 questionnaire. To be more precise, the responses of Muslim employees in this question might not reflect their own relations with their managers, but the relations between managers and employees in general in their workplace. However, whatever the case is, I cannot accept H2c.

Another surprising result presented in Column 4 is that the manager-employee relations are perceived more negatively by older age groups. Having also in mind the coefficient for tenure decreases for higher tenure, I speculate that a possible explanation can be given by tournament theory: Employees with higher tenure are more likely to be promoted. Having also in mind that there is intense, everyday competition among those employees for only one position, it is more likely that the "winner" of the tournament is either perceived negatively by the "losers" or either has demonstrated a more negative relationship with them due to competition intensity. In other words, it can be the case that the responses of older employees -in terms of age and tenure- reflect the negative feelings caused by internal labor competition intensity during the years.

Like under Column 3, women seem more satisfied about manager-employee relations in their workplace. In contrast, the coefficient for unionized workers is negative. Probably, this finding highlights again a reason to participate in a union: Bad manager-employees' relations might cause negative, insecurity-related feelings about workplace, and employees may mitigate these feelings by unionization.

My third hypothesis is about discrimination in terms of status. First, I test whether Muslim employees are satisfied with their involvement in decision making (H3a). Results are presented in Column 5.

In line with my prediction, Muslim employees appear to be statistically significantly 0,4% more likely to be very dissatisfied or dissatisfied with their involvement in decision making relative to

Christian employees. As a result, I do not reject H3a. However, low marginal effect value, as well as the subjective nature of the variable, imply no economic significance. This finding reflects perceptions. According to M. Yavassi (2007), workplace rules come into conflict with religious expectations in many different ways. In this case, the reported outcome might highlight this conflict; It might be that the Muslims' expectations about participation in decision making do not meet the expectations of their managers, resulting in less satisfaction of Muslim employees about involvement in decision making. In other words, this outcome might be driven by the lack of mutual understanding.

More educated workers are more likely to be satisfied with their involvement in decision making. This outcome probably highlights the tendency of managers to involve in decision making employees with higher qualifications.

Like under H2c (Column 4), the coefficients for all age groups are negative, especially for younger age groups. Furthermore, although the coefficients for tenure are positive, they decrease in years of tenure. I assume that a possible explanation about this outcome might be related with the explanation I provided for these variables in Column 4: Older and more experienced employees probably feel that they deserve to have higher involvement in decision making, due to their efforts and history in the firm. However, the fact that they belong in the lower tiers of hierarchy level limits their ability to participate actively in decision making processes.

To conclude, in Column 4, it is also denoted that union members are not satisfied with their involvement in decision making. This makes sense, as I assume that dissatisfaction about daily employment aspects can be a reason to join a labor union.

The second part of my third hypothesis (H3b) examines how do Muslim employees perceive their managers' attempt to understand employees' views. Results can be found in Column 6.

Contrary to my hypothesis, Muslims perceive positively managers' attempt to understand employees' views. More precisely, Muslim employees are 0,2% less likely to perceive (very) baddly their manager's attempt to understand employees' views, in comparison to Christians. This finding also does not reflect economic significance. Hence, I cannot accept H3b. In the literature review section, it is mentioned that Muslim culture perceives the interaction between employer and employees as a fraternal and mutual relationship (G. Bouma et al, 2003). In contrast, Western culture, and capitalism in general, perceive this interaction as a conflicting and bargaining relationship (G. Bouma et al, 2003). However, this explanation does not seem to hold for this

sample. A possible explanation might be that most Muslims in UK come from first or second generation immigrant families. Immigration suggests that an individual leaves a place -because he or she cannot fulfill his or her needs- for a more promising destination. Hence, their perceptions might be affected by the comparison with their previous employment conditions.

Column 6 also denotes that women and more educated individuals perceive well their managers' attempt to understand their views. In terms of education, it seems rational for a manager to seek and try to understand the opinion of more able subordinates. For the case of women, a possible reason for this outcome could be that my sample is female-dominated. This implies that most of Christian employees are women, and hence, these results might be driven more by religious identity rather than the gender. In contrast, the coefficient for unionized employees is negative. Again, this finding might highlight a motivation to join a labor union.

The last part of my third hypothesis (H3c) examines whether Muslim employees feel that they are treated fairly. Results of testing H3c are presented in Column 7:

Again, contrary to my prediction, Muslim employees feel statistical insignificantly that their manager treats them fairly. Consequently, I reject H3c. Until now, my findings suggest that there is discrimination in terms of payment employment and status. Hence, this result seems very surprising. Like under H2c (Column 4), the way that the question of interest is presented (*"Now thinking about the managers at this workplace, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following: Treat employees fairly?"*) probably reflects general perceptions about managers and employees, but not personal feelings and attitudes. In other words, the fact that an employee believes that managers in his/her workplace treat employees fairly does not necessarily suggest that he or she believes to be treated fairly. Alternatively, another possible explanation could be the immigrant status, like under 3b; The Muslims' responses might be influenced by the comparison with past, more hostile workplace experiences.

