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**REALISTIC CONFLICT FOR JOBS, AND SELECTION  
BIAS AGAINST SKILLED IMMIGRANTS DURING A  
RECESSION:**

**DOES IT APPLY IN NEW ZEALAND?**

A thesis presented as part of the course requirements for a

**Master of Arts in Psychology**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Only a short time ago in New Zealand, there was a shortage of people rather than places. However with the country having encountered an official recession, the purpose of this study is to determine whether Realistic Conflict plays a role in the selection of candidates. Realistic Conflict Theory states that competitiveness between groups is rational and 'realistic' to expect whenever resources (like jobs), are scarce. Hence greater perceived threat from immigration may predict greater job selection biases against skilled immigrants, in 'high-churn' nations like New Zealand. Previous research has not been able to test a role for this theory in selection bias, because there were too many jobs and too few job applicants/ candidates (Coates 2003). Based on the UN principle of Alignment (of research with core stakeholder values), this project focuses on immigrants rather than employers' perceptions, surveying  $N = 100$  skilled immigrant job seekers in New Zealand who had looked for a job at least once in the last five years (2005 – 2010). Control measures included ethnicity, qualifications, number of years of experience. Antecedent measures focused on perceived realistic conflict. The criterion measure was obtaining employment, i.e.; how long a candidate had looked for a job before successfully gaining employment, and whether their country of origin was a common denominator in the success rate. The most important point of Realistic Conflict theory is that intergroup enmity and competition will arise whenever economic resources are scarce (Brewer, 1968). Analytically, key questions assessed the perceived intercultural similarity to New Zealand based on the country of origin, examined whether candidates have experienced favouritism or bias towards based on country of origin, and also the recognized socio-economic dominance of the candidates' country-of-origin. Realistic Conflict theory and Social Identity theory are complementary, with Social Identity theory providing a cognitive explanation of how intergroup conflict can arise (perceived or otherwise), and RCT addressing the consequences of this conflict.

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## Table of Contents

Abstract.....	Page i
Acknowledgements.....	Page ii
Tables of Contents.....	Page iii
List of Tables and Figures.....	Page vi
 <b>Chapter 1</b> .....	 Page 1
Introduction.....	Page 1
The New Zealand Context.....	Page 2
 <b>Chapter 2</b> .....	 Page 5
Psychological Theories.....	Page 5
Similarity Attraction.....	Page 5
Social Identity Theory.....	Page 11
Inverse Resonance.....	Page 13
Social Dominance Theory.....	Page 14
Realistic Conflict Theory.....	Page 16
 <b>Chapter 3</b> .....	 Page 23
Method.....	Page 23
Participants.....	Page 23
Measures.....	Page 24
○ Part A .....	Page 24

○ Part B .....	Page 25
○ Part C .....	Page 25
○ Part D .....	Page 25
○ Qualitative Measures .....	Page 27
○ Part E/F/G .....	Page 27
○ Procedure .....	Page 27
 <b>Chapter 4</b> .....	 Page 29
Evidence of Bias? .....	Page 29
Similarity Attraction .....	Page 30
Social Domianance .....	Page 32
Realistic Conflict .....	Page 34
Qualitative Responses to Part A .....	Page 38
Qualitative Responses to Part C .....	Page 41
Qualitative Responses to Part D .....	Page 42
Qualitative Responses to Part D .....	Page 44
Job Seeking Activities .....	Page 46
Feedback on Questionnaire .....	Page 55
 <b>Chapter 5</b> .....	 Page 56
Summary of Findings .....	Page 56
Links to theory .....	Page 58
Similarity Attraction .....	Page 58
Social Dominance .....	Page 59
Realistic Con flict .....	Page 60
Summary .....	Page 61

Limitations of Study .....	Page 61
Future Directions .....	Page 62
Conclusion .....	Page 63
<b>Appendices.....</b>	<b>Page 64</b>
Appendix I: Letter requesting permission of an Organisation.....	Page 64
Appendix II: Letter requesting Participation in the Research Project.....	Page 65
Appendix III: Information Sheet (Non-Student Category).....	Page 66
Appendix IV: Information Sheet (Student Category).....	Page 68
Appendix V: Questionnaire.....	Page 70
<b>References.....</b>	<b>Page 80</b>

