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**STEREOTYPE ATTITUDES OF SELECTION INTERVIEWERS
AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR MAORI OF CURRENT
SELECTION INTERVIEW PRACTICE IN
NEW ZEALAND.**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts in Psychology at Massey University.

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ABSTRACT

The interview is the most widely used tool by selection practitioners and is also one of the most hotly debated in terms of its reliability and validity. In New Zealand Maori occupy a disadvantaged position in the labour market. As such the interview may act in a gatekeeping manner denying Maori full and equal participation in the labour market. The present study was conducted as two distinct phases of research. Firstly, the pattern of stereotype attitudes of selection interviewers towards the five largest ethnic groups in New Zealand (Maori, Pacific Island group, Chinese, NZ European/Pakeha and British/UK group) was investigated. Secondly, the current interview techniques and practice of people involved in conducting employment interviews in New Zealand were examined. The mail-in ethnic attitude questionnaire was completed by 107 employment interview practitioners. The attitudes towards the five ethnic groups were measured using an attitude scale consisting of 12 semantic differential dimensions. An overall differential pattern of attitude stereotyping was revealed for the five groups. The second phase involved 26 participants who were involved in an interview conducted by the researcher to ascertain their interviewing practice, knowledge about interview research and EEO considerations regarding the employment interview. The responses gained from the participants indicate that the common technique utilised is the unstructured interview with questions developed on an ad hoc basis. There was also a considerable lack of formal interview training and most participants reported a lack of familiarity with published research. EEO initiatives were uncoordinated and participants generally reported a lack of direction regarding the implications of EEO policies. The results indicate the opportunity for current selection practice to act as a barrier to full and equal Maori participation in the labour market. Additionally the current approach to EEO Maori is inadequate to deal with the additional status of Maori as tangata whenua of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction to Selection Practice and EEO in New Zealand.

The assessment of individual differences occurs for a variety of purposes including educational, clinical, diagnostic and increasingly employment. As this often involves probing sensitive and personal areas all methods of assessment are subject to polemic debate. In the employment area the drive toward efficiency has meant that the use of psychological assessment tools is increasing. As organisations seek to select, train and develop their staff in more productive and effective ways, legal challenges to the validity of assessment tools are increasing (Arvey, 1979).

Tests of cognitive ability and aptitude as well as personality tests have come under scrutiny. At the forefront of this debate are the equal employment opportunity (EEO) implications involved in testing. In the selection context this involves the concept of adverse impact. This relates to the numbers of minority candidates who are rejected in proportion to the majority candidates for a given selection tool. The argument over EEO and fairness in employment selection practice has extended. All selection methods are being investigated to ascertain the robustness of their psychometric properties as well as their contributions to adverse impact on protected groups. One of the most often used and debated selection tools is the interview, and the powerful Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) in the United States regards the interview as a test.

The emphasis in the United States on testing in the employment context has shifted from the intent or motives of an employer to the consequences of a selection strategy. The courts have interpreted this in terms of statistical evidence of adverse impact. That is the courts and the EEOC in

the United States have shifted the testing focus from psychometric competence to fair employment practices. Initially the plaintiff (usually employee) bears responsibility for presenting evidence of adverse impact. Once this is achieved the defendant (employer) carries the burden of rebuttal, to show that the challenged test is a reasonable measure of job performance.

This emphasis on the EEO consequences of selection procedures leads to an inconsistency between affirmative action initiatives and (statutory) non-discrimination necessities. Employers targeting specific EEO groups with their selection strategies may be contravening anti-discrimination laws. Under EEOC guidelines the majority of tests (under which the interview is categorised) when closely scrutinised are legally indefensible, and the importance of the psychometric properties of a test become second to the EEO consequences of the procedure. Numerous cases have gone before the court in the United States (Arvey, 1979); however the legality of selection tools and their impact on EEO have yet to be tested in New Zealand. In New Zealand there seems to be an emphasis on a mediation approach to discrimination claims in the employment setting. The Human Rights Commission and the office of the Race Relations Conciliator (now combined into one office by the Human Rights Act, 1994) have been the major forum used by those people who believe that they were discriminated against by their employers. So far there have been no cases brought before these two offices or the courts of New Zealand relating to the validity of selection methods. The majority of employment cases relate to racial and sexual discrimination in the workplace (Human Rights Commission Annual Report to Parliament, 1993, 1994).

The major function of the selection process involves selecting the right person for the purpose required. High employee turnover rates, ineffective and inefficient use of employee abilities, low productivity and quality deficiencies are all possible outcomes of a substandard selection

procedure. All these cost an organisation; therefore selection of the right personnel to fill vacancies in an organisation is becoming an increasingly important function.

The Interview Introduced.

Worldwide the interview is one of the most commonly used selection tools and will continue to be so (Shackleton & Newell, 1989; Smith & George, 1992). The complexity of the variables involved and the diversity of interview situations mean that no single coherent stream of research has developed, with researchers often looking at the interview from many different directions. Consequently the amount of research that this method has generated lags behind that of other less commonly used, but easier to research, selection tools eg. cognitive and personality tests. In spite of this, research into the interview has highlighted many variables which influence an interview's outcome. Smith & George's (1992) review of selection methods discusses a myriad of factors influencing the interview. These elements, amongst others, include the need to distinguish among interview types (structured, situational, casual, unstructured etc.) in understanding and using the research that has been undertaken, and further clearly delineating between interview types in future research. Additionally, the role of attitudes, theories of discrimination, the effect of pre-interview evaluations on post-interview evaluations, age bias, subjective evaluations, and verbal and non-verbal communication behaviours need to be taken into account. This is by no means an exhaustive list of the areas where further examination is called for, but exemplifies the complexity of the problem when researching this selection method. These issues will be discussed in depth in the following chapters.

The most popular selection tools in New Zealand are the interview, personal history information (biodata) and references (Taylor, Mills & O'Driscoll, 1993). The present study is intended to investigate two

matters, the reality of stereotype attitudes among interviewers, and the implications for Maori of current employment interview practice. The selection interview is a controversial method which some overseas research indicates has inadequate psychometric properties (Ulrich & Trumbo, 1965; Arvey & Campion, 1982; Weisner & Cronshaw, 1988) and therefore may contribute to the disadvantaged position of Maori in the New Zealand labour market (Smith & George, 1992). As is discussed in Chapter Three the interview is subject to many definitions, and validity estimates vary according to the type of interview defined.

A Brief Introduction to EEO.

The concept of Equal Employment Opportunities (EEO) evolved out of the anti-discrimination 'all men are created equal' liberal philosophical background of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Briar, 1994). Initial EEO efforts were anti-discrimination based and were directed at removing formal barriers against the selection and promotion of individuals. Anti-discrimination remains the major focus of EEO policies today (Briar, 1994).

Until 1990 (Employment Equity Act, 1990) the private sector in New Zealand had no legal requirement to develop equal employment opportunities policy and programs. Legislation requiring State Sector employers to be 'good employers' and to develop EEO plans came into force two years earlier with the State Services Act (1988). However, with the introduction of the Employment contracts Act (1991), and the subsequent repealing of the Employment Equity Act, private sector EEO [legal] obligations have been spread between two acts, the Human Rights Commission Act (1972) and the Race Relations Act (1977). These two Acts were in turn repealed when the Human Rights Bill was passed in August 1993 (Human Rights Act, 1993). Under present legislation there is no real legal requirement for private sector employers to implement EEO programs and policies except for the standard non-discriminatory banners

of sex, race, ethnicity, disability and religion, and the somewhat ambiguous guideline of being a 'good employer'. However public sector employers are required by the State Services Act (1988) and the Local Government Act (1974) to initiate and maintain EEO policies and programs.

Government departments are also required to report at the end of each year to their Minister on the progress of EEO initiatives. EEO and its association with Maori issues is explored in depth in Chapter Two.

New Zealand Selection in a Nutshell.

Selection in the New Zealand situation has some distinctive characteristics. The relatively small size of organisations means that the money, time and resources are generally not available for selection method development. Extensive legal testing of selection procedures has not occurred and EEO obligations of organisations are almost entirely voluntary. There is also a perception in New Zealand that EEO involves filling quotas (ie. affirmative action programs), a reduction in standards, and 'backdoor entry' for members of target groups. Along with these 'myths' surrounding EEO, Taylor et al. (1993) found a sizeable gap between practice and empirical research in their study of personnel selection methods used in New Zealand. Their reasons for this inadequacy were firstly that dissemination of information from research to practitioners is slow, and secondly industrial and organisational (I/O) psychologists in New Zealand need to play an increasing role in interpreting and modifying overseas research for the cultural and economic context in New Zealand.

Pearn, Kandola & Mottram (1987, cited in Salmon, 1990) suggest that an organisation has a responsibility to monitor its selection procedures to determine whether any test appears to be resulting in a lower selection ratio of minority groups (adverse impact). This sentiment can be extended to include any aspect of the selection process. Because of the aforementioned resource problems, organisations in New Zealand often

see only the short-term benefits of cheap selection methods. They are unwilling or unable to spend money validating and improving the selection process. For many organisations the long-term benefits of improving selection do not appear to outweigh the immediate short-term costs of cheap selection procedures. Because of the lack of a suitable replacement the interview, with its attractive low cost and apparent face validity, may often be used without considering its implications.

New Zealand's Changing Labour Market.

Successive governments have sold off state assets and converted public industries into State Owned Enterprises (SOE's), and a fundamental change from a regulated to an unregulated economy, where competitiveness is the main focus, has occurred. These changes have had a major impact on the labour market. Market forces have become more prominent factors in the strategic planning of organisations. This has led to restructuring in the New Zealand economy and has caused a decrease in traditional areas of high Maori employment eg. meat industry and the state sector (Manatu Maori, 1991). In the past a great number of Maori were employed in the agricultural and public sectors (Manatu Maori, 1991). These included freezing-works (meat processing), forestry, farming and as blue collar workers in government departments such as the Ministry of Works (public works). The numbers of Maori within these industries led to informal 'ownership' of employment, with vacancies often being filled through word-of-mouth without the need to resort to more formal selection procedures. 'Downsizing' in these areas has often led to large numbers of Maori being placed in the unemployment queue. Large New Zealand organisations have shed employees in an effort to increase efficiency and competitiveness. The primary unemployment-related effects of this are well documented. A secondary effect of these job losses has been a reduction in the informal networks which had been a significant source of employment information and recruitment for Maori. This meant that traditional Maori 'owned' industries and employment opportunities

declined. This networking has been in part responsible for the segregation between Maori and Pakeha that has been a feature of the New Zealand labour market (Brosnan, 1986). Recent initiatives have made substantial amounts of capital available for iwi (Ngai Tahu 'Sealords' deal, Tainui settlement). These and future settlements may allow the development of new Maori owned businesses providing employment for Maori.

Ethnic Differences in Employment.

Traditionally the occupational distribution of Maori workers differed sharply from that of other workers. Maori were more likely to be employed as labourers, drivers, machine operators and assemblers and less likely to work in legislative, managerial and professional occupations (Statistics New Zealand, 1993d). In 1991 38% of employed Maori men were engaged in the fields listed above, compared to 19% of all employed men. Equally pronounced, 22% of Maori women had jobs in these fields, as against 10% of all women in paid work. Recently occupational differentiation by ethnicity has reduced (Statistics New Zealand, 1994). However, there is still sizeable ethnic differentiation in the occupational distribution of the employed labour force. This indicates that the New Zealand labour market is to some extent still segregated. The proportion of Maori employed in [Maori] non-traditional (management, financial services, technology) areas of work still lags behind that of non-Maori. Maori are still mainly employed in low skill occupations with little career development opportunities. While there has been a significant shift in Maori employment from primary and secondary industries to service industries, and overall ethnic differences in occupational distribution have become less pronounced, Maori are still heavily concentrated in secondary sector industries. The effect that the economic restructuring of the 1980's and the subsequent downsizing of the state sector also contributed to the disadvantaged position of Maori. The number of employees within the state sector and the newly formed SOE's were reduced substantially in number and this impacted on vulnerable sub-populations such as Maori.

The Position of Maori in New Zealand.

In order to understand the position that Maori occupy in the New Zealand labour market an overview of population education and labour market statistics is necessary. There were 3,373,926 persons resident in New Zealand at 5 March 1991 (Statistics New Zealand 1993a). Table 1. presents the breakdown of the population according to single ethnic groups. As is revealed the overwhelming majority of the NZ population is NZ European/Pakeha with almost 80% while the Polynesian groups combined account for 13.5%.

Table 1. Population Breakdown of New Zealand, Single Ethnic Groups, 1991.

	Number	%
NZ European	2,658,738	79.5%
NZ Maori	323,493	9.7%
Samoan	68,565	2.0%
Cook Island Maori	26,925	0.8%
Tongan	18,264	0.5%
Niuean	9,429	0.3%
Tokoluean	2,802	0.1%
Fijian	2,760	0.1%
Other Pacific Island	1,413	- -
Chinese	37,689	1.1%
Indian	26,979	0.8%
Other Single Ethnic Groups ¹	25,926	0.8%
Two or more combinations	142,833	4.3%
not specified	28,113	- -
	3,373,926	100.0%

¹. May include combinations of European Groups eg. NZ European and/or British and/or Dutch.

Since 1976 Maori ethnicity has been defined by descent. People who claimed to be European and Maori numbered 93,987, which brings the proportion of Maori and part-Maori to 12.4%. Another important point to note from the population statistics is that the Maori population is younger than the majority and is growing at a faster rate. It is projected that the Maori population will make up 15% of the country's total population in 2031, compared with around 13% in 1991 (Statistics New Zealand, 1993c). Maori account for some 20% of all enrolments in primary schools and 15%

of enrolment in secondary schools. Maori predominate, however, among early schools leavers: although drop-out rates have declined markedly throughout the 1980s, more than 30% of Maori students still leave school with no formal educational qualification, more than twice the rate for non-Maori. A Manatu Maori (1991) report investigated the position of Maori in the New Zealand labour market and highlighted the following points (The report covers the five year period, 1986-1990):

- Maori participation in the labour market 1990, 55.1%, non-Maori 63.1%
- Maori proportion of the workforce has fallen between 1986 and 1990.
- Non-Maori 26.2% more likely to be employed than Maori (1990).
- The relative gains made by non-Maori women are not being shared by Maori women, as evidenced by the reduction in employment rates, Maori women 19.9%, non-Maori women 1.7% for the period 1986-90.
- Maori were over-represented in so called 'bottom-end' industries (Manufacturing/Transport/Storage) and under-represented in 'white collar' industries (Wholesale/Retail, Financing/Insurance/Real Estate).
- Maori were 8.3% of the employed workforce but 20.6 % of the unemployed (1990).
- Only three industrial sectors experienced growth over the five years and these were the three in which Maori were under-represented in.
- Maori are most significantly over represented in the manufacturing industries which is the area that has suffered the greatest decline in actual job numbers over the five year period.
- Between 1986 and 1990 the Maori unemployment rate was consistently three times the rate for non-Maori.

The report (Manatu Maori, 1991) asserts that it is possible that these statistics indicate that Maori who are having difficulty finding work, are actually withdrawing from the labour market. Finally the report identifies that Maori occupy a disadvantaged position in income level, job status and career progression, and stresses that at the initial job selection stage specific focus on Maori issues is particularly important. This assertion remains a key issue today, the Prime Ministerial Task Force on Employment (1994) reports that the burden of unemployment falls heavily upon Maori and people of Pacific Island descent, additionally these two groups are more likely to be unemployed and unemployed for longer periods than other groups in New Zealand. Targeting EEO (Maori) at the selection level may help remove an initial barrier to more equal participation in the New Zealand work force. The points made in this report will be discussed in more detail in the following exploration of the New Zealand labour force.

The New Zealand Labour Force.

At the 1991 Census there were 1,564,170 persons in the Labour force, of whom 1,400,400 were in paid employment and 163,770 were unemployed and seeking work (Statistics New Zealand, 1993a). Of the total labour force 153,258 were Maori of whom 116,208 were in employment and 37,050 were unemployed and seeking work. Table 2. shows the percentages and number of persons employed by ethnic group and highlights the position of Maori. A report from the Prime Minister's office (Prime Ministerial Task Force, 1994) summarises that as well as an increase in unemployment, labour force participation fell sharply among Maori and Pacific Islanders during the period 1986-1991. Additionally the report predicts that the future New Zealand labour force is likely to contain a higher proportion of Maori and Pacific Islands people, heightening the need for appropriate responses to the special needs of these groups.

Table 2. Persons Employed by Ethnic Group.

year ended March	NZ European /Pakeha	Maori	Pacific Island	Other
		(000)		
1990	1270.8	103.9	41.2	49.3
1991	1275.4	105.9	39.7	57.6
1992	1260.9	104.3	41.7 ¹	50.7 ¹
1993	1276.3	105.4	46.4	42.1
percentage of employed persons (%)				
1990	86.4	7.1	2.8	3.4
1991	86.2	7.2	2.7	3.9
1992	86.5	7.2	2.9 ¹	3.5 ¹
1993	86.8	7.2	3.2	2.9

¹ A new standard classification of ethnic groups in Dec, 1991 led to a discontinuity in the "pacific island group" and "other" classifications. A new category "other pacific" was added to the pacific group, increasing the number of people classified to this group and reducing the number classified to the "other" group.

Source; *Labour Market Statistics 1993, Statistics New Zealand.*

Since the mid-1980's there has been a marked decline in the labour force participation of Maori men. Table 3. presents information on the breakdown of unemployed persons by ethnicity, gender and age. In 1986 four out of five Maori men (79.8%) were in the labour force; by 1991 only two out of three (66.7%) were either employed 20 or more hours per week or actively seeking work. In contrast Maori women increased their participation rate in the first half of the 1980's from 42.2% in 1981 to 49.9% in 1986. By 1991, however, this had dropped back to 45.1%. As at March 1993 Maori participation rates in the labour market have Maori male at 70.6% and female 49.4%. This compares to NZ European/Pakeha males at 73.2% and females 54.6%. The overall rate of unemployment was 10.7% but the proportion of the Maori male labour force unemployed and seeking work was 26.7%, with 27.2% for Maori females. For all Maori aged 15-24 years, this figure increased to 36.7%. Nearly one in every two unemployed Maori was aged 15-24. (Note as at May 1995 total unemployment in New Zealand had fallen to 6.6%. However, the Maori unemployment rate was still twice that of non-Maori, Statistics New Zealand, 1995).

Table 3. Persons Unemployed by Ethnic Group¹ and Sex (%)

year ended March	European	Maori	Pacific Island	Other	Total
(males)					
1990	5.6	18.7	20.6	8.2	7.3
1991	6.8	21.8	25.6	10.6	8.8
1992	8.7	26.9	30.9	15.3	11.2
1993	8.2	26.7	27.2	16.8	10.7
(females)					
1990	5.5	17.5	15.4	8.6	6.9
1991	6.2	20.1	19.0	10.1	7.9
1992	7.3	24.4	26.2	13.6	9.8
1993	7.4	21.6	22.2	11.3	9.4
(total)					
1990	5.6	18.1	18.3	8.4	7.1
1991	6.5	21.1	22.7	10.4	8.4
1992	8.1	25.8	28.8	14.6	10.6
1993	7.9	24.4	25.1	14.4	10.1

1. A new standard classification of ethnic groups in Dec, 1991 led to a discontinuity in the "pacific island group" and "other" classifications. A new category "other pacific" was added to the pacific group, increasing the number of people classified to this group and reducing the number classified to the "other" group.

Source; *Labour Market Statistics 1993, Statistics New Zealand.*

Poor educational outcomes are reflected in low income levels and a high incidence of unemployment among Maori People (see Table 4.). The proportion of Maori in total unemployment is consistently more than twice the rate of that of the total labour force, and the Maori unemployment rate reached 25.0% in 1992. Because they are over-represented in manufacturing and often employed in less secure jobs, Maori suffered most from job declines in the second half of the 1980s and are also amongst the last to benefit from any economic recovery. Among the unemployed, a disproportionately large share of Maori have no qualifications. As job growth is occurring in more highly skilled occupations, the likelihood of Maori becoming long-term unemployed is greater than for non-Maori.

Table 4. Education and Labour Market Outcomes of Maori People.

	Percent of Respective Group	
	Maori	Non-Maori
School-leavers with		
- no educational qualifications	37	15
- completed upper-secondary education	12	36
	Percent of Total	
Enrolment in		
- Polytechnics	7	93
- Universities	5	95
Population aged 15-24	16	84
Labour force ¹	9	91
Unemployed ¹	22	78
	Percent	
Unemployment rate of group ¹	25	9

1. 1992

Sources: Department of Statistics; Department of Education.
table adapted from 1992-1993 OECD Economic Survey.

Table 5. presents the numbers of long-term unemployed as a percentage of all unemployed for each ethnic group. The concerning trend shown by the information contained in Table 5. is that the Maori and Pacific Island group long-term unemployed are increasing at a higher rate than that of long-term unemployed NZ European/Pakeha.

In addition to the statistics presented, a recent Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) report (OECD, 1993) points out that many factors have led to poor skill development of the total New Zealand labour force. These include benefit structures, lack of vocational focus in school curricula, an insignificant apprenticeship system, labour market regulation and a highly protected economy. Because of the high proportion of unskilled Maori relative to NZ European/Pakeha workers already noted, these influences contribute to the adverse position that Maori occupy in the labour market today.

Table 5. Long-Term Unemployed by Ethnic Group^{1,2}.

year ended March	NZ European /Pakeha	Maori	Pacific Island	Other	Total
Long Term Unemployed (000)					
1990	24.0	7.3	3.9	1.4	36.7
1991	28.3	12.4	5.9	1.8	48.4
1992	44.3	18.8	9.7	2.8	75.8
1993	52.0	18.1	10.6	1.9	82.8
Total Unemployed (000)					
1990	75.3	23.0	9.2	4.5	112.4
1991	88.9	28.4	11.7	6.7	135.7
1992	110.8	36.3	16.9	8.5	172.6
1993	108.9	34.0	15.5	7.1	165.6
Long-Term Unemployed as Percentage of total Unemployed (%)					
1990	31.9	31.7	42.4	31.1	32.7
1991	31.8	43.7	50.4	26.9	35.7
1992	40.0	51.8	57.4	32.9	43.9
1993	47.8	53.2	68.4	26.8	50.0

1. A new standard classification of ethnic groups in Dec, 1991 led to a discontinuity in the "pacific island group" and "other" classifications. A new category "other pacific" was added to the pacific group, increasing the number of people classified to this group and reducing the number classified to the "other" group.

2. Long-term unemployed are those persons who have been unemployed for 27 weeks or longer

Source; *Labour Market Statistics 1993, Statistics New Zealand*

Labour Market Summary.

Maori have been traditionally employed in large numbers by industries which were hardest hit by the recession and the slowest to recover. As the economy does recover, research is needed to shed light on the possible gatekeeping function that commonly used selection methods may have on labour market participation by Maori. Gatekeeping, the controlling of access to resources eg. employment (Spoonley, 1993) may be a factor contributing to Maori informally or unknowingly being impeded from participating in the labour market. Selection interviews may act as an artificial barrier to increasing Maori participation. Additionally the Maori population will continue to increase, strengthening requirements for effective responses to Treaty issues, and higher levels of participation in education and employment (State Services Commission, 1993).

CHAPTER TWO

The Origin of EEO.

The concept of the 'level playing field' which allows minority groups to compete fairly in society lies behind the theory of Equal Employment Opportunities. To fully understand the size of this task it is necessary to trace the development of EEO. It was designed to address problems specific to race relations in the United States (Lashley, 1995). Specifically the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's in the United States was responsible for forcing major changes in US legislation. Dramatic events during the 1960's pressured government decision-makers into drafting laws requiring a major shift in white American attitudes and behaviour towards black Americans. Public reaction to two events in particular, the killing of children attending Sunday School with the bombing of the church in Birmingham, Alabama, and the use of police attack dogs and water-cannon to disperse a group of largely African Americans engaged in non-violent protest, tipped the balance among US congressmen in favour of addressing African American Civil Rights. More specifically, questions arose of whether or how to best correct and redress African Americans for the state-sanctioned racial oppression, segregation, lynching and discrimination that persisted for one hundred years after the Civil War (Lashley, 1995).

Rather than make compensatory payments or reparation, the US congress adopted a softer approach and in 1964 enacted the Civil Rights Act. While similar to its 1866 predecessor outlawing discrimination on the basis of race, colour, religion, sex, or national origin, the modern Act included several subsections. The most important of these was Title VII that established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). The EEOC was a permanent five member bipartisan commission created and charged to combat and monitor discriminatory employment practices in private sector organisations. It was empowered to investigate complaints, conciliate between employers and employees, and recommend that Department of

Justice action be taken against private sector organisations with more than 100 employees found in violation of antidiscrimination laws. The EEOC therefore became a powerful tool in reducing overt employment discrimination in the US. The potency of EEO legislation and the far reaching punitive power of the EEOC have led to a political backlash (Lashley, 1995). Opposition in the US senate meant that the passing of laws based strictly on racial grounds was untenable and Title VII has been progressively refined to include non racial categories eg. age, disability, Vietnam veterans, and pregnancy in order to appease opposition legislators. The inclusion of race neutral criteria has changed the goals of EEO and has led to a watering down of the power of the EEOC. In 1978 the United States Supreme Court ruled that positive discrimination violated both the equal protection clause and individual civil rights (*Regents of University of California V. Allen Bakke*, 1978, cited in Lashley, 1995). This led President Reagan to appoint a new director to the EEOC and issue a new directive requiring plaintiffs to demonstrate "proof of overt and persistent discrimination", thus immediately reducing the number of racial discrimination cases filed with the EEOC (Lashley, 1995).

The backlash against EEO ignited a polemic debate over the very goals, merits, and fairness of policies aimed at improving the economic and social position of African Americans and other minorities. Opponents stressed six negatives of EEO and affirmative action:

- 1) - EEO restricted individual freedom;
- 2) - a trade off in quality as EEO hires less qualified and less competent than white male peers;
- 3) - employers and managers bad experience with earlier EEO hires leads to scepticism about future hires and placements;
- 4) - the shortage of qualified minorities and women;

- 5) - reinforces belief among employers, managers and white male workers that they bear no responsibility for past discrimination ("Why should we pay? Its not our fault") and;
- 6) - only targeted groups benefit while managers and other employees are disadvantaged.

These arguments, increasing white male opposition to EEO, and the growing attitude that sufficient improvement in opportunities for African Americans had already been made (Lashley, 1995), led to a turnover in control of the US House of Representatives and Senate to the Republican party which opposed expanded civil rights. As a result, in the 1990s the EEOC is more disposed to addressing grievances under gender discrimination and sexual harassment than racial discrimination (Lashley, 1995). The evolution of EEO has led in the 1990s to a 'managing diversity' philosophy where EEO implementation avoids the targeted approach, instead opting for the goal of creating a workplace where everyone fits, feels accepted, has value, and contributes.

EEO Development in New Zealand.

The history of EEO in New Zealand goes back fifteen years (Tremaine & Sayers, 1994). However in this short time the principles of EEO have become firmly established. Whilst EEO in the United States was born from racial discord, EEO development in NZ was driven to a large degree by second wave feminist activity of the 1970s, combined with external pressure from the International Labour Organisation and other countries which had adopted EEO theory and enacted antidiscrimination legislation (Briar, 1994). Internal pressure from feminist groups raised the profile of EEO, women demanded equal pay and equal opportunity to employment and education (Dann, 1985) and in 1972 the Equal Pay Act was passed. Pressure for EEO increased further once the limited effectiveness of the Equal Pay Act (1972) in reducing the pay gap between men and women in the labour market became obvious (Briar, 1994). At the height of the feminist movement policy makers accepted

the need for EEO in NZ, and therefore most of the impetus for policy development emerged from within government circles rather than from target groups (Briar, 1994). The result was that the growth of the EEO movement arose largely from a public service background (Wicks, 1994).