Furthermore, it seems that employees of all age groups do not believe that they are treated fairly. In contrast, all tenure group and women believe that employees are treated fairly. Having in mind that all these finding are significant and the coefficient for Muslims is insignificant, there is a probability that the finding for Muslims is driven mostly by Muslim women or Muslims with higher tenure.

On the contrary, the coefficient about union membership is negative. This makes sense, taking into account the findings about union members in Columns 2 to 6.

In general, my results indicate religious discrimination in the workplace against the Muslims in the dimensions of payment, employment and status. In terms of payment, Muslim employees are paid less relative to Christian employees (H1, Table 3, Column 1). In terms of employment, Muslims are more likely to receive less trainings than Christians (H2a, Table 3, Column 2). However, this does not imply that they feel more job insecurity (H2b, Table 3, Column 3) or have a bad impression about managers-employee relations in their workplace (H2c, Table 3, Column 4). In terms of status, Muslim employees are less likely to be satisfied about their involvement in decision making (H3a, Table 3, Column 5).

To conclude, my results suggest that religious discrimination outcomes not only can be examined by D. Figarts' (1997) three-ground approach, but also in the case of Muslims prejudice can be present in all grounds, under several forms.

VII. ROBUSTNESS ANALYSIS

As mentioned in the Literature Review section, the factors that give rise to prejudice are subjective. However, discrimination outcomes are objective, and usually harmful for the victim. In general, victims of discrimination are more likely to express depression (T.N. Brown, D.R. Williams, J.S. Jackson, H.W. Neighbors, M. Torres, S.L. Sellers & K.T. Brown, 1999; D. Kobrynowicz & N.R. Branscombe, 1997). Hence, I assume that a good way to check the robustness of my main findings is to examine whether Muslims feel depressed from their working conditions.

In the WERS 2011 questionnaire, there is a question that can capture depression. More precisely, I am referring to the Likert-scale question "Thinking of the past few weeks, how much of the time has your job made you feel depressed?". Hence, I examine the relationship between being a Muslim and feeling depressed from working conditions by using an ordered probit regression and controlling for the same aspects like under H1, H2 and H3. Results can be found in Column 8.

As presented in Column 8, Muslim employees are statistically significantly 0,3% more likely to feel depressed most of time or all of time by their job relative to Christian employees. Using the same argument under H1 (the big number of British-Muslim households), I also consider this finding economically significant. This suggests that Muslim employees are probably subjects to discriminative behavior, and this is depicted by their feelings. However, it could also be that recession also influenced this outcome; Except daily workplace discrimination, the uncertainty caused by financial recession might make depression more likely.

It is interesting in this table that the coefficients for age are positive, especially for employees older than 20 years old. In other words, depression caused by working conditions is more likely for older, and more educated employees. Furthermore, although the coefficients for tenure are negative, I observe that their value rises in years of tenure. Probably knowledge and experience makes people less optimistic, as they have experienced (or expect to experience) the rise of more intense on-the-job difficulties.

In general, robustness analysis is suggestive for my main findings. More importantly, it is shown that Muslim employees' feelings match the profile of a victim of discriminative behavior. This adds more strength to my main results and makes them more valid.

VIII. ADDITIONAL ANALYSIS

As mentioned before, discrimination in general is about perceptions. Some of the results posed above support the existence of discrimination towards the Muslims. However, in a discriminative behavior scheme, there are two parties: The discriminated and the discriminator. All my above analysis focuses on the victims of discrimination, ie. employees. Hence, a basic question arises: Why does discrimination exist? Is there any incentive for someone to maintain discriminative behaviors?

In this section, I examine whether managers have any incentive to maintain discriminative behaviors. Usually, a manager demands higher productivity and desires good relations with his/ her subordinates. Under this perspective, I assume that if I examine the relationship between discriminative practices with productivity and good manager-employee relations respectively, I will be able to answer (in some extent) the question posed above about the incentives of prejudice.

My data about managerial perceptions comes again from WERS 2011. The difference is that, now, the questionnaire is different and it is responded by managers. To be more precise, the WERS 2011 Managerial Survey Data contains 2680 observations, providing information about several issues, like financial and market performance, organizational goals and human resources management.

In WERS 2011 data, the extent in which a manager adopts discriminative practices in the ground of religion can be examined in the case of promotions. Information about promotions can be provided by the answers in the question *"Do you monitor promotions for religion?"*. My main thought is

that, if, for instance, monitoring promotions for religion is related positively with productivity, then there is a probability that the manager has the incentive to discriminate accordingly.

Hence, in order to study the schemes described above, I will use 2 ordered logit regressions. In both models, the main independent variable denotes whether managers monitor promotions for religion. In the first regression, my dependent variable is productivity. Information about productivity is gathered by the question *"How would you assess your workplace's labor productivity?"*. In the second regression, my dependent variable is managers'-employees' relationship. This relationship is measured by the responses in the Likert-scale statement *"Rating of the relationship between management and employees at this workplace"*.

