

Denied Work

An audit of employment discrimination on
the basis of gender identity in **Vietnam**



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Authors' Note

It is an example of how trans community and researchers can work together, collaborating as equal partners in work that can inform advocacy, and potentially impact on public policy and enhance the lives of trans people.

This report adds significantly to our understanding of discrimination against trans people in Vietnam. Our field experiment methodology provides confirmation for what trans people have told us for years - that they are often shut out of the job market. But this study represents much more than its findings.

The Curtin and the Asia Pacific Transgender Network team worked together to develop the research proposal and secure funding for this project. While the funds are primarily managed by APTN, both teams worked together to select research assistants, to train them, and to manage the project. We collaborated to write the report. We were partners throughout.

In a world in which trans community members often feel ill-served, even exploited, by those who research their lives, this Job Audit represents a shining example of how things can be.

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Acknowledgements

The four individual country reports from Vietnam, Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore on job employment discrimination provide groundbreaking data for trans rights and advocacy in the region. This study is part of a multi-country project implemented in partnership with UNDP and Curtin University conducted to identify the barriers that trans people experience while seeking employment.

Each country report is different in terms of its culture, community, and findings. However, overall the data shows that trans people in Asia and the Pacific often experience heightened levels of discrimination in the early stages of employment compared to similarly qualified cis people. The country reports provide a detailed and distinct data overview of the country considering the unique identities, cultures, and challenges trans people experience in each country. The country reports should be read in conjunction with the regional report to best understand the nuance of challenges that trans people experience in employment in different countries throughout Asia.

The reports make recommendations for employers in the position of hiring to accept and we urge that the recommendations are accepted and implemented by employers. We also hope that these country reports will be utilised by individuals and organisations in-country to advocate for greater protections of trans people. We hope that the research and information presented in these reports can inform legal, policy, and social reform that promotes equality in hiring and employment.

The data was gathered with trans people leading the process at every step and empowered trans individuals by training them as country leads in the project. APTN would like to thank all of the trans community participants and organisations who contributed to the development of this important publication. A heartfelt thanks to our country research assistants, Peeranee Suparak (Ami), Thailand, Chu Thanh Ha, Vietnam, Dorian Wilde, Malaysia and Singapore who have been pivotal in gathering the data for each of the countries. We also extend our gratitude to Edmund Settle, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Sam Winter and Catriona Davis, Curtin University for their financial and technical support in this project and to the community members and organisations that have provided insights and guidance in the development of the study.

We look forward to this report being utilised to break barriers, foster collaborations and spark greater dialogue surrounding workplace discrimination and policy changes to advance social protections and the livelihood of trans people.

Joe Wong

Executive Director

Asia Pacific Transgender Network



my pronouns are
they/them



ASIA PACIFIC
TRANSGENDER
NETWORK

my pronouns are
he/him

pronouns are
they

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Denied Work: An Audit of Employment Discrimination on the Basis of Gender Identity in Vietnam¹

We conducted a correspondence audit study² in the Vietnamese job market of 2016 and 2017. The study was approved by Curtin University's Human Research Ethics Committee.

Note: We use the term transgender (or simply trans) as an adjective describing persons who identify in a gender other than the one that matches the sex they have been assigned (usually at birth). We use the English term "trans women" to describe transfeminine people, "trans men" to describe transmasculine people, and the broader English phrasing "trans people" to describe these groups collectively. We use the term cisgender (or simply cis) to describe individuals who identify in the gender that matches the sex they were originally assigned (again usually at or shortly after birth). We use the term "use name" to refer to the name used by a trans person to be consistent with their gender identity, which is different from their legal name.

Pairs of resumes were sent to entry level job postings to examine how signals of gender identity affect the likelihood of receiving a positive response to a job application. The correspondence audit allows for a randomised experimental design, which provides direct evidence of discrimination or equality. Resumes were piloted and matched for equivalence. Each resume was then assigned a gender identity marker, either trans or cis, at random.

Applicants were marked as trans in two ways. First by way of a gender designation, alongside accompanying information that the person concerned was transgender (eg Gender: Male (Transgender man - Chuyen Gioi Nam). Second by way of a gender specific legal name

matching the individual's assigned sex, printed alongside a 'preferred name' (a use name) matching their gender identity. Applicants were marked as cisgender by way of a simple gender designation, with name to match.

Four job sectors were targeted. Two were for university graduates (in business administration and software engineering), one was for diploma holders (hotels and catering), and one was for school leavers.

We found discrimination based on gender identity, with trans people significantly less likely to receive a positive response (including being invited to interview) than their cisgender counterparts.

Key Findings

I.

Trans people in Vietnam are discriminated against when seeking employment. Alarming, this occurs even before the interview stage. Trans people are significantly less likely than cisgender people to receive a positive response to a job application (including an invitation to attend an interview).

II.

Even with equal experience and qualifications, the cis applicants in our study received 70.1% more positive responses to job applications than trans applicants (216 versus 127 positive responses).

III.

A cis woman was 68.3% more likely to receive a positive response to a job application than a trans woman. A cis man was 71.9% more likely to receive a positive response to a job application than a trans man.

IV.

Raw data underlined the scale of missed opportunities. The job market was challenging for all applicants. The 800 job applications resulted in only 140 invitations to interview for cis applicants. Yet it was even more challenging for trans applicants. With only 96 trans applicants called to interview, in our study it appears that being trans resulted in 44 lost interview opportunities; despite both applicants being equally qualified and experienced.