## List of Tables and Figures

Table 1.....	Page 24
Table 2.....	Page 29
Table 3.....	Page 30
Table 4.....	Page 31
Table 5.....	Page 31
Table 6.....	Page 33
Table 7.....	Page 33
Table 8.....	Page 35
Table 9.....	Page 35
Table 10.....	Page 37
Table 11.....	Page 37
Table 12.....	Page 40
Tale 13.....	Page 41
Table 14.....	Page 43
Table 15.....	Page 45
Table 16.....	Page 53
Table 17.....	Page 53
Table 18.....	Page 54
Table 19.....	Page 55

### Figures:

Figure 1.....	Page 22
Figure 2.....	Page 32



Figure 3.....	Page 33
Figure 4.....	Page 36
Figure 5.....	Page 38

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

According to the OECD (2002), there is a constant stream of expertise and talent across national, as well as cultural borders. People often move for a better life, including employment prospects, yet many immigrants worldwide, despite their skills, ironically find it hard to find full employment (OECD, 2002). Realistic Conflict Theory offers one possible reason for why this might happen. It hypothesizes that competitiveness between groups is rational and 'realistic' to expect whenever resources are scarce (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). Until now, this variable has been overlooked in bias research due to wider prevailing economic conditions. To put it very simply, there were often too many jobs for too few people, and therefore no theoretical basis for realistic conflict to occur.

New Zealand is a logical focus for the study. In 2008, New Zealand for example, faced a shortage of people rather than job vacancies (resources), pre-empting any role for realistic conflict theory in the selection of candidates (Chamber of Commerce research data, 2008). However with the country having entered an official recession in 2009, this scenario changed to there now being too many people and too few jobs. Realistic Conflict may hence be playing more of a role in the non-selection of candidates. This thesis seeks to explore the explanatory power of Realistic Conflict theory, to explain current levels of under to full employment among skilled immigrants to New Zealand.

According to Chan (2001), skilled immigrants in New Zealand often have to wait unreasonable periods, if ever finding employment that matches their qualifications and experience. Mahroum (2000), declared the under-utilization and employment of migrants' skills to be an appalling misuse of human talent, and is considered in part to be due to job selection biases at the level of organizations (Evers & van der Flier, 1998). This study on Realistic Conflict and the role it plays in the selection of candidates is aimed at finding whether *immigrants showing the same level of skills, qualifications and work experience still find it more difficult to secure employment that meets their standard and calibre, compared to their Kiwi counterparts.*

Previous research conducted has looked into stereotyping or selection bias from an employer's perspective (e.g., Coates, 2003). Our study will be aimed at candidates or job seekers, to determine

what their views are and whether they find any biases in selection processes, in order to help employers recognize this and avoid it from happening. Hence, the study on whether Realistic Conflict theory, plays an important role in the selection of candidates provides valuable information to the field of I/O Psychology.

### *The New Zealand Context*

Immigration has been a significant reason of population change in New Zealand, with the highest gains recorded in the current century (Bedford, 2003). Over the last 150 years, migrants have come to New Zealand primarily from the United Kingdom and Europe, however that has changed over the last decade or so according to 2006 Census results. European migrants remained the largest of the main ethnic groups, with 2,609,592 people (67.6 percent of the population) in 2006, and out of all the major ethnic groups, the Asian ethnic group grew the fastest between 2001 and 2006, increasing from 238,176 people in 2001 to reach 354,552 people in 2006, an increase of almost 50 percent (Statistics New Zealand, 2006 Census Data). This shows that the ever changing face of New Zealand culturally has an added impact on the type of candidates looking for employment in the country. That is important for this thesis because unemployed immigrants can cause a strain on government resources, and instead of enhancing the growth and development of the country, result in a waste of talent, skills and expertise.