In both models, I control for the same issues. More specifically, I refer to the gender of the respondents, the rating of the current state of the market of each manager's firm and the number of employees in payroll. After excluding all insufficient observations, my data of interest contains 82 observations.

TABLE 4: Additional Analysis Results

Independent Variables	(1)	(2)
Monitoring Promotions for Religion		
Yes	-1.535	-19.951
	(1.912)	(.000)
No	0ª	0ª
Gender		
Male	0ª	0ª
Female	-.458	1.322**
	(.437)	(.529)
No of employees in payroll	.000	.000
	(.000)	(.000)
Market Current state		
Very bad	.326	-.102
	(.507)	(.559)
Bad	.700	-.807
	(.898)	(1.015)
Good	.448	-.005
	(.558)	(.618)
Very good	0ª	0ª
Number of observations	82	82
Log-likelihood of ordered logit	213.346	141.181

a The parameter is set to 0 because it is redundant. **(1)** Dependent Variable: Workplace productivity. **(2)** Dependent Variable: Management-Employees relationship. Significant at *10%**,**5% and ***1% level. Standard Errors in parentheses. Post-estimation Marginal Effects presented in Appendix.

Table 4 presents the results of both regressions. There is a not significant (statistically) negative relationship between management-employees relations and monitoring promotions for religion (Column 2). This finding is also economically significant, as it suggests that managers who monitor promotions for religion are 3% less likely to report very good management-employees relations. In other words, managers whose promotion-related actions are driven by prejudice are less likely to develop a good relationship with employees in their workplace. Hence, from a workplace relations perspective, managers do not have the incentive to follow discriminative approaches for promotion processes.

On the other hand, the relationship between productivity and monitoring promotions for religion is negative and statistically insignificant. However, it is economically significant, as it implies that managers who monitor promotions for religion are 8% more likely to report a lot below average productivity. Although this outcome does not allow to make any specific conclusions, I can make some speculations: More precisely, this probably suggests that managers of my sample do not have the incentive to act discriminatory for promotions, but not in an extent to denote a correlation. In this sample, probably the benefits in productivity of having heterogeneous teams surpass the benefits of having homogenous teams. To be more precise, heterogeneous teams can be more productive because higher-ability employees can teach or monitor lower-ability employees (B.H. Hamilton, J.A. Nickerson and H. Owan, 2003). That is, one possible explanation of this outcome might be that monitoring promotions for religion probably leads to more homogenous teams, and thus to lower productivity.

Both regressions suggest that in general, managers do not have a clear incentive to exercise discriminatory HRM practices related to promotions. Taking under consideration the results of both my main and my additional analysis, I assume that that additional analysis outcomes probably provide an explanation for the finding under H3c: As the managers do not have a clear incentive to monitor promotions for religions, Muslim employees are in a small extent more likely to believe that they are treated fairly. On the other hand, the number of observations I used is very low. This happens because the majority of the managerial sample refused to provide information whether they control promotions for religion. I do not know the reason why so many people did not answer in this question. However, it might be that managers who act discriminatory avoided to provide sufficient information for personal reasons, or people just did not answer this question because of lack of time (the questionnaire is very big).

In general, my results do not suggest the strong presence of an incentive to monitor promotions for religion. In contrast, my main results suggest discrimination in terms of payment, employment and

status. Consequently, I assume that most incentives for discrimination in terms of promotion are not business-related; They might be driven by personal attitudes, experiences or opinions. That is, the motivation behind such discriminatory actions differs from manager to manager, depending mostly on personal characteristics of each manager.

To sum up, in my main analysis, I found that there might be discrimination in the workplace against the Muslims. In this additional analysis, I cannot make a general statement about whether managers have the incentive to exercise discriminatory promotion-related practices. Hence, I assume that the extent and the perception of such practices vary from manager to manager.

IX. LIMITATIONS AND DISCUSSION

Although many of the results of this study are supportive of the theory, there are certain limitations. These limitations are discussed in this section.

In the main analysis results, the outcomes might be driven by other factors, like education and ethnicity. In a regression that is not reported here, I found that the relationship between being Muslim and the number of academic diplomas/ qualifications obtained is negative. Clearly, this may bias my findings, as I also do not have information about the quality of these qualifications. On the other hand, in the Literature Review Section, it is stated that if a victim of discrimination and his or her family receive lower rewards for obtaining skills, they are likely to invest less in education if they face the same tuition costs as other, not discriminated individuals (J.J. Heckman, 1998). Hence, lower education might be subsequent to general discrimination against the Muslims occurring in the society. In my opinion, this implication may suggest that it is difficult to distinguish workplace discrimination from general, society-existing prejudice.

Speaking about ethnicity, it might be the case that employees of my sample might face discrimination not because of their religious identity, but because of their ethnicity. However, in the Muslim World, religion is strongly tied to the ethnic identity. I assume that one possible explanation about this issue is that a racist individual cannot distinguish between Muslim religion and ethnicity, so he or she treats all Arabs as Muslims, even if they are not. In other words, from a discriminator's view, Muslim religion might not be perceived as an individual, inclusive preference, but as a general ethnic characteristic. Though, whatever is the incentive for discrimination, I do not believe that it affects my results, because Muslims will be treated probably equally bad in both occasions (ethnic or religious discrimination).