V.

Our data does not go beyond the initial application stage. It is expected that further discrimination against trans people occurs where they are fortunate enough to get an interview.

Employment of Trans People in Vietnam

Equal access to employment is not a reality for trans people across the world.³

Trans people suffer from limited access to education;⁴ inaccurate, limited, or stigmatising legal identity documents;⁵ limited access to healthcare, adequately trained healthcare professionals, and to insurance coverage and time off for medical needs, which can lead to work-related issues such as underperformance and increased need for time off or flexibility;⁶ unstable home life;⁷ inconsistent access to housing;⁸ and trans-antagonistic violence, stigma and discrimination with limited avenues for redress.⁹ Collectively, these issues create a situation in which trans people struggle to find and keep gainful employment, and ultimately experience oppression and disenfranchisement.

Vietnam has a cultural history of respect towards trans people, particularly in the context of cultural and traditional roles.¹⁰ However, in more recent times, transphobic stigma and discrimination have taken root.¹¹ Furthermore, sexual orientation and gender identity are not explicitly separated as concepts in general discussion; transfeminine people (assigned male at birth who transition to live as women) are often considered to be a more visible and extreme form of gay men. Transmasculine people (assigned female at birth who transition to live as men) are largely invisible in modern discussions of sexual orientation and gender identity.¹²

One online study in Vietnam found that 85% of trans women respondents had dropped out of school due to bullying and violence.^{13,14} This has significant impact on the employment prospects for trans people, who suffer from chronic un- and under-employment.¹⁵ Many trans women perform as funeral singers as their main career, a position which allows them to present themselves as women. However, these performances are often characterised by derision and mockery from cis people attending the funerals.¹⁶

An in-depth self-report study on employment discrimination by Hoang and Oosterhoff (2016) explains that trans women often work in informal or unregulated industries because of lack of opportunity in the traditional job market.¹⁷ The same study found that 52% of transgender respondents received most of their income from family and friends, compared with an average unemployment rate of 7% for the general population at that time. This study also found that transgender people in traditional employment were more likely to be employed in food service (36%), or own their own businesses (18%). When these responses were probed in interviews, respondents indicated that prospective employers had told them that they wanted non-trans

employees or that their co-workers had lost respect for them when they became aware of their trans status. More than half of trans women respondents and over a quarter of trans men had been forced to leave a job once their trans status became known.¹⁸

Transgender people in Vietnam are not currently legally able to change their identity documents into their self-defined gender, regardless of medical or social transition, though a law is in the drafting process that will create a legal pathway to gender recognition. Due to the current legal situation, all transgender applicants for employment must “out” themselves to employers at the very beginning of the application process when providing their name and identity information. This leads to increase exposure to harassment and degrading treatment for applicants,¹⁹ and to negative self-esteem impacts for trans people.²⁰ If the new law is implemented further research will be necessary into the impact of legal gender recognition on the lives and livelihoods of trans people in Vietnam.





Transgender people in **Vietnam** are not legally able to change their identity documents into their self-defined gender, regardless of medical or social transition, though a law is in the drafting process that will create a legal pathway to gender recognition.

Previous Audit Research

Some of the most convincing field evidence for discrimination against minority groups has come from audit methodology, in which the experiences of members of a minority community are examined in a specific social situation, and are then compared with the experiences of persons in the general population when in that same situation.

There appear to have been only three audit studies examining discrimination against trans people seeking employment. One employed an in-person audit. The other two were correspondence tests. All were small-scale US studies.

The first was a small in-person employment audit conducted in 2008 by an organization called Make the Road NY.²¹ Twenty-four various retail stores in Manhattan were tested. Cisgender testers received 11 offers of employment, whilst transgender testers received only two, suggesting a massive level of discrimination against trans applicants. While the size and generalizability of this study is limited, results clearly indicate significant discrimination against trans people at the hiring level of employment.

Bardales²² conducted a correspondence test to assess discrimination against trans women. Bardales sent matching resumes - one with a trans marker, and one without - in response to 109 online job adverts within the customer service and food management job sectors in two cities in Texas. All applications were from women (trans or cis). Extrapolating from the figures provided by Bardales, it is apparent that cis applicants received responses 54.1% more often than trans applicants. As in the case of the Make the Road research in New York, this Texas study was of limited scope. It examined discrimination against women only, was confined to two job sectors, and in any case involved a relatively small number of applications. Questions therefore remain about its generalizability. The

researchers made equivalent resumes based on their own ideas, with no validation process.

Most recently, in a report entitled *Qualified and Transgender*, the District of Columbia (DC) Office of Human Rights (OHR) conducted a correspondence test examining trans hiring discrimination across a range of job sectors.²³ It is important to note that DC has antidiscrimination policies in place to protect against such discrimination. The applications targeted 50 jobs. There were a total of 200 applications; four for each job, from cis and trans men and women, and other gender non-conforming persons. The authors reported that employers made responses in regard to 21 jobs, and that in ten of these there was clear evidence of discrimination against

trans and gender non-conforming applicants. The worst discrimination appeared to be against trans male applicants reporting previous work-experience at a transgender advocacy organization. In terms of job sector, the restaurant industry appeared the most discriminatory among the job sectors examined. Once again, this study was small; limiting its generalizability. Moreover, the study explicitly ensured that each trans and gender nonconforming applicants were more highly qualified than the corresponding cis applicants. It is impossible to know what the impact of this aspect of the methodology may have been. However, it is likely that it may have enhanced the apparent employability of the trans applicants, thereby masking any discrimination on the basis of their gender identity status.