In 2003, the New Zealand Government agreed to a New Zealand Immigration Settlement Strategy for migrants, refugees and their families (New Zealand Immigration Service, 2003). This points system is still used. The Strategy's six goals for migrants and refugees are:

1. obtain employment appropriate to their qualifications and skills;
2. are confident using English in a New Zealand setting, or can access appropriate language support to bridge the gap;
3. are able to access appropriate information and responsive services that are available to the wider community (for example, housing, education, and services for children);
4. form supportive social networks and establish a sustainable community identity;
5. feel safe expressing their ethnic identity and are accepted by, and are part of, the wider host community; and
6. participate in civic, community and social activities.

In September 2010, there were net inflows of migrants from the United Kingdom (1,000), India (600), China (300), and Germany (300). The net outflow of 1,500 PLT (Permanent and long-term), migrants to Australia was up from 700 in September 2009, but still well down from the net outflow of 2,400 in September 2008. Out of the 496,900 people employed part-time in the June 2010 quarter, 20.6 percent (102,400) would prefer to work more hours. This compares with 21.1 percent in the March 2010 quarter and 22.2 percent in the June 2009 quarter. During the June 2010 quarter, 24.7 percent of males working part-time preferred to work more hours, compared with 18.9 percent of females (Statistics New Zealand, International Travel and Migration, September 2010). This shows that the cultural make up of New Zealand has changed significantly over the last decade especially, and it is important for job selectors to understand various nationalities to avoid stereotyping and bias in the selection of candidates.

Some new migrant arrivals have considerable work experience and qualifications and are able to make the transition to working in the labour force without any problem, while others experience greater challenges in gaining employment (DIAC, 2007). The fluency or perceived 'lack of fluency' in English and a 'lack of local work experience' appears to be the two main obstacles new migrants face when looking for work (*Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2010*). The skills and knowledge obtained from previous overseas labour market experiences may help in the transition to employment within the labour force; however country-of-origin does play an important role in selection of candidates (*Coates & Carr, 2003*). In addition, the reasons for migration (specifically the visa category for immigration e.g. skilled) and the support services provided upon arrival will also be contributing factors (ABS, 2010). This statistical information once again proves that stereotyping candidates (the perceived notion that there will be a lack of fluency in English), does exist in employee selection.

New Zealand has changed in several ways, one of which is that we are now more open to recruiting candidates from countries like China and India. This could be a result of more travel exposure, and also immigrants who have been in New Zealand for a while, wanting to give new immigrants a chance, that first break into the labour market. Between 2001 and 2006, the number of Chinese in Auckland doubled and more than 80% came from China. After 2008, the economic situation changed. With the economic environment becoming quite unsettled, many skilled Kiwis chose to go elsewhere in hope of better opportunities, better pay, etc (Statistics New Zealand). This created vacancies and even shortages in the skilled category. Along with Ireland, New Zealand has the highest proportion of our skilled workforce living overseas, even though outmigration actually

decreased significantly in 2009 as a result of the global downturn (50% fewer went to Australia in 2009). Williams and O'Reilly (1998), explain in the literature on organizational diversity that, "the prevalence of empirical evidence suggests that diversity is most likely to hinder how organizations function". Recent research shows individuals' identification with in-groups to be psychologically important and socially consequential (Leach et al, 2008). My key point related to the thesis is that employers need to recognize that the cultural backgrounds and ethnicity of job applicants has changed dramatically in New Zealand, and stereotyping based on country of origin or ethnicity alone should no longer be the deciding factor in whether or not a candidate is offered the job.

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## Chapter 2

**Critical Literature Review***Psychological Theories*

Employers' attitudes towards immigrants play a key role in the selection process (Byrne, 1969/1971). The issue of perception is pivotal when considering whether there are biases operating in the New Zealand employment framework. One way of understanding these prevailing attitudes better, is by exploring psychological theories that may be linked with these thoughts, and find ways of avoiding this from happening in the future. Just as human behaviour is multi-faceted, no one particular psychological theory is adequate to explain why selection bias may exist in the workplace. Therefore, I have chosen three main psychological theories to help understand why these biases may exist – one being Realistic Conflict theory because it is very relevant to the conditions of the labour market in New Zealand over the last 5 years.