Moreover, in most of my hypotheses (H2b, H2c, H3a, H3b, H3c) the dependent variable is measured by subjective views. Someone may doubt these findings, as subjective statements do not necessarily reflect the truth. Nevertheless, I do not believe that this is such a big problem. Discrimination is about perceptions, so the outcomes of discrimination are heavily influenced by the way a victim of prejudice perceives discriminatory behaviors. Especially in the case of status (H3), I believe that subjectivity is offering many more insights than objectivity.

In the robustness analysis, there is a chance that depression in the workplace may not occur because of discrimination. More specifically, during the recession years (my data chronology is 2011), it might be that negative feelings become present more often, not necessarily as an outcome of unfair treatment. However, in the previous WERS study (2004), the questionnaire did not capture religious beliefs. The fact that this does not happen in the 2011 questionnaire does not allow to make a specific conclusion, but allows for speculations. Probably, in British society there were some indications of religious discrimination in 2011 that were not present in 2004, and this was anticipated by the authors who included the respective question in the 2011 questionnaire.

To conclude, in the additional analysis, the main flaw of my study is that it captures general religious discrimination and not specific prejudice against the Muslims. More precisely, these findings do not indicate which religious groups are prone to discriminatory HRM/promotion-related practices. For instance, monitoring promotions for religion might not imply same levels of discrimination among religious groups. On the other hand, these findings highlight a general pattern that might apply to all religions, and consequently the Muslims. Moreover, both employees' and managers' surveys were conducted in the same workplaces. So, there is a high probability that the additional analysis findings might hold for the Muslims, who represent the second biggest religious minority in the WERS 2011 data.

X. CONCLUSION

Throughout this study, I have shown that workplace discrimination against Muslims can be present in payment, employment and status. In general, I believe that these results provide some very important insights about religious discrimination. First, religious prejudice can be present in many dimensions of working life. Secondly, the victims' perceptions matter, and probably affect their views about discriminatory practices.

Furthermore, the managers do not seem to have strong productivity or working relations-based incentives to act discriminatory in terms of promotions. However, discrimination exists. Hence, a basic question arise: What are the characteristics of a manager that acts discriminatory? Accepting the assumption that discriminating motivations differ from manager to manager implies that probably prejudice arises because of individual weaknesses. Though, I wonder which these weaknesses are. Are they just flaws, or they correspond to a certain managerial profile with specific traits/ strengths? My opinion is that these arguments compose a good scheme for future research.

Another important intuition about this study is the world-changing events that have occurred to the Muslim World. Since 2011, many events have occurred that might affect the perception of the Western World towards Muslims. Vice versa, my data come from the UK, so it is interesting to see if these findings hold after the European Union Membership Referendum of the 23th of June, 2016. Thus, I believe that it is a good idea to repeat this research with more recent and more religious-oriented data.

In general, one of the reasons I studied Muslim perceptions of employment in the Literature Review was to understand how Muslims react to certain employment -not necessarily discriminatory-conditions. By this way, I believe that I was able to understand discrimination better. Hence, my concluding point is that the perception of the victim is strongly tied to discriminatory outcome. That is, maybe examining victims' perceptions and cultural characteristics might create a better and more accurate understanding about discrimination in general.

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APPENDIX

TABLE 5: Post Estimation Marginal Effects for Main Hypotheses

dy/dx

Variables	Muslims	Christians
Weekly Wage		
£60 or less	.036***	.026***
	(.012)	(.007)
£61-£100	.034***	.024***
	(.011)	(.006)
£101-£130	.033***	.023***
	(.011)	(.006)
£131-£170	.030***	.021***
	(.010)	(.005)
£171-£220	.029***	.020***
	(.010)	(.005)
£221-£260	.027***	.019***
	(.009)	(.005)
£261-£310	.024***	.016***
	(.008)	(.004)
£311-£370	.022***	.015***
	(.008)	(.004)
£371-£430	.019***	.013***
	(.007)	(.003)
£431-£520	.017***	.011***
	(.006)	(.003)
£521-£650	.016***	.011***
	(.006)	(.003)
£651-£820	.013***	.008***
	(.005)	(.002)
£821-£1,050	.013***	.008***
	(.005)	(.002)
£1,051 or more	.011***	.007***
	(.004)	(.002)
Trainings in last 12 months		
None	.047*	.045**
	(.025)	(.023)
Less than 1 day	.046*	.044**
	(.024)	(.022)
1 to less than 2 days	.046*	.043**
	(.024)	(.022)
2 to less than 5 days	.045*	.043**
	(.024)	(.021)
5 to less than 10 days	.045*	.042**
	(.024)	(.021)
10 days or more	.044*	.041**
	(.024)	.(021)
Perceived Job Security		
Strongly disagree	-.0000108	-.0000108
	(.007)	(.007)
Disagree	-.0000107	-.0000107
	(.007)	(.007)