“The worst **discrimination appeared to be against trans male applicants reporting previous work-experience at a transgender advocacy organization.”**

Current Audit Research

A research assistant worked on the project over a period of six months. The research assistant lived in Vietnam and was familiar with the local job market.

INITIAL DEVELOPMENT OF PAIRS OF EQUIVALENT RESUMES (PILOT STAGE)

As a first step we held an advisory group meeting with members of the trans community in Hanoi, during which we discussed the job market, job applications and ideas for possible gender markers. We then developed resumes based on the feedback from the advisory group.

We developed pairs of resumes for each of the four job sectors: for graduates in business administration (job sector 1), hotels and catering (sector 2), and software engineering (sector 3), as well as for school leavers (sector 4)). We tested whether the resumes in each pair were similarly attractive in their intended job market. We did so by sending them out in response to job advertisements and counting employer responses. We coded responses in terms of three positive response categories ('call us', 'provide more information', and 'come to an interview'), and two types of negative response ('not interested' and no response at all).

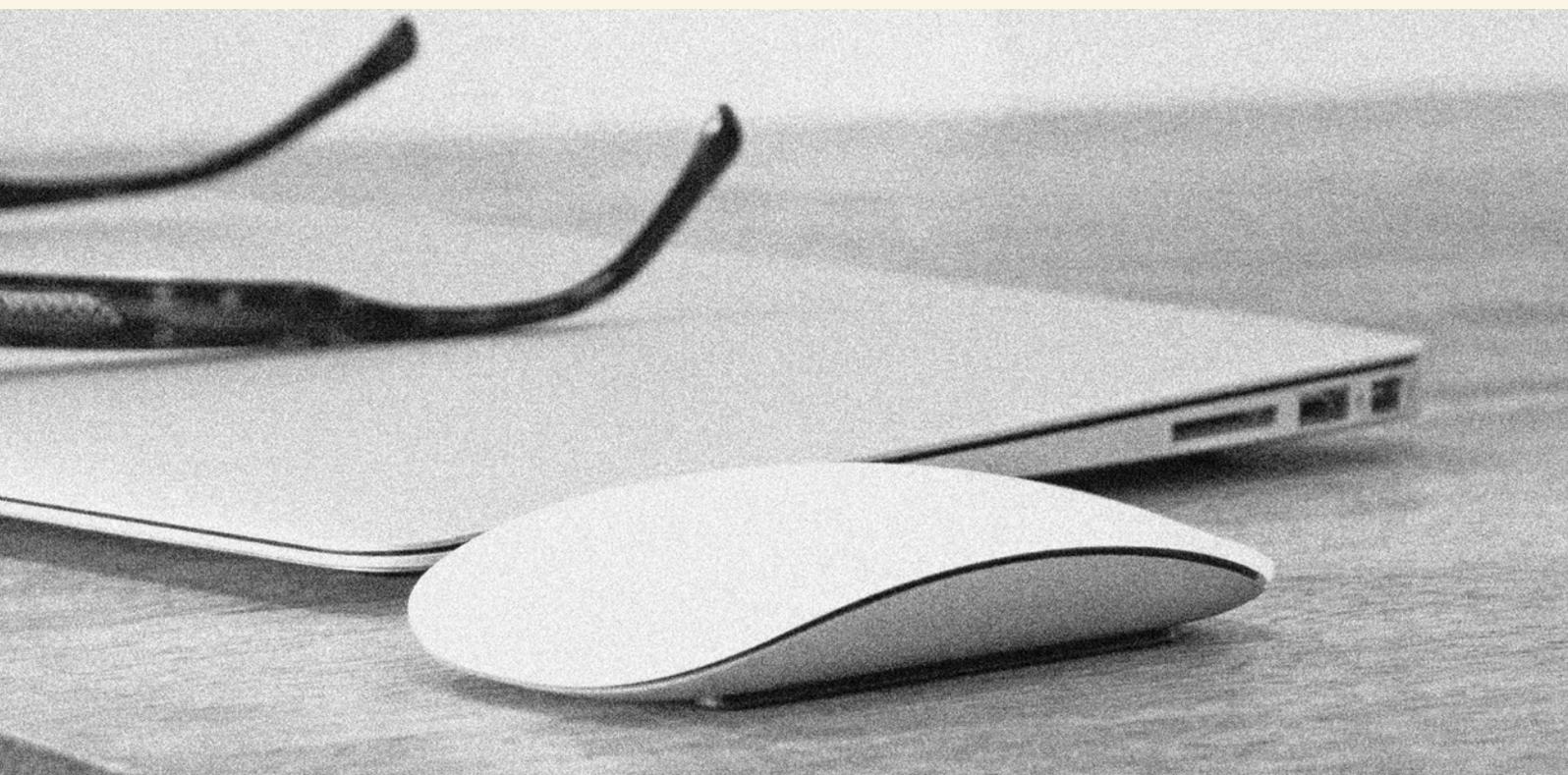
We used McNemar's test.²⁴ for detecting a discrepancy in employer responses for the two resumes. This enabled us to assess whether any apparent difference in attractiveness was real or due to chance. Where one resume appeared more attractive than another we discussed possible reasons, made suitable changes, and then restarted the testing process, continuing in this way until we reached statistical equivalence.