The rising profile of the EEO movement can be chronicled through the Race Relations Act (1971), the Equal Pay Act (1972), the Industrial Relations Act (1973) and the Human Rights Commission Act (1977). However, these Acts skirted the issue of compulsory EEO, and it was not until the State Sector Act (1988) that State employers were legally required to develop, enact and promote EEO. The Employment Equity Act (1990) went further in its requirements and expanded EEO obligations and responsibilities to private sector employers. This landmark Act was repealed by an incoming National government only months after coming into effect. Legal EEO considerations in New Zealand are therefore mainly contained in three Acts - the State Sector Act (1988), the Employment Contracts Act (1991) and the Human Rights Act (1993).

Because of the change that has occurred in NZ as the National government moved from an interventionist labour market policy to one of non-intervention, the major responsibility for EEO direction has fallen on the public sector, which made more progress in addressing EEO issues than the private sector (Sayers, 1994). However, the changing political and bureaucratic climates have meant that promotion of EEO in the public sector has slowed and the impetus for EEO weakened (Walsh & Dickson, 1994). The National government repealed the Employment Equity Act (1990) indicating a lower government priority for EEO than the previous Labour government. Constant restructuring and a decentralising of government have meant that the organisation responsible for overseeing public service EEO (the State Services Commission EEO unit) has not been in a strong position to oversee public service EEO initiatives during a time of rapid change. Consequently

EEO coordinators have been left to their own devices and coped as best they could (Walsh & Dickson, 1994).

With the repealing of the Employment Equity Act (1990) private sector employers were no longer obliged to have EEO structures and policies in place. Provisions in the Human Rights Act (1993) and Employment Contracts Act (1991) made sure that non-discriminatory banners were waved by private sector employers, but EEO was voluntary once more. The lesson from the United States that voluntary EEO was ineffective and simply a shield for inaction (Briar, 1994) was not learnt. This has meant that for the majority of small-to-medium employers, who employ the majority of New Zealanders, EEO is not currently an issue (McNaughton, 1994). For some larger private sector employers EEO is taken seriously (McNaughton, 1994), but there has been a shift in focus from 'EEO' to more acceptably named [euphemistic] programs such as managing diversity, cultural auditing, change management, career development training and employee empowerment (Sayers, 1994).

The 1970s perspective that EEO was something that had to be fought for gave way to the 80s and 90s view that it was in the commercial interests of employers to promote EEO and enjoy the benefits of a diverse workforce. This belief has persisted when "...there appears to be no evidence that discriminatory hiring and promotion would cease simply because it might be in employers financial interests to promote a diverse workforce." (Briar, 1994, pg 32).

Antidiscrimination, Affirmative Action and the Merit Principle.

At the core of EEO policy development in New Zealand are the tenets of anti-discrimination. These led to the development of policies designed to remove formal barriers against selection and promotion of individuals rather than to address educational and social inequity issues (Briar, 1994). New Zealand adopted antidiscrimination legislation in 1977 with the introduction of the Human Rights Commission Act. This Act prohibited discrimination in

employment on the grounds of sex, marital status, race, ethnic origin, and religious or ethical belief. In 1993 this Act was replaced by the Human Rights Act which brought the Human Rights Commission Act and the Race Relations Act of 1971 together into one piece of legislation.

It was believed by the majority of policy makers that once artificial barriers had been removed, and target groups were free to compete without discrimination in the labour market, that imbalances would right themselves (Briar, 1994). This belief followed from the 'merit' principle, which assumes that free competition between individuals will ensure that the most able and most deserving will move into top decision making positions irrespective of attributes such as ethnicity, being able-bodied or gender (Briar, 1994). However, this fails to take into account the imbalances that target groups endure before reaching the labour market in terms of access to education and opportunity to gain those skills valued by employers. If target groups start with overall lower educational achievement and their skills are undervalued by employers, then free competition will lead to further deterioration in their position (Briar, 1994) or improvement due to EEO will occur at a painfully slow pace.

To alleviate this problem recent EEO initiatives have tended to contain elements of antidiscrimination and affirmative action (Briar, 1994). Affirmative action refers to the deliberate targeting of members of disadvantaged groups for selection and promotion. This is a proactive approach which goes some way towards redressing past disadvantage by specifically directing resources and provisions toward the disadvantaged groups. Affirmative action is intended to be systematic rather than individualistic, proactive rather than reactive, and based upon greater equality of outcomes instead of simply equality of opportunity (Briar, 1994). This equality of outcomes has been the source of heated debate and was at the core of the Employment Equity Act. In NZ and the US, affirmative action opponents argue that this sort of 'positive' discrimination is itself unfair and undermines the 'merit' principle upon which

the majority of antidiscrimination legislation is based (Briar, 1994). In New Zealand, as the government turned away from labour market intervention so did the emphasis on equality of outcomes.

Currently EEO in NZ seems to be in a state of flux, with a base to look back on and new directions needed (Tremaine & Sayers, 1994; Lashley, 1995; Durie, 1995). In this regard, the position of Maori and their relationship to EEO practice in New Zealand needs discussion.

EEO and Maori.

At present EEO for Maori means the same as it does for members of other under-represented and minority groups in New Zealand's workforce. EEO policies and programs are intended to redress imbalance in the workforce by extending the same opportunities for education, training, promotion and selection to all people, particularly those people who are at present under-represented. Generally Maori do not derive any special consideration in the development, implementation and practice of EEO policies. They are seen as part of the broader target group which includes other ethnic minorities, women, and the disabled. While this may appear a sound and just way of creating opportunity for these groups, it is important to consider that equity issues may be better served if EEO for Maori was considered separately from other target groups (Waaka, 1990).

As has been mentioned above, typically Maori interests have been seen as best served by considering them in conjunction with the whole EEO target group. To some degree this assumption has allowed organisations to relinquish responsibility regarding the distinct condition of Maori, EEO and the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. An organisation may have an EEO policy in place which addresses the larger concerns of workplace inequity but does not confront the tangata whenua status of Maori. Waaka (1990) asserts that EEO is an umbrella concept which cannot be an adequate or appropriate mechanism for addressing issues for any indigenous populations in the world.

As such Maori concerns should be dealt with separately. Other factors which demand consideration when debating EEO and Maori include the issues of biculturalism, tino rangatiratanga¹ (Tremaine, 1994; Spoonley, 1994; Durie 1995) and the distinction in EEO direction taken by the public sector and private sector.

The effect that EEO has had in improving the position of Maori in NZ can be divided into two separate areas, that of the public sector and the private sector. This distinction is important because of the very different direction that EEO has taken for each group of employers. The public sector is subject to legislative requirements for the development, implementation and reporting of EEO programs. Public sector employers are specifically directed to recognise Maori aims and aspirations, Maori employment requirements and the need for greater involvement of Maori (State Sector Amendment Act, 1989; Te Urupare Rangapu, 1989), while private sector employers are only required to follow the non-discrimination conditions contained in the Human Rights Act (1993), not to actively address workplace inequity issues.

EEO, Maori and the Public Sector.

For public sector employers Maori occupy a special case because of the Treaty of Waitangi. The Treaty document sets up the principles of partnership and understanding on which Maori and Pakeha relations should be based. The Treaty also defines the special status of Maori as tangata whenua. This situation carries with it the implication that EEO Maori should be considered separately from other EEO areas (Waaka, 1990). More specifically, Article One of the Treaty bestows the moral authority of kawanatanga (governorship) of NZ upon the Crown, Article Two guarantees the preservation of tino rangatiratanga of Maori over all taonga (prized possessions) and Article Three gives Maori the same rights and privileges as British citizens, ensuring the right to equal treatment. Articles Two and Three are now the focus of heated

¹Tino rangatiratanga: full chiefly authority, self-determination.

debate with recent events highlighting the self-determination issue and inequality of treatment that Maori have received over the last 155 years.

In New Zealand the Local Government Act (1974), the State Services Act (1988) and the State Sector Amendment Act (1989) require that government agencies develop and implement EEO programs. They are to be 'good employers' by being aware of the employment requirements of minority groups and these Acts recognise the need for greater Maori involvement in state agencies. Further to this Te Urupare Rangapu (1989), a partnership response to the Treaty, gives direction for personnel policy. It commits the Government to improving the responsiveness of all government agencies to Maori issues and concerns, particularly to monitor levels of recruitment, training and promotion of Maori people; to increase the numbers of Maori staff; to attract Maori staff to positions of influence and responsibility; and to ensure that Maori representation is included in the interview process and that interviewing procedures are more culturally sympathetic to Maori people. This specific affirmative action for Maori in the three areas of recruitment, training and promotion, while widespread in the state sector, is absent to a large extent in the private sector (Waaka, 1990; McNaughton, 1994).

EEO, Maori and the Private Sector.

EEO in the private sector has no legislative base and State Sector EEO work is much more advanced (McNaughton, 1994). Private sector employers can individually choose to follow the public sector example or not. Those who do implement EEO programs generally associate all EEO target groups' concerns together. Often private sector organisations are simply not aware that Maori issues demand separate treatment (Waaka, 1990). The recent recession of the late 80's and early 90's has meant that the priority of many private sector employers has been on economic survival not EEO (Ellis, 1994). The introduction of EEO during this period meant that it [EEO] arrived a time when there were few resources for the development and implementation of EEO initiatives (Ellis, 1994). The major business emphasis

was not on Human Resources (HR) but changing work practices, building customer service and product & service innovation. Ellis (1994) discusses the current state of EEO in the private sector and points to three levels - firstly a group where low priority is placed on Human Resource Management (HRM) as a requirement; secondly companies which have an interest in good HRM practice but not specifically EEO, partly brought about by the Employment Contracts Act (1991); and thirdly, a small group of EEO practitioners in the private sector who link EEO to organisations overall competitive advantage, ie. they understand that human rights may be fundamental to EEO but there are organisational benefits as well.

McNaughton (1994) comments that private sector organisations which want to be 'cutting edge' require an understanding of the implications of the Treaty, and of legislation such as the Resource Management Act. This means what iwi consultation might mean in practice, what Maori development initiatives and Maori business strengths might mean for an organisation, and what Maori as a market and Maori as a potential labour force means. These prominent organisations generally take EEO seriously however they tend to be the very large employers. Small to medium employers see no need, nor do they have the time and the specialist personnel to focus on EEO issues. If EEO is to have a major impact on the NZ workplace then these small to medium sized employers need to be targeted (McNaughton, 1994). Generally awareness of EEO Maori is rising, but activity is still limited with few HR managers recognising that responding to the needs of Maori in the workplace enables the workplace to be more responsive and flexible to a whole range of issues, and is of strategic benefit to the company (McNaughton, 1994).

Research indicates (EEO Trust, 1993; Ellis, 1994; McNaughton, 1994) the ad hoc nature of most private sector EEO initiatives, and Ellis (1994) comments that they are unlikely to achieve EEO in the long term. Improvements have been minor and Ellis (1994) argues that this is because EEO in the private sector has been formed in response to problems rather than being an effort to

remove the cause of those problems. That is EEO is reactive and narrow rather than proactive, and organisation-wide (Ellis, 1994). Policies and practices within the workplace have been set up to meet the needs of the 'typical' worker, traditionally drawn from the dominant (majority) group. This 'typical' worker is no longer the norm and existing procedures may act as barriers to entry and full participation of workers who do not belong to the 'typical' worker group (McNaughton, 1994). Proactive EEO organisations realise this situation and actively seek to consult all employees at all levels in order to identify these barriers. Reactive EEO organisations wait for problems to occur and for dissent amongst employees to become widespread before initiating EEO programs to reduce the effect of these barriers. Reactive organisations also have a reduced focus and fail to see the 'big picture'. They address specific symptoms without realising the overall causes of the problem.

McNaughton (1994) asserts that most private sector organisations are taking a reactive approach to EEO Maori and are waiting for a crisis to occur before looking at how dialogue and partnership can develop. EEO is seen as a problem not a solution. She comments that there is an increasing awareness of EEO in the private sector but organisations are responsive to particular sets of identified issues such as sexual harassment or barriers to effective teamwork, rather than implementing a strategic overview of the role of EEO in the organisation. Additionally research indicates although some have policies very few private sector companies have an effective EEO program as for most these policies have not been translated into action (EEO Trust, 1993).

As far as Maori EEO aspirations are concerned the 1993 Ministry of Maori Development Annual Report indicates that the failure of the business world to accommodate Maori aspirations means that they are increasingly doing their own thing about economic development and jobs (Te Puni Kokiri Annual Report, 1993). A number of researchers comment that as traditional corporate structures fail to accommodate minority needs, self-development becomes an

attractive option (Wicks, 1994; Ellis, 1994; Durie, 1995). Ellis (1994) and Te Puni Kokiri (1993, 1994) report that Maori are gathering their own resources and seeking parallel development, using the Treaty of Waitangi as a means of gaining economic independence, partially in response to the lack of progress made in EEO.

EEO, Biculturalism and Tino Rangatiratanga.

The current conceptualisation of EEO is considered too narrow in terms of wider Maori political, economic and cultural issues as the push for tino rangatiratanga gains momentum (Spoonley, 1994; Durie, 1995). Tino rangatiratanga reflects a broad set of political, economic and cultural concerns and is firmly community-focused. It has become part of a national political agenda for Maori and will gain importance throughout the 1990s (Spoonley, 1994). In contrast EEO is workplace-focused and narrow. It is unable to adequately encompass the wider labour market and cultural issues that are central to Maori self-determination. Yet EEO does benefit Maori (Tremaine, 1994; Durie 1995) but the realisation of self-determination would address many of the imbalances that are present in NZ society, not just workplace inequity. EEO is seen a product of the organisation and its managers, therefore control over EEO Maori is largely out of Maori hands (Tremaine, 1994). Many Maori feel that they would be better served by tino rangatiratanga as a holistic solution to inequity. They see the position they occupy as being related to Treaty issues, not just workplace discrimination (Tremaine, 1994). EEO has a place in the removal of barriers and the foundation of a more representative workforce, but it is important not to presume that EEO is the cure-all (Durie, 1995). The vision of tino rangatiratanga is central to Maori ambitions and transcends EEO. Therefore EEO is subsumed into the larger role of increased Maori participation in their political, economic, social and cultural direction (Spoonley, 1994).

Tino rangatiratanga is closely linked to biculturalism (Tremaine, 1994; Spoonley, 1994). Biculturalism has been around for nearly twenty years yet

still remains a clouded issue (Durie, 1995). Different meanings and expectations have meant that the reality of biculturalism for NZ organisations differs greatly. The goals of biculturalism can be described along a continuum (see Table 6).

Table 6. A bicultural continuum¹

Bicultural Goals				
Cultural skills and knowledge	Better awareness of Maori position	Greater participation in all NZ institutions and activities	Parallel Maori delivery systems alongside mainstream	Maori self determination, tino rangatiratanga

1. Table from Durie (1995).

"At one end biculturalism involves the acquisition of Maori cultural skills and knowledge - and understanding of some Maori words, familiarity with marae protocol, awareness of tribal history and tradition. At the other end it reflects aspirations for greater Maori independence - political goals that may or may not override other goals and objectives." (Durie, 1995, pg 5).

In this framework EEO Maori has to evolve alongside biculturalism. In order for EEO Maori to reflect Maori aspirations adequately the philosophy and principles underlying EEO programmes need to be reconsidered, and an organisation has to have a clear understanding of bicultural goals (Durie, 1995).

In discussing EEO and Maori the reasons behind the need for such programs and policies need investigation. As has been highlighted a major conclusion of the 1991 Manatu Maori (Chapter One) report was that **Maori do occupy a disadvantaged position in the New Zealand labour market**. The report also goes further in that it discusses 'explanatory variables' which include age structure and population trends, geographical concentration, educational qualifications, intergenerational effects, and discrimination. Explanations given by all of the variables (except for 'discrimination') do not fully explain the difference in position of Maori and non-Maori in the labour market. Occupational segregation may explain a large part of this as it can be shown

that Maori and non-Maori are moving into different occupations (Manatu Maori, 1991; Brosnan, 1986). The reason for this is of interest. There are indications that discrimination in the labour market may contribute to the difference in occupational groupings as well as the declining rate of Maori participation. In this regard the selection procedures used in the labour market should be scrutinised.

The Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988) in a discussion booklet entitled "The Treaty of Waitangi and Social Policy" reported on the social position of Maori and concluded that "...the statistics paint an alarming picture, suggesting inequity and injustice..."(pg 11). The booklet also indicated that there was a gap between Maori and non-Maori in income and that this was indicative of how Maori have become trapped in declining sectors of the economy. The implication, with high levels of unemployment in 1986, was that further deterioration in the Maori position was likely.

From the above and from issues discussed in Chapter One, it appears that some form of discrimination may be contributing in part to the disadvantaged position of Maori in the labour market, and also to the occupational segregation that is apparent.

Theories of Labour Market Discrimination.

When looking at discrimination in New Zealand a distinction between Labour Market Discrimination (LMD) and Non-Labour Market Discrimination (NLMD) must be made. These are difficult to separate because the consequences of both are the same. Essentially NLMD occurs pre-labour force entry and can be characterised through inferior education/training (ie. discrimination in schools), while LMD affects individuals who have entered the labour force. For the present study LMD is of interest.

There are three main economic explanations for LMD. Becker (1971, cited in Manatu Maori, 1991) explores the role of perceptions in his model of

economic discrimination. Becker states that actual market discrimination is a summation of the discrimination of employer, employee, consumer, and government. He assumes that individuals within these groups operate in a discriminatory manner by acting as if interaction with a discriminated-against group incurs some "...non-pecuniary, psychic cost...". That is, the source of discrimination is on the demand side and involves the willingness of economic agents to pay to avoid contact with members of specific groups.

A second major explanation is essentially Marxian. Within society one group uses its superior power to benefit economically at the expense of another group. Marxian theory has traditionally been linked with class discrimination and in the New Zealand context raises questions such as the extent to which the Maori position in the workforce can be said to be a function of historical circumstances, the relevance of the concepts of the acquisition and exercise of power as being the reason for discriminatory action, and to what extent Maori in the New Zealand labour market can be described as a class. There are several other theories which are also of interest, the Product and Power Monopoly (land, labour and capital), the segmented labour market; and theories of institutional discrimination. These will not be explored, for further discussion there are numerous texts on LMD available.

The third concept revolves around statistical discrimination theories. These "...assume that employers hire, place and pay workers on the basis of imperfect information about their true productivity" (Cain, 1976, cited in Manatu Maori, 1991), ie. statistical discrimination results from the use of rules of thumb, or stereotypes. These are psychological in nature and refer to the attitudes, biases, and values that employers or selectors bring into the selection process.

In this regard stereotyped beliefs may be contributing to Maori non-participation. Members of the NZ European/Pakeha majority in New Zealand may be unaware of these potential areas of bias. In particular, in an interview

situation body language and verbalisation of Maori may be misunderstood and inappropriately interpreted by selection staff in terms of their own majority viewpoint. Metge & Kinloch (1989) highlight several verbal and non-verbal areas where mis-communication between Maori and Pakeha may occur. These include overt differences in amount of verbalisation, aggressiveness in leading conversation, eye contact, and touching behaviour, to more subtle differences such as eyebrow raising, head nodding, and the phrasing and grammar divergence of spoken English. Given this situation the interview, the primary gate through which Maori must pass to gain employment, may be acting as a barrier to equity in labour market participation.

EEO Summary.

The traditional interview undertaken for the purposes of selection does not take into account these specific and non-specific cultural differences. Interviews are generally conducted according to the conventions and protocols of the mainstream NZ European/Pakeha society. This may have the effect of isolating minority group members and engendering a non-constructive frame on which interviewer and interviewee 'talk past each other'. Training of interviewers to understand these areas of potential misunderstanding, and also to be more aware of cultural differences among candidates, is important. A recent study of selection practice in New Zealand (Taylor et al., 1993) indicated that training of interviewers is inadequate and that any training given was related to structured interview techniques. There is inconsequential literature dealing with the cultural responsibility of organisations, and the cultural awareness training of selection professionals in New Zealand.

CHAPTER THREE

The Employment Interview.

Interviewing is used every day serving a variety of functions. So widespread is the use of this technique that it has almost universal acceptance as an information gathering tool in both informal and formal situations. The term 'interview' is generic (Herriot, 1989); as such it is used to describe a wide variety and diverse collection of procedures. The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1988) defines interview as "...the meeting of persons face to face for the purpose of consultation; oral examination of candidate for employment or conversation between a journalist and a person whose views are sought..." This brief description does not cover the myriad of possible forms that an interview can take but it allows some idea of the flexibility and utility of this form of interaction.

In the selection (or employment) context the interview fulfils many important roles, and its convenience and utility explain its durability in spite of the dubious validity and reliability of the method (Weisner & Cronshaw, 1988; Smith & George, 1992). In any selection procedure the goal is to choose the most appropriate candidate from many applicants. Therefore it is important from an organisational point-of-view that the process by which that candidate is chosen is effective. Many millions of dollars are spent every year by organisations in their pursuit of the 'best people' for the job. It is therefore almost contradictory that while this amount of money is spent the most relied upon method used for making selection decisions in New Zealand is the unstructured interview (Taylor et al., 1993).

Why are Interviews Used?

Focusing on the employment situation there are varied uses of the interview within the organisation's selection process. The popularity of the interview in the employment arena derives from the automatic nature of the selection process. The interview is almost always included in the process without much

thought about its intended use. Employers insist on a face to face meeting as part of any selection procedure in the belief that this enables them to make a valid and useful assessment of the applicant's ability to do the job (Herriot, 1989; Smith & George, 1992). While the primary purpose of the interview is to assess applicant merit so that a decision about that applicant's suitability can be reached (Herriot, 1989; Smith & George, 1992), the employment interview is also a forum to explain the nature of the organisation, details of the job and expectations of a successful candidate (Arvey & Campion, 1982); it can also serve a public relations function as the interviewer is the 'face' of the organisation (Ulrich & Trumbo, 1965). The employment interview has other important functions because it allows organisational members to participate in the selection process and can serve to affirm organisational values and maintain organisational culture (Dipboye, 1989). The interview is also multidimensional in the nature of interviewer and applicant processes (Eder, Kacmar & Ferris, 1989). The implication of this complexity and multiple usage is that there are many slightly different and accepted meanings of what constitutes an employment interview.

Definition: The Employment Interview.

A starting point for defining the interview in the employment context is given by Eder et al. (1989) "...the employment interview is defined as a face to face exchange of job relevant information between organisational representatives and a job applicant with the overall organisational goal of attracting, selecting and retraining a highly competent workforce..." (pg 18). It gives the opportunity to decide whether an applicant possesses the critical knowledge, skills, abilities, and interests to be successful in the targeted position. The interview therefore provides an organisation with an inexpensive, immediate selection method with high face validity and widespread acceptance (Arvey & Campion, 1982). This utility and economy, together with the importance placed by employers and potential employees on meeting each other, mean that the interview has continuing widespread use. In spite of persistent claims of this tool's suspect validity (Wagner, 1949; Ulrich & Trumbo, 1965; Arvey &

Campion, 1982, Weisner & Cronshaw, 1988; Smith & George, 1992), in the labour market few individuals are hired without an interview.

The History of Employment Interview Research.

Early research on the employment interview generally focused on offering simple lists of do's and don't's (Wagner, 1949). However there were studies that did report on the inadequacy of the interviewer's ability to identify successful applicants (Scott, 1915, 1916, cited in Eder et al., 1989; Hollingworth, 1922, cited in Eder et al., 1989). Wagner (1949) in his review of employment interview research indicated correlations of .20 between job performance and interview ratings of newly hired employees. Eder et al. (1989) state that these are not far removed from the validity coefficient estimations in recent meta-analysis efforts (Hunter & Hunter, 1984; Weisner & Cronshaw, 1988). Research during the 1940s continued to test the reliability and validity of the interview, often using large military samples (Eder et al., 1989). The results from these studies again pointed to the low incremental and predictive validity of the interview (Conrad & Satter, 1946 cited in Eder et al., 1989). However there was an emergence of new techniques that would lead to a more structured approach to interviewing, such as the interview as a work sample (Travers, 1941 cited in Eder et al., 1989; Brody, 1947 cited in Eder et al., 1989). The post-war industrial boom in America combined with its global economic dominance meant that research showing that the interview possessed low validity was deemed unimportant, as there were jobs for all and selection processes did not need to discriminate between good and poor applicants (Eder et al., 1989).

The civil rights and feminist movements of the sixties and seventies activated a rise in EEO initiatives and this led researchers into investigating the legal implications of the interview process (Arvey, 1979). It was apparent that interviewer behaviour was susceptible to a number of influences (Eder et al., 1989; Arvey, 1979) and that ways of improving the psychometric properties of the interview were needed. The rising debate about the legality of the

interview, together with the economic downturn of the 1980's in the United States, renewed interest in selection validity issues. During the last decade this led to the development of, and research into, structured interviewing techniques based on job analyses or work samples, such as situational interviews (SI) and behaviour description interviews (BDI). These interview formats will be discussed later in this chapter.

The Trinity: Reliability, Validity & Utility.

As has been mentioned above there is a continuing debate regarding the validity of the employment interview. This discussion is not new - since the beginning of industrial and organisational psychology studies have appeared regularly which repudiate some of the interviews predictive qualities (Wagner, 1949; Ulrich & Trumbo, 1965; Schmitt, 1976; Arvey & Campion, 1982; Weisner & Cronshaw, 1988; Harris, 1989; Smith & George, 1992). However in the absence of a suitable replacement this evidence has failed to banish the interview from the selection process. It remains one of the most popular selection tools used by New Zealand organisations (Taylor et al., 1993).

In the USA the interview is classed as a 'test' under the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's guidelines of 1970 (Arvey, 1979), and it must therefore conform to the accepted psychometric properties of a psychological test. This means that questions relating to the reliability and validity of the interview must be answered. In its broadest sense reliability of the interview refers to the consistency of assessments made, ie. would the same candidate get the same assessment if interviewed again by the same interviewer? In other words, are the differences between individuals' interview assessments made on the basis of true differences in the characteristics being considered, or are these differences due to chance? Generally validity concerns what the interview measures and how well it does so. In the employment interview situation this pertains to the relationship between applicant performance during an interview and subsequent job performance of the successful applicant. ie. does the interview allow an effective prediction to be made

about an applicant's future performance on the job for which the interview is being conducted? Added to the consideration of reliability and validity are the concepts of utility and fairness.

In the employment context the interview as a selection tool should result in the appropriate placement of suitably qualified applicants. This implies that in the effective selection of employees from an interview, traits irrelevant to the requirements of a particular job should not affect selection decisions (Anastasi, 1990), ie. the method must be 'fair'. Utility refers to the overall usefulness of the method and as the interview is one of the most popular (Robertson & Makin, 1986; Taylor et al., 1993), easiest to use and cheapest methods available to the employer on face value it seems to fulfil this criteria.