Neither agree or disagree	-.0000104	-.0000104
	(.007)	(.007)
Agree	-.0000101	-.0000101
	(.007)	(.007)
Strongly agree	-.0000101	-.0000101
	(.007)	(.007)

Perceived Manager-Employee Relations

Very poor	-.008**	-.010*
	(.004)	(.006)
Poor	-.008**	-.010*
	(.004)	(.006)
Neither good nor poor	-.007**	-.009*
	(.003)	(.005)
Good	-.006**	-.008*
	(.003)	(.005)
Very good	-.006**	-.007*
	(.003)	(.004)

Satisfaction about involvement in

decision making

Very dissatisfied	.020*	.016**
	(.010)	(.007)
Dissatisfied	.019*	.015**
	(.010)	(.006)
Neither dissatisfied or satisfied	.018*	.014**
	(.010)	(.006)
Satisfied	.018*	.014**
	(.090)	(.006)
Very satisfied	.017*	.013**
	(.090)	(.006)

Perceived managerial attempt to

understand employees' views

Strongly disagree	-.011**	-.013
	(.006)	(.008)
Disagree	-.010**	-.012
	(.005)	(.007)
Neither agree nor disagree	-.010**	-.011
	(.005)	(.007)
Agree	-.009**	-.010
	(.004)	(.006)
Strongly agree	-.008**	-.010
	(.004)	(.006)

Perceived fairness in treatment

Strongly disagree	-.007	-.007
	(.008)	(.009)
Disagree	-.006	-.007
	(.007)	(.009)
Neither agree nor disagree	-.006	-.007
	(.007)	(.008)
Agree	-.006	-.006
	(.007)	(.008)
Strongly agree	-.005	-.006
	(.006)	(.007)

Significant at *10%**,***5% and ***1% level. Standard Errors in parentheses.

TABLE 6: Post-Estimation Marginal Effects for Robustness Analysis

	dy/dx	
Variables	**Muslims**	**Christians**
Feeling depressed because of the workplace		
Never	-.106***	-.107***
	(.025)	(.026)
Occasionally	-.105***	-.107***
	(.025)	(.026)
Some of the time	-.105***	-.107***
	(.024)	(.026)
Most of the time	-.105***	-.107***
	(.024)	(.026)
All of the time	-.104***	-.108***
	(.024)	(.026)

Significant at *10%**5% and ***1% level. Standard Errors in parentheses.

TABLE 7: Post-Estimation Marginal Effects for Additional Analysis 1

DEPENDENT VARIABLE: Management-Employees' Relationship

	dy/dx	
Variables	**Monitoring promotions for religion**	**Do not monitor promotions for religion**
Management-Employees Relationship		
Very good	.144	8.88e-07
	(12.000)	(.000)
Good	.178	1.03e-06
	(16.000)	(.000)
Neither good nor poor	.300	9.26e-07
	(27.000)	(.000)
Very poor	.086	5.30e-07
	(7.740)	(.000)

Significant at *10%**5% and ***1% level. Standard Errors in parentheses.

DEPENDENT VARIABLE: Productivity

dy/dx

Variables	Monitoring promotions for religion	Do not monitor promotions for religion
Productivity		
A lot below average	.113 (.146)	.031 (.019)
Below average	.084 (.105)	.022 (.014)
Average for industry	.083 (.102)	.022 (.014)
Better than average	.080 (.099)	.021 (.013)
A lot better than average	.085 (.106)	.023 (.014)

Significant at *10%,**5% and ***1% level. Standard Errors in parentheses.

BIS | **Department for Business Innovation & Skills**

The Workplace Employment Relations Study

WERS

Workplace Employment Relations Study 2011

Carried out for the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills*

SURVEY OF EMPLOYEES

Completing this questionnaire

This is a national survey of people at work. We are interested in your views about your job and your workplace.
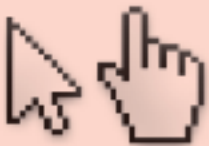
You can also complete the questionnaire online. Please see the accompanying letter for information on how to do this.

Everything that you say in this questionnaire will remain confidential.

The questionnaire should take no more than 15 minutes to fill in.

Please use a blue or black pen to complete the questionnaire, and try to answer every question.

Please try to return the completed questionnaire within the next two weeks.

Thank you for your help.

*In collaboration with Acas, UK Commission for Employment and Skills, the Economic and Social Research Council, and the National Institute of Economic and Social Research.