**TESTING FOR
DISCRIMINATION
(MAIN STUDY STAGE)**

Once the resumes in each pair were deemed statistically equivalent, we assigned to each resume a gender identity marker (either trans or cis) at random. Applicants were marked as trans in two ways. First by way of a gender designation, alongside accompanying information that the person concerned was transgender (eg Gender: Male (*Transgender man - Chuyen Gioi Nam*)). Second by way of a gender specific legal name matching the individual's assigned sex, printed alongside a 'preferred name' (a use name) matching their gender identity. Applicants were marked as cisgender by way of a simple gender designation, with name to match.

Over several months we sent out 1600 applications, two for each of 800 jobs, with 200 jobs in each of the four job sectors in two phases: one phase comparing a cis man and trans man applicant on a set of 100 jobs, and one phase comparing a cis woman and a trans woman on a second set of 100 jobs. The gender identity markers were rotated to mitigate impacts of differences between the two resumes in each set: one resume in the pair was allocated the trans marker or the cis marker for 10 applications, then the markers were switched for 10 applications, and so on. In this way we ensured a degree of balance in the number of times a resume was used by a cis man, cis woman, trans man and trans woman.



Results & Discussion

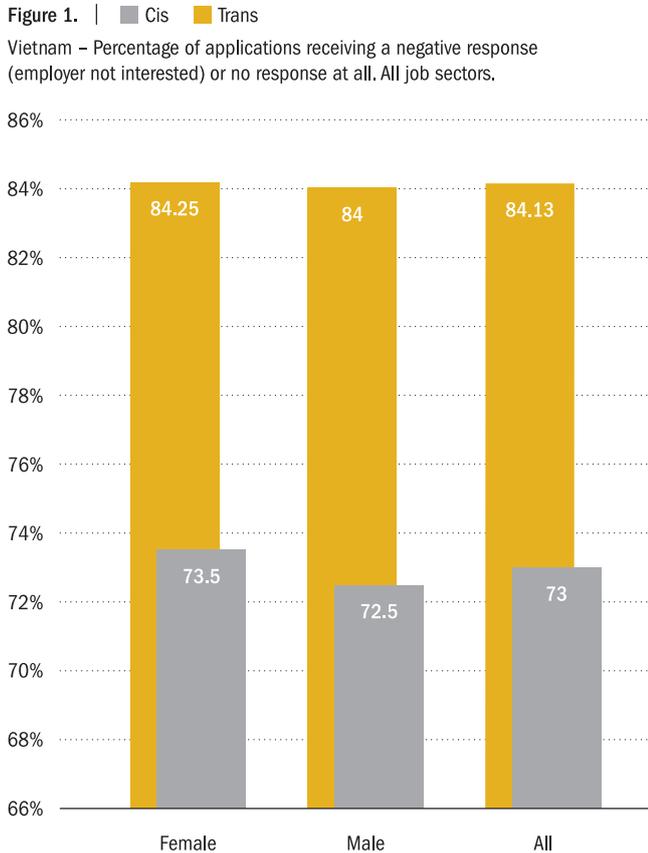
Table 1 summarises the raw data collected. It displays response data for cis and trans applications (male and female) in terms of three positive response categories ('call us' (c)), 'provide more information' (d), 'come to an interview' (e), and two types of negative response ('not interested' (b) and no response at all (a)). The table also provides pooled data, for the three positive response types combined (c, d, and e), the two negative responses combined (a and b), and the four job sectors combined (see final rows).

APPENDIX 1A. SUMMARY DATA FOR VIETNAM

VIETNAM		NATURE OF RESPONSE									
Job Sector	Gender	Negative Responses		Call Us (1)		Tell Us More (2)		Come For Interview (3)		All Positive Responses (1-3)	
		Cis	Trans	Cis	Trans	Cis	Trans	Cis	Trans	Cis	Trans
1. Degree Business Administration	Female	76	85	7	6	5	2	12	7	24	15
	Male	73	83	2	0	4	1	21	16	27	17
	All	149	168	9	6	9	3	33	23	51	32
2. Vocational Diploma Hotels/Catering	Female	72	85	4	1	3	0	21	14	28	15
	Male	75	86	9	3	1	2	15	9	25	14
	All	147	171	13	4	4	2	36	23	53	29
3. Degree Software Engineering	Female	70	83	0	0	4	3	26	14	30	17
	Male	68	84	13	5	5	2	14	9	32	16
	All	138	167	13	5	9	5	40	23	62	33
4. High School	Female	76	84	7	4	5	1	12	11	24	16
	Male	74	83	1	1	6	0	19	16	26	17
	All	150	167	8	5	11	1	31	27	50	33
All	Female	294	337	18	11	17	6	71	46	106	63
	Male	290	336	25	9	16	5	69	50	110	64
	All	584	673	43	20	33	11	140	96	216	127