Regarding these 'test' properties the interview should contain elements relating to those traits desired and refrain from including elements not related to the job (Anastasi, 1990; Campion, Pursell & Brown, 1988). In this respect highly structured interviews such as the SI and BDI formats, together with panel interviews, show promise. Structured procedures have yielded consistently superior predictive validities (Weisner & Cronshaw, 1988; Eder et al., 1989) when compared to unstructured. Weisner & Cronshaw (1988) report on the validity and reliability coefficients for structured, unstructured, individual and panel interviews (see Table 7). Their meta-analysis reports a validity coefficient of .47 for all interviews and they highlighted the role of 'degree of structure' as a moderator, with unstructured interviews having an average validity coefficient of .31 and structured an average validity coefficient of .62 (see Table 7). They further assert that the structured interview's predictive validity is comparable with the best other predictors available, including mental ability tests.

Table 7. Meta-analyses of the Predictive Validity of Interviews by Structure and Format (from Weisner & Cronshaw, 1988).

Interview source	Total sample size ¹	Mean validity coefficient ²
Unstructured	39	.31
Structured	48	.62
Individual	77	.44
Panel	55	.44

1. This is the number of coefficients used in the meta-analysis.

2. Corrected for direct restriction of range and criterion unreliability.

As the above discussion highlights not all research is disparaging about the employment interview. Harris (1989) reports that recent meta-analyses indicate that the interview, relative to other selection methods, may have adequate validity. He further asserts that the "...selection interview does appear to have at least modest validity.." (pg 696). Empirical evidence derived from recent meta-analyses (Weisner & Cronshaw, 1988) and a review of recent research (Harris, 1989), suggests that the interview, both structured and unstructured, probably has greater validity than previously estimated. However, generally these modest validities relate to structured interviews, and while researchers admit to job analysis based interviewing as having moderate validity in predicting job performance (Arvey & Campion, 1982; Weisner & Cronshaw, 1988; Smith & George, 1992), the use of unstructured interviews predominates in the labour market (Robertson & Makin, 1986; Taylor et al., 1993). A quick summary of interview research indicates that there is a marked difference in the validity and reliability of unstructured compared with structured interviews (Weisner & Cronshaw, 1988; Smith & George, 1992). What has been found is that the validity of unstructured interviewing is consistent across situations, while the structured interviewing validities fluctuate across situations (Harris, 1989). Validity of the structured interview depends on the relevance and formality of the job analysis information upon which the interview is based (Arvey & Campion, 1982; Weisner & Cronshaw, 1988; Harris, 1989; Smith & George, 1992).

Recent Interview Research.

Initially reviews of research did not distinguish between different forms of the interview and the interview as a global method gained a poor reputation (Smith & George, 1992). There are many forms that the employment interview can take and be utilised for. By separating unstructured interviews from structured interviews, two basic approaches can be distinguished and used to re-assess research. All employment interviews can be placed on a continuum between these two. Another variation in the interview format are panel interviews. A panel interview may be structured or unstructured with the candidate interviewed by a group of interviewers present. The recent research has separated interview types and has shown that structured methods offer consistently higher validity coefficients than unstructured techniques. Additionally re-analysis of previous research according to these criteria also indicates that previous global validity coefficients hid the benefit of structuring the interview. These points will be explored in the following discussion. However, before embarking on a description of the research regarding structured and unstructured techniques it would be useful to examine the theory that underlies the benefit of structuring.

Interview Effects.

In a paper Dipboye (1982) proposed the three phase process model of the interview. These three phases are the pre-interview, interview, and post-interview. He reports further that later studies show substantial correlations between post-interview impressions of an applicant and pre-interview impressions (Dipboye, 1989). Further he theorises that pre-interview impressions influence the way in which an interviewer conducts an interview, that pre-interview evaluations gained from reading biodata, CVs, resumé's etc. bias interviewers information processing (biased interpretation of recalled information) and that these prior expectations become self-fulfilling, ie. confirmatory bias where people selectively use information to confirm their own hypothesis. The first step in this process involves the cognitive categorisation where the interviewer forms an impression of the applicant

based on biographical data, CV, or resumé. After this impression is made the interviewer may place the applicant in cognitive categories such as 'ideal or highly' qualified, 'typical' or 'unqualified' applicant. Expectations about the applicant then are based upon this categorisation process. The interviewer's conception of the prototypical member of these categories can then guide and influence the subsequent gathering and processing of information during the interview (Dipboye, 1989). In the interview phase these expectations can become self-fulfilling as the interviewer causes the applicant to respond in such a way as to affirm his/her expectations. "... An interviewer's actions also can lead to a behavioural confirmation by restricting the range of the applicant's responses..." (Dipboye, 1989, Pg 55). Furthermore interviewers can allow preinterview expectations to bias their information processing. Laboratory research shows that final evaluations of applicants generally conform to evaluations of applicants paper qualifications before the interview, even when the interview refutes these impressions (Dipboye, Stramler & Fontelle, 1984; Latham, Wexley & Purcell, 1975; Rasmussen, 1984). The unstructured interview would appear to be most vulnerable to preinterview effect as the interviewer has control over the direction and composition of the interview.

Unstructured Interviews.

Typically, unstructured interviews involve a two-way interchange which is dynamic in nature and where different applicants for the same position are not necessarily asked the same questions (Herriot, 1989). Interviewers are free to ask whichever questions that they feel are relevant and to decide which direction the interview will take, and the applicant is subjectively rated once the interview is terminated (Weisner & Cronshaw, 1988). Smith & George (1992) refer to this common type of interview as 'casual'. Describing the unstructured interview this way gives some indication of the indifferent thought that goes into the process. There is little consideration of the job in the interview process and the casual interview is usually disorganised and poorly prepared (Smith & George, 1992). There is also the opportunity for the casual

interview to degenerate into a quasi-personality test because it is based on incomplete job information (Herriot, 1985; Smith & George, 1992). The job is not the focus, therefore other variables become important such as non-verbal behaviour (Anderson & Shackleton, 1990) and employability (Reynes & Gerhart, 1990), thus reducing the interview to a method for gauging general suitability rather than predicting job performance (Smith & George, 1992).

Structured Interviews.

Structured interviews in contrast to the casual type employ a set rigid format, typically asking job-related questions which have predetermined answers. This set of questions is applied consistently for all interviews for a particular job, and the answers are recorded or rated during the interview, and then combined upon completion to arrive at an overall rating (Weisner & Cronshaw, 1988). As can be seen in Table 7. structured techniques have mean validity coefficients twice that of unstructured techniques. Further investigation of structured techniques by Weisner & Cronshaw (1988) pointed to the fact that structured interviews based on formal job analysis techniques had higher predictive validity coefficients than structured interviews based on less systematic methods of job analysis. The development of structure and job relatedness in the interview process has led to improvements in reliability and validity (Weisner & Cronshaw, 1988; Harris, 1989; Smith & George, 1992).

Campion, Pursell & Brown (1988) investigated the use of a highly structured interviewing technique. Their approach to the interview was intended to remove the subjectivity and inconsistency by structuring the process using six steps:

- (1) develop questions based on job analysis,
- (2) ask the same questions of each candidate,
- (3) anchor rating scales for scoring answers with examples and illustrations,
- (4) have an interview panel and rate answers,
- (5) consistently administer the process to all candidates, and

- (6) give special attention to job relatedness, fairness, and documentation in accordance with testing guidelines.

The study (Campion et al., 1988) examined interview fairness and utility and also compared the interview's psychometric properties with those of commonly used employment aptitude tests. They reported their interview as having acceptable reliability and an interview validity coefficient of .56, comparable with a mean validity of .53 for cognitive aptitude predictors in general. Test fairness results for the interview yielded similar results when compared with tests with regards to race and sex; if anything they report a slight over-prediction of tests for minorities and females. Finally the utilities of their interview technique and tests were analysed and found to be quite similar, in spite of the interviews larger development costs (Campion et al., 1988). They conclude that the structured interview has superiority over unstructured and has a valid and useful place in practitioners array of selection tools. The benefits of structured interview techniques have been known for some thirty years. Ulrich & Trumbo (1965) concluded that the highest validities and the greatest gains in validity over other predictors involved interviews described as systematic, designed, structured or guided. Smith & George (1992) reiterated the gains in validity of structured over unstructured interviews, yet current practice does not reflect this knowledge. Taylor et al. (1993) in their study of selection methods in NZ found that the unstructured interview predominated over its more valid structured relation.

Within the structured interview there are many variations which may measure different constructs (Harris, 1989). Basic structured interviews are based on job analysis and over the last fifteen years there have been developments on this theme (Harris, 1989). Two common examples of the new direction in structured interview techniques are the highly structured Situational Interviews (SI) and the Behavioural Description Interviews (BDI). Both SI and BDI make use of the critical incidence job analysis technique (Flanagan, 1954) to generate situations about which applicants are asked questions. Situational

interviews are based on goal-setting theory and involve focusing on questioning applicants about how they would react in a particular situation. SI assumes that intentions are related to actual behaviour and measures maximal performance (Harris, 1989). SI has a highly structured scoring guide (Campion et al., 1988), and Harris (1989) reports in his review of employment interview literature consistent validity coefficients ranging from .30 to .46 from six studies.

BDI's differ in that they concentrate on past behaviour and are based on the belief that past behaviour is the best predictor of future behaviour (Harris, 1989). Accordingly BDI involves asking questions about an applicant's past behaviour in various job-related situations. Validity coefficients for the BDI of .48 and .54 from two studies were reported in Harris's (1989) review, however, both studies cited involved very small sample sizes. These two structured types differ from one another but each, typical of highly structured techniques, offer little opportunity to deviate from the format.

As has been mentioned, panel interviews are another commonly used option. Here, as with the individual unstructured interview, the unstructured format appears to be most open to interviewer bias and to discriminatory practices and thus lower reliability, validity and fairness estimates. Research into the panel interview had suggested that the panel format was a promising area for strengthening validity and reliability (Landy, 1976; Schmitt, 1976; Arvey & Campion, 1982). However, Weisner & Cronshaw's (1988) meta-analysis of interview research concluded that panel vs individual format had less impact on moderating interview validity than previous literature had suggested. In terms of format, they found that structured techniques (whether panel or individual) had consistently and substantially higher predictive validity coefficients than unstructured interviews. They stated that the validity coefficients for structured interviews, both individual and panel, were comparable with the best other predictors available.

In addition to the debate about structure, questions remain about discrimination in the interview process. Arvey (1979) concluded that available evidence left it unclear whether interviews discriminated on the basis of race, age or handicap, but it was evident that females receive lower evaluations in employment interviews and therefore may be at risk. He went on further to assert that the interview will increasingly be the target of litigation.

Discrimination and the Employment Interview.

As has been pointed out the EEOC in the USA considers the interview to be a test in its guidelines for selecting employees (Arvey, 1979). As a result the process has come under close legal scrutiny and increasing judicial pressure to decrease opportunity for discrimination. Arvey (1979) reviewed the legal aspects of the interview and summarised two basic themes which were prevalent in litigation. He reported that discrimination in the interview takes the form of questions which convey an impression of an underlying discriminatory attitude or intent; and secondly that the interview process can act in such a way as to demonstrate differential impact or adverse impact - ie. does the interview process reject minority candidates in larger proportions than it rejects majority candidates. Adverse impact of the interview is the basis of many claims of discrimination in the USA (Arvey, 1979) and refers to interviews being used as an artificial barrier to social equality and economic opportunity. Spoonley (1993) also refers to artificial barriers acting as gates through which minority group members must pass. He refers to the gatekeepers (people who control access to resources) denying minority group members equal opportunity. Research in New Zealand during the mid-1970s showed that people in gatekeeping positions (middle management and Real Estate agents) were quite explicit about their reasons for discriminating against Pacific Islanders. Now "...the reasons offered are different even though the practice is the substantially the same (pg xii, Spoonley, 1993)".

Often differential evaluations according to sex, race, disability etc. are at the forefront of claims of discrimination and Arvey (1979) specifies two processes

inherent to the interview which may contribute - (1) stereotyping and (2) differential behaviour emitted during the interview. Summarising Arvey (1979), stereotypes that interviewers hold concerning different minority groups may influence the evaluations these candidates are given during the interview process. Secondly, minority candidates behaviour during an interview may seem different and unfamiliar to interviewers resulting in misunderstandings, misinterpretation and differential evaluations. Thus the effect of race, non-verbal behaviour and the role of stereotype attitudes are aspects of the interview process which can provide the opportunity for discrimination to be introduced.

The Interview and Race.

Most recent evidence regarding the effect of race on interview ratings is inconsistent (Harris, 1989) and most published studies refer to the American situation. Arvey (1979), in his discussion of the legal and psychological aspects of discrimination in the employment interview only located three studies (Wexley & Nemeroff, 1974; Haefner, 1977; Rand & Wexley, 1975; all cited in Arvey, 1979) dealing with the effect of applicant race on interview ratings. None of these contained definitive evidence on differential evaluations between black and white applicants. Arvey and Campion's (1982) review of employment interview research reported that while there was a lack of depth in the research regarding the effect of applicant race, a number of studies they reviewed indicate that black applicants often received higher ratings than white. However they concluded that little work has been done to examine stereotyping or any other processes which might contribute to differential evaluations. Harris (1989) reports that recent research on the effect of race "...indicates less consistency, particularly when compared with findings reviewed by Arvey & Campion (1982)" (pg 706). He cites three studies on the effects of race on interview ratings, one in which blacks were rated lower than whites (Parsons & Liden, 1984), one in which blacks received slightly higher ratings than whites (Campion et al, 1988) and one where the amount of variance race accounted for was negligible (McDonald & Hakel

cited in Harris ,1989). There is still a clear need for research into the effect of race on interview ratings. Arvey (1979) called for an increase in research to establish whether interviews were biased against minorities. Ten years later Harris (1989) reiterates this point, "...clearly, more work is needed to understand the effects of race on interview ratings..." (pg 706).

While the need for research into the role of race in interview evaluations has been highlighted, there are other closely related areas of interest which need discussing. These are the role of non-verbal behaviour and of stereotype attitudes in interview ratings.

Non-verbal behaviour refers to those aspects of the interview such as eye contact, head moving, smiling, energy levels which may have an effect on interviewer evaluations of an applicant. Research has shown that these behaviours do have an effect on interviewer's evaluations (Arvey & Campion, 1982). In their review they report that in sum while non-verbal behaviour did have a significant effect on interview ratings, verbal behaviour played a larger role.

The Interview and Non-verbal Behaviour.

Harris (1989) sums up research into non-verbal behaviour suggesting that some such behaviours do affect interviewer decisions however some studies reveal that the actual impact may depend on other factors, such as verbal content. He concludes that the question remains of whether nonverbal behaviour provides any valid information beyond that obtained from verbal content or whether nonverbal behaviour lowers the validity of the interview. This agrees with the earlier Arvey & Campion (1982) review which also concluded that non-verbal behaviour influences interviewer ratings, although the magnitude of this influence is less than the effect of applicant verbal behaviour. Arvey & Campion (1982) also point out that researchers tend to treat applicant non-verbal and verbal behaviours independently when interviewers may not. Also discussed was the possibility that interviewers may

screen verbal behaviours first then shift the perceptual-judgement focus onto non-verbal behaviours. What is apparent from the research is that while investigators agree that non-verbal behaviours have an influence on interviewers ratings (Arvey & Campion, 1982; Harris, 1988) the mechanism and magnitude of this effect needs further investigation.

In New Zealand society today it is often easy to forget that the majority European based value and social systems may not apply to all. Manukau City is the largest 'Polynesian' city in the world and the numbers of Maori and Pacific Islanders are increasing at a faster rate than European New Zealanders (Statistics New Zealand, 1993c, 1993d). A major challenge facing Maori and Pacific Islander job applicants is the employment interview. Although New Zealand has anti-discrimination legislation there are areas on which this has little effect. These are the private thoughts, attitudes and practices of individuals who are still influenced by personal biases.

This type of discrimination can be either unintentional or take place at a conscious level. An example of unintentional discrimination can be found in stereotyping and another in the misinterpretation of other cultures behaviours, body language and verbalisation. The cognitive function of stereotyping may fulfil a valid and natural function but ignorance or a lack of awareness of the limitations that this system of categorisation places upon us may introduce inequity and bias into the interview process. Similarly ignorance of the differences that may exist between cultures on such points as body language, social protocol, verbalisation and polite or courteous behaviour may also introduce distortion into the interview.

New Zealand is a society in which many cultures are represented but it is dominated by one, the NZ European/Pakeha. It can therefore be assumed that Maori will more often be interviewed by a NZ European/Pakeha than by Maori or a member of another minority. In this situation there may be the opportunity for interpretive differences to occur. Definitions of correct and

polite behaviours differ from country to country, region to region, religion to religion and culture to culture. Even within cultures a wide range of behaviours may be demonstrated. For Maori, many factors may determine this - confidence in speaking 'Pakeha' English, a modern or traditional upbringing, rural or urban background and so on. What becomes important in the interview situation is that variations in behaviour and reaction are understood and interpreted correctly.

Cultural Differences.

A major point of difference between Maori and European is the reliance upon gestures and other kinds of body language. Maori emphasise body language more and verbalisation less than Pakeha (Metge & Kinloch, 1989). A lack of verbalisation and misinterpretation of body language may lead the uninformed Pakeha interviewer to judge a Maori applicant as hard to talk to, uncooperative and unresponsive (State Services Commission, 1981). Similarly Maori may view Pakeha as 'forever talking' and not listening (Metge & Kinloch, 1989). There are several other areas which frequently may be misinterpreted.

Entering the Interview.

Whether it is intentional or not the interview assumes a superior/subordinate character. The interviewer is in the superior position and the subordinate role taken by the interviewee. The nature of this interaction means that differences in deferential behaviour may also be misinterpreted. Pakeha are taught to knock before entering a room, to stand in the presence of superiors and wait to be asked to be seated. They are also taught that when talking to someone to look them straight in the eye, particularly if they are a superior. Maori on the other hand may not knock but enter straight away, and may assume a position lower than the superior by sitting promptly. Avoiding direct eye contact is another major area of difference. Maori protocol considers direct eye contact with superiors to be disrespectful and rude, so that a Maori applicant may not maintain eye contact with the interviewer.

Indications of Agreement and Disagreement.

Often Pakehas will reinforce 'yes' or 'no' with a nod or shake of the head. Agreement or disagreement may also be indicated by words only, shaking or nodding only is generally viewed as insufficient and rude except in familiar situations. Maori frequently dispense with verbalising and rely upon the action as sufficient. This can take the form of a head nod or shake, but also may include gestures such as an upward movement of the head and/or eyebrows for 'yes' or an unresponsive stare straight ahead or down at the feet for 'no' (Metge & Kinloch, 1989).

Other Kinds of Body Language.

To Maori the shrug and frown are expressions of doubt and puzzlement which are liable to be interpreted as indifference by Pakeha (Metge & Kinloch, 1989). Likewise Maori may raise eyebrows to indicate understanding and agreement rather than the interrogative connotation that this expression carries to Pakeha (Metge & Kinloch, 1989).

The Sound of Silence.

The interpretation of silence is also another major area open to misinterpretation. The meaning of silence is dependent upon the context but people "...seem to forget this, or at least its implications, in inter-cultural situations." (pg 20, Metge & Kinloch, 1989). Less reliance by Maori on verbalisation may lead to interpretation of silences as a 'lack of interest', 'having nothing to say', stupidity or dislike (Metge & Kinloch, 1989). This difference may be further illustrated through Maori expressions of assent and dissent which are directly opposite to those of Pakeha who typically expect dissent to be verbalised and interpret silence as assent. Maori may also remain silent for an extended period collecting thoughts and composing replies and this silence may be interpreted by Pakeha as requiring their interruption, which in turn may lead to conclusions that Maori are 'slow' or lead Pakeha to answer or make a decision for them (Metge & Kinloch, 1989).

There is an important caveat that while being obvious needs mentioning. The descriptions in the preceding paragraphs are illustrations of possible differences between cultures. This is not to say that all Pakeha or all Maori will act this way. There is a wide degree of variation within groups as well as between. An awareness of possible differences or areas liable to misinterpretation will aid correct explanation should they occur.

CHAPTER FOUR

Attitudes.

The term 'attitude' is one of the most common and pervasive in psychology. Reviewers of research literature relating to attitudes are often overwhelmed by the volume and variety of work undertaken (Olson & Zanna, 1993). The abundance of research into attitudes belies the difficulty that the concept poses for definition. Olson & Zanna (1993) in their review of attitudes indicate that there is no universally accepted definition of attitudes. The fundamental question about whether what we think influences what we do was the basis of research into attitudes. The common sense proposition that our attitudes directly influence our behaviour was the starting point for social psychology (Myers, 1988). However this basic premise has been shown to be false, and predictions about a person's specific behaviour cannot be made from their attitudes, our behaviour is influenced by a number of things one of which are our attitudes (Myers, 1988). As a starting point for definition, an attitude is a favourable or unfavourable evaluative reaction toward someone or something, exhibited in one's beliefs, feelings or intended behaviour (Myers, 1988).

Olson & Zanna (1993) suggest that most attitude theorists agree that evaluation constitutes a central, perhaps predominant, aspect of attitudes, attitudes are represented in memory and three components can be distinguished - affective, cognitive, and behavioural. These components are antecedent and also have affective, cognitive, and behavioural consequences.

A review of research into attitudes follows the development of the unidimensional (affective) model, the three component (affective, behavioural & cognitive) model and the two component (affective & cognitive) model. Contemporary research assumes that not all attitudes necessarily have affective, cognitive and behavioural components, but that these three are correlates of attitudes and the affective-cognitive-behavioural framework provides a useful heuristic for structuring both antecedents and consequences of attitudes (Olson & Zanna, 1993). The three components provide the base

from which attitudes can develop and be investigated. Eagly & Chaiken (1992) argue that attitudes do not form until individuals respond evaluatively to some being or event. Once formed, attitudes predispose subsequent evaluative responses when the same attitude object is encountered. The second major assumption made by attitude researchers refers to attitudes being represented in memory. This position implies that attitudes are closely related to each other and can be characterised as associative networks of interconnected evaluations and beliefs (Pratkanis & Greenwald, 1989), and thus related attitudes and beliefs will be more accessible through a process of spreading activation (Olson & Zanna, 1993). Pratkanis & Greenwald (1989) propose the sociocognitive model of attitudes, which claims that an attitude is represented in memory by (a) an object label (b) an evaluative summary, and (c) a knowledge structure supporting the evaluation. The authors characterise attitudes as providing simple strategies for problem-solving, organising memory for events and maintaining self-worth. In other words attitudes represent evaluations cognitively, and serve a fundamental role in relating an individual to the social world. One group of attitudes which have been subject to a large amount of research and theoretical development are stereotyped attitudes.

Stereotyping: History.

The term "stereotype" was first introduced and explained by Walter Lippmann (1922) in his book '*Public Opinion*'. He theorised that people seek to reduce the complexity and diversity of the real environment which surrounds them by 'inventing' a 'quasi-environment' which is partially culturally determined. This simplification of the real world led Lippmann to surmise that stereotypes were the result of the construction of this quasi-environment and so were factually incorrect, produced through illogical reasoning and rigid in nature. Even though Lippmann viewed stereotypes as undesirable, he argued that they performed the necessary function of reducing the detail of a complex world, allowing the individual to interact - stereotypes economised attention.

Nearly eleven years after Lippmann's book was published Katz & Braly (1933) conducted the first significant study into ethnic stereotypes. In this study one hundred Princeton students were asked to list the traits of what they considered most characteristic of ten ethnic groups. Subjects chose the traits from a list of eighty-four that they were given. They were then asked to go back and mark the five words on each list which seemed most typical of each group. Only these items were used in the analysis. The findings revealed a high degree of consensus in the subjects' stereotypical images of the ethnic groups eg. African Americans (classified as 'Negroes' in the study) were characterised as superstitious by 84% and lazy by 75% of subjects. Katz & Braly (1933) argued that this degree of agreement could not result from students' personal contact/knowledge of the groups they described. Therefore they stated that stereotypes are public fictions which arise from prejudicial influences "...with scarcely factual basis" (pg 288). Katz & Braly's (1933) checklist methodology became the predominant technique and therefore early research concentrated on stereotype content (Brigham, 1971), they also linked stereotypes to prejudice and this led to a preoccupation of subsequent studies in exploring the relationship between stereotypes and prejudice. Allport (1935, cited in Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981) further established the prejudice-stereotype link by implying that bias, prejudice and stereotypes were essentially the same concept. He also believed that stereotypes were bad because they were partially incorrect inasmuch as they were oversimplified and also that they were rigid.

The next major theoretical step in research was the emergence of the 'kernel of truth' hypothesis which contested Lippmann's theory. Until this concept evolved stereotypes were exclusively viewed as Lippmann had theorised (factually incorrect, rigid and the result of irrational thought). Brigham (1971) in his review of ethnic stereotype literature stated that "...there is ample evidence that ethnic stereotypes can have 'kernels of truth'" (pg 26). However this sentiment is disputed by Oakes, Haslam & Turner (1994) who summarised recent stereotyping research. They commented that advocates

of the 'kernel of truth' theory propose that while stereotypes failed to encompass individual differences they do contain some important features of group reality. Oakes et al. (1994) assert that some of the methods adopted to examine the factual basis of stereotypes are value laden and also that methods of establishing stereotype accuracy have proved elusive. They conclude that it is the social values of the researcher which determines the perceived accuracy of stereotypes and also the appropriateness of measurement methods.

Another controversial aspect of stereotype research is the nature of these attitudes over time. Early researchers such as Lippmann maintained that they were rigid and unchanging over time. However early research using Katz & Bralys' method produced very little support for this contention (Meenes, 1943 cited in Oakes et al., 1994). A number of studies after WWII indicated that stereotypes weren't rigid, they varied according to changes in international relations (Buchanan, 1951 cited in Oakes et al., 1994). Summarising this research Oakes et al. (1994) state that where stereotype change is observed it is a product of specific alterations in inter-group relations. Such changes and resultant alterations in stereotype attitudes are exemplified by American stereotype attitudes towards Germans and Japanese before and after WWII and the changing American stereotype of Russians as the cold-war developed (Oakes et al., 1994). Further to this where inter-group relations are stable over time there little or no change in stereotype attitude content.

Henri Tajfel (1960, cited in Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981) presented the radical idea that stereotyping was the product of cognitive processes common to all individuals, although like Lippmann (1922) he too viewed stereotypes as rigid and neglecting individual differences. Tajfel (1960, cited in Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981) asserted stereotypes were the product of the natural exaggeration of out-group differences and in-group similarities (ie. they are more different from us and more similar to each other), he called this

'accentuation theory'. This natural focus led from a concentration on stereotyping as pathological to research into stereotyping as a process.

The latest theoretical development diverges from this cognitive explanation of stereotyping as an overgeneralisation of between-group differences. Tajfel's (1960 cited in Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981) accentuation theory and Brigham's (1971) 'kernel of truth' explanations assume that there should be some differences between groups upon which exaggeration and overgeneralisations (stereotypes) are made. This fails to explain the existence of stereotyped attitudes that bear no relationship to reality, where "... there is no actual difference with which the superimposed classification of a racial or group difference can be seen to be correlated" (pg 44, Eiser, 1990). A possible explanation is the so called 'illusory correlation' effect.

This is an intuitive theory which refers to the tendency of people over estimate the extent to which rare or distinctive events co-occur (Eiser, 1990). Hamilton (1981) explains that when members of a majority group observe distinctive actions of minority group members they overestimate the frequency of that action's occurrence in the minority population. This occurs because contact with members of a minority group is a distinctive or rare occurrence and the action is also a distinctive or rare occurrence. Hamilton (1981) asserts that this leads to a "...cognitive bias in the way perceivers process information [and] would lay the foundation for the differential perception of majority and minority groups" (pg 125).