A. ABOUT YOUR JOB

A1 **How many years in total have you been working at this workplace? By workplace we mean the site or location at, or from, which you work.**

Less than 1 year	1 to less than 2 years	2 to less than 5 years	5 to less than 10 years	10 years or more
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

A2 **Which of the phrases below best describes your job here?**

Tick one box only

Permanent ☐

Temporary – with no agreed end date ☐

Fixed period – with an agreed end date ☐

A3 **What are your basic or contractual hours each week in your job at this workplace, excluding any paid or unpaid overtime?**

Contracted hours (to nearest hour) ☐☐

A4 **How many hours do you usually work in your job each week, including overtime or extra hours?** *Exclude meal breaks and time taken to travel to work.*

Usual hours per week (to nearest hour) ☐☐

A5 **Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about your job?**

Tick one box in each row

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
My job requires that I work very hard	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I never seem to have enough time to get my work done	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I feel my job is secure in this workplace	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

A6 **Think about how people in your kind of job progress – for example get a promotion. Do you agree or disagree that people in this workplace who want to progress usually have to put in long hours?**

Tick one box only

Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

A7 In general, how much influence do you have over the following?

	A lot	Some	A little	None	Don't know
The tasks you do in your job	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The pace at which you work	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
How you do your work	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The order in which you carry out tasks	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The time you start or finish your working day	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

A8 How satisfied are you with the following aspects of your job?

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Don't know
The sense of achievement you get from your work	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The scope for using your own initiative	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The amount of influence you have over your job	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The training you receive	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The opportunity to develop your skills in your job	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The amount of pay you receive	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Your job security	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The work itself	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

A9 Thinking of the past few weeks, how much of the time has your job made you feel each of the following?

	All of the time	Most of the time	Some of the time	Occasionally	Never
Tense	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Depressed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Worried	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Gloomy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Uneasy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Miserable	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

B. ABOUT YOUR WORKPLACE

B1 In the last 12 months, have you made use of any of the following arrangements, and if not, are they available to you if you needed them?

Tick one box in each row

	I have used this arrangement	Available to me but I do not use	Not available to me	Don't know
Flexi-time	☐	☐	☐	☐
Job sharing (sharing a full-time job with someone)	☐	☐	☐	☐
The chance to reduce your working hours (e.g. full-time to part-time)	☐	☐	☐	☐
Working the same number of hours per week across fewer days (e.g. 37 hours in four days instead of five)	☐	☐	☐	☐
Working at or from home in normal working hours	☐	☐	☐	☐
Working only during school term times	☐	☐	☐	☐
Paid leave to care for dependents in an emergency	☐	☐	☐	☐

B2 Now thinking about both your commitments at this workplace and outside of work, do you agree or disagree with the following?

Tick one box in each row

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I often find it difficult to fulfil my commitments outside of work because of the amount of time I spend on my job	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I often find it difficult to do my job properly because of my commitments outside of work	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

B3 Apart from health and safety training, how much training have you had during the last 12 months, either paid for or organised by your employer? *Please only include training where you have been given time off from your normal daily work duties to undertake the training.*

Tick one box only

None	Less than 1 day	1 to less than 2 days	2 to less than 5 days	5 to less than 10 days	10 days or more
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

B4 How well do the work skills you personally have match the skills you need to do your present job?

Tick one box only

	Much higher	A bit higher	About the same	A bit lower	Much lower
My own skills are	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

B5 Did any of the following happen to you as a result of the most recent recession, whilst working at this workplace?

Tick all that apply

I was not working at this workplace during the recession ☐ → Go to **B6**

My workload increased ☐

My work was reorganised ☐

I was moved to another job ☐

My wages were frozen or cut ☐

My non-wage benefits (e.g. vehicles or meals) were reduced ☐

My contracted working hours were reduced ☐

Access to paid overtime was restricted ☐

I was required to take unpaid leave ☐

Access to training was restricted ☐

None of the above ☐

B6 In general, how good would you say managers at this workplace are at keeping employees informed about the following?

Tick one box in each row

	Very good	Good	Neither good nor poor	Poor	Very poor	Don't know
Changes to the way the organisation is being run	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Changes in staffing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Changes in the way you do your job	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Financial matters, including budgets or profits	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

B7 Overall, how good would you say managers at this workplace are at…

Tick one box in each row

	Very good	Good	Neither good nor poor	Poor	Very poor	Don't know
Seeking the views of employees or employee representatives	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Responding to suggestions from employees or employee representatives	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Allowing employees or employee representatives to influence final decisions	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

B8 Overall, how satisfied are you with the amount of involvement you have in decision-making at this workplace? *Tick one box only*

Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

C. YOUR VIEWS ABOUT WORKING HERE

C1 **To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about working here?**

Tick one box in each row

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
Using my own initiative I carry out tasks that are not required as part of my job	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I share many of the values of my organisation	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I feel loyal to my organisation	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am proud to tell people who I work for	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

C2 **Now thinking about the managers at this workplace, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following?**

Tick one box in each row

Managers here…	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
Can be relied upon to keep to their promises	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Are sincere in attempting to understand employees' views	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Deal with employees honestly	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Understand about employees having to meet responsibilities outside work	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Encourage people to develop their skills	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Treat employees fairly	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

C3 **In general, how would you describe relations between managers and employees here?**

Tick one box only

Very good	Good	Neither good nor poor	Poor	Very poor
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