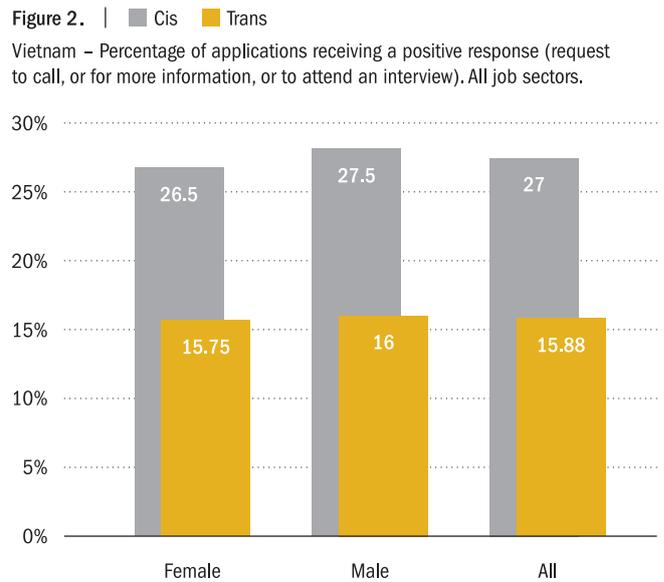
It is clear from our data that trans people in our study were discriminated against when seeking employment. Despite equivalent qualifications and experience, trans applicants were across the four job sectors less likely than cis applicants to receive a positive response (either being invited to contact the employer, being asked for more information, or being called to interview) with trans applicants receiving 127 responses compared to 216

responses for cis applicants to the same jobs.²⁵ On the other hand, trans applicants were more likely to get a negative response (that the employer was not interested, or receive no response at all), with trans applicants receiving 673 negative responses compared to 584 negative responses for cis applicants. See Figures 1 and 2.



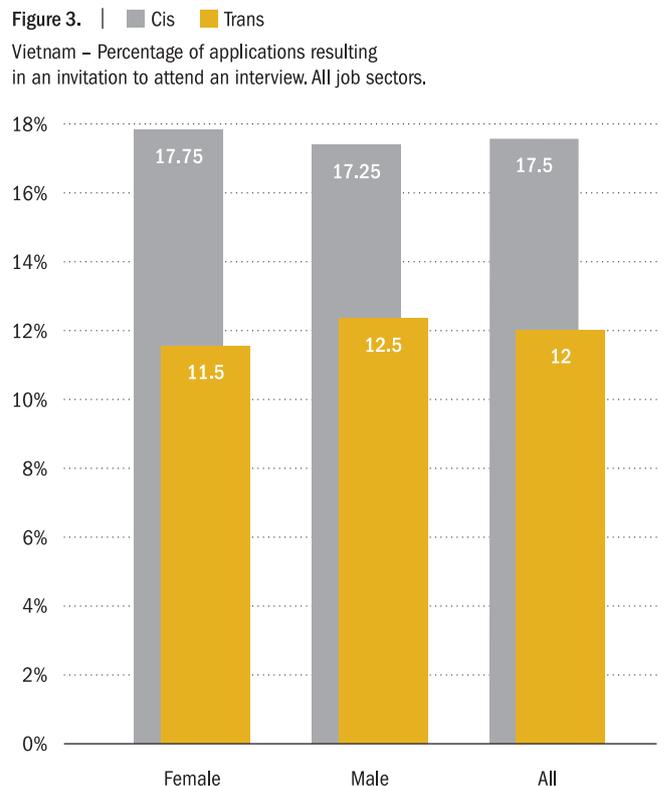
Overall the cis applicants received 70.1% more positive responses than the trans applicants (216 versus 127, respectively). Trans women and trans men appeared to experience similar levels of discrimination. Cis women received 68.3% more positive responses than trans women (106 versus 63, respectively). The corresponding figure for men was 71.9% (110 responses for cis men versus 64 responses for trans men).

The trend towards discrimination against trans applicants was evident in the number of invitations to attend interview (see Figure 3). Cis applicants, though no more qualified and experienced than the trans applicants, nevertheless overall received 45.8% more requests to attend interview (140 versus 96, respectively). This difference indicates that even when an employer may be willing to consider a trans applicant, the type of response is qualitatively different than for a cis person with the



same qualifications. Viewed in terms of invitations to interview, the discrimination faced by trans women appeared particularly severe. Cis women received 54.4% more invitations to interview than trans women (71 versus 46, respectively). The corresponding figure for men was 38.0% (69 for cis men versus 50 for trans men).

Discrimination was evident, to varying extents, in all four employment sectors examined. Figures 4a to 4d



provide, for each of the four job sectors, percentages corresponding to those in Figure 3. The situation faced by graduates in software engineering appeared particularly severe, with cis applicants overall getting called to interview 73.9% more frequently than trans applicants (40 versus 23, respectively). Substantial discrimination was evident in two of the other sectors, with cis applicants 56.5% more likely to get interviews in the hotels and catering sector than trans applicants (36 versus 23, respectively), and 43.5% more likely in the business administration sector (33 versus 23, respectively). The least severe discrimination was in the school leaver sector, with cis applicants getting only 14.8% more invitations to interview than trans applicants (31 versus 27, respectively).

In two of the job sectors, business administration and software engineering, the discrimination faced by trans women seemed particularly severe, as

Figure 4a. | ■ Cis ■ Trans
Vietnam – Job Sector 1, Business Administration: Percentage of applications resulting in an invitation to attend an interview.