**2.1: Similarity Attraction**

Perhaps the most obvious reason for access bias in organizations is Similarity Attraction. This theory states that individuals who are similar will be interpersonally attracted toward each other because of the perceived 'common ground'. Because of this attraction, they will experience "positive outcomes" (for example, a job offer). Newcomb (1961) and Byrne (1971), made the assumption that perceived similarity is a crucial interpersonal factor in predicting attraction. It is this very attraction that determines whether a host country, or manager will find a new immigrant 'similar' in beliefs and value systems when screening them for a job. On the same note, Byrne (1969), stated that people have more positive responses towards people who hold similar attitudes to their own, because they like people who view the world in the same way as they do. Evidence that supports the similarity-attraction hypothesis (Byrne, 1971), shows that not only is there a positive response (i.e. favourable response such as a job offer), to perceived similarity, but there is in fact a negative response to perceived dissimilar attitudes, (negative selection bias for example). Factors such as race, age, gender, resumes, etc as well as verbal and non-verbal communication play an important role in deciding the outcome of an employment interview. All of these factors provide the job selector with information that influences perceived similarity or dissimilarity between the individual (applicant) and the group (company) (Byrne & Neuman, 1992; Graves & Powell, 1988; Lin, Dobbins & Farh, 1992). When individuals are perceived to be similar to oneself, there is the likelihood that there will

be a preference to interact with, and therefore more likely to hire those individuals (Cushman, Valentinsen & Dietrich, 1982). This point can very clearly be linked to our research project, because we are using the similarity-attraction theory as one of the reasons that job selectors would prefer candidates from one country over another, particularly when resources are limited. When resources are limited/ scarce, there will be the likelihood to hire someone you perceive to be part of your in-group rather than 'different' or 'dissimilar' to your culture and beliefs.

Organizations today are faced with significant changes in the demographic composition of the workforce due to labour and economic trends, legislation, and demographic realities (Triandis, Kurowski, & Gelfand, 1993). Graves and Powell (1995), state that *demographic similarity* between a recruiter and an applicant on certain characteristics (e.g., gender, ethnicity, etc), leads to *perceived similarity* in attitudes and values which in turn lead to *interpersonal attraction* between the recruiter and the applicant. Interpersonal attraction then leads to positive bias in the job selectors' information processing, and judgments (Dipboye & Macan, 1988; Motowidlo, 1986). It can be said that surface diversity spills over into perceived psychological diversity. This interpersonal attraction then leads to positive bias (favourable response), on the job selectors' part, and they way the interview is conducted. Another study that supports this similarity- attraction paradigm, is the study conducted by Lee and Gudykunst (2001), where 115 non-European and 168 European-Americans were required to have conversations (face-to-face), on a number of occasions over a seven day period. After this seven day period, each participant completed various questionnaires on social attraction, intellectual attraction and perceived similarity in communication styles. The purpose of this research was to examine interpersonal and inter-group predictors of attraction. The results of this study found that three main predictors of inter-ethnic attraction, the first being perceived similarity in communication style. The second finding was that inter-ethnic attraction will occur when the view an individual has of themselves is perceived as being supported or shared by individuals of another group, and the third was that when individuals of one group have interactions with members of another group that result in positive responses, they will be more likely to be attracted to members of that/ those ethnic groups (e.g. New Zealand/ Great Britain).