Definition: Stereotyping.

One of the most commonly used terms concerning inter-group relations is 'stereotype'. It has now become common in everyday usage and the collection of stereotypes that exist are many and varied. The majority of research into stereotyping has looked at the issue in terms of ethnic, racial, and national groups. Only recently has investigation included sex differences. However the basic definition of stereotype is the same whether it refers to sex

or ethnic attitudes. Ashmore & Del Boca (1981) propose a core meaning of the term 'stereotype', as used by social scientists, as a set of beliefs about the personal attributes of a group of people. Most definitions of stereotyping revolve around the belief that it is a process that involves making judgements about people on the basis of their membership of a particular group.

Oakes et al. (1994) in their book *'Stereotyping and Social Reality'* describe stereotyping as "the process of ascribing characteristics to people on the basis of their group memberships...the collection of attributes believed to define or characterise the members of a social group is a stereotype " (pg 1). A further conceptualisation is necessary regarding shared attitudes. Ashmore & Del Boca (1981) argue that 'stereotype' refers to the beliefs held by an individual and that 'cultural stereotype' describes community-wide shared beliefs. Further Tajfel (1981) asserts the view that the stereotypes of one group shared by the members of another group are referred to as 'social stereotypes'.

Stereotypes then can be viewed as a set of generalisations reached by individuals about a group of people that distinguishes those people from others. They derive in large measure from, or are an instance of, the general cognitive process of categorising (Tajfel, 1981). These generalisations can then in turn be shared by others in the case of social stereotypes or be limited to the individual.

Ashmore & Del Boca (1981) state that there is agreement among researchers that stereotypes are "...cognitive structures that comprise the perceived or assumed characteristics of social groups" (pg 16). Once an individual's membership in a class or category is established, a number of trait characteristics are ascribed to that individual based on the traits associated with the larger class of which she or he is a member (Arvey, 1979). Thus stereotyping involves basically two basic processes: (1) the formation of impressions and trait descriptions of particular classes and categories of

individuals, and (2) the assignment of these traits to a particular individual once his or her membership in that class or category is known.

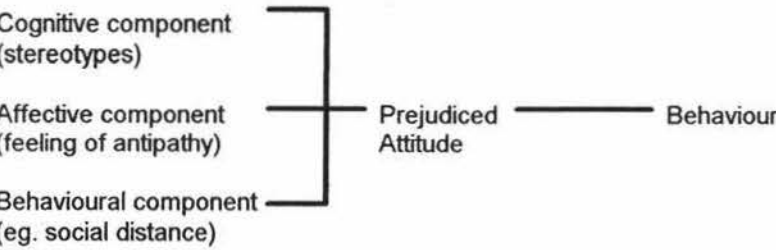
This assignment of individual personality traits to these simplified categories has led to the debate regarding the moral nature of stereotyped attitudes. Following on from this, the notion that stereotypes are fundamentally 'bad' is being challenged. This negative connotation was primarily brought about by the widespread belief that the terms 'stereotype' and 'prejudice' were interchangeable.

Stereotyping and Prejudice.

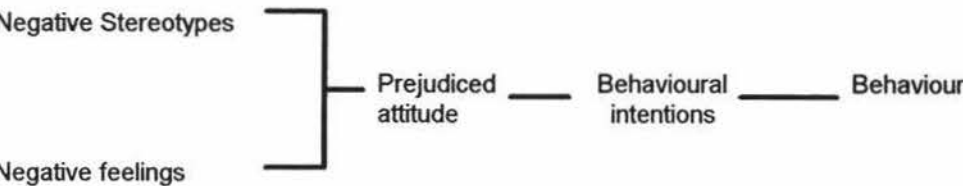
Figure 1. shows three conceptual approaches to the development of prejudice attitudes.

Figure 1. Three Approaches to the Concept of Prejudiced Attitude.

Three-component model



Two-component model



Unidimensional model



There is the assumption regarding stereotypes that they are inherently negative and that stereotyping and prejudice are different sides of the same coin. While it is true that prejudice and stereotyping are bound to each other the conceptualisation of each can be separated. This separation has resulted from the belief among social scientists that stereotypes are no longer defined as being rigid, incorrect, irrational, or morally wrong. Rather occurring as the natural outcome of normal cognitive processes. The separation of the two concepts has been difficult, prejudice may evolve from stereotyping but stereotypes per se are not necessarily bad. As the approaches in Figure 1. show, prejudiced behaviour towards a group or individual results from more than the mere presence of stereotype attitudes.

A quick definition of prejudice is provided by Spoonley (1993): "...prejudice can be defined as an inflexible mental attitude towards specific groups based on unreliable, possibly distorted, stereotyped images of them..."(pg 4). Overall researchers agree that stereotypes and prejudice are related but distinct attitudes (Duckitt, 1992) and Brewer & Kramer (1985) conclude that although technically prejudice could be applied to the cognitive content of inter-group perceptions, typically it is used with reference to the affective component thereby separating the two, as stereotypes are typically applied to the cognitive component.

Regarding the moral standing of stereotypes, Ashmore & Del Boca (1981) state that "... in sum researchers disagree about whether a stereotype is by definition bad..." (pg 13). The study of stereotypes no longer concentrates on them as pathological but views them as the outcome of normal cognitive processes. Recent theory is also undecided on the moral stance that prejudice represents (Duckitt, 1992). The contemporary definition he argues is non-evaluative, prejudice being defined as a negative inter-group attitude, thus moving away from the essentially negative connotations that the term 'prejudice' encourages. Spoonley (1993) suggests that prejudice plus power denotes racism in the modern sense, ie. an ideology of racial superiority in a

situation where the holder has some power. From this perspective stereotype attitudes do not necessarily insinuate that the holder is either prejudiced or racist.

Duckitt (1992) postulates that stereotypes may differ from prejudice in that they are not limited to personality trait descriptions and may include any personal attribute, physical, visual or behavioural. Ashmore (1970, cited in Duckitt, 1992) identifies four basic points of agreement common to most definitions of prejudice. These are:

1. Prejudice is an inter-group phenomenon.
2. Prejudice is a negative orientation.
3. Prejudice is bad.
4. Prejudice is an attitude.

Ashmore argues these four can be combined to give an acceptable definition of prejudice. Duckitt (1992) concludes that several awkward problems arise with this conceptualisation, the first whether prejudice is simply a negative inter-group attitude (result of normal affective processes) or whether it is an attitude which is bad (pathological). As has been mentioned current theory views prejudice as a negative inter-group attitude. The second major difficulty is the meaning of the concept of attitude. As can be seen from the discussion above the term 'attitude' can be defined in a variety of ways. This leads to difficulties in development of adequate definitions of closely related attitudes such as stereotyping and prejudice. Stereotypes are associated with prejudice but the relationship is unclear. Prejudice it seems cannot be found without the existence of a stereotype attitude, but it is ambiguous whether stereotype attitudes can exist in the absence of prejudice. Intuitively it seems plausible that stereotypes can exist without prejudice (Brigham, 1971); however this has not been empirically tested.

Stereotyping and Social Judgement.

Social judgement is concerned with how we make sense of our social world. People form impressions and communicate these impressions through their expressive behaviour. An attitude is a distinct combination of feelings (affect), inclinations to act (behaviour), and beliefs (cognitions), (Eiser, 1990).

Following on from this the mechanism behind the operation of stereotyping is open to debate. There are three main streams of thought in this area (Eiser, 1990). Stereotyping may act in such a way that individuals holding essentially negative opinions and attitudes towards minority group members might be expected to give lower evaluations in an interview because of these attitudes. Secondly, stereotyping may influence the degree to which the stereotyped traits and attributes held about minority candidates match the job characteristics of the job in question, in which case stereotypical views may act in either a positive or a negative manner. Thirdly, stereotypes may operate to shape expectations and standards that interviewers have about a job candidate.

Stereotyping as a Cognitive Process.

As has been seen in the history of stereotype research the dominant view of early theorists focused on stereotyping as pathological, the result of abnormal and irrational thought. As the amount of research expanded and the separation of stereotype from prejudice developed stereotyping became seen as the product of social categorisation and the perceptual accentuation of intra-group similarities and inter-group differences. Cognitive explanations of stereotyping as a normal process were cultivated.

Balance Theory.

Cognitive imbalance is said to exist when there is a disagreement with a liked other and agreement with a disliked other on some object, issue or question at hand. In this situation there is a motivation to restore the balance. Using the P-O-X model, where P = a person, O = some group of people, and X = some issue (Heider, 1958), this can be achieved by:

1. P changing their attitude towards O.
2. Changing P's attitude towards X.
3. Changing P's impression of O's attitude towards X.
4. If uncertainty or ambiguity about O's attitude toward X then P could alter or distort when making the attribution of O's attitude toward X.

Using balance theory (BT) people would be motivated to stress, highlight and exaggerate the similarities between their own attitudes and the predominant view within their in-group (assimilation), and to exaggerate the differences between their attitudes and the predominant view in an out-group (contrast). BT assumes people have a positive attitude toward the in-group and a negative attitude toward the out-group. The second assumption revolves around the cognitive consistency that an unquestioning application of BT suggests. In some cases a literal interpretation of cognitive consistency may be inappropriate, ie. if a person has 'anti' attitudes towards an out-group does this mean that they automatically are expected to maintain diametrically opposed positions from the attitudes of members of the out-group in order to sustain attitudinal distance.

Functional Theory.

This holds that people develop, retain and alter attitudes for value-expressive, ego-defensive, knowledge and social adjustment purposes. In order to change someone's attitude about some issue it is important to know the function of the attitude for that person (Katz, 1960 cited in Granberg, 1984).

There is some support here for assimilation of in-group and out-group attitudes.

The basic principle of theory involves the accentuation of the differences between larger and smaller value stimuli leading to polarisation of judgements about the stimuli. When this is extrapolated from physical stimuli to theory about social judgements in the context of divisions between social groups, it extends to the accentuation of inter-class differences. Tajfel (1969, cited in Eiser & van der Pligt, 1984) argues that a person's group membership can function as a peripheral cue and thus influence judgements by others of that person's position on attributes assumed to be correlated with group membership. He specifically predicts that stereotypes arise from both an accentuation of perceived **inter**-class differences and a reduction of perceived **intra**-class differences. In other words Blacks may not only be seen as more different from Whites on some attribute but also more like one another.

Categorisation.

Our linguistic system of classification and categorisation requires us to describe individuals in terms of mutually exclusive social categories (male/female, old/young, white/non-white etc). As a consequence, we can readily describe the properties of 'bicycle' and 'orange' without reference to one's self, but one's membership (or non-membership) of the various categories used to describe people means that any description of others will include reference to oneself. One of the implications of this is that a group will be perceived differently by its own members than it is by outsiders.

According to Tajfel (1959, cited in Eiser, 1990) categories can be defined in terms of attributes;

1. *Focal attribute* - that which is being judged (eg. job suitability)
2. *Peripheral attributes* - others which may contribute to discriminability but which subjects are not specifically asked to rate.

If focal and peripheral attributes co-vary systematically then peripheral attribute will be predictive. Tajfel (1959, cited in Eiser, 1990) asserts that this process of categorisation leads to an exaggeration of inter-group differences and a neglect or minimisation of differences among members of the same. Taylor (1981) refers to social markers such as race and sex being used as ways of categorising and organising information about people. He hypothesises that such categorisation can result in exaggeration of differences between and minimisation within groups (this is essentially Tajfel).

Decisions of categorisation become psychologically interesting when they are made on the basis of uncertain information. Uncertainty arises from unavailability of complete information and from the level of specificity or generality at which we attempt to make a categorical decision. Stereotypes may be based on generalisations (Tajfel, 1981; Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981) but the extent to which stereotypes are based on incorrect or invalid information is subject to much debate. From Tajfel (1959, cited in Eiser, 1990), estimates of the focal attribute (FA) can to some extent be predicted from co-varying peripheral attributes (PA). However if PA's are based on incomplete or incorrect information (as stereotypes may be), and these PA's are believed to be accurate, then an individual's estimates of the FA using these PA's will be invalid.

Interview Use in New Zealand.

As has been discussed in Chapter Three a recent study (Taylor et al., 1993) of selection methods used in New Zealand found the predominant selection methods used by large organisations were the interview, personal history and references. Many organisations reported that they used partial structuring in their interview formats but further investigation reveals a lack of dimension ratings and structured interview training. This was also found for consulting firms with most saying that they used the same set of questions regardless of the position and "...evaluated candidates during the interview on 'intuition', 'feelings', 'experience' or 'body language'" (pg 24). A conclusion of Taylor et

al.'s study was that the majority of large organisations and consulting firms investigated used the unstructured interview format. Further many (52%) people conducting interviews reported that they were unaware of research literature. They also report that "...substantial proportions of respondents said that they were aware of research literature but failed to explain their understanding [of the validation research] in the follow up questions..." (pg 25).

New Zealand Stereotype Attitude Research.

In New Zealand with its varied ethnic mix there have been surprisingly few studies investigating stereotyped attitudes. While the number of studies is small, stereotype attitudes have been mentioned in research reports for a number of years. Ritchie (1963) in his 12 month study of a Maori community (Rakau) in the central North Island commented on the state of race relations - "...Beneath the smooth surface of inter-cultural relations in Rakau there are prejudices and stereotypes which limit the scope of social intercourse...." (pg 14). Further to this, Ritchie (1963) noted that the behaviour of Maori at Rakau that deviated from the Pakeha norm were rationalised (by Rakau Pakeha) as 'traditional' Maori behaviour or fulfilling the Pakeha stereotype expectations.

Ritchie (1963) found it easy to elicit both 'good' and 'bad' stereotypes about Maori from Rakau Pakeha. The 'good' stereotype was described as a 'noble savage' conception. It included statements such as Maori are friendly, spontaneous, happy, childlike, and simple in their approach to life. Additionally Maori were regarded as fine carvers, good singers, skilled at oratory and given to wise and pithy sayings. Pakeha respondents considered Maori to be "...an intelligent race somehow fallen on evil days"(pg 172). Ritchie (1963) commented that this stereotype contained a kernel of truth but it was dangerous because it was not contemporarily accurate, it was overgeneralised and not applicable to any Maori in Rakau (or anywhere else).

Rakau Pakeha asked to outline the 'bad' stereotype described Maori as wilfully poor, breeding irresponsibly, and as sexually and morally loose. Their homes were dirty and unkempt, and their children regarded as moronic and ill-disciplined. They were viewed as unemployable and irresponsible if not criminal, excess drinkers, poorly educated and a drain on the social security benefit system. Ritchie concluded that Pakeha in Rakau held either stereotype or a combination in varying degrees of conviction and asserted that "it seems that the majority of Pakehas in Rakau accept Maoris only on Pakeha terms. They are expected to act in terms of Pakeha norms." (pg 173).

St George (1972) reviewed racially oriented research in New Zealand and chronicled numerous studies including Goodwin's (1935, cited in St George, 1972) investigation of employment of Maori in a small East Coast rural centre, Thompson's (1953, cited in St George, 1972) review of items of Maori news in New Zealand newspapers, and the numerous studies of Vaughan (1962, 1964a, 1964b, cited in St George, 1972). The consensus of these studies was that unfavourable stereotypes existed about Maori. St George (1972) concluded that the research reviewed indicated that Pakeha New Zealanders held prejudicial attitudes against Maori but tempered this with the comment that "...prejudice is not the equivalent of discrimination." (pg 15).

Vaughan (1972, 1988) has completed many studies regarding inter-cultural attitudes and ethnic awareness in New Zealand. His study (Vaughan, 1972) into ethnic awareness and attitudes in New Zealand children revealed that Pakeha children assigned favourable stereotypes to Pakeha and unfavourable to Maori. Additionally Maori children in the age range 4-8 assigned stereotypes in a similar pattern. He concluded that there was a retarded period of ethnic awareness for Maori children of this age. In a subsequent study Vaughan (1988) asserted that data collected from earlier studies (Vaughan, 1963a, 1963b, 1964a, 1964b, cited in Vaughan 1988) involving over 1000 New Zealand children indicated that "...the young participants were sensitive to the existing social structure, to the existing

privilege which demarcated majority-minority relationships.” (pg 10). This assertion of young New Zealanders being a mirror of the society they see about them led to later studies investigating stereotype attitudes in New Zealand.

Huang & Singer (1984) investigated ethnic group stereotyping by police recruits, experienced police officers and university students. They summarised that there was an overall differential pattern of stereotyping the four ethnic groups (Chinese, Maori, Samoan, English immigrant) present in the three samples, with Chinese being rated consistently higher than the other three (Maori, Samoan, English), and English consistently higher than the other two (Maori, Samoan). There was no widespread difference in how all three sample groups stereotyped the ethnic groups; however, there were some significant differences between the university student and the two police sample groups.

Singer & Eder (1989) explored the effects of ethnicity, accents and job status on selection decisions. They found a significant main effect for ethnicity and job status and not for accent, indicating that applicant ethnicity and job status were important in the selection interview decision and accent was not. Singer & Eder's (1989) findings on the effect of ethnicity on selection decision ratings were consistent with the findings of a study on ethnic group stereotyping in New Zealand (Huang & Singer, 1984). Their conclusion was that groups about which more favourable stereotypes exist are more likely to be given favourable ratings in the interview situation. As Maori are seen as less favourable in terms of the stereotype (Huang & Singer, 1984), it is likely that they will receive lower ratings than members of other more favoured groups.

Another recent study explored stereotypes and inter-group attributions in New Zealand (Lynskey, Ward & Fletcher, 1991). This study revealed that adolescents in New Zealand hold firm stereotypes of both Pakeha and Maori and that they make differential attributions based on these ethnic categories.

Although there was no substantial support for a stereotype-attribution link proposed the authors reported that Pakeha subjects maintained positive in-group and negative out-group (Maori) stereotypes. For Maori subjects, evidence was found agreeing with an earlier study (Archer & Archer, 1970) reporting the adoption of negative stereotypes of Maori by in-group members (Maori). Lynskey et al. (1991) questioned the strength of group serving bias as the basis of stereotyped attitudes, concluding that if an ethnic group is disadvantaged, minority members may view their group from the majority perspective and devalue it accordingly.

Present Study.

The discussion contained in the preceding chapters points to the possibility of people involved in the selection process making incorrect and misleading assumptions or inferences about members of EEO target groups based on stereotypical attitudes they may hold. This in turn can lead to discrimination in the labour market. In effect the selection procedure becomes a barrier to participation for minority groups. The focus here is on 'statistical' discrimination, that is the effect that stereotyping may have on employment interview decisions.

In the context of whether the employment interview results in unfair discrimination, or has a gatekeeping function denying Maori access to suitable labour market outcomes, the present study seeks to address some key issues regarding stereotyped attitudes and interview practice in New Zealand. The role that stereotyped attitudes play in the interview categorisation process is not understood or researched in any depth, particularly in New Zealand. The present study seeks to quantify the extent of stereotyped attitudes among interviewers in New Zealand. To these ends there are two main investigative goals:

- (1) To ascertain the extent of existing stereotypical attitudes amongst those involved in conducting selection interviews.

- (2) To quantify the current state of common interview practice and the techniques utilised in New Zealand.

This study is intended to explore the extent of stereotyped attitudes in those people involved in taking employment interviews using an accepted attitude survey, and also to ascertain current interview practice, techniques utilised and the knowledge base and training of interviewers. This is intended to allow the implications of the existence and prevalence of stereotyped attitudes and current interview practice to be discussed with relevance to Maori.

CHAPTER FIVE

Method.

The present study consists of two phases of connected research, an ethnic attitude survey and a selection interview knowledge and practice interview. Both phases involved participants who conducted selection interviews with the sample for the second phase being generated from the respondents from the first phase. The procedures utilised for these two phases of the research were different so the structure of this section will be as follows. The method for the ethnic attitude survey will be presented in Chapter Five, followed by the method for the selection interview practice interviews in Chapter Six.

Ethnic Attitude Questionnaire.

The ethnic attitude questionnaire (Appendix A.) consists of a scale developed by Huang and Singer (1984) which in turn was advanced from an earlier study by Ford (1979). Subjects in the Ford study listed all the adjectives which best described the various ethnic groups in New Zealand. Huang and Singer analysed the five most frequently reported adjectives for Maori, Samoan, NZ Chinese, and English immigrants and combined them to form the twelve adjective dimensions used in their study. Each of the twelve pairs of adjectives formed a seven-point semantic differential scale. This type of scale allows a good general attitudinal index (Himmelfarb, 1993), and permits comparisons of attitudes across different attitude objects (such as ethnic groups) because semantic differential scales do not depend on items specific to a particular attitude object. Evaluative meanings are established *a priori*, therefore specific belief items do not need to be prepared in advance and scaled as do those for other methods (eg. Thurstone & Likert scales). The adjective pairs used for the current study were patient/impatient, polite/impolite, quiet/talkative, humble/boastful, friendly/unfriendly, clever/dumb, hardworking/lazy, knowledgeable/ignorant, clean/dirty, generous/mean, law-abiding/law-breaking, and honest/dishonest. For the

present study the same twelve rating scales were used for the five largest ethnic groups in New Zealand (at the 1991 Census). These were NZ European/Pakeha, NZ Maori, Pacific Island group (incorporating, Samoan, Tongan, Fijian, Niuean, Tokoluean, Cook Island Maori), Chinese and English(UK) immigrant (British, Welsh, Scottish & Irish).

Ethnic Attitude Survey Sample Composition.

The participants comprised 115 individuals who were contacted via approaches made to managers and human resources practitioners within the organisation they work for. A New Zealand Department of Labour and Statistics New Zealand report on the New Zealand Labour force (1993) identified the following industry groups; Regional, District and City Authorities, Agriculture, Forestry, and Manufacturing as ones in which Maori are highly represented and Technology, Retail Sales, Personnel/Management Consultants, and other professions as ones in which Maori are under-represented. The organisations approach corresponded to these industry groups and were targeted because of this observed situation.

The initial strategy used to contact organisations was to utilise the Telecom Telephone Directories Yellow Pages for all regions in New Zealand, and newspaper advertisements for job vacancies to generate a list of organisations whose business interests corresponded to the broad industrial groups of interest. Altogether 454 appropriate organisations were listed by the researcher. Once the list had been produced, a random sample of 200 organisations was chosen from 454 total. This number was chosen because of resource and financial constraints. Contact was made by means of a letter explaining the researcher's aims and procedure (Appendix A). Firstly the letter sought the permission of Human Resources Managers and General Managers for staff involved in selection interviewing to participate in the research, and secondly the number of people in each organisation willing to participate. Once replies to this contact letter were received, the Attitude

Survey forms (Appendix A) were sent out together with individual pre-paid reply envelopes.

From the 200 organisations contacted positive replies were received from 65. Altogether 220 ethnic attitude survey forms were mailed out to participants from those 65 organisations. The response rate was 53% with 115 questionnaires completed and returned. From the returned questionnaires four data sets where the respondent had consistently circled the mid-point (4) were discarded. This was because given the nature of the items, it was deemed unlikely that all responses would be '4' for all 48 items, therefore including these response sets would contaminate the sample by artificially drawing the mean response of the total sample toward the mid-point of 4. Another three data sets where all the data for the attitude survey were missing, and one set where the respondent was not involved in selection interviewing, were also discarded. This resulted in 107 valid sets of complete data.

It should be noted that for analysis the particular group of interest is the NZ European/Pakeha (n=92) group. The majority of respondents came from this group and the relatively small numbers from other ethnic groups were judged to be not statistically useful. The NZ European/Pakeha group formed 86.0% of the sample with other ethnic groups combined (n=15) only 14.0%. The reduction of the available data sets was also justified because of the assumption that the NZ European/Pakeha group are more likely to be involved in conducting selection interviews in New Zealand than any other group. This means that it is more likely that an ethnic minority group member will be interviewed by a member of the majority group (NZ European/ Pakeha) than vice versa. Participant gender and ethnicity of the total valid sample is presented in Table 8. Subsequent demographic description is reduced (except where it is of interest to describe the total valid sample) to the NZ European/Pakeha sample for the reasons outlined above.

Table 8. Gender & Ethnicity Characteristics for Ethnic Attitude Survey Sample.

Gender	Male	Female	Total
	61	46	107

Ethnic Identity	Male	Female	Total
Pakeha	54	38	92
Maori	1	2	3
European ¹	4	2	6
Asian	1	1	2
Other ²	1	3	5
			107

1. One from USA, five from the UK ,

2. Two respondents identified themselves as NZ European/Maori, 1 Australian and 1 South African.

The gender mix of the total respondents was approximately equal with 57% being male and 43% being female. This was true also of the Pakeha sample with 58% (n = 54) being male and 42% (n = 38) being female. The age structure of the sample is presented in Table 9. with a range of 20 - 55+ years. The largest age group comprised respondents aged 31-35 which made up 28.3 % of the sample with 80.5% aged 26-45 years.

Table 9. Age Distribution of Ethnic Attitude Survey Sample.

Age Range (years)	Frequency	%	Cumulative %
20-25	6	6.5	6.5
26-30	16	17.4	23.9
31-35	26	28.3	52.2
36-40	16	17.4	69.6
41-45	16	17.4	87.0
46-50	9	9.8	96.7
51-55	1	1.1	97.8
>55	2	2.2	100.0

Information on the size of the organisations for which the respondents worked is presented in Table 10. Few respondents came from small (less than 50 employees) organisations with 12.2% in this category. Overall 87.8% of respondents came from medium to very large employers with 38.0% of the respondents from medium sized organisations (50 -150 employees) and 49.6% of respondents from large and very large employers (more than 150 employees).

Table 10. Size of Organisations Which Employed Respondents.

Organisation Size	Frequency	%
<25 employees	9	10.0
25-50	2	2.2
50-150	33	36.7
150-300	21	23.3
>300 employees	25	27.8
	90 ¹	100.0

1. Two missing cases

Table 11. shows the responses by industry type and ethnicity, with the two largest industry groups being personnel consultants (low Maori representation) and local authorities (high Maori representation). Of the Pakeha respondents 70 (76.1%) were from private sector industries with 22 (23.9%) from the public sector. Personnel consultants (n=23) make up 48.9% of the private sector group. 43 (40.2%) respondents came from industries identified as ones in which Maori were highly represented, and 36 (33.6%) came from industries identified as having low proportions of Maori, the remaining 28 (26.2%) came from respondents in industries where representation of Maori was proportional or where representative statistics were not available.

Table 11. Responses by Industry Type and Ethnicity.

Industry Type	Pakeha	Maori	Asian	European	Other
Wholesale/Retail Trade	13	2			
Finance/Insurance/Real Estate	1				
Community/Social Services	8				
Manufacturing/Production	14				
Transport/Storage/Communication	2				
Professional/Technical	2	1		1	
Tourism/Hospitality	4				1
Technology	1				
Personnel/Business Services	23		2	2	3
Agriculture/Horticulture	2				
Other ¹	22			2	1
	92	3	2	5	5

1. All organisations in 'other' category were Regional, District City & Local Authorities

The interview experience of the ethnic attitude survey respondents is reported in Table 12. and Table 13. Experience was based on two criteria, the number of years that the respondents had been undertaking selection interviews and the number of interviews on average that the respondents

reported that they participate in per year. For the Pakeha sample 51.1 % of the respondents participated in less than 20 interviews per year with 6.9 years the mean number of years interviewing experience.

Table 12. Interview Experience of Respondents.

Number of interviews (average per year)	Pakeha	Maori	Asian	European	Other
1-5	22	1		1	
5-10	13				
10-20	12			1	
20-40	9	1		2	
40+	36	1		1	2
	92	3	0	5	2

Table 13. Mean, Std Dev., Max. and Min. of Interviewing Experience (in yrs.) for the Total Valid and Pakeha Samples.