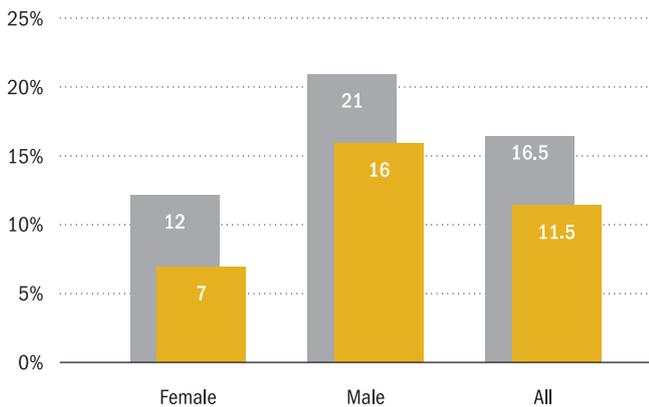
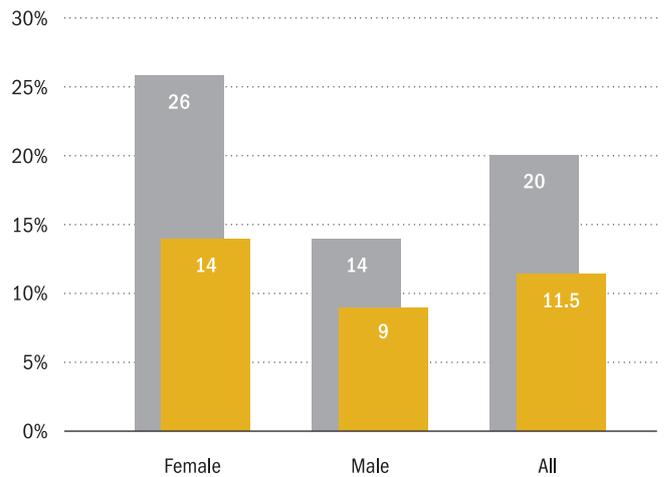


Figure 4b. | ■ Cis ■ Trans
Vietnam – Job Sector 2, Hotels and Catering: Percentage of applications resulting in an invitation to attend an interview.

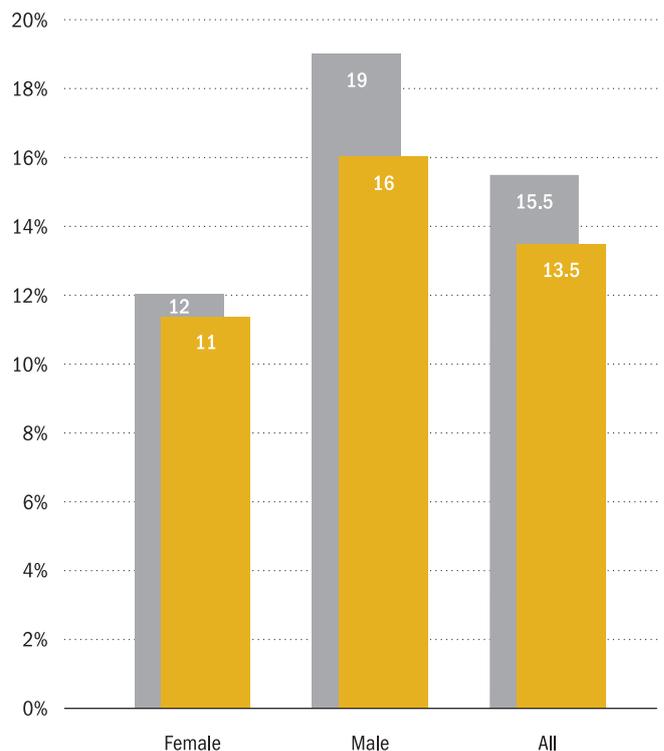


Figure 4c. | ■ Cis ■ Trans
Vietnam – Job Sector 3, Software Engineering: Percentage of applications resulting in an invitation to attend an interview.



compared with trans men. Cis women with degrees in business administration were 71.4% (12 versus 7, respectively) more likely to be called to interview than equivalently qualified and experienced trans women. The corresponding figure for men was 31.3% (21 responses for cis men versus 16 responses for trans men). Among graduates in software engineering, cis women were 85.7% more likely to be called to interview than trans women (26 versus 14, respectively); the corresponding figure for

Figure 4d. | ■ Cis ■ Trans
Vietnam – Job Sector 4, High School graduates: Percentage of applications resulting in an invitation to attend an interview.



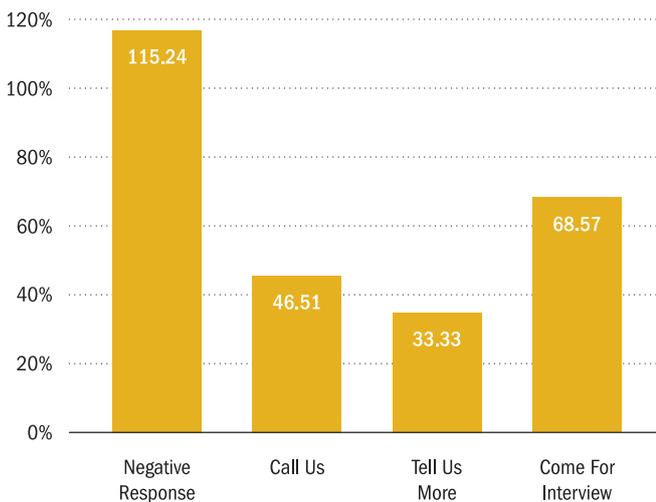
men was 55.6% (14 versus 9, respectively).