In the initial encounter the job selector observes the applicant's demographic characteristics from the application form (name, academic background and country that qualifications were gained in, etc), and then determines whether or not these characteristics are similar or dissimilar to the recruiter's own demographics. If the recruiter is demographically similar to the applicant, he or she

is likely to presume that the applicant has attitudes and beliefs that are similar to his or her attitudes and beliefs. The similarity-attraction hypothesis states that when we are attracted to a referent other or individuals we perceive to be similar/ like ourselves, we tend to make more favourable overall assessments of the other. Laboratory (Howard & Ferris, 1996) as well as field-based studies (Kinicki & Lockwood, 1985; Wade & Kinicki, 1997), which studied employment interviews, have found significant relationships between affect and attraction toward applicants and job selectors' evaluations of them for the position, even though such attributes (similarity attraction), are irrelevant to the job specification (should be based on skills/ qualifications and work experience). In the study by Wade & Kinicki (1997), twenty-four professional recruiters interviewed 91 college seniors. This study by Wade & Kinicki (1997), overcomes previous methodological limitations by reanalyzing data from Kinicki and Lockwood (1985), using covariance structural modelling. The results indicated positive relationship/ correlation between interpersonal attraction and interview outcomes (i.e.; job offer/ hiring decision), which perhaps suggests that interviewers measure the applicants' fit in addition to relevant job skills. Organizational fit is a huge deciding factor in hiring decisions. Most people spend a big part of they day at work and inter-office bickering and fighting can lead to a decrease in productivity. Hence, when looking for candidates, job selectors will want to hire someone who is similar to them in culture, beliefs and value to minimize the possibility of tension between employees.

Schneider's (1987), Attraction-Selection-Attrition model, and Pfeffer's (1983), organization demography model were used to create individual-level and group-level hypotheses relating interpersonal context to recruitment, promotion, and turnover patterns. Attraction-Selection Attrition Model (ASA), emphasizes the role of "person effects" as determinants of behaviour in organizations. Schneider (1983), argued that, through the processes of attraction, selection, and attrition, organizations evolve toward a state of interpersonal homogeneity. Very early in the recruitment process, a similarity attraction effect results in people being attracted to organizations whose members they believe are similar to them. This attraction to such organizations leads people to seek organizational membership. When current members screen potential new members, they too are attracted to similar others, so they are more likely to admit new members like themselves. The arrangement is likely to be judged satisfactory to the extent that perceived similarity is maintained (Tsui & O'Reilly, 1989). In a similar manner, job selectors are likely to have a positive response (job offer), towards an applicant who shows parallel ways of thinking and behaviour, that will allow homogeneity within the group.



In the ASA model, interests, values and personality are the elements of similarity assumed to influence attraction to organizations, and the people in them. Research on topics such as organizational choice (Tom, 1971), the use of realistic job previews as tools for recruitment and socialization (Premack & Wanous, 1985), and the use of bio data survey questions to predict job-related behaviours (Neiner & Owens, 1985; Owens & Schoenfeldt, 1979), supports the belief that similarity attraction plays a vital role in employment. According to Schneider (1987), the homogeneity of personalities, values, and interests that characterize members within an organization are what account for the organization's apparent unique quality. The ASA model suggests that selection processes create homogeneity by limiting the type of people admitted into the organization. One way that selection bias can occur is if some types of people are excluded from the pool of applicants considered for a position, e.g., skilled immigrants who are perceived as 'different' from the majority in the organization.

Effective staffing procedures are crucial if organizations are to hire skilled employees who can meet the demands of today's workplace (Offerman & Gowing, 1993). Undesirable interview practices continue despite the fact that personnel psychologists have consistently stressed the need to improve these practices (Schmidt, 1993). Recent research has found that a person's perception of others, in terms of similarity and difference, generally influences his or her choice of another with whom to interact (Lerner and Becker, 1962). Two laboratory studies that involved simulated personnel decision making, found that attitude similarity was linked to hire/no-hire decisions (Griffit and Jackson, 1970; Baskett, 1973). Many interview judgments are based on the extent to which they see applicants as similar to themselves (Anderson & Shackleton, 1990; Graves & Powell, 1988). Managers' decisions often seem to reflect the similarity between their own and applicants' demographic characteristics. My point is that if the job selector perceives that applicant to be similar to them, then they may also perceive the applicant to be similar to the organization as a whole, and thus be more likely to be in favour of hiring this person