Interviewing Experience (in years) Total Sample				
mean(years)	St. dev.	maximum	minimum	N(valid cases)
6.8	6.7	30	1	105

Interviewing Experience (in years) Pakeha Sample				
6.9	6.5	30	1	90

Table 14. presents the number of interviews undertaken per year and the number of years that the NZ European/Pakeha sample had been undertaking selection interviews. Both these variables were described in terms of low , medium and high frequency.

Table 14. NZ European/Pakeha Participants in Terms of Low, Medium and High Experience According to Interviews Per Year on Average and Number of Years Interviewing.

Experience category	Number of interviews per year	n	Number of years interviewing	n
Low	1-10	35	1-3	37
Medium	11-40	21	4-7	36
High	41+	36	8+	17

Information on the respondents' position and ethnicity for the total sample is presented in Table 15. The positions were classified according to whether the

focus was as a human resources generalist or as a human resources specialist. Generalists were supervisory/management positions where the role included personnel issues as part of wider production or management tasks. Specialists were where the personnel/human resources function was a dedicated one with no general employee/production supervision or management duties. Of the respondents 43 (42.1%) were in general supervisory/management positions and classified as human resources generalists, 45 (44.1%) were classified as human resources specialists and 14 (13.8%) remained unclassified because of insufficient information.

Table 15. Current Position of Respondents; Ethnic Attitude Sample

Organisation Position		Pakeha	Maori	Asian	European	Other
HR Generalist	Supervisor	7	1			
	Line manager	4			2	
	Dept. manager	29				
HR Specialist	Personnel Officer	12	1		1	
	HRM Staff	10				
	Personnel Consultant	19			2	
Other ¹		11	1			2
		92	3	0	5	2

1. Other positions were high level management (CEO, Directors & Branch Managers)

Ethnic Attitude Survey Procedure.

Participants in the ethnic attitude survey were told that the survey was aimed at ascertaining the attitudes of people involved in taking employment interviews towards five major ethnic groups in New Zealand. For each ethnic group there were twelve adjective pairs, each pair forming a seven point scale. They were instructed to circle the number for each attribute which best described how they viewed the target ethnic group. Each group of rating scales was printed on a separate page. They were also asked to provide demographic information for sample description purposes. These questions related to gender, ethnic identity and age groups as well as organisation size, industry type, current position and interview experience.

Statistical Considerations of Attitude Survey Data.

The ethnic attitude survey used in this study can be described as a semantic differential scale. Bipolar adjective pairs are separated by a Likert like scale and participants are asked to self rate their attitude toward the attitude object by marking a response on the scale. The use of a semantic differential scale leads to some debate about the appropriateness of parametric or non-parametric statistics. In this debate the representational measurement properties of the scale and the level of measurement become the focus. The problem with semantic differential scales is that the representational measurement properties are essentially unknown (Himmelfarb, 1992). That is, do the numbers assigned to measure attitudes mirror aspects of the actual relations between the attitudes of people. Because of this ambiguity the level of measurement (interval, ordinal) is difficult to ascertain. Consequently some confusion exists about the appropriate statistical model (parametric/non-parametric). If the scale can shown to be measure variables on a continuous interval level, and the assumptions of homogeneity of variance and normality hold, then parametric statistics may be used. If on the other hand the variables are measured on an ordinal level and are not continuous, then distribution free statistics (non-parametric) are more appropriate (Himmelfarb, 1992; Seigel & Castellan, 1988). Recent work in this area (Davison & Sharma, 1988,1990) has cleared up some of the confusion. Davison & Sharma (1988,1990) show that if an observed measured variable is a continuous ordinal variable that is a monotonically increasing function of an underlying latent variable, the conclusion to reject or accept the null hypothesis of no difference between the means on the measured variable may also be applied to the null hypothesis about the means on the latent variable (providing that the assumptions of homogeneity of variance and normality hold). Additionally Davison & Sharma's (1988,1990) work indicates that this holds where the decision to reject or accept the null hypothesis is made on the basis of either a *t*-test or one-way ANOVA.

Himmelfarb (1992) asserts that it is reasonable to assume that current methods of measuring attitudes are at least monotonically related to the true attitudes of respondents. It is therefore sound to suppose that the usual parametric statistical tests performed on measured attitudes are valid and also that conclusions drawn from them are likely to apply to the underlying attitudes.

With the current sample of ethnic attitude survey data there is no reason to believe that the assumptions of normal distribution and similar variance have been violated, but there is however a small N size. The robustness of these assumptions and the results of a variety of SPSS analyses to check for outliers, normality, linearity and missing data indicate that parametric statistical tests are appropriate. The choice of statistical test to utilise for data analysis in the present study is guided by the nature of the data. Small sample size and division of data into many categories mean that multivariate analysis is not suited. Additionally the debate surrounding the level of measurement of semantic differential scales needs to be taken into account.

Analysis of Ethnic Attitude Data.

For the present study the parametric statistical tests, *t*-tests (one sample and independent samples) and one way ANOVA will be used where appropriate. The questions to be answered and the analyses that will be undertaken on the attitude survey data are as follows:

- 1) Is there a pattern of stereotyping among the sample. ie. do the sample mean scores on each of the adjective pairs differ significantly from the neutral point of 4? **t-Test.**
- 2) Is there a difference in attitudes between males and females in the sample? **t-Test.**

- 3) Is there a difference in attitudes depending on interviewing experience (low, medium, high)? **ANOVA with post hoc t-Tests.**
- 4) Is there a difference in attitudes depending on industry type (public sector, private sector, personnel consultants)? **ANOVA with post hoc t-Tests.**
- 5) Is there a difference in attitudes depending on subjects' degree of role specialisation (HR generalist vs HR specialist)? **t-Test.**

Evaluation of Statistical Assumptions.

Before continuing it is necessary to discuss the assumptions underlying the use of statistical tests used in the analyses. The two major assumptions underlying the use of the parametric tests *t*-Test and Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) are that the variables are normally distributed in the sample, and that the variance ($s.d.^2$) of the variables in the sample/s are approximately equal. An additional condition is that the data is derived from either an interval or a ratio measurement scale (Conrad & Maul, 1981).

For the current analysis this involves testing and evaluating these assumptions and the condition of scale of measurement for several sub-samples and many dependent variables. As has previously been discussed the scale of measurement of the DVs (the ethnic attitude adjective pairs) is judged to be at least an interval scale. Proceeding from this, the distributions of the responses for each of the forty eight adjective pairs were analysed. SPSS was used to screen the data for each DV within the groups for missing values, shape and variance.

Analysis of the variance was carried out for the total sample and the independent variables MALE and FEMALE; PUBLIC (respondents from

public sector industries), PRIVATE (respondents from private sector industries) and PERSONNEL (respondents who were personnel consultants); HR GENERALIST and HR SPECIALIST; and INTEXP (number years of experience) and NUMINT (average number of interviews per year). Conrad & Maul (1981) suggest that a rule of thumb that can be used to test the assumption of homogeneity of variance is to obtain a ratio by dividing the largest variance by the smallest for each sample. If the obtained ratio is less than 2.00 then the assumption of homogeneity of variance is fulfilled. They also state that the assumption of similar variances in the samples is robust although decreased when sample sizes are not equal. Additionally Conrad & Maul (1981) state that "as long as this robust assumption is not grossly violated especially in the case where sample sizes are not greatly different the researcher can still use the analysis of variance technique" (pg 432). The variance ratios over 2.00 for the variables are presented in tables 21 and 23. Homogeneity of variance was also checked using SPSS to generate homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices.

Error Level.

A major difficulty in undertaking statistical testing of hypotheses in data analysis leads is the dilemma of how best to reduce the risk of stating that there is a statistically significant result when there is not one (Type I error), while decreasing the likelihood of stating that there is not a statistically significant result when one does exist (Type II error). This decision can be made on the basis of which error is most harmful in the specific research context, that is which type of error it is more important to avoid (Conrad & Maul, 1981).

Grove & Andreasen (1982) state that the usual practice for avoiding Type I and Type II error when sample sizes are limited is by an appropriated decision regarding the level of significance to be used. Conventionally most researchers arbitrarily consider results significant and reportable at the .05

level. Grove & Andreasen (1982) suggest that this is not ideal, and that researchers should set the level of significance themselves and discuss the rationale underlying the choice of significance level. When multiple comparisons are the issue, statistical methods have been developed in order to set the significance level when examining many variables simultaneously. Such a technique is the Bonferroni Inequality Method for testing a group of hypotheses at the same time. This method involves treating the multiple hypotheses as a single entity and selecting a single significance level which applies to all.

Rothman (1986) opposes this view by stating that the value of reducing false positives (Type I) at the expense of false negatives (Type II) is questionable and is dependent upon the research context. Rothman states that whether multiple comparisons or single comparisons are the focus, the arguments for decreasing Type I in favour of Type II error should have no consequence. Each comparison should be considered alone as if it were the sole focus of the study.

For the present study it is considered that there is little potential harm in making Type I error, and it is viewed as more desirable to make a false positive than false negative because of the potential usefulness of information involved. Additionally the exploratory nature of the analyses involved means that the potential for making Type II error is secondary to that of making Type I error. Therefore for the present study the significance level will be set at .05 with no recalculation of the p value.

CHAPTER SIX

The methodology for the selection interview knowledge and practice interviews will now be presented.

Interview Techniques & Practice Sample Composition.

Attached to the attitude survey forms was a request for people willing to participate in the second phase (interview techniques and practices investigation) of the study. Of the replies received forty-four were 'yes' and from these thirty-one people were interviewed. Initially five interviews were conducted for interview development purposes and to allow the researcher to become familiar with the procedure. These five participants were selected because of their close proximity and ease of access for the researcher. The participants were not told of the function of these initial interviews although they received the same treatment regarding informed consent and feedback about the study. Of the thirty-nine remaining possible participants, twenty-six made up the final sample interviewed by the researcher. Information on the age, gender and ethnicity of the participants is presented in Table 16.

Table 16. Age, Gender & Ethnicity of Respondents in Interview Techniques and Practice Sample.

Sex	Male	Female	Total
	15	11	26
Ethnic Identity			
Pakeha	12	11	23
Maori	2		2
European	1		1
Age(years)			
mean	Max	Min	n
38.4	57	24	26

The twenty-six participants came from Fielding, Palmerston North, Wanganui, Hastings, Napier, Gisborne, Auckland, Wellington, Blenheim and Christchurch. Some thirteen possible participants could not be interviewed

due to being unavailable to the researcher during the data gathering phase, or being in an isolated area (West Coast of Sth Island, extreme far South and North). Demographic characteristics and data for the interview practice sample will now be presented.

Information regarding the industry type in which the participants were employed is presented in Table 17., fifteen (57.8%) participants came from high Maori representative industries, six from (23.0%) low Maori representative industries and five (19.2%) from other industries. The position that the participants held in the organisation which they worked is presented in Table 18.

Table 17. Industry Type of Participants in Interview Techniques Sample.

Industry Type	Number	%
Processing	3	11.5
Manufacturing	4	15.4
Local Authority	8	30.9
Personnel Consultants	3	11.5
Direct Marketing	2	7.7
Retail Trade	2	7.7
Telecommunications	3	11.5
Tourism/Hospitality	1	3.8
	26	100.0

Note. There were a total of 18 different organisations with six organisations providing two respondents each and one three respondents.

Table 18. Organisational Position of Participants.

Respondent Positions	Number	%
Personnel Officer/Manager	6	23.2
HR Adviser/Manager	5	19.2
Recruitment consultant	3	11.5
Branch/Department Manager	6	23.2
Warehouse supervisor	3	11.5
Community resources coordinator	1	3.8
Expenditure Accountant	1	3.8
District engineer	1	3.8
	26	100.0

Interviewing Guide.

Participants in the second phase of this research underwent a comprehensive interview during which questions about their current practice, degree of interview structure, EEO considerations, interview training, interview research knowledge, knowledge about other selection methods, and future use of the interview and/or other selection methods were asked. The rationale behind the selection of these areas was as follows (section titles are given in *italics*). The *current practice* of interviewers was of interest because an up-to-date 'picture' of current practice in selection interviewing in New Zealand is needed to enable the implications for Maori and the future of interviewing in NZ to be discussed. The *degree of structure* of the interviews being undertaken is important because structuring of interviews has been shown to increase the reliability and validity of selection interviews. As the project is dealing with the area of stereotype attitudes the *EEO considerations* that are part of the interview process are of interest, specifically the number of organisations actively pursuing EEO goals, and the impact of equal employment policies on interviewing practice. Interview research has identified that the amount and type of training that an interviewer receives is related to reliability and validity of interviews, therefore participants were questioned on the *interview training* they had received. Taylor et al. (1993) commented that a major role of I/O psychologists was the dissemination of *current research knowledge*. Questions were asked to ascertain the depth of interviewers' knowledge about research, and to investigate whether interviewers were proactive in their approach to 'keeping up-to-date'. *Knowledge about other selection tools* is of interest as many studies have shown that the interview is the most used selection tool. Questions were directed at finding out if this was a 'forced choice' where no other methods were known or available, or whether the interview was chosen as the 'best' method at hand. Questions relating to the probable direction of *future selection practice* were asked. This was in order to document the probable future course of selection and interview use in New Zealand. Finally the participants were asked to describe the *attributes of the*

good interviewer so that a picture of the 'ideal' versus the 'reality' could be discussed.

These areas were selected by the researcher in order to gain a comprehensive picture of practice and knowledge about the interview as a selection tool. An interview guide was developed for the present study (Appendix B), a list of questions was formed which related to the abovementioned areas and then, as mentioned previously, a series of five initial interviews was undertaken to test the relevance of, and response of participants to the interview questions. Comments were sought from these first five respondents about the format, process and structure of the interview.

Interview Techniques and Practice Procedure.

Participants were told that the interview was directed toward documenting their current interview practice, the amount and type of training they had received, and to probe their knowledge about the interview as a selection method. The interviews ranged in length from 35 to 75 minutes. All participants were asked the same questions in the same order. Participants' responses to the questions were recorded on an interview answer sheet in note-form by the interviewer during the interview. These answer sheets were made available upon interview completion for verification of responses by the participants. Participants were also asked for any concluding comments about any aspect of selection, the selection interview, the format of the research interview and the researcher's interview technique and manner.

Interview Data Coding.

The data in this study was recorded on the interview guide at the time of the interview. Immediately following each interview the information was written up in the form of case study notes. These mini studies were qualitatively analysed by reducing each transcript to data suitable for frequency (count) analysis using the coding sheet (Appendix B). The coding sheet was developed to reduce the information contained in the case studies to a level

where the core aspects for the areas of interest could be easily seen. Brief and concise points about each of the areas of interest were the aim, with the comments that each participant made used to flesh out common concerns or highlight specific differences between interview practice. The coding sheet was to allow participants' answers to the questions relating to the key areas of interest to be delineated from superfluous information gained during the course of the interview. Typically two pages (typed single spaced) of interview notes were reduced to the information contained on the coding sheet. Once the key components of the case studies were found, links between individual case studies were developed. The links took the form of similarities between case studies in order to identify the trends in each of the areas. While similarities between subjects was of interest so were differences. Any singular differences in any of the nine areas were highlighted and discussed.

A random selection of the case studies was reviewed by another rater to ascertain an index of inter-rater reliability for coding of the case study data. The second rater was briefed on the background and context of the present study and the format of the research interviews. A guide to interview analysis was developed (Appendix B) and given to the alternative rater. Five of the twenty-six case studies (19%) were rated resulting in 75% inter-rater agreement in the condensation of the case studies on each of the areas of interest as described previously.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Results.

As with the method section, the results for the two phases of research will be presented separately in consecutive chapters. The results for the ethnic attitude survey are presented in Chapter Seven and the results for the interview techniques and practice phase in Chapter Eight.

Ethnic Attitude Survey Results.

Firstly, the mean response score (Appendix C) for each adjective pair contained in the attitude survey was calculated. Table 19. shows the relative position of each ethnic group on the adjective pairs on the basis of these scores. The overall trend shows that the Maori and Pacific Islander groups are seen as more patient, more polite, quieter, more humble, friendlier, less clever, less clean, more generous, more law-breaking and more dishonest than the NZ European group. All respondents (n=107) were included in this summary table. All further analyses use only the NZ European/Pakeha (n=92) group, arguments for this have already been put forward but will be reiterated. The NZ European/Pakeha group is the majority group in New Zealand and formed 86.0% of the sample, with the other ethnic groups combined (n=15) only 14.0%. Singling out this group because it is the majority group in New Zealand raises the second point, the assumption that the NZ European/Pakeha group are more likely to be involved in conducting selection interviews in New Zealand than any other ethnic group. This means that it is more likely that an ethnic minority group member will be interviewed by a member of the majority group (NZ European/ Pakeha) than vice versa.

Table 19. Relative Order of Ethnic Groups by Mean Score on Adjective Pair Attitude Scale.

Adjective Name (positive)	Order of Ethnic Groups By Mean Score On Adjective Scale					Adjective Name (negative)
Patient	M	PI	C	BE	NZE	Impatient
Polite	C	PI	M	BE	NZE	Impolite
Quiet	PI	C	M	NZE	BE	Talkative
Humble	PI	C	M	NZE	BE	Boastful
Friendly	PI	M	NZE	BE	C	Unfriendly
Clever	C	NZE	BE	M	PI	Dumb
Hardworking	C	NZE	BE	PI	M	Lazy
Knowledgeable	C	NZE	BE	M	PI	Ignorant
Clean	C	NZE	BE	M	PI	Dirty
Generous	M	PI	NZE	BE	C	Mean
Law abiding	C	BE	NZE	PI	M	Law Breaking
Honest	C	NZE	BE	PI	M	Dishonest

M=Maori; PI =Pacific Islander; C =Chinese; BE =British European; NZE =NZ European.

As has been discussed in the method section (Chapter Five), SPSS was used to screen the data for each DV within the various subgroups for missing values, shape and variance. No systematic pattern of missing data or anomalies in distribution were discovered. Suspect variances were reported using Conrad and Maul's (1981) technique.

Stereotype Attitudes.

As the above section on the relative position of each ethnic group states, the mean value for each of the 48 adjectives was calculated. This was done for both the total valid sample and the NZ European/Pakeha sample (presented in Appendix C). An analysis was carried out to ascertain whether stereotyping occurred for each ethnic group. A *t*-test of one mean was used to compare the obtained mean for each adjective pair with the null hypothesis that the population mean equals 4 (the neutral point). Stereotyping was judged to have occurred when the *t* value for a particular adjective pair was found significant ($p < .05$, two tailed). The pattern of stereotyping for NZ European/Pakeha respondents is presented in Table 20.

Table 20. Stereotyping Pattern of Five Ethnic Groups for Pakeha Sample.

Maori	Chinese	Pacific Islander	NZ European/ Pakeha	British/UK immigrant
patient	patient	patient	impatient	impatient
polite	polite	polite		
quiet	quiet	quiet	talkative	talkative
humble	humble	humble	boastful	boastful
friendly		friendly	friendly	friendly
dumb	clever	dumb	clever	clever
lazy	hardworking	lazy	hardworking	lazy
ignorant	knowledgeable	ignorant	knowledgeable	knowledgeable
		clean	clean	clean
generous	mean	generous		mean
law breaking	law abiding	law breaking	law abiding	law abiding
	honest		honest	honest

The overall pattern of stereotyping shows that the respondents viewed the Maori and Pacific Island groups as more patient, polite, quiet, humble, friendly, dumb, lazy, ignorant, generous and law-breaking than they viewed their own (NZ European/Pakeha) and the British/UK group.

Male/Female Differences.

A *t*-test for independent samples was performed to compare the means of the male and female respondents for each adjective pair separately. Because of the unequal sample numbers, the pooled standard deviation was calculated before each *t*-test. If the calculated pooled standard deviation lay between the values of the standard deviations for the samples the *t*-test results were accepted. Only two of the 48 comparisons were significant: Quiet, $t(90) = 2.71$, $p < .05$ for Maori and Quiet, $t(90) = 2.42$, $p < .05$ for Pacific Islanders. In each cases both female sample means (3.18 and 2.63) were lower than the male means (3.83 and 3.26), indicating that the female sample stereotyped Maori and Pacific islanders as quieter than the male sample. There was only one variable with a variance ratio over 2.00 (Chinese, Honest, 2.09); however it did not grossly violate the homogeneity of variance assumption so remained in the analysis.

Public Sector and Private Sector.

The sample was then divided into those respondents from public sector industries (n=22) and those respondents from private sector industries (n=70). The private sector sample was additionally split into personnel consultants (n=23) and other private sector organisations (n=47). Homogeneity of variance ratios over 2.00 are presented in Table 21.

Table 21. Variance Ratios Over 2.00 for Industry Type (INDTYPE) Variable.

Variable	Variance Ratio	Variable	Variance Ratio
Maori		British/UK Immigrant	
Knowledgeable	2.00	Patient	2.59*
Generous	2.62*	Quiet	3.04*
Honest	3.86*	Humble	2.78*
		Clever	2.06
Pacific Islanders		Hardworking	2.04
Polite	2.21	Honest	2.51*
Quiet	2.69*		
Humble	2.04	Chinese	
Clever	2.27	Quiet	2.33
Knowledgeable	2.37	Humble	2.21
Law Abiding	2.10	Honest	2.12
NZ European			
Honest	2.31		

*Ratios over 2.50 were deemed to have grossly violated the homogeneity of variance assumption and were dropped from further analysis.

A one-way ANOVA was employed to investigate differences between these three groups and the adjective responses. Five of the comparisons were significant: Humble, $F(2,87) = 3.77$, $p < .05$ for Maori; Patient $F(2,88) = 3.49$, $p < .05$ and Knowledgeable $F(2,88) = 3.20$, $p < .05$ for Chinese; Clever $F(2, 89) = 5.31$, $p < .05$ for Pacific Islanders; and Hardworking $F(2,89) = 5.93$, $p < .05$ for British/UK immigrants. Indications of inter-group differences from the ANOVA results were then investigated further using post hoc t -tests to see where specific differences lay between the three groups (public, private, personnel). Of the comparisons between private and personnel one was significant: Knowledgeable $t(68) = 2.38$, $p < .05$ for Chinese, with personnel consultants viewing Chinese as more

knowledgeable than other private sector respondents. Of the comparisons between private and public four were significant: Humble $t(65) = 2.43$, $p < .05$ for Maori; Patient $t(66) = 2.15$, $p < .05$ for Chinese; Clever $t(67) = 3.20$, $p < .05$ for Pacific Islanders and Hardworking $t(67) = -3.35$, $p < .05$ for British/UK immigrants. This indicates that the public sector respondents viewed Maori as more humble, Chinese as more patient and the British/UK group as lazier than private sector respondents. The private sector respondents viewed the Pacific Island group as less clever than the public sector respondents. Of the comparisons made between personnel and public groups three were significant: Patient $t(42) = 2.62$, $p < .05$ for Chinese; Clever $t(43) = 2.78$, $p < .05$ for Pacific Islanders; and Hardworking $t(43) = -2.76$, $p < .05$ for British/UK immigrants. Public sector respondents viewing Chinese as more patient, and the British/UK group as lazier than the personnel consultant respondents. The personnel sample viewed the Pacific Island group as less clever than the public sector sample. The mean scores for the significant t -tests are presented in Table 22.

Table 22. Mean Response Scores of Public, Private and Personnel Sector Respondents for Significant Adjective Pairs.

	Private Sector Mean	Personnel Mean	Public Sector Mean
Maori			
humbleness	3.87	3.39	3.18
Chinese			
patience	3.74	4.04	3.00
knowledgeable	3.11	2.56	2.81
Pacific Islanders			
cleverness	4.68	4.74	4.09
British/UK Immigrant			
hardworking	4.06	4.22	4.86

Human Resources Generalists and Human Resources Specialists.

Additionally the sample was divided into those respondents who were human resources generalists (responded 1-3 on “current position” question) and human resources specialists (4-6 on “current position”

question). If appropriate information (from the position title question) were given, those who responded '7' ("other") were reclassified according to the generalist/specialist criteria. Where classification could not be made the case was dropped from the analysis. A *t*-test for independent samples was performed to compare the means of the HR generalist (n=40) and HR specialist (n=41) samples for each adjective dimension separately. Only one of the comparisons was significant, Quiet, $t(79) = -2.68$, $p < .05$ for NZ European/Pakeha. The HR generalist mean (4.33) was lower than the HR specialist mean (4.80) with HR generalists viewing the NZ European/Pakeha group as less talkative. None of the variance ratios were over 2.00.

Interview Experience.

Finally the sample was divided according to two descriptions of interviewing experience, the number of interviews the respondent is involved with per year (NUMINT, N=92), and the number of years that the respondent had been involved in interviewing (INTEXP, N=90). These variables were then split into low, medium and high samples with NUMINT LOW (n=35) equal to 1-10 interviews per year, MEDIUM (n=21) 11-40 per year and HIGH (n=36) 41+ per year. For INTEXP, LOW (n=37) was 1-3 years experience (people with less than 1 years experience were included in the 1 year group), MEDIUM (n=24) 4-7 years and HIGH (n=29) 8+ years experience. Analysis of the variance ratios for the variables in the NUMINT and INTEXP samples reveals that nine variables with a ratio over 2.00 for NUMINT and sixteen for INTEXP. Table 23 presents the ratios over 2.00 for NUMINT and INTEXP variables.

Table 23. Variance Ratio Test Results Over 2.00 for Homogeneity of Variance Assumption for NUMINT and INTEXP Variables.

Independent Variable			
INTEXP		NUMINT	
Maori		Maori	
Clever	2.07	Humble	2.15
Clean	2.29	Clean	2.05
Chinese		Chinese	
Friendly	2.23	Honest	2.16
Generous	2.25		
Pacific Islander		Pacific Islander	
Patient	2.61*	Humble	2.06
Polite	2.83*	Law Abiding	2.26
Clever	2.09		
Knowledgeable	3.51*		
Generous	2.01		
Law Abiding	2.26		
INTEXP		NUMINT	
NZ European		NZ European	
Hardworking	2.21	Honest	2.24
Law Abiding	2.34		
British/UK Immigrant		British/UK Immigrant	
Patient	2.37	Patient	2.21
Quiet	2.12	Humble	2.25
Humble	2.63*	Knowledgeable	2.01
Knowledgeable	2.27		

*Ratios over 2.50 were deemed to have grossly violated the homogeneity of variance assumption and were dropped from further analysis.

Experience, Average Number of Interviews.

A one-way ANOVA was performed on the number of interviews per year (NUMINT, low, medium, high) with the adjective pairs. Three of these comparisons were significant: Knowledgeable $F(2,88) = 3.42$, $p < .05$ for Chinese; Quiet $F(2,89) = 4.58$, $p < .05$ for Pacific Islanders; and Humble $F(2,89) = 3.64$, $p < .05$ for British/UK immigrants. As previously, post hoc t -tests were used to reveal significant differences between the low, medium and high groups for the significant DVs from the ANOVA results. The following results were found for low versus medium number of interviews, Humble $t(54) = -2.72$, $p < .05$ for British/UK immigrants; for low versus high number of interviews Knowledgeable $t(68) = 2.59$, $p < .05$ for Chinese. Finally the medium versus high number of interviews were contrasted and

two significant results were found: Quiet $t(55) = 2.90$, $p < .05$ for Pacific Islanders; and Humble $t(55) = 2.18$, $p < .05$ for British/UK immigrants.