In the other two sectors it was trans men who appeared to experience the greatest degree of discrimination. Among graduates in the hotels and catering sector cis men were 66.7% more likely than trans men to receive an interview invitation (15 versus 9, respectively); for women the corresponding figure was 50.0% (21 versus 14). Among school leavers cis men were 18.8% more likely than trans men to get invited to interview (19 versus 16); for women the corresponding figure was 9.1% (12 versus 11).

Finally, as a way of standing back and looking at the entire data (see Table 1), it is possible to calculate the relative likelihood of a trans applicant getting specific types of response, as compared with the likelihood for cis applicants. Figure 5 shows the results of this

Figure 5.

Vietnam – Likelihood of a trans applicant getting a specific type of response, relative to the likelihood for a cis applicant. Negative responses comprise 'not interested' and no response at all.



calculation.²⁶ We see how, at one end of the spectrum, trans applicants were disproportionately likely, as compared with cis applicants, to have their applications ignored by employers. Towards the other end of the spectrum, they were less likely than cis applicants to be asked to call the employer, to provide more information, or (as we have seen) be called to interview.



Lost Opportunities

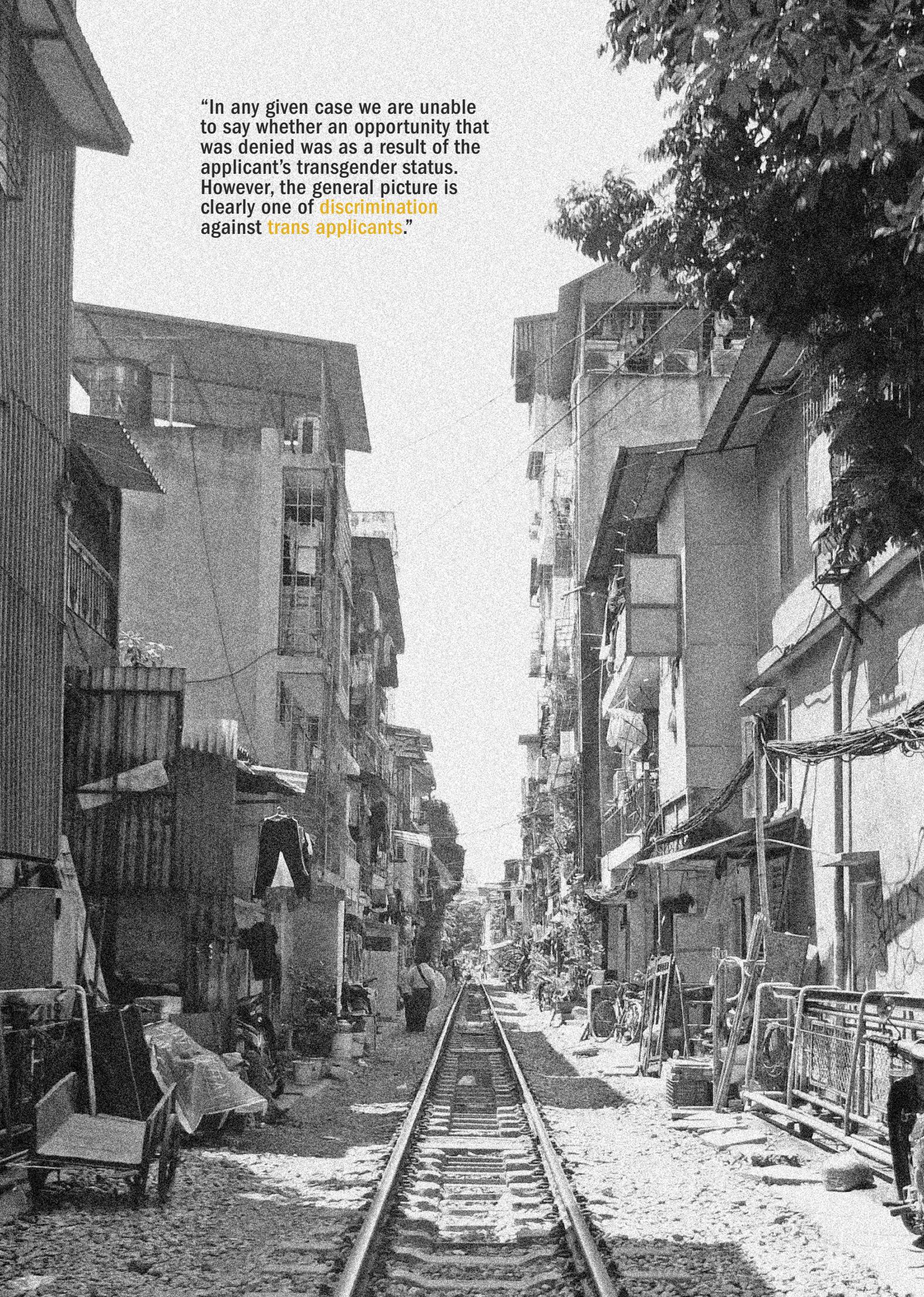
Overall, the results indicate when a gender identity marker is added to two equivalent resumes, the resume with the trans marker is significantly less likely to receive a positive response than the one with a cis marker. This shows direct evidence of discrimination based on gender identity; it also highlights the actual lost opportunities experienced by trans people when seeking employment in Vietnam.