D. REPRESENTATION AT WORK

D1 **Are you a member of a trade union or staff association?**
Tick one box only

Yes	No, but have been in the past	No, have never been a member
☐	☐	☐

D2 **Ideally, who do you think would best represent you in dealing with managers here about the following?**
Tick one box in each row

	Myself	Trade Union	Employee representative (non-union)	Line manager	Another employee
Getting increases in your pay	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
If your employer wanted to reduce your hours or pay	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Getting training	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
If you wanted to make a complaint about working here	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
If a manager wanted to discipline you	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

D3 **How would you describe management's general attitude towards trade union membership among employees here?**
Management is….
Tick one box only

In favour of trade union membership	☐
Not in favour of trade union membership	☐
Neutral about it	☐
Don't know	☐

D4 **Is there a trade union or staff association at this workplace?**
Tick one box only

Yes	☐	→ Go to **D5**
No	☐	→ Go to **E1**
Don't know	☐	

D5 **Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about unions or staff associations at this workplace?**
Tick one box in each row

Unions/staff associations here…	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
…take notice of members' problems and complaints	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
…are taken seriously by management	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
…make a difference to what it is like to work here	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

E. FINALLY, ABOUT YOURSELF

E1 **Are you male or female?**

Male ☐   Female ☐

E2 **How old are you?**

Tick one box only

16-17 ☐   22-29 ☐   50-59 ☐

18-19 ☐   30-39 ☐   60-64 ☐

20-21 ☐   40-49 ☐   65 and above ☐

E3 **Which of the following describes your current status?**

Tick one box only

Single	Married or living with a partner	Divorced/separated	Widowed
☐	☐	☐	☐

E4 **How many dependent children do you have, if any, in the following age groups?**

Enter number of children   *Enter number of children*   *Tick if applies*

0 – 2 years ☐   8 – 11 years ☐   No dependent children ☐

3 – 4 years ☐   12 – 15 years ☐

5 – 7 years ☐   16 – 18 years ☐

E5 **Do you look after or give help or support to any family members or friends who have a long-term physical or mental illness or disability, or who have problems related to old age?**

Tick one box only

No	Yes, 0 – 4 hours a week	Yes, 5 – 9 hours a week	Yes, 10 – 19 hours a week	Yes, 20 – 34 hours a week	Yes, 35 or more hours a week
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

E6 **Are your day-to-day activities limited because of a health problem or disability which has lasted, or is expected to last, at least 12 months?** *Please include problems related to old age.*

Tick one box only

No	Yes, limited a little	Yes, limited a lot
☐	☐	☐

E7 **Which, if any, of the following academic, vocational or professional qualifications have you obtained?** *Tick all that apply*

GCSE grades D-G/CSE grades 2-5, SCE O grades D-E/SCE Standard grades 4-7 ☐

GCSE grades A-C, GCE 'O'-level passes, CSE grade 1, SCE O grades A-C, SCE Standard grades 1-3 ☐

1 GCE 'A'-level grades A-E,1-2 SCE Higher grades A-C, AS levels ☐

2 or more GCE 'A'-levels grades A-E, 3 or more SCE Higher grades A-C ☐

First degree, eg BSc, BA, BEd, HND, HNC, MA at first degree level ☐

Higher degree, eg MSc, MA, MBA, PGCE, PhD ☐

Other academic qualifications ☐

No academic qualifications ☐

Level 1 NVQ or SVQ, Foundation GNVQ or GSVQ ☐

Level 2 NVQ or SVQ, Intermediate GNVQ or GSVQ, City and Guilds Craft, BTEC First/General Diploma, RSA Diploma ☐

Level 3 NVQ or SVQ, Advanced GNVQ or GSVQ, City and Guilds Advanced Craft, BTEC National, RSA Advanced Diploma ☐

Level 4 NVQ or SVQ, RSA Higher Diploma, BTEC Higher level ☐

Level 5 NVQ or SVQ ☐

Completion of trade apprenticeship ☐

Other vocational or pre-vocational qualifications, e.g. OCR ☐

Other professional qualifications, e.g. qualified teacher, accountant, nurse ☐

No vocational or professional qualifications ☐

E8 **What is the full title of your main job?**
e.g. Primary School Teacher, State Registered Nurse, Car Mechanic, Benefits Assistant. If you are a civil servant or local government officer, please give your job title, not your grade or pay band.