These results show that all three groups stereotype the British/UK group as boastful, with the low and high number of interview groups less boastful than the medium number group. The high number group viewed Chinese as more Knowledgeable than the low number group, and the Pacific Island group as quieter than the medium group.

Experience, In Years.

A one-way ANOVA of the interview experience in years variables (INTEXP, low, medium, high) with the attitude responses revealed nine significant results: Clean $F(2,87) = 3.37$, $p < .05$ and Law Abiding $F(2,86) = 3.57$, $p < .05$ for Maori; Polite $F(2,87) = 8.31$, $p < .05$, Quiet $F(2,87) = 4.98$, $p < .05$, Clean $F(2,87) = 8.45$, $p < .05$, Generous $F(2,87) = 5.74$, $p < .05$, Law Abiding $F(2,86) = 3.46$, $p < .05$, and Honest $F(2,87) = 5.98$, $p < .05$ for Pacific Islanders; and Clean $F(2,87) = 3.14$, $p < .05$ for NZ European. t -tests performed on the interview experience number of years variable revealed 13 significant results. For the low and medium years experience four significant results were found: Law Abiding $t(59) = 2.51$, $p < .05$ for Maori; Polite $t(59) = 2.05$, $p < .05$ and Honest $t(59) = 2.58$, $p < .05$ for Pacific Islanders; and Clean $t(59) = -2.07$, $p < .05$ for NZ Europeans. Post hoc t -tests on the low and high years of experience found six significant results: Clean $t(64) = 2.42$, $p < .05$ for Maori; and Quiet $t(64) = -2.98$, $p < .05$, Clean $t(64) = 3.89$, $p < .05$, Generous $t(64) = 3.19$, $p < .05$, Law Abiding¹ $t(60.97) = 2.58$, $p < .05$ and Honest $t(64) = 3.15$, $p < .05$ for Pacific Islanders. For medium and high experience comparisons three significant results were found: Quiet $t(51) = -2.33$, $p < .05$ and Clean $t(51) = 2.88$, $p < .05$ for Pacific Islanders; and Clean $t(51) = 2.28$, $p < .05$ for NZ

¹ The F value for the calculated t value was significant so the separate variance estimate was used.

European/Pakeha. The means of the significant adjective pairs are presented in table 24.

Table 24. Mean Response Scores of Respondents on Number of Interviews per Year (NUMINT) and Years of Interviewing Experience (INTEXP) for Significant Adjective Pairs.

Variables	Experience Category Means		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
NUMINT			
Chinese			
knowledgeable	3.18	2.90	2.64
Pacific Islanders			
quiet	2.94	3.67	2.67
British/UK Immigrant			
humble	4.48	5.14	4.64
INTEXP			
Maori			
clean	4.13	3.87	3.52
law-abiding	4.78	4.25	4.39
Pacific Islanders			
quiet	2.65	2.79	3.55
clean	4.27	4.04	3.31
generous	3.46	3.04	2.62
law-abiding	4.58	4.29	4.03
honest	4.32	3.75	3.69
NZ European			
clean	3.03	3.50	2.93

The means presented in Table 24. show the low experience respondents viewed the Maori group as more law-breaking than the medium experience respondents, and they also stereotyped the Pacific Island group as cleaner. The medium experience respondents viewed the Pacific Island group as more polite and honest while the low experience group viewed this group as dishonest. For the significant low versus high experience contrasts, the low experience group stereotyped Maori and Pacific Island groups as dirty while the high experience respondents viewed these groups as clean. Similarly the low experience respondents viewed the Pacific Island group as dishonest while the high experience respondents stereotyped this group as honest. Additionally the low experience respondents viewed the Pacific Island group as quieter, less generous and more law breaking than the high experience respondents.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Selection Interviewer Sample.

The results for this phase of the present study were collated from the twenty-six interviews conducted with twenty-six participants from eighteen different organisations (as presented in the Method section, Chapter Six). Of the organisations involved five were public sector organisations with the remaining thirteen private sector (one a former SOE now private sector). The average length of selection interviews conducted by the participants was 52 minutes, with a range of reported duration of 25-120 mins. Table 25. presents a summary of interviewers' self-assessments of the degree of structure of interviews they conducted. The majority of participants rated their interviews as somewhat structured (57.7%).

Degree of Interview Structure.

Table 25. Self-assessed Degree of Interview Structure.

Degree of structure	Number	%
very structured	7	26.9%
somewhat structured	15	57.7%
somewhat unstructured	2	7.7%
very unstructured	2	7.7%
	26	100.0%

When asked to describe the basis of the interview structure in terms of formal (job analysis, situational, behaviour description) or informal (ad hoc) methods of structuring, eight (30.8%) of the participants responded 'formal' and eighteen (69.2%) 'informal'. All eight of the 'formal' responses related to job analysis used to identify competencies or job dimensions upon which interview questions were based.

EEO Considerations.

Information on the number of organisations which have formal Equal Employment Opportunity policies in place is presented in Table 26. All local authorities are required by legislation to have a formal EEO policies

and programs in place. The other thirteen organisations were private sector companies where EEO policies and programs are voluntary.

Table 26. Number and Type of Organisations Having Formal EEO Policies.

EEO policy	No policy	Industry Type
5		Local Authorities
7	6	Private companies

Multiple Interviewing of Candidates.

When questioned regarding the number of interviewers present during a selection interview, thirteen (50%) of the participants responded that the interviews they conduct were most frequently individual (one to one), and thirteen (50%) participants responded that they were involved with panel interviews. Information on the number of panellists involved in panel interviews for the public and private sector participants is presented in Table 27. The overall average number of panellists was three with a range of two to six members.

Table 27. Average Number of Panellists Involved in Interviews by Public and Private Sector.

Sector	Average no. of panellists	Min. no.	Max. no.	N
Public	3	2	4	8
Private	2	2	6	10
No panel interviewing	-	-	-	8

It was reported by six of the participants that all short-listed candidates were interviewed at least twice. Another seven participants responded that only some of the short-listed candidates were interviewed a second time. The reasons given for this was that some candidates were interviewed a second time when information from a previous interview needed to be clarified, when another member of staff was also involved in the later stages of the selection decision, and when there was little to discriminate between two or three candidates. The remaining thirteen participants

responded that candidates were only ever interviewed once. This data is summarised in Table 28. Of the thirteen responses where multiple interviewing may occur, twelve participants responded that candidates were interviewed a maximum of two times and one a maximum of three times.

Table 28. Occurrence of Multiple Interviews of Short-listed Candidates.

Multiple interviews of applicants		
all	6	23.1%
some	7	26.9%
none	13	50.0%

Selection Interview Procedure Control.

The majority of participants (92.3%) reported that the selection procedures that they were involved in were not monitored in any formal way. Most participants indicated that they 'kept an [informal] eye' on successful candidates with two participants (7.7%) responding that the organisation for which they worked maintained records and remained in contact with the successful candidates for some time after placement. The two respondents who indicated that they monitored the selection procedures were from the same recruitment consultancy, and did so as part of a client and organisation quality control function.

Job Descriptions and Interview Training.

Information on whether or not formal and up-to-date job descriptions (JD) were available to the participants as part of their preparation for the selection interviews is presented in Table 29. Comments from participants regarding the job descriptions (JDs) indicated that review of job description occurred in two situations, either only reviewed when a position became vacant or as part of an annual performance appraisal routine. Additionally comments were made that review procedures were often ad hoc, with an immediate supervisor or manager going over existing JDs in an informal, unguided manner with no formal systematic approach to writing and/or

reviewing JDs. Comments from recruitment consultants differed in that they often had to make a 'best guess' because of often sparse information made available by client organisations. Time and resource constraints also affected the availability of JDs for recruitment consultants.

Table 29. Availability of Job Descriptions for Interview Preparation.

Job descriptions available	Number	%
yes	19	73.1%
no	2	7.7%
for some jobs	5	19.2%

The information presented in Table 30 shows the responses regarding the amount and type of interview training that participants reported as having undertaken. No formal training was reported by eleven (42.3%) of the participants and only two (7.7%) reported receiving follow-up training. Participants indicated that mentoring and on-the-job training are the most common method of interview training.

Table 30. Reported Amount & Type of Interview Training Received by Participants.

Interview training		
Specific interview training	5	19.2%
As part of another course*	10	38.5%
No training received	11	42.3%
	26	
Follow up training received	2	7.7%

* 3 participants attended an Employers Federation course, others attended individual organisation developed courses designed for general supervision and introduction to management.

Non-verbal Behaviour Awareness.

Awareness of non-verbal behaviour was measured by asking the participants for examples to illustrate their understanding. By giving one to three examples some awareness of non-verbal behaviour was indicated by twenty-one (80.8%) of the participants. Good awareness by giving four or more examples of non-verbal behaviours was indicated by three participants, and two participants gave no examples and were classified as having no awareness of non-verbal behaviours.

Selection Interview Research Knowledge.

Responses regarding current research knowledge about the selection interview for participants is presented in Table 31. A broad knowledge was indicated by twelve (46.2%) participants who commented on overall trends in research findings such as reliability and validity issues, although none could cite individual pieces of research. The remaining fourteen (53.8%) participants responded that they had no knowledge about research regarding the selection interview.

Gaining research knowledge was classified as proactive according to possession of up-to-date literature (books and/or periodicals pertaining to the interview), attendance of workshops, conferences and lectures, and personal searches of academic libraries. Accordingly two (8%) participants were actively engaged in out-of-workplace searches for information about current interview research. Of these one worked in the telecommunications industry and actively attended lectures and conference workshops, and the other was a recruitment consultant who maintained extensive personal resources and sought up to date research from university and personal networks. The remaining twenty-four (92%) participants were classified as reactive because they waited for regular in-house circulars or for information about the interview to be circulated by others.

Table 31. Participant Responses to Research Knowledge and Classification According to Proactive/reactive Knowledge Acquisition Criteria.

Research knowledge about interview	Number	%
Broad	12	46.2%
None	14	53.8%
Research knowledge search		
Proactive	2	7.7%
Reactive	24	92.3%

Future Interview Practice.

Regarding the future use of the selection interview, eighteen (69.2%) participants responded that they will continue to use the interview unchanged for the foreseeable future. The remaining eight (30.8%) commented that the interview will be subject to minor changes such as increased participation of departmental managers in the process, or that additional psychological tests will be used in conjunction with the interview. None of the participants indicated that the current process each utilises will undergo any major procedural changes. This is summarised in Table 32.

Table 32. Participants' Comments about Future Practice of the Selection Interview.

Future use of the interview	Number	%
unchanged	18	69.2%
minor changes	8	30.8%

Attributes of a Good Interviewer.

Finally, to get a representation of what the participants judged as important regarding the selection interview, each was asked to describe the attributes of the good [competent] interviewer. They were asked to list those attributes which would allow the 'best' decision to be consistently made regarding applicant suitability, and which they personally determined as important in interview preparation and technique. In all 98 such comments were received with an average of 3.8 comments per participant. A summary of the broad areas which participants believed to be most important to being a good interviewer is presented in Table 33. (A comprehensive list of the comments and attributes reported is presented in Appendix D).

Table 33. Broad Areas Considered to be Important Attributes of Good Interviewers.

Broad Categories of Attributes	Number of Responses	%	cumulative %
Rapport Building & Empathy	18	18.4	18.4
Personality Traits	16	16.3	34.7
Listening & communication skills	15	15.3	50.0
Preparation & Clarity of Direction	12	12.2	62.2
Technique	11	11.2	73.4
Questioning	11	11.2	84.6
Intuition	4	4.1	88.7
Body Language	2	2.0	90.7
Assessing Cultural Fit (organisational)	2	2.0	92.7
Miscellaneous	7	7.3	100.0
	98	100.0	

The main themes revealed by these comments centred on the rapport building capability, and the degree of empathy that the interviewer developed with a candidate. Additionally, the personality of the interviewer was deemed important. Those people who were open-minded, comfortable with others, curious and questioning, and were friendly and outgoing were seen as naturally making better interviewers. The listening and communication skills of the interviewer was another dominant theme, along with the amount of preparation undertaken before conducting an interview. The clarity of direction that the interviewer showed, along with keeping to the task and maintaining control (not letting candidate dictate direction) were also important issues. The actual techniques utilised by the interviewer, and how the line of questioning was arrived at, were commented on by many participants. Techniques mentioned included establishing eye contact, sticking to the point and being decisive, as well as the importance of asking open questions and relating questions to each applicant's previous experience.

CHAPTER NINE

Discussion.

The overall picture of stereotyping revealed by the attitude survey supports the findings of earlier studies into the existence and pattern of stereotype attitudes in New Zealand. Differentiation between sub-samples regarding stereotype attitudes did not however provide comprehensive support for intra-sample differences in attitudes. Responses to the interview techniques and practice interviews point to a lack of training of interviewers, an ad hoc approach to selection interviewing in New Zealand and a lack of direction regarding EEO and Maori.

The focus of the present study was to investigate and discuss the results with respect to the implications for Maori and the New Zealand labour market. Therefore for the following discussion the major focus will be on the implications for Maori. However, the more general aspects of the discussion possibly relate also to other minority groups in New Zealand. The results reported in Chapters Seven and Eight relating to each research question will now be discussed in more detail. The likely implications will be commented on and some limitations of the present study will be reviewed. Finally suggested directions for future research will be outlined.

Stereotype Attitudes: Stereotyping.

The overall pattern of stereotyping revealed by the results of the ethnic attitude survey is similar to that of Huang and Singer's (1984) investigation of the attitudes of police recruits, senior police officers and university students. Pakeha respondents viewed themselves as similar to the British/UK group, providing some support for in-group similarity and out-group differentiation (Tajfel, 1981), with a clear distinction drawn between the Caucasian (NZ European/Pakeha, British/UK) and the Polynesian

(Maori, Pacific Islanders) and Asian (Chinese) groups. The similarity of the two Polynesian stereotypes revealed, and the differentiation of these from the two European stereotypes, also provides some support for Tajfel's accentuation theory. Likewise, the division of the Asian group from the other two broad groups also supports in-group similarity and out-group differentiation.

The adjective pairs that make up the attitude survey can be contrasted according to the positive or negative connotations that each word has eg. clean (positive)/dirty (negative). Overall the Polynesian stereotypes could be considered more negative than the stereotypes of the NZ European/Pakeha, British/UK and Chinese groups. It is notable that the Polynesian groups are generally stereotyped in more negative terms than the other groups on the most negative adjective of the pairs (ie. dumb, ignorant, lazy, dirty, law-breaking and dishonest). With respect to the Maori stereotype, for the remaining pairs the adjectives applied agree with the 'noble savage' conception mentioned in Ritchie's (1963) study of the Raukau community. Therefore the stereotype for Maori contains aspects of both the 'good' and 'bad' stereotypes reported by Ritchie (1963).

Additionally, the Maori stereotype pattern revealed is similar to those previously described (Ritchie, 1963; Vaughan, 1962, 1964a, 1964b, cited in St George; Huang & Singer, 1984; Lynskey et al., 1991). Particularly it agrees with Lynskey et al's. (1991) finding that Pakeha subjects maintained positive in-group and negative out-group (Maori) stereotypes. This means that Pakeha respondents described their own [in]group in more positive terms than they did the Maori group. The agreement between the stereotype pattern revealed by the present study and those found in the three other New Zealand studies mentioned gives some support to the long-term persistence and resistance to change that earlier researchers (Lippmann, 1922; Allport, 1954) considered properties of stereotype attitudes. This persistence is at odds with the current

conceptualisation of stereotype attitudes as fluid and responsive to changes in inter-group relationships (Oakes et al., 1994).

Implications of Stereotyping for Maori.

As has been argued earlier stereotyping is the outcome of normal categorising and occurs to simplify the information contained in the outside world. Therefore the finding that there remains an overall stereotype pattern is not surprising. However the effect of actions based on these stereotypes is not well understood. Prejudicial behaviours such as those mentioned by Spoonley (1993) may have lessened, but there is no recent research with respect to selection professionals to provide proof. Bias or prejudicial action based on stereotype attitudes simply may have become more subtle and harder to detect. It still remains that Maori occupy a disadvantaged position in most aspects of society (education, health, and labour market). Understanding the relationship that stereotype attitudes have with prejudicial behaviour and the degree and effect that such action has on keeping Maori in this situation is important.

The pattern of stereotyping revealed for Maori has implications in terms of interviewers' awareness of their own attitudes and the role that these play in decision-making. The presence of the stereotype attitude does not automatically mean that prejudiced actions are the outcome. But, there remains the possibility that the pervasiveness and persistence of a stereotype attitude among Pakeha toward Maori impacts on the position that Maori occupy in New Zealand's labour market. This may be particularly meaningful when the accuracy of this stereotype is in doubt or as Ritchie (1963) indicated, has no relevance to 'modern' Maori reality. There are two interesting situations in the exploration of the effect that these attitudes can have in the interview situation. Firstly where Maori applicants' behaviour 'fit' the stereotype and secondly, where behaviour does not 'fit' the stereotype.

Agreement with Maori Stereotype.

Where there is some agreement between an interviewer's stereotype of Maori and Maori applicants there may be some effect on the selection decision. Decisions regarding that applicant may relate to an assumption that there will be agreement on all aspects of the stereotype. For example a Maori applicant may appear polite, quiet, patient and friendly and the assumption made that they are also lazy, ignorant, and dumb. This mechanism may be employed by the interviewer towards all groups, but because the Maori stereotype is more negative than that of other ethnic groups, Maori would be disadvantaged most. While this simplifies the cognitive processes of decision-making it spotlights the example where an interviewer may be unaware of the effect that an underlying stereotype attitude has upon their interpretation of information.

Disagreement with Maori Stereotype.

Where the impression of a Maori applicant disagrees with an interviewer's stereotype then uncertainty or ambiguity about the applicant may lead to cognitive imbalance. The implication of balance theory (Heider, 1958) is that the interviewer could alter or distort information when making attribution's about the applicant to restore balance. Whether the process of balancing will disadvantage Maori in the interview situation may depend upon the vacancy to be filled. Previous research (Eiser, 1990) has shown that minority applicants are treated more favourably when the job is one which they stereotypically are employed in and less favourably when the job is not one typically associated with the minority group.

Stereotyping: Males and Females.

There were only slight differences between male and female respondents, with the female sample stereotyping Maori and Pacific Islander groups as quieter than the male sample. This similarity in pattern may be due to a lack of differentiation amongst the Pakeha sample between the different Polynesian groups. There would appear to be no factors which would lead

to males and females forming different stereotypes of the Polynesian groups. As stereotypes have been described as the outcome of a normal cognitive categorisation process, and overall Pakeha male and female experience of Polynesian groups may be similar, then general stereotypes reported by these respondents is likely to also be similar.

In the light of the similarity between reported stereotypes of the male and female samples it was anticipated that any differences in the overall pattern of stereotyping would be revealed where experience of the Polynesian and Chinese groups differed. Factors which may lead to such a difference in viewpoint include the type of industry, the type of job the respondent is engaged in and the amount of contact that the respondent has with different ethnic groups, or the profile that the ethnic group has within and outside of the workplace.

Stereotyping: Public & Private Sectors & Personnel Consultants.

It was expected that there would be some differences in the patterns of stereotyping between these three groups as the public service is subject to strict EEO legislation. This it was believed would raise the profile of minority groups within the public sector, with the effect that stereotype attitudes would differ from those where EEO issues did not have as high a profile. Additionally the responses of personnel consultants were of interest because of the specialised nature of their work and their increased contact with applicants and familiarity with the interview process over the average manager/supervisor.

The private sector and personnel consultant samples differed on responses to the 'Knowledgeable' adjective, with personnel consultants viewing Chinese as more 'Knowledgeable' than other private sector respondents. This may be a result of the level of job for which personnel consultants tend to interview for. It is reasonable to assume that dedicated personnel consultants interview for jobs of a higher status requiring higher

levels of qualification and experience than the other members of the private sector sample. Therefore applicants interviewed by personnel consultants may on average be more highly qualified and experienced than those seen by the other groups.

Overall the public sector sample had a slightly more favourable stereotype of the Maori groups than the private sector sample. As the public sector actively pursues and recruits members of minority groups the level of contact between majority group members and minority group members may be higher in public sector industries. The public service policy of promotion also means that Maori (and other minority group members) may be in positions of responsibility in higher numbers than they are in the majority of private sector industries. The higher profile of Maori issues within the Public sector because of the EEO requirements may lead to stereotypes regarding this group to be slightly more favourable than the private sector where the profile of Maori EEO issues is lower.

Public sector respondents also had a slightly more favourable Maori stereotype than personnel consultants. It was expected that personnel consultants would have more contact with a diverse range of applicants than the average manager in the public or private sector. As consultants tend to select for higher status positions such as middle management and above, then the numbers of minority applicants, particularly Maori, seen by them are low.

Overall the differences between these three groups of respondents regarding stereotype attitudes provide scant evidence that the type of industry has an effect on the makeup of a stereotype. There are no major differences between the stereotype with all three groups (public, private & personnel) generally agreeing with the overall stereotype pattern reported at the beginning of the Chapter.

Stereotyping: HR Specialists and HR Generalists.

The specific human resources training that HR specialists have received directing focus onto personnel issues was expected to have an impact on the pattern of stereotyping revealed. There was expected to be an increased awareness of ethnic differences and a corresponding variance from the stereotype patterns of HR generalists. However, there was only one difference between those respondents who occupy a general human resources position where HR is one of many managerial and administrative tasks (eg. supervisors and managers) and those respondents whose job main focus is on HR functions (eg. members of HR or personnel departments). Both groups of respondents viewed NZ European /Pakeha group as talkative with HR specialists viewing this group as more talkative than the generalists.

It is not surprising to find that the Pakeha respondents find the Pakeha group more talkative than other ethnic groups as it is likely that in-group conversations are easier to initiate and continue because of common experience and other in-group similarities. This may also be a reflection of the amount of verbalisation that is characteristic of different ethnic groups, for example Polynesian groups tend to verbalise less than European groups (Metge & Kinloch, 1989). It would be interesting to gain a view of other in-group perceptions of member talkativeness eg. Maori view of Maori, Pacific Islander or Pacific Islander.

Again, a difference in stereotype pattern did not eventuate, perhaps because the type of experience and training received by HR specialists does not cover specific ethnic issues, but is focused on more administrative personnel functions. Differences may also be reduced because any increased awareness by HR specialists may be cancelled by the higher level of contact that general line managers may have with employees.

There is no real support for major differences in stereotyping between the HR generalist and HR specialist groups. Specialist HR training and a focus on personnel issues does not seem to impact on stereotyping patterns. The pattern of stereotyping reported by these two groups agrees to a large degree with the overall pattern for the whole Pakeha sample.

Stereotyping: Interview Experience.

As has been mentioned above the Pakeha sample have essentially similar stereotypes of Maori regardless of gender, industry type and job focus. In light of some evidence that stereotypes are not rigid and change over time (Oakes et al., 1994), the effect of interviewing experience on stereotyping may mean that an individual's stereotype attitudes may change over their working life. Therefore the number of years interviewing experience (INTEXP) and the number of selection interviews that participants undertook per year (NUMINT) was expected to produce differences in the patterns of stereotyping.

People new to interviewing have had less time in which to change their stereotype attitudes, while those with a number of years experience and/or who interview frequently have more information and experience which may have changed their stereotype attitude. The differences between low, medium and high levels of experience provided some support for the effect of experience on stereotype attitudes with number of years experience revealing eight significant ANOVA and 12 significant *t*-test results. The number of interviews undertaken per year provided three significant ANOVA and four significant *t*-test results. This provides some evidence that experience plays a larger role than frequency in the formation of stereotype attitudes, this needs further clarification.

One possible reason for this is that more experienced interviewers are generally older than those with low and medium experience. Differences in patterns of experience may therefore be related to age and the higher level

of general life experience that comes with aging. Overall the differences are outweighed by similarities, an indication that stereotype attitudes are formed earlier than the labour market entry stage of a person's life, and are relatively resistant to change.

As discussed earlier, stereotype attitudes are currently conceptualised as not static and open to change (Oakes et al., 1994). Evidence is presented here that stereotype attitudes are relatively stable. Even though the evidence to support stereotype stability is insubstantial it allows exploration of theory. Any changes in stereotype attitudes may be reflections of temporary ebbs and flows in race relations. In periods of race relations stability stereotypes will reflect this stability. In times of race relations turbulence the change in relations may be reflected with changing stereotype attitudes. There may be an social stereotype equilibrium position towards which stereotype attitudes return after some period of change, or the equilibrium position may shift if change is sustained for some period of time. For example stereotypes towards Maori held by NZ European/Pakeha may become more negative when radical Maori factions become politically or socially active (eg. Waitangi Day 1995, Moutoa Gardens occupation Wanganui, 1995).

The Selection Interview: Structuring.

Over 60% of the participants in the interview practices study indicated that the interviews they conducted were 'somewhat structured'. Closer examination reveals that the basis for this structuring was reported as informal with no clear rational or empirically tested structuring techniques used in 69% of the responses. Approaches used would be based on ad hoc, idiosyncratic methods where the interviewers' experience and personal knowledge of interviewing impacted to a large degree on interview structure. While it was encouraging to report that attempts are being made to structure selection interviews, there remains a large gap between research on interview structuring and actual practice. Research

reports that formal job analysis (JA) is the starting point for increasing the validity of the interview (Weisner & Cronshaw, 1988; Smith & George, 1992). JA identifies those components of a job which are required for competent job performance, allowing questions to be developed which permit the interviewer to ascertain from applicants responses whether they possess the required attributes. Without this base of job related information decisions regarding applicant suitability rely upon interviewer's personal judgement, allowing biases and preconceptions, including stereotype attitudes, to have an effect on the decision. This effect may be heightened by the fact that the majority of interviewers in this study had not received specific interview training. Research indicates that training of interviewers significantly raises the validity and reliability of the selection interview (Taylor et al., 1993). The results of the present study indicate that interview training was received as part of a more general training approach to managerial or supervisory issues. An observation by the researcher was that, in spite of the circumstance that little or no training appears to be received in the early stages of management careers, people in senior management positions are expected to have good interviewing skills by virtue of their experience in management.

EEO and the Interview.

All of the local authorities had EEO policies as is compulsory under current legislation, and seven of the thirteen private organisations had formal EEO policies in place. The lack of formal monitoring of selection procedures, and the keeping of records and statistics regarding selection and recruitment mean that the impact of current selection procedures on minority groups such as Maori is difficult to ascertain. Accurate and comprehensive monitoring of selection and recruitment procedures, techniques and outcomes would allow coordinated approaches to issues regarding minority groups to be developed within and between organisations. It would also mean that the entry [and exit] of minority group members in the labour market could be monitored. Appropriate

initiatives would then be able to be developed to aid these groups regarding selection tools such as the interview. At the moment EEO in New Zealand while having a modest profile, appears to be no more than skin-deep in its general effect. This supports Briar (1994) and McNaughton's (1994) assertions that voluntary EEO in New Zealand is ineffective, and thus for the majority of private sector employers EEO is not an issue.

Of those organisations which had policies in place, the emphasis was global, with no specific plans of action targeting individual minority groups. A number of participants commented that there was a lack of direction from their organisations with regard to the impact or effect that existing EEO policies were expected to have on the day-to-day running of their department, section or area. Particularly lacking was clear direction on applying such policies to interview practice within these organisations.