When we explore the raw data (Table 1), we can see how many opportunities opened up for cis applicants, but not for equally qualified and experienced trans applicants. The cis applicants received 70.1% more positive responses than the trans applicants. This represents 89 actual lost opportunities for the trans applicants. The opportunities lost were spread evenly across genders (43 for trans women, 46 for trans men), and were evident in every job sector we examined.

If we look more specifically at invitations to interview (the most positive of responses observed in this study) we see that 140 cis applicants were invited to interview, as compared with only 96 trans applicants. This represents 44 missed interview opportunities (25 for trans women and 19 for trans men).

It is worth emphasising again that, before the gender identity markers were added, these resumes had been carefully piloted to be equivalently attractive in the job market. We should stress too that the jobs targeted by our applications were real jobs, and, as far as the employers were concerned, these were real applicants. Those 44 missed interview opportunities therefore represented 44 cases in which those involved in recruitment had decided to deny opportunities to applicants they believed to be trans. In any given case we are unable to say whether an opportunity that was denied was as a result of the applicant's transgender status. However, the general picture is clearly one of discrimination against trans applicants.

“In any given case we are unable to say whether an opportunity that was denied was as a result of the applicant’s transgender status. However, the general picture is clearly one of **discrimination** against **trans applicants**.”



Concluding Notes

Overall, both trans men and trans women in Vietnam appeared to encounter discrimination in the job market, and in every job sector studied. In two of the four job sectors, trans women appeared to encounter much greater challenges in getting an interview.

In the two others trans men appeared to face more. The discriminatory environments presented by certain job sectors, and any differential discrimination based on the gender of the trans people applying for jobs, deserve further scrutiny.

This study examined job discrimination at the first stage of a search for a job – submitting a job application. We are not able to draw conclusions on what the experiences are for those trans applicants who are fortunate enough to gain an interview. The Make the Road

research reviewed earlier suggests that, when trans people come face to face with potential employers, they face discrimination afresh.

Finally, a word of caution. Across much of the world an increasing amount of recruitment is being done through agencies hired by companies for the purpose, and through recruitment software (some of it making use of Artificial Intelligence). Consequently, the relatively poor response rates evident for trans

people in this study may reflect prejudice and discrimination in the agencies hired to recruit employees, or the programming of software being used in recruitment. In effect, a company advertising a job, and then appearing to be discriminating against trans applicants, may not actually be directly responsible for the discrimination at all. Indeed, it may not even be aware that discrimination is being perpetrated.

Comments from the Research Assistant: We also collected qualitative data from the research assistant about their experience during the data collecting phase. The data collection had quite an impact on them.

“As a transgender person, there were many moments in this research where I felt that I had been witnessing lots of discrimination happening right there in my country. Additionally, it reminded me one of the comments I had received from the employer said that ‘We do not discriminate those who are transgender and LGBTIQ people because they are talented and smart, but we do not want to recruit those who are pretending to be the opposite of what they really are, which is quite a different matter”

“Sometimes, when I had to collect the data/figures and recognized the high percentage of non-trans applicants receiving more callbacks than their qualified counterparts which made me really upset and desperate”



Recommendations

The findings in this study indicate that the job market for trans applicants is not equivalent to that for cis applicants in Vietnam. There are several steps of note that the trans communities, groups, networks and allies may take to prepare trans applicants for existing obstacles.

Firstly, in Vietnam, Article 16 of Constitution 2013 stipulates that “Everyone is equal before the law.” and “No one shall be discriminated in their political, civil, economic, cultural and social life.” While there is not an explicit mention of protection on the basis of gender identity or expression, this broad clause can be used to address discrimination experienced on these grounds. Furthermore, allies in gender-based discrimination contexts may be valuable partners in preparing concerted responses to employment discrimination issues and their legislation and adjudication. Secondly, it is essential to document

and monitor discriminatory job advertisements and practices in order to better work towards creating more job opportunities for trans applicants. Thirdly, it is vital to prepare trans job applicants for the types of discrimination they may face entering the job market, with specific attention paid to trans women and to the more difficult job sectors. Finally, there is a clear need for education and sensitivity trainings for businesses, especially those with international ties and existing non-discrimination policies or practises.

Recommendations for Breaking Down Existing Barriers Include:

1

Developing a lobbying strategy with government, based on evidence of discrimination in hiring, using these findings. Specifically, it may be useful to engage state governments, specific state legislators and policymakers, lawyers involved in employment litigation, and others involved in the drafting of legislation;

2

Performing an audit on the job hiring practices;

3

Developing trans cultural and trans competent hiring standards or practice with groups or unions;

4

Promoting best workplace standards and employers;

5

Building awareness, capacity and knowledge in fields that will help trans applicant secure a job, such as, resume-writing classes, community discussions on discrimination and discriminatory employers, and community-sponsored classes to improve one's qualifications may be of use;

5

Creating more social and media awareness on job employment challenges faced by trans people;

6

Developing a curriculum amongst trans activist and advocates for this sensitisation and work with allies (such as corporate sectors, organisations, chambers of commerce, and university preparatory programs) to provide it to employers, both to build and improve relationships and trust between the trans community and the corporate sector and to decrease incidents of implicit and explicit bias in hiring within these companies.

Endnotes

- ¹ Acknowledgements to community members who took part in consultations in the early stages of the study, and to Dr Robert Kane, and Dr Jun Chih, Curtin University, Western Australia, for help with data management.
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