E9 **Describe what you do in your main job. Please describe as fully as possible.**

E10 **Do you supervise any other employees?** *A supervisor, foreman or line manager is responsible for overseeing the work of other employees on a day-to-day basis.*

Yes ☐   No ☐

E11 **How much do you get paid for your job here, before tax and other deductions are taken out?** *If your pay before tax changes from week to week because of overtime, or because you work different hours each week, think about what you earn on average.*

Tick one box only

£60 or less per week (£3,120 or less per year) ☐

£61 - £100 per week (£3,121 - £5,200 per year) ☐

£101 - £130 per week (£5,201 - £6,760 per year) ☐

£131 - £170 per week (£6,761 - £8,840 per year) ☐

£171 - £220 per week (£8,841 - £11,440 per year) ☐

£221 - £260 per week (£11,441 - £13,520 per year) ☐

£261 - £310 per week (£13,521 - £16,120 per year) ☐

£311 - £370 per week (£16,121 - £19,240 per year) ☐

£371 - £430 per week (£19,241 - £22,360 per year) ☐

£431 - £520 per week (£22,361 - £27,040 per year) ☐

£521 - £650 per week (£27,041 - £33,800 per year) ☐

£651 - £820 per week (£33,801 - £42,640 per year) ☐

£821 - £1,050 per week (£42,641 - £54,600 per year) ☐

£1,051 or more per week (£54,601 or more per year) ☐

E12 **Which of the following do you receive in your job here?**

Tick all that apply

Basic fixed salary/wage ☐

Payments based on your individual performance or output ☐

Payments based on the overall performance of a group or a team ☐

Payments based on the overall performance of your workplace or organisation (e.g. profit-sharing scheme) ☐

Extra payments for additional hours of work or overtime ☐

Contributions to a pension scheme ☐

E13 **To which of these groups do you consider you belong?**

Tick one box only

White	British	☐
	Irish	☐
	Any other white background	☐
Mixed	White and Black Caribbean	☐
	White and Black African	☐
	White and Asian	☐
	Any other mixed background	☐
Asian or Asian British	Indian	☐
	Pakistani	☐
	Bangladeshi	☐
	Chinese	☐
	Any other Asian background	☐
Black or Black British	Caribbean	☐
	African	☐
	Any other Black background	☐
Other ethnic group	Arab	☐
	Any other ethnic group	☐

E14 **What is your religion?**

Tick one box only

No religion	☐
Christian (including Church of England, Church of Scotland, Catholic, Protestant, and all other Christian denominations)	☐
Buddhist	☐
Hindu	☐
Jewish	☐
Muslim	☐
Sikh	☐
Another religion	☐

E15 **Which of the following options best describes how you think of yourself?** 2020
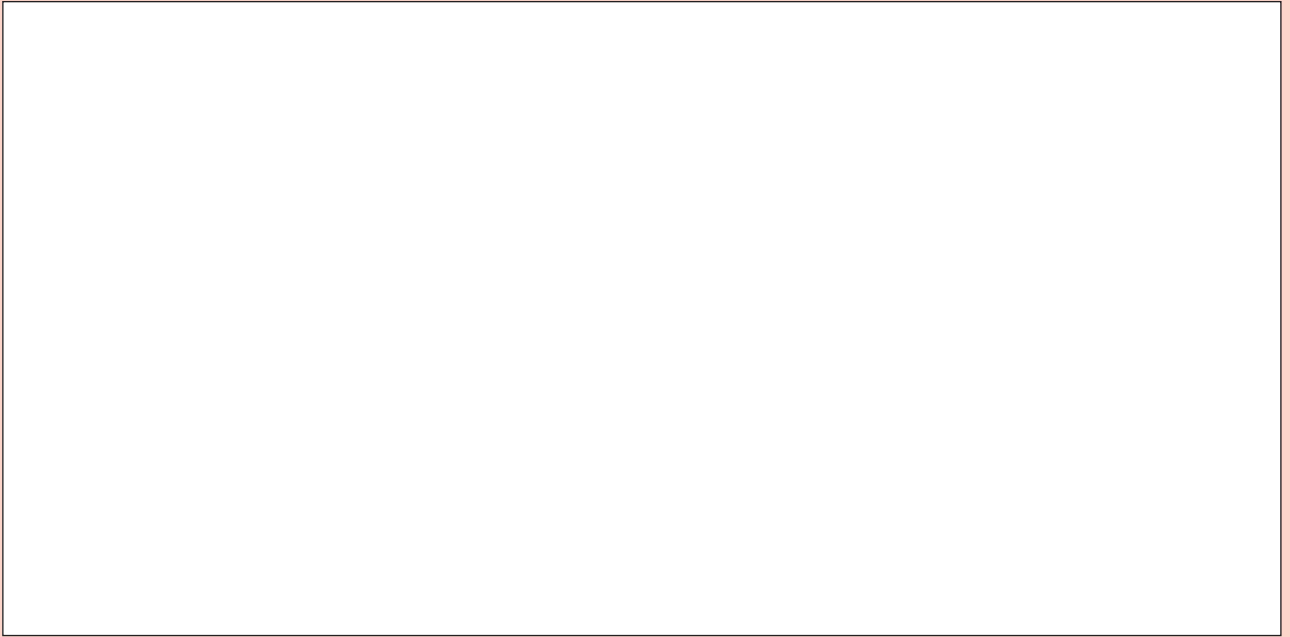
Tick one box only

Heterosexual or straight	Gay or lesbian	Bisexual	Other	Prefer not to say
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

E16 Do you have any final comments you would like to make about your workplace, or about this questionnaire?

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire.

Please now return the questionnaire by using the freepost envelope provided.