The blind approach to EEO taken by most organisations in this study illuminate what has already been identified as a major barrier to real progress in EEO, that is slow acceptance of, and compliance with the principles of EEO. Some organisations took the approach of trying to incorporate EEO in organisational culture through informal statements of intent, some through formal policies, while others did not actively pursue any EEO agenda. Until industry wide EEO initiatives are developed and implemented, there will continue to be inconsistencies regarding all aspects of EEO in New Zealand.

The effect that this has on Maori attempting to enter the labour market is unknown, but the present study points to the possibility that employers, particularly in the private sector can still hire according to rules of thumb and stereotypes. The peculiar nature of industry in New Zealand, with the majority of employed people working in small businesses (>50 employees), means that most working decisions and relationships are more personal

than in those larger organisations where formal policies and practices are more likely to be in place. In this situation smaller businesses may fail to implement EEO because it is simply deemed unnecessary. In the light of the ad hoc approach taken by the majority of interviewers in this study there is no reason to assume that interviewers in small businesses are any better or worse than interviewers from larger (less personal) organisations.

Panel and Individual Interviews.

The use of panel interviews was reported by both private and public sector organisations. The use was generally limited to higher (medium-senior) status positions. The persistence of panel interviews, particularly within local authorities, in spite of evidence that formal structuring has a greater impact on validity than multiple [panel] assessments may be indicative of different approaches to senior level selection. Local authorities interview panels often included members from community interest groups. This was explained because of the political nature of these appointments. The make-up of panels in the public sector is a contentious issue with some members having their own agenda as well as considering the selection decision. Interested groups were invited to have a say in these appointments in order that functioning of the local authority was not disrupted by groups unhappy with an appointment. It is notable that public sector panels often include at least one member of the same gender, ethnicity and background as the candidate, private sector panels are mainly made up of those with direct responsibility for, and those who will work with and/or supervise the successful candidate. Due to the larger size of public sector panels, a wider range of membership was available than the smaller private sector panels.

Non-verbal Behaviour and the Interview.

Indications from participants about their knowledge of non-verbal behaviour pointed to the fact that this aspect of the interview is self taught. Participants generally had some knowledge of the more universal (cross

cultural) non-verbal behaviours. Eye contact was specifically mentioned regarding Polynesian cultures, but other culturally specific aspects relating to Maori, such as verbal reticence, not waiting to be asked to sit, and indications of agreement or disagreement, were not mentioned.

Participants generally expressed confidence in their own ability to read and interpret candidates' behaviour accurately. This assertion was informally noted and further study regarding confidence levels in decisions regarding candidate behaviour would allow firmer conclusions to be drawn.

Knowledge about Interview Research.

The general lack of research knowledge regarding the selection interview indicated by the majority of participants in the present study combined with the reactive approach taken to gaining up-to-date knowledge, illuminate one of the problems identified by Taylor et al. (1993), that is the lack of dissemination of research from academics to everyday practitioners. Only a few individuals or organisations maintain a specific program of keeping up with research initiatives and findings. However, keeping abreast of current research does not necessarily mean that changes will be applied. Study into the implementation of research findings in practice needs to be carried out in order to combat the tenacity of the traditional approach to interviewing. Fads or fashions in selection and recruitment tools may mean that traditional methods such as the interview will continue to be relied upon because of their high face and faith validity. Selection professionals may see new methods come and go but fall back on the traditional interview because not enough has been done to ensure the correct and long-term implementation of newer methods (eg. the use of computers in selection). Additionally the interview is embedded in the psyche of selection and recruitment practitioners and candidates, that is both parties involved expect to meet each other face-to-face in the interview as part of the selection procedure.

Reasons for Continued Use of the Interview.

Comments made by participants indicate that the interview fulfils many functions other than providing information on which to base selection decisions. These include a public relations function, and the opportunity to assess the physical and personality attributes of candidates. This multiplicity of roles has been noted previously (Arvey & Campion, 1982; Dipboye, 1989). There seems to be a reluctance on the part of people involved in selection to make final decisions without physically seeing candidates. Therefore both tradition and expectation drive the endurance of the employment interview. There is also a lack of alternatives with the same face and faith validity. Additionally there is a perceived fairness about candidates and interviewers meeting face-to-face. Interviewers have the opportunity to use their intuition and gut-feeling regarding the candidate, while candidates have the opportunity to question the interviewer about the organisation and vacancy. In these terms the interview may be viewed as a performance with each party selling, the interviewer the organisation and vacancy, and the candidate himself/herself. If it can be viewed as a performance then decisions made on the basis of unstructured interviews may be made on the basis of who is the best actor amongst similarly qualified candidates. The question then is whether a brief interview performance is a good indicator of long-term job performance. Research shows that this is not the case for unstructured interviews (Smith and George, 1992).

The Role of Intuition in the Interview.

The role that intuition plays in the interview was mentioned by several participants. There appears to be a real place for this subjective appraisal of candidates, but the way in which intuition can be developed or measured remains difficult. It appears to develop with experience and a selection practitioner with some years experience would gain intimate knowledge of the [organisational] cultural requirements, the attributes, and personality of successful candidates. An argument often quoted by

participants was that the interview allowed them to use their intuition or gut-feelings about a candidate, and this is not possible with any other selection tool, as the interview is the only selection method which approximates normal human interaction. We are constantly involved in casual conversations during which our experience and intuition is used to make decisions. It follows then that any method which approximates this everyday situation may have high validity in the eyes of those involved, as we all have faith in our ability to reach good decisions on the basis of conversations we have. It also follows that reducing the faith that has accumulated in this method involves separating the interview from its everyday counterpart. Investigation of how accurate intuition develops, and its role in the selection context would go some way to explain the popularity of the interview in the light of its relatively modest psychometric properties.

Making it obvious that the interview is a job related information gathering tool may help acceptance of more structured approaches. Any selection interview must allow intuition to play a part otherwise practitioners may tend to become robotic and the process too concrete and rigid. A medium between structured and the freedom of unstructured approaches would appear to be the option preferred by practitioners. Research tends to focus on the relationship between predictions based on results of selection tools and actual job performance. The academic focus on selection involves validity and reliability issues where practitioners needs particularly in terms of the interview may revolve around the other roles that the interview fulfils.

Multiple Roles of the Interview.

The interview fulfils many roles while other methods fulfil single roles. CVs, psychological testing, work samples etc. provide pieces of information regarding an individual's ability to do the job while the interview is used to assess whether the person will fit, to sell the job, to sell the

organisation, to allow candidate to ask questions, and to involve organisational members in the selection process. In addition the interview serves to affirm and maintain company culture. The utility of the interview revolves around this multiplicity and is something which other tools cannot compete with. As the interview has many roles, there appears a need for interviewers to have the freedom to explore the attributes of the candidate, and to combine the other roles within the interview format. The multiple functions that the employment interview fulfils are not provided for through existing structuring techniques.

Future Interview Practice.

The response of participants to the future direction of selection procedures in New Zealand indicated that little or no change will occur. The small changes reported mainly related to increasing the structure of interviews or including psychological tests in the process. However in light of the informal nature and ad hoc approach to structuring that predominates at present, these minor changes appears likely to have little significant effect on future selection practice.

Selection Interview Summary.

The results of this study point to the fact that selection decisions are still mainly based on the outcome of an interview of some sort. While some practitioners structure the interview according to behaviour description or situational job-related criteria the majority of approaches to interviewing rely upon the individual competence and experience of the interviewer. In the sample interviewed there is a lack of training in all aspects of the interview including structuring, cultural differences and recognition and interpretation of non-verbal behaviour. The majority of respondents learned their interviewing on-the-job or through other informal methods of training. There is a blanket approach to EEO taken by those organisations with policies in place, with no specific planning undertaken for Maori issues. Finally the results of interview research are slow to reach

practitioners as most waited for these findings to appear in 'popular' management magazines, or to filter down through networks. Most research concentrates on one or two aspects of the interview, so that the findings may not be practical in terms of their utility because of the multiple concurrent roles that the interview fulfils.

Attitudes, the Interview and Maori.

The effect of stereotype attitudes and their implications for Maori are complicated by selection interview practice as reported in this study. The lack of training and the ad hoc unstructured approach which predominates allows factors other than job-related information to influence decisions made in the interview, a situation which affects Maori trying to enter the labour market. Of the issues to emerge four appear to have the most impact on Maori in the selection context:

1. The dominance of the unstructured interview format.
2. The lack of formal interview training.
3. A lack of in-depth cultural awareness.
4. The approach to EEO.

Dominance of the Unstructured Interview Format.

The predominance in selection practice of the unstructured interview may allow factors other than those required to do the job to impact on the selection decision. The nature of the unstructured interview allows the interviewer unrestricted freedom and this, while not necessarily negative, gives rise to the possibility for bias and unrelated factors to impact upon the selection decision. Interviewers commented that they often had a mental picture of the applicant before they met. The interview may then be used to confirm or deny this picture. It is reasonable to assume that this 'picture' may be the interviewer's conception of the ideal candidate which in turn may be a stereotype. In an unstructured format the 'picture' could be used as the basis of the line of questioning and in interpretation of an

applicant's responses. If so the opportunity arises for the interview to simply become a way to compare between the 'typical worker' stereotype, the Maori stereotype and the ideal candidate stereotype. Following on from Dipboye (1989), in such a situation confirmatory bias and pre-interview effects may adversely impact on the selection decision.

Additionally, the effect of the multiple roles that the interview fulfils means that for Maori the unstructured interview could act as a gate restricting access to the labour market. This may be particularly evident when the job in question is not one traditionally associated with Maori. In addition to the comparison between stereotypes, Maori are in the position of being negatively stereotyped compared to other ethnic groups.

Research and reviews (Arvey & Campion, 1982; Weisner & Cronshaw, 1988; Smith & George, 1992) indicate that it is important that information sought is job-related, the unstructured interview format allows deviation from this objective. Interviewers may interpret information in terms of the Maori stereotype they hold, seek to confirm this stereotype through their line of questioning, or there may be a conflict in terms of traditional versus non-traditional roles for Maori. Another point is that the amount of information covered in an unstructured interview format may be more than that of the more selective structured format. The implication of this is an increased quantity of information that the interviewer has to sift through to obtain the required material. Again this would allow factors other than a person's ability to do a job to become considered as part of the selection decision.

Lack of Formal Interview Training.

The possibility for bias to intrude into the unstructured interview is increased by the lack of training given to the interviewers in this sample. This is in line with Taylor et al's. (1993) finding that New Zealand organisations did not provide comprehensive interview training. While

some interviewers may be experienced now, this knowledge has been built up through a hit and miss approach. Experience in isolation from adequate training means that incorrect techniques or bad habits may develop and become second nature. This may lead to a concentration on irrelevant information, or use of questions and techniques which the adversely impact upon selection of Maori. It was reported that sometimes more experienced interviewers informally coach newer people through the process, however, the majority of new interviewers were left to discover their own way. The passing on of knowledge in this informal way is not necessarily bad, however, there is the opportunity for bad techniques to be perpetuated. In light of the complexity and number of roles that the interview plays there is a real need for a formal approach to training. The results of the present study show that formal interview training is not a priority for most organisations. Such training would allow extraneous information to be identified and ignored as well as providing a significant knowledge base upon which good techniques can be refined. The timing of training is also important. If training occurs some time after a person begins interviewing it may be more difficult to change their technique.

Depth of Cultural Awareness.

Due to the lack of comprehensive record keeping regarding selection procedures, outcomes and applicants [a process complicated by the Privacy Act, 1994], conclusions regarding adverse impact of the unstructured interview are tentative at best. This makes the effect of cultural awareness and interview practice difficult to discuss as the make-up of the pool of unsuccessful and successful applicants is unknown. Training of interviewers is not comprehensive, consequently cultural awareness of interviewers may be inadequate. Interpretation of information and behaviour of Maori applicants by NZ European/Pakeha interviewers may be in terms of the norms and values associated with mainstream NZ European/Pakeha culture. The presence of a Maori stereotype and a lack of cultural awareness by interviewers allows

differences between Maori and NZ European/Pakeha cultures to be misunderstood and misinterpreted. Clearly this situation would allow the unstructured interview to impact on Maori in a detrimental manner.

Approach of New Zealand Organisations to EEO.

The lack of a coordinated approach to EEO in New Zealand has important implications for Maori. While some organisations involved in this study believed in and competently implemented the principles of EEO, most appeared to have had EEO thrust upon them and maintain a small commitment for the sake of convention. In such organisations the major objection from staff interviewed was the lack of direction given regarding the on-going implementation and maintenance of EEO programs. Where EEO has a presence the common approach appears to be a blanket concept, which means that all disadvantaged groups are treated equally. As has previously been pointed out, this does not recognise the special needs of indigenous groups (Waaka, 1990).

The application of EEO still appears to be at its most basic a numbers game. The perception of EEO remains one of increasing minority group numbers in the labour force at the expense of majority group members. Until EEO initiatives are understood to involve the reduction of unfairness, and the upskilling of groups which ordinarily would not be in a position to receive the training and support that is easily obtainable by majority group members, resistance and mistrust will still dog EEO.

In New Zealand the tangata whenua status of Maori is formally recognised through Acts of Parliament. However this status is generally not applicable in EEO initiatives. The exceptions are local authorities where EEO Maori does occupy a different status from other EEO concerns and is a statutory requirement. However there is a lack of coordination and direction within industries regarding EEO so that the gains made in one area are negated by the lack of progress in others. The relative numbers of organisations

with and without formal EEO plans and policies support this assertion. The outcome of this fragmented approach to EEO means that any real gains in the reduction of disadvantage will be slow to occur. For Maori, attaining fair and equitable status in the labour market is not achievable through EEO alone. The progress of Maori cannot be separated from a number of issues which EEO cannot address, including Maori self-determination and redress for the economically, politically and socially unjust acts suffered in the past.

Limitations of the Present Study.

Small sample sizes for both phases reduces utility particularly when the sample was broken into various sub-groups for analysis. Sample size is particularly small for the interview practice phase of the research. However the exploratory and descriptive nature of the research, and the quantitative and qualitative analysis used, mean that information described is still meaningful. Clear-cut trends have emerged but the quantitative results are not particularly robust. The fact that participation was voluntary may differentiate those selection professionals who agreed to participate from those selection professionals who declined.

The content and utility of semantic differential scale needs investigating. The use of an existing scale, while providing a point against which to compare results, also means that the adjective pairs used may be out-of-date or interpreted by respondents in a manner different from that of the present researcher or the scale developer. Adjective meanings may have changed since the scale was developed or may have different meanings to various groups.

The use of a scale where participants have to choose between predetermined adjective pairs makes little provision for the free expression of unanticipated responses. This may reduce the utility of the research in terms of getting at the causes of problems or possible solutions.

Time is a major factor for research undertaken in workplaces. The old adage 'Time is money' means that people do not want to spend a lot of time with researchers because of work demands. This may mean that responses are rushed. Additionally, responses to the researchers' questions may be intended to portray the participant and the organisation they work for in a favourable way.

A problem with mail in surveys is compliance with instructions. Did the respondents take too much time to fill in the survey did they rush it, did they fill the survey out individually or with assistance from colleagues. The use of information gained by this method must be tempered with the knowledge that the motives of respondents may not be the same as those of the researcher. The information while useful, is not gospel!

The utility of the interviews of selection practitioners relies upon the skill of the researcher to firstly, develop an interview schedule which reflects the desired information outcomes, secondly to consistently perform the research interview and thirdly to generate questions which elicit accurate and genuine responses from participants. A further limiting factor is that the use of a structured interview guide reduces the scope of responses that participants can give. This means that the researcher may miss information because of the relative lack of freedom in participant responses. However this was deemed necessary and legitimate to reduce the amount of superfluous data and to concentrate on the areas deemed important by the researcher.

Finally, the presence of stereotype attitudes does not indicate that they play a role in the decision making of selection practitioners. The magnitude or indeed the existence of such a relationship is not one of the intended conclusions of this study. However the information presented here does indicate that further investigation may be warranted. The major concern

with this study is to point out the possibility that a combination of stereotype attitudes and a reliance upon unstructured interviews may have an effect upon the selection success of Maori. There are many other variables which may also contribute to this, if such an impact exists. These could include educational attainment, career goals, cultural expectations, economic climate, industry type, demographic differences and geographic location, the list of possibilities is large. Only systematic investigation will confirm or deny the roles that these variables and stereotype attitudes play in the Maori position in the labour market in New Zealand.

Further Research.

The major goal of this research was one of exploration. As a result more questions than answers have arisen. It is left to future research to investigate the questions raised by the present study. These include many psychological issues as well as some outside the domain of psychology. Among the many possible directions in which the research in the present study could extend, the following appear most pressing.

To replicate the interview techniques phase of the study to enhance the understanding of the selection interview in the New Zealand context. By increasing the number of selection practitioners interviewed and also the depth of questioning, a better picture of selection interview practice in New Zealand would emerge. A more in-depth investigation of interviewing techniques and practice should also be integrated with the way in which selection decisions are reached. Related to this is the issue of small workplaces (>20 employees), there are many small employers in the New Zealand labour market, but the present study included few of these. As a lot of selection activity occurs within this area it is important to extend future research to include such employers.

The relationship between the presence of stereotype attitudes and the impact on decision making is an important area of future research. Firstly, are Maori disadvantaged because the stereotype pattern revealed for them is more negative than the stereotypes of the other groups? Secondly, what is the effect of stereotype attitudes where Maori applicants are interviewed for non-stereotypical jobs? Thirdly, a constructive area of research would be to investigate the changing nature of stereotype attitudes over a person's lifetime, and the factors which influence these changes. Regarding the long-term stability of stereotype attitudes, investigation on changing stereotypes during periods of race relation turbulence would be appropriate. A related matter is the 'equilibrium' position discussed earlier, does such a position exist, and if so do stereotype attitudes return to it after some period of race relations change, or does the equilibrium position shift if change is sustained for some period of time? Finally there is some doubt about the extent to which the reported stereotype attitudes represent individual attitudes or common social attitudes. Research on whether these are separate attitudes or different conceptualisations of the same one would allow further discussion on the impact of stereotype attitudes to occur.

Another area which may be of use is research into labour force entry of Maori with tertiary qualification versus Pakeha. ie. is educational attainment the answer or are Maori graduates discriminated against. This may answer the question of educational attainment versus adverse impact of selection tools. If Maori graduates are not being offered positions then selection procedures must come under the spotlight. Delving deeper into this issue there may also be cause to look at the status of positions that Maori versus Pakeha graduates are employed in, or the type of degrees completed. If differences are not found then additional arguments for urgently increasing educational attainment for Maori could be mounted.

New Zealand society is rapidly changing in terms of the ethnic diversity of its makeup. Consequently research into differentiation between the many Polynesian and Asian groups in terms of attitudes may highlight differences which may impact on the various groups role in the labour market. As New Zealand moves from a bicultural to a multicultural society this will become increasingly important. For example the Asian population in New Zealand is growing, so is the number of different ethnic sub-populations within this Asian group. This may lead to a need to expand such studies as the present one to include Malaysian, Korean, Vietnamese, Thai, Japanese and Chinese groups. The investigation of whether Pakeha differentiate between these groups, or categorise in terms of a global Asian group, may be important in terms of the future growth of the New Zealand labour market. Similarly there seems to be little differentiation by Pakeha between the various groups within the Polynesian group. The attitude questionnaire used in the present study treats Maori, Cook Island Maori, Tongan, Samoan, Niuean and other Polynesian groups as a single group. It may be useful in future studies to explore the differentiation between these different groups by the NZ European/Pakeha majority to take into account the future ethnic diversity of the New Zealand labour force.

Overall Conclusions and Summary.

Representation of Maori in the labour force and the relative unemployment levels perhaps point to some aspect of labour market entry having an effect. Factors such as the age at which Maori first enter the labour market, the qualification level of Maori, cultural differences in labour market preferences, or selection tools may make it more difficult for Maori to enter the labour market. The results of the present study indicate that current interview practice could act as a gate restricted Maori entry. Further study involving greater numbers of interviewers may shed conclusive evidence of this effect. As has been mentioned above many factors may contribute to Maori's disadvantaged position. The impact of

the interview may be exaggerated by low numbers of Maori getting to the interview stage of the selection process. ie. the adverse impact may occur at the shortlisting stage or even prior. The less educational qualified nature of the Maori population means that many vacancies are not available therefore fewer Maori apply therefore fewer get interviewed.

The present study was exploratory in nature and the limitations outlined reduce the extent to which the findings can be utilised. The existence of a pattern of stereotyping similar to previous research has been found, although differences within the sample on the basis of gender, industry, job role and experience were not found. The predominance of unstructured interviewing and a lack of training have been described as characteristic of the interview sample. As well as this EEO concerns have been highlighted. From the present study three major conclusions which can be drawn:

1. A major obstacle to improvement in interviewing technique is that the cost of making a selection mistake is perceived to be low, this is further compounded by the small to medium company size which predominates in New Zealand. The unstructured interview will continue to be used because of its economic benefits and perceived general utility as a selection tool. Calls for increase in structuring to raise psychometric properties will continue to be ignored because it is viewed as simply not economic to increase the [dollar] cost of a selection procedure. Currently interviewers receive inadequate interview training. The combination of this and the predominance of the unstructured interview mean that selection mistakes are costing organisations. Training in structured interviewing techniques, and the theory of selection, needs to be given priority. The use of structured interviews has been shown to increase decision validity thereby reducing the long term [dollar] cost of selection.

2. A united and concentrated effort needs to be undertaken if EEO in New Zealand is to make real in-roads into discrimination and unfair practices in the labour market. This may mean extending legislation to the private sector or central government becoming more involved in industry education about EEO. The application of EEO in small businesses is an area of particular concern. The personal nature of employer/employee relationships within these small workplaces makes legislation and regulation of EEO difficult to monitor and enforce.
3. Statistics need to be kept and reported in order to quantify the extent of adverse impact of selection procedures on Maori. At present the demographic details of applicants, rejection and success rates and the selection procedures used are not documented by the majority of organisations, therefore the impact of the various selection tools utilised upon Maori labour market participation is unknown. Additionally the development of interventions and strategies designed to allow fair and equal labour market participation of Maori is made difficult by this lack of knowledge.

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APPENDIX A: Forms for Ethnic Attitude Survey.

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Sean Mckenzie I am a graduate student in Industrial and Organisational Psychology at Massey University. As part of the requirements for completion of my M.A. I am undertaking a thesis research project.

I am writing to enquire about the possibility of using people directly involved in conducting selection interviews in your organisation as participants for my research.

My project involves investigating attitudes and employment interview techniques of people involved in making selection decisions. I feel that this is an important area as the interview is one of the most popular tools used in selection and recruitment today. There is a lot of debate about the reliability and predictive validity of the employment interview and also the processes involved. My research is designed to shed some light on the role of common attitudes we all possess in interviewing and to perhaps suggest improvements to this widely used method.

Initial involvement would require those people in your organisation directly involved in taking employee selection interviews to complete a short 10 minute mail-in survey. Participation in this survey is entirely voluntary and individuals and organisations will not be identified in any report.

The project is being supervised by Dr Ross St. George, Senior Lecturer, Department of Psychology, Massey University and is in accordance with the standards set by the Massey University Ethics Committee.

I would be grateful if you could determine how many people in your organisation would be willing to take part. I have enclosed a return form and envelope, if you could indicate the number who would like to participate in this research please fill out the form and return to me. I will send you the appropriate number of questionnaires with return envelopes. If you would like further information you can contact me on (06) 3431005 (most days), or leave a message at (06) 3504116 (Direct Line, Psychology Department, Massey University), and I will return your call.

Thankyou for your time, and I look forward to your participation

Yours sincerely

Sean McKenzie.

enc.

ATTITUDES AND EMPLOYMENT INTERVIEW TECHNIQUES

MASTERS THESIS CONDUCTED BY SEAN MCKENZIE (Psychology Department, Massey University).

If any people involved in TAKING EMPLOYEE SELECTION INTERVIEWS are willing to participate please indicate the number below so the correct number of questionnaires can be sent.

Yes we have _____ (please specify amount) people who would be willing to participate in this research.

Please give the name of your organisation and a contact person so that the questionnaires and return envelopes can be sent directly. This information is not required on the individual questionnaires.

ORGANISATION
CONTACT NAME
BOX NO./STREET
SUBURB
CITY
CONTACT PH.
CONTACT FAX.

Ethnic Attitude Survey

INFORMATION SHEET

Please read this sheet before completing the questionnaire.

This study is conducted by Sean McKenzie a Graduate Student at Massey University in Industrial and Organisational Psychology. I can be contacted at (06) 343 1005 (home) or leave a message at the Psychology Department, Massey University (Private Bag, Palmerston North, ph. (06) 350 4116) and I will return your call. The project is being conducted under the supervision of Dr Ross St. George, Senior Lecturer, Department of Psychology, Massey University. It is aimed at ascertaining the existence of common attitudes that we may have regarding various ethnic groups in New Zealand. As a participant you will be required to complete the survey forms and return them to the researcher. The survey will take approximately 15 minutes to complete. If you wish to be informed of the findings of the study upon its completion please fill in the feedback reply section of this form.

This research is being carried out in two stages if you would like to participate in the second stage of this study which involves investigating employment interview techniques and practice complete the relevant section of this form.

Your name and contact address are not required unless you wish to participate in the second study and/or require feedback of study findings.

If you take part in this study, you have the right to:

- * refuse to answer any particular question, and to withdraw from the study at any time
- * ask any further questions about the study that occur to you during your participation
- * provide information on the understanding that it is completely confidential to the researchers.
- * have your anonymity protected. Information collected during this study will be separated from consent and feedback reply forms and it will not be possible to identify you in any reports that are prepared from the study
- * be given access to a summary of the findings from the study when it is concluded

Ethnic Attitude Survey

CONSENT FORM

Please read this carefully before completing the questionnaire and return it with your completed questionnaire.

This is to certify that I agree to participate as a volunteer in the study carried out by Sean McKenzie, a Graduate Student in the Psychology Department at Massey University.

I have read the Information Sheet for this study and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions about the study have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask any further questions at any time.

I also understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, or decline to answer any particular questions in the study. I agree to provide information to the researchers on the understanding that it is completely confidential.

Completion of this questionnaire does not obligate you to participate in the second part of the study.

I wish to participate in this study under the conditions set out on the Information Sheet.

Signed. _____

Date. _____

Attitude Survey: INSTRUCTIONS

IT IS IMPORTANT THAT YOU READ THIS BEFORE PROCEEDING.

I am interested in the common attitudes that people involved in taking employment or selection interviews have about the largest ethnic groups in New Zealand.

The first two pages of the survey form asks for you to provide some demographic data which will only be used for sample description purposes.

It will not be possible to identify you personally.

On the following pages you are asked to circle the number for each attribute which best describes how you view the target ethnic group(There are five groups about which your attitudes are being surveyed). The true personal feelings and natural reactions that you have towards each of the ethnic groups is the primary concern of this study. Please answer each question with your initial reaction and don't spend too long before answering as it is your 'gut' feeling which is of interest.

For example, using the scale below you would circle the number which best describes how patient or impatient you view Chinese (as a group).

Patient			Neutral			Impatient
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

The number you circle should reflect your attitude on the attribute (e.g. very patient(1) through to very impatient(7)) for the particular group, in this case Chinese.

There are no right or wrong answers, just record what you consider to be appropriate. Please do not discuss this questionnaire with anyone else, it is important that the ratings given are your own and try not to skip any of the items.

It should be noted that this research is for my purposes only. Participation in this study is voluntary and information you provide is completely confidential and your questionnaire will be identified by number only. It will not be possible to identify you or the organisation you work for in any way.

Survey No. _____
(office use only)

Demographic information for sample description purposes only.

1. Sex (tick one) ☐ Male
 ☐ Female

2. Age (tick one) ☐ < 20
 ☐ 20 - 25
 ☐ 26 - 30
 ☐ 31 - 35
 ☐ 36 - 40
 ☐ 41 - 45
 ☐ 46 - 50
 ☐ 51 - 55
 ☐ > 55

3. Ethnic Identity ☐ European New Zealander
 (tick one) ☐ Maori
 ☐ Pacific Islander
 ☐ European* _____
 ☐ Asian* _____
 ☐ Other* _____

*SPECIFY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

4. Size of organisation/number of employees (tick one).

☐ less than 25
☐ 25 - 50
☐ 50 - 150
☐ 150 - 300
☐ more than 300

5. Type of industry the organisation you work for conducts
(tick most appropriate one)

- ☐ Wholesale/Retail Trade
- ☐ Financing/Insurance/Real Estate
- ☐ Community/Social/Personal Services
- ☐ Manufacturing/Production
- ☐ Transport/Storage/Communications
- ☐ Professional/Technical
- ☐ Tourism/Hospitality
- ☐ Technology
- ☐ Personnel/Business Services
- ☐ Agriculture/Forestry
- ☐ Other

6. How many interviews do you conduct on average per year (tick one)

- ☐ 1 - 5
- ☐ 5 - 10
- ☐ 10 - 20
- ☐ 20 - 40
- ☐ more than 40

7. Interviewing Experience (in years). >.....years
(ie. how long have you being conducting
interviews, 0 to 1 year = 1 year)

8. Current Position (tick one).

- ☐ Supervisor
- ☐ Line/Production Manager
- ☐ Department Manager
- ☐ Personnel Officer
- ☐ Member of Human Resource Management Dept.
- ☐ Personnel Consultant
- ☐ Other

9. Current Job Title. >.....

Circle the number for each attribute that best describes your attitude about the ethnic group **MAORI**.

Patient 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Impatient 7
Polite 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Impolite 7
Quiet 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Talkative 7
Humble 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Boastful 7
Friendly 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Unfriendly 7
Clever 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Dumb 7
Hardworking 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Lazy 7
Knowledgeable 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Ignorant 7
Clean 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Dirty 7
Generous 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Mean 7
Law abiding 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Law breaking 7
Honest 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Dishonest 7

Circle the number for each attribute that best describes your attitude about the ethnic group **CHINESE**.

Patient 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Impatient 7
Polite 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Impolite 7
Quiet 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Talkative 7
Humble 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Boastful 7
Friendly 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Unfriendly 7
Clever 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Dumb 7
Hardworking 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Lazy 7
Knowledgeable 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Ignorant 7
Clean 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Dirty 7
Generous 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Mean 7
Law abiding 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Law breaking 7
Honest 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Dishonest 7

Circle the number for each attribute that best describes your attitude about the ethnic group **PACIFIC ISLANDERS**.

Patient 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Impatient 7
Polite 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Impolite 7
Quiet 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Talkative 7
Humble 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Boastful 7
Friendly 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Unfriendly 7
Clever 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Dumb 7
Hardworking 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Lazy 7
Knowledgeable 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Ignorant 7
Clean 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Dirty 7
Generous 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Mean 7
Law abiding 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Law breaking 7
Honest 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Dishonest 7

Circle the number for each attribute that best describes your attitude about the ethnic group **NZ EUROPEAN/PAKEHA**.

Patient 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Impatient 7
Polite 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Impolite 7
Quiet 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Talkative 7
Humble 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Boastful 7
Friendly 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Unfriendly 7
Clever 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Dumb 7
Hardworking 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Lazy 7
Knowledgeable 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Ignorant 7
Clean 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Dirty 7
Generous 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Mean 7
Law abiding 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Law breaking 7
Honest 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Dishonest 7

Circle the number for each attribute that best describes your attitude about the ethnic group **BRITISH/UK IMMIGRANT**.

Patient 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Impatient 7
Polite 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Impolite 7
Quiet 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Talkative 7
Humble 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Boastful 7
Friendly 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Unfriendly 7
Clever 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Dumb 7
Hardworking 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Lazy 7
Knowledgeable 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Ignorant 7
Clean 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Dirty 7
Generous 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Mean 7
Law abiding 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Law breaking 7
Honest 1	2	3	Neutral 4	5	6	Dishonest 7

APPENDIX B: Research Interview Forms.

Attitudes and Employment Interview Techniques and Practice.

CONSENT FORM

Please read this carefully before signing.

This is to certify that I agree to participate as a volunteer in the study carried out by Sean McKenzie, a Graduate Student in the Psychology Department at Massey University.

I have read the Information Sheet for this study and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions about the study have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask any further questions at any time.

I also understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, or decline to answer any particular questions in the study. I agree to provide information to the researchers on the understanding that it is completely confidential.

I wish to participate in this study under the conditions set out on the Information Sheet.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Attitudes and Employment Interview Techniques and Practice.

INFORMATION SHEET

Please read this sheet before completing the consent form

This study is conducted by Sean McKenzie a Graduate Student at Massey University in Industrial and Organisational Psychology. I can be contacted at (06) 343 1005 (home) or leave a message at the Psychology Department, Massey University (Private Bag, Palmerston North, ph. (06) 350 4116) and I will return your call. The project is being conducted under the supervision of Dr Ross St. George, Senior Lecturer, Department of Psychology, Massey University. It is aimed at ascertaining the techniques, format and practice of employment interviews being used by selection staff in New Zealand today. As a participant you will be required to take part in an interview with the researcher aimed at gathering information regarding your interviewing techniques and practice. The interview will take approximately 30-45 minutes to complete. If you wish to be informed of the findings of the study upon its completion please fill in the feedback section of this form.

Your name and contact address are not required unless you require feedback of study findings.

If you take part in this study, you have the right to:

- * refuse to answer any particular question, and to withdraw from the study at any time
- * ask any further questions about the study that occur to you during your participation
- * provide information on the understanding that it is completely confidential to the researchers.
- * be given access to a summary of the findings from the study when it is concluded
- * have your anonymity protected. Information collected during this study will be separated from consent and feedback reply forms and it will not be possible to identify you in any reports that are prepared from the study.

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR INTERVIEWS OF SELECTION PRACTITIONERS

Interview Answer Sheet.

Interview no. _____

Male/Female _____

Age _____

Interviewee Position _____

Industry Type _____

SECTION 1. CURRENT PRACTICE.

1a. >What kind of interviewing do you conduct?

Recruiting _____
Selection _____
Development _____
Other _____

comments:.....

.....
.....

1b. >How much interviewing do you do?

.....

1c. >On average how long do your interviews last?

.....

1d. >How do you prepare for your interviews?

.....
.....
.....

1e. >Do you follow up on information gained in the interview? Yes/No

How?.....

1f. >Are multiple interviews used (applicants interviewed > 1X)? Yes/No

How many?.....

1g. > Are panel interviews used (more than one interviewer present)? Yes/No

How many Panellists?.....

1h. > What sort of job do you typically interview for?

- 1. management
- 2. technical
- 3. non-management
- 4. other

If multiple types, is interview used more for one type over another?

.....

.....

.....

.....

1i. > Does the status of the job vacancy alter the interview technique used?

.....

.....

.....

.....

1j. > Is the interview the primary information gathering source for making the selection decision?

Yes/No.....

.....

.....

1k. > Do you use other selection methods in conjunction with the interview?

CV/Resumé _____

Psych. Testing _____ What?.....

Biodata _____

Application Form _____

Situational Tests _____

Self-Assessment _____

Other.....

.....
> Why are these methods used?

.....

.....

1l. > What importance do you place on pre-interview information (CV, Resumé, Application Form, Biodata etc.)?

.....

.....

1m. > Do you monitor the outcomes of the selection procedure (How)? (e.g. performance monitoring of successful candidates, turnover etc).

.....

1n. > Do you have a detailed picture of the job for which the applicant is being considered?

Yes/No **if Yes, an example.....**

.....

.....

SECTION 2. DEGREE OF STRUCTURE.

2a. >Are interviews that you conduct **Structured/Unstructured?**

2b. >If structured, what method is used to structured?

.....

.....

2c. >If unstructured, how is line of questioning generated?

.....

.....

.....

2d. >How would you describe the extent to which interview questions and
procedures were structured:

- 1. **very structured**
- 2. **somewhat structured**
- 3. **very unstructured**

2e. >How rigid is structuring?

.....

2f. >Are job dimensions used to formulate interview questions? **YES/NO**

How are job dimensions defined?.....

.....

.....

SECTION 3. EEO CONSIDERATIONS.

3a. > Does your organisation have an active EEO Policy? YES/NO

3b. > What impact does EEO Policy have on interviewing practice?

.....
.....

3c. > In your experience of the interview situation, are there any differences between person from different ethnic groups? e.g. **Maori, Chinese, Pac Is, NZ European, other European.** (Differences - verbal, non-verbal, gestures, body language, other).

.....
.....

3d. > What sorts of things , if any, do you think you need to be aware of when interviewing members from different ethnic groups?

.....
.....

3e. > Do you think that interviewing needs to be concerned with differences between groups?.....

.....

SECTION 4. TRAINING

4a. > Does the Org. you work for provide interview training? YES/NO

4b. > How much training is given?

Hours _____ Days _____ Weeks _____

4c. >What skills are taught?

Listening	_____	Preparing Questions	_____
Structuring	_____	Body Language	_____
EEO	_____	Communication Skills	_____
Role Playing	_____		
Other.....			

SECTION 5. RESEARCH KNOWLEDGE

5a. >Are you aware of research lit. relating to the interview? YES/NO

Examples.....

.....

.....

5b. >Does the org. you work for have/maintain a reference library/resource room?

YES/NO

5c. >Do you personally maintain a reference/resource source at home/office?

YES/NO What?.....

.....

.....

5d. >Has any research had any general or specific impact on interview practice?

.....

SECTION 6. SELECTION METHODS

6a. > Could you give me a list of commonly used selection methods?
Psych tests, IQ Tests, Cognitive tests, Aptitude tests, Work sample, Biodata, Behavioural Interviews, Situational Interviews, Assessment centres.

Other.....
.....

6b. > Can you rank these techniques most useful to not very useful?

useful>
.....
.....
.....

6c. > What are the advantages, if any, of the interview over other selection methods?

.....
.....
.....

6d. > Why do you use the interview?

.....
.....

SECTION 7. FUTURE

7a. > Will you continue to use the interview for the foreseeable future?

YES/NO

7b. > Do you foresee any changes to your current interview practice?

YES/NO What?

.....

7c. > Are you considering other selection methods for future use?

What?

.....

.....

7d. > Why are you considering these methods?

.....

.....

.....

SECTION 8. IDEAL INTERVIEWER.

8a. > How would you describe the attributes of the 'good' interviewer?

.....

.....

FINAL COMMENTS

.....

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME

INTERVIEW CODING SHEET.

Age :> Case No

>

Sex (circle) :> Male/female Related Case Nos.

>

Ethnicity	NZ European/ pakeha	Maori	Pacific Islander	Chinese	Other European specify	Other specify
Industry type	Manufacturing/ Processing	communication & technology	local authority/ government	Agriculture/ Horticulture	Other specify	

Current Position

>

main job type interviews for				
Interview preparation				
interview length				
interview organisation	Prepared questions Y/N		Impromptu questions Y/N	
who is involved (circle appropriate)	individual support panel no. members.....			
Is process monitored	Yes		No	
Multiple interviews	Yes NO Some		Who	
Other methods used				
main emphasis for selection				
degree of structure	very unstructured	somewhat unstructured	somewhat structured	very structured
Structuring technique	formal		informal	
Question development	idiosyncratic	job dimensions	competencies	Other (specify)

why structure? N/A

.....

.....

job descriptions	Yes / No /for some jobs	Updated	6mths	12	18	24	other
------------------	-------------------------	---------	-------	----	----	----	-------

EEO Policy	Yes	No	Awareness	Yes	Some	No
------------	-----	----	-----------	-----	------	----

Examples

	Ethnic group	Behaviour description
verbal behaviour		
body language		
other (specify)		

Amount of training	days	hours	NONE
--------------------	------	-------	------

Training received	last 3 mnths	6 mnths	12 mnths	18 mnths	years>
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Training	Specific Interview training	Yes	No
	Interview training as part of other training	Yes	No
	Course?		
	Follow up Courses	Yes	No

interview research literature knowledge	broad (cites trends)	specific (cites specific studies)	NONE
Knowledge search	Proactive	Reactive	
Resources	Organisation Yes/No	Personal Yes/No	

Other Selection methods named		Broad categories	Specific examples	
Ranking	1.best	2.	3.	
	4.	5.	6.worst	

Future use	unchanged	minor changes	major changes
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Comments	
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Good Interviewer

adjectives.....
.....
.....

Final Comments

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.....

Guide for Interview analysis form

Demographic information should be self explanatory, Read through case study a couple of times to familiarise before compiling summary sheet

Main job interviews for	refers to the main job type that the respondent is involved in interviewing for, if no specific job type answer "many".
Interview preparation	summarise the procedure that the respondent goes through before the interview eg. reads through CV's, takes notes, prepares questions, rings referees etc.
interview organisation	does the respondent have prepared questions prior to starting the interview. Does subject use questions thought of at time of interview (impromptu).
who is involved	are interviews typically an individual, panel or whanau/support. If panel how many panel members are present at the interview
Is process monitored	are there formal organisational mechanisms in place to monitor the outcome of the interview process and to insure that interviewing is fair and reliable.
multiple interviews	are the applicants interviewed more than once. For "some" answers which applicants are reinterviewed and by whom
Other methods used	list other selection methods used inconjunction with interview
main emphasis for selection	What information source does respondent place most weight on when making a selection decision
degree of structure	how does respondent perceive there own style of interviewing
structuring technique	is structuring based on formal methods eg. Job analysis or some personal informal way. If no formal method mentioned check 'informal'
question development	idiosyncratic - respondent thinks of questions at interview, questions differ between interviews. job dimensions - respondent bases questions on defined job dimensions competencies - respondent bases questions on defined competencies other - how are interview questions arrived at.
why structure	N/A if interviews unstructured Question does not apply briefly summarise rational behind structuring if given
job descriptions	are they available for all jobs or some and how often are they updated
EEO policy	does org have a formal EEO policy
awareness	does subject indicate an awareness of EEO issues " Yes" if they give many examples eg body language Maori eye contact, "Some" if few examples given, " No" if none given.
training	Has subject had specific interview training or interview covered as part of other training eg. management, selection in general, "course" name of course or who ran course if given.
When training received	how recently did subject receive training?
interview research knowledge	Does subject have knowledge of interview research if so do they cite broad trends in research ie interviews may have lower validity than other selection methods and/or specific articles/research eg. Taylor,Mills & O'Driscoll 1994.
knowledge search	proactive if subject actively keeps up with research findings else reactive
resources	does organisation maintain or provide access to interview research resources: does subject maintain interview research resources
other selection methods	does subject cite broad categories of alternative selection methods eg, psychological tests, cognitive tests, IQ tests, other interviews, Assessment centres, work sample, in-basket, trial placement. Do they cite specific examples Myers-Briggs, 16-PF, CPI, Situational interviewing, behavioural interviewing, describe AC method etc.
ranking	fill in the gaps of how the subject ranks these alternative methods
future use	unchanged = unchanged minor changes = may include cosmetic changes to procedure but no design or theory changes major changes = fundamental redesign of approach to interviewing moving from casual interview to situational structured technique.
comments	any comments that subject makes about possibilities for future selection
good interviewer	list adjectives & adjectival phrases that subject uses to describe the good interviewer
final comments	pull out any comments that subject has made that you feel are important in the context of the interview as a selection tool or selection in general.

If information for relevant section can't be found/ascertained leave blank.

APPENDIX C: Mean scores for ethnic attitude adjective pairs for total valid sample (n = 107, column 1) and the NZ European/Pakeha sample (n = 92, column 2).

TOTAL VALID SAMPLE				NZ EUROPEAN/PAKEHA SAMPLE			
Variable	Mean	N	Label	Variable	Mean	N	Label
MAORI1	3.21	107	patient	MAORI1	3.25	92	patient
MAORI2	3.58	107	polite	MAORI2	3.62	92	polite
MAORI3	3.56	107	quiet	MAORI3	3.57	92	quiet
MAORI4	3.53	105	humble	MAORI4	3.58	90	humble
MAORI5	3.00	106	friendly	MAORI5	3.00	91	friendly
MAORI6	4.22	105	clever	MAORI6	4.27	91	clever
MAORI7	4.37	106	hardworking	MAORI7	4.41	91	hardworking
MAORI8	4.22	107	knowledgeable	MAORI8	4.25	92	knowledgeable
MAORI9	3.84	107	clean	MAORI9	3.87	92	clean
MAORI10	2.95	107	generous	MAORI10	2.98	92	generous
MAORI11	4.51	106	law abiding	MAORI11	4.52	91	law abiding
MAORI12	3.98	107	honest	MAORI12	3.98	92	honest
CHINES1	3.71	106	patient	CHINES1	3.65	91	patient
CHINES2	3.05	106	polite	CHINES2	3.08	91	polite
CHINES3	3.06	106	quiet	CHINES3	3.08	91	quiet
CHINES4	3.17	106	humble	CHINES4	3.18	91	humble
CHINES5	3.99	106	friendly	CHINES5	4.07	91	friendly
CHINES6	2.34	106	clever	CHINES6	2.34	91	clever
CHINES7	1.85	106	hardworking	CHINES7	1.87	91	hardworking
CHINES8	2.85	106	knowledgeable	CHINES8	2.90	91	knowledgeable
CHINES9	2.88	106	clean	CHINES9	2.89	91	clean
CHINES10	4.52	106	generous	CHINES10	4.58	91	generous
CHINES11	2.68	106	law abiding	CHINES11	2.64	91	law abiding
CHINES12	3.27	106	honest	CHINES12	3.22	91	honest
PACIS1	3.29	107	patient	PACIS1	3.39	92	patient
PACIS2	3.11	107	polite	PACIS2	3.15	92	polite
PACIS3	3.05	107	quiet	PACIS3	3.00	92	quiet
PACIS4	2.95	107	humble	PACIS4	2.93	92	humble
PACIS5	2.93	107	friendly	PACIS5	2.97	92	friendly
PACIS6	4.46	107	clever	PACIS6	4.55	92	clever
PACIS7	4.35	107	hardworking	PACIS7	4.46	92	hardworking
PACIS8	4.49	106	knowledgeable	PACIS8	4.49	91	knowledgeable
PACIS9	3.89	107	clean	PACIS9	3.90	92	clean
PACIS10	3.05	107	generous	PACIS10	3.09	92	generous
PACIS11	4.30	106	law abiding	PACIS11	4.32	91	law abiding
PACIS12	3.97	107	honest	PACIS12	3.97	92	honest

Variable	Mean	N	Label
NZEUR1	4.31	107	patient
NZEUR2	3.85	107	polite
NZEUR3	4.56	107	quiet
NZEUR4	4.36	107	humble
NZEUR5	3.33	107	friendly
NZEUR6	3.48	107	clever
NZEUR7	3.57	107	hardworking
NZEUR8	3.40	107	knowledgeable
NZEUR9	3.16	107	clean
NZEUR10	3.85	107	generous
NZEUR11	3.62	107	law abiding
NZEUR12	3.45	107	honest

BRITUK1	4.26	107	patient
BRITUK2	3.83	107	polite
BRITUK3	4.65	107	quiet
BRITUK4	4.69	107	humble
BRITUK5	3.69	107	friendly
BRITUK6	3.64	107	clever
BRITUK7	4.24	106	hardworking
BRITUK8	3.69	106	knowledgeable
BRITUK9	3.27	107	clean
BRITUK10	4.29	107	generous
BRITUK11	3.46	107	law abiding
BRITUK12	3.54	107	honest

Variable	Mean	N	Label
NZEUR1	4.34	92	patient
NZEUR2	3.84	92	polite
NZEUR3	4.53	92	quiet
NZEUR4	4.33	92	humble
NZEUR5	3.38	92	friendly
NZEUR6	3.49	92	clever
NZEUR7	3.61	92	hardworking
NZEUR8	3.42	92	knowledgeable
NZEUR9	3.14	92	clean
NZEUR10	3.87	92	generous
NZEUR11	3.61	92	law abiding
NZEUR12	3.42	92	honest

BRITUK1	4.33	92	patient
BRITUK2	3.87	92	polite
BRITUK3	4.63	92	quiet
BRITUK4	4.70	92	humble
BRITUK5	3.71	92	friendly
BRITUK6	3.70	92	clever
BRITUK7	4.29	92	hardworking
BRITUK8	3.71	91	knowledgeable
BRITUK9	3.29	92	clean
BRITUK10	4.38	92	generous
BRITUK11	3.45	92	law abiding
BRITUK12	3.52	92	honest

APPENDIX D: Participants Comments.

These comments were made by participants and recorded by the researcher. They are reported here as a guide to participants reported responses pertaining to the subheadings.

Situation and Context.

Observing successful applicants in workplace provides feedback about effectiveness of selection procedures.

Orgs should have neutral venue.

Venue is important. Should be neutral, quiet and comfortable.

Interviewers should be adequately prepared.

For technical roles should bring in someone with technical expertise to interview.

Series of shorter structured interviews may be better approach rather than fewer longer in-depth interviews.

Interviews may be more useful for certain types of jobs than others.

Antecedent, Behaviour Consequences as basis of interview technique.

Both sides have opportunity to manipulate the interview.

Questioning of referees needs to be structured as well and is almost as important as applicant interview.

It is tempting to follow interests rather than job in an interview.

Miscellaneous.

Often pre-interview 'picture' of person is different to reality.

Although interview is amongst worst of predictors still see value in meeting face to face.

In isolated region need to sell area and region not just job. (Gisborne).

Interview is a great time waster if a better way could be found to select it would be great.

Client can still make final decision based on subjective criteria even though we have been entirely objective.

Structure.

Process is so formalised and concrete that it negates the positives of an informal chat.

Structuring is not rigid.

Structuring is fairly consistent although not always followed.

Job Information.

For lower [factory floor] no JD, JD for supervisory positions up.

JD are available and most are reviewed annually.

JD updated at time of vacancy.

All advertised vacancies subject to review of JD and job evaluation.

Provision for JD review upon request, likely to be reviewed annually not always the case.

Job Description gone over before job advertised.

JD reviewed when position becomes vacant.

JD are updated when job advertised then review is at managers discretion, recommended annually.

JD reviewed annually.

Personal knowledge of job is important.

EEO Issues.

For higher positions interview less than 10% Maori/Pacific Islander (Chch).

[RC] certainly aim to have best possible picture of job may not be reality all the time.

For office staff less than 1% Polynesian, factory is different a lot of Polynesians there.

I have not had much experience with diverse groups [Maori supervisor].

You need to be aware that an individuals behaviour may be a cultural response to formal interview situation and may be quite different to what is expected.

Consultants need to be skilled in dealing with client expectations (in terms of EEO issues).

Organisation has a formal corporate EEO policy but it does not flow down to grass roots, no direction given about implications.

Interviewers needs to be aware of personal baggage that they may bring to the interview.

Intuition.

Able to use intuition in interview.

'gut feeling' has its place.

Planning and gut feeling are important.

Organisation Culture.

Other methods don't take org. culture into account.

Also see if they will fit into culture.

Gut feeling is important.

Interview is important because it allows you to see whether person is likely to fit.

Major emphasis of unstructured questions to ascertain 'fit'

Reasons for Continued Interview Use.

People.

Interview is good because it allows you to meet the person and to get a feel for them.

Interview allows observation of applicants.

Interview provides a feel for attitudes and motivations.

Interview brings out personal strengths which are not apparent in CV.

Interviews allows one to one discussion and is important to see person face to face.

Still like to put a face to [CV] details.

Advantage of interview is that it brings you face to face with applicants.

Interview allows you to get a feel for the person quickly.

Interview is best method in my view for giving everyone a fair chance.

Dollars.

Interview used because it is commonly accepted, simple and cheap.

Professional recruitment services cost \$\$ therefore clients are reluctant to experiment with other less well known techniques.

Does job warrant more expensive 'better' methods. Other methods to costly in terms of time, resources and \$\$\$.

Interview will continue to be used because it is very practical and cost effective.

A great deal of flexibility in interview structure is a benefit.

Miscellaneous.

How else can we select people.

Interview has good face validity, carries a lot of weight, and has been used for years.

Interview is a performance sometimes it goes well sometimes not.

If you assess people in an interview with a view that you will have to tell unsuccessful people why they weren't successful it forces you to concentrate on job related information.

Interview technique used should relate to vacancy status. ie. lower status positions do not require intensive techniques.

It is a traditional method.

Average business has no option apart from interview.

Everyone expects you to use the interview.

Training.

Coaching managers through interview process is large part of job.

Initially training is through coaching by HR or senior managers.

Training focuses on legal requirements.

Major function to coach managers through interview process.

Experienced interviewers often sit in on first few interviews that someone new to role conducts.

Training needs are slowly being recognised by management.

Interview training where you work with another consultant and learn process on the job.

People new to interviewing haven't developed intuition/gut feeling so training is important.

It is important to have some training because you can't go green into interviews.

<p>Comments made by participants in response to attributes of good interviewer questions.</p>
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Listening & Communication Skills.

good listener
balances talking and listening. Actively listens
good listener
good conversational and listening skills
active listener
listens more than talks
listens doesn't talk, listening is major skill.
ability to listen
listens and observes
good talker/listener (more listening)
good at listening
very good listener
able to listen
has good interpersonal/communication skills
has good communication and interpersonal skills

Rapport Building & Empathy

able to relax people
creates good climate
able to relax candidate
able to develop a relaxed atmosphere
empathetic
able to relate to applicant
ability to create positive, professional atmosphere
puts people at ease
empathetic
able to put applicant at ease
ability to put others at ease
able to relax and assist applicants to be open
empathetic
able to put someone at ease
establishes rapport
establishes rapport
empathetic with applicants
able to put people at ease

Intuition

has perception/intuition about people
good intuition
has accurate intuition
able to pick up 'vibes' from applicant

Preparation & Clarity of Direction

prepared
clear idea of job requirements
done homework on vacancy
organised
knows what they are trying to achieve
clarity of direction
clear about job requirements
clear idea of what is required
prepared
knows what they are interviewing for
researches and understands [clients] job requirements
know what you are looking for

Personality Traits

flexibility
open mind
relaxed
gives feedback
honest & sincere
open minded
articulate and sensitive
curious nature
friendly
open minded
enjoy interviewing
confident
relaxed attitude
open mind
friendly
friendly

Assessing Cultural Fit (organisational)

aware of organisational culture
knowing how to assess fit

Technique

- gets over first appearance
- establishes eye contact
- doesn't invade applicants personal space
- covers awkward gaps
- able to draw people out
- sticks to point
- able to control the interview
- decisive and able to end interview
- keeps control of interview
- able to keep structure
- decisive

Questioning

- able to probe applicant skills and abilities
- sensible questions
- asks open questions
- knows how to probe
- relates question to [applicants] previous experience
- not robotic in following list of questions regardless of answers
- able to probe well
- questions clearly, able to ask hard questions.
- good at probing
- asks right questions
- ability to use open and closed questions appropriately

Body Language

- able to interpret non verbals
- aware of body language

Miscellaneous

- aware of interviews flaws
- able to keep up with legislation
- has stake in success of employee
- skilled at getting information out of applicants
- writes good notes
- able to reach a decision
- doesn't have preconceptions of 'ideal' applicant