Ferris, Judge, Rowland, and Fitzgibbons (1994), and Tsui and O'Reilly (1989), found that supervisor-subordinate demographic similarity was positively related to supervisors' liking of their subordinates. The connection between perceived attitudinal similarity and interpersonal attraction can be traced back to Byrne and Clore (1970), who suggested that agreement with another person validates one's own beliefs and satisfies a drive to "interpret the environment correctly, and to function effectively in understanding and predicting events" (p. 118). Consistent with the view that

intentions lead to behaviours (Fishbein & Azjen, 1975), there has been evidence in selection literature to suggest that interviewers' impressions of applicants are linked to final offer decisions (Cable & Judge, 1997). These impressions can be formed when application forms are received (based on the name, country that school/ university was attended, etc), or during later stages of the recruitment and selection process. As previously explained, as human beings we are attracted to those individuals who are similar to ourselves and job selectors are no exception.

International data shows that ethnic background has an impact on employment, even in countries that are high in cultural and linguistic diversity, such as Canada for example (Hum & Simpson, 1999). This notion that country of origin has a huge impact on inclusion or exclusion from the labour force, and also salary bracket can be seen in research that shows overseas-born Chinese in New Zealand, have a median income of \$7,900 compared to \$20,200 for New Zealand-born Chinese (Statistics New Zealand, 2002a, 2002b). Language proficiency and shared history also have an impact on employment outcomes. Another finding was that Chinese new settlers in New Zealand who originated from former British colonies that use English as an official language (e.g. Singapore, Hong Kong), showed better labour market outcomes and trends in occupational division than those from the People's Republic of China (Statistics New Zealand, 2002a). New Zealand is a country where communication is vital to a successful organization and if potential employees are not fluent with the language, this causes a barrier in the success of the employee within the organization, and the future success of the organization as a whole. Job selectors are hesitant to employ someone who not only has a different communication style to themselves, but also does not have the confidence and fluency in the language to represent the company.

Similarity Attraction theory can also provide an excellent structure in understanding inter-group relationships. A study carried out by King et al.'s (1997), suggests that people from different cultural groups show a positive preference for other cultural groups which are thought to be most similar to their own group (e.g. New Zealand and Great Britain). In their study, 214 Russian undergraduates from St. Petersburg completed a questionnaire which assessed the relationship and impact on Russian life of Russians, Ukrainians, Moldavians and Georgians. Participants were asked to assess how similar each group was to their own nationality and which group/s posed a threat to Russia. The findings from this study suggested that Ukrainians who shared common Slavic ancestry, religion and culture to Russians, were thought to be more similar and were perceived more positively by Russians than residents of Moldavia and Georgia (ex-Soviet states). The same principle can be applied to New

Zealand. Although India was at one stage a British colony, most New Zealanders do not identify Indians as belonging to the same ancestry or heritage as New Zealand/ Australia/ UK. As a result, candidates from the UK/ Australia will be more favoured than Asian countries, because New Zealand sees individuals from the UK/ Australia as being more similar to themselves, and therefore part of an 'extended family'.

The categorization of people into in-group or out-group (even if based on the most trivial attributes), results in in-group favouritism (Brewer, 1979). People are found to allocate more rewards to members of their own group (Turner, 1978; Ng, 1981). Selection errors have multiple costs, ranging from the resources that are invested in training an unsuitable employee, to the loss of opportunity in employing a candidate who may have been better suited to the organization. When making hiring decisions, the job selector often considers applicants who share some in-group with them (e.g. the same race, ethnicity, etc.) (Brewer & Brown, 1998; Messick & Mackie, 1989). The similarity-attraction hypothesis is therefore, not only applicable to interpersonal relations, but also essential in understanding the dynamics of inter-group relations. In the New Zealand context, the cultural heritage is very similar to that of Great Britain, hence it more likely that there will be group similarity between Zealand and Great Britain, or New Zealand, Great Britain and Australian, than New Zealand and China or South Africa (Insko et al., 1983; Osbeck et al., 1997).

Factors mentioned above, such as culture and ethnicity, etc effect why a person will be more liked than someone else. Research conducted by Orpen (1984), found a strong likelihood that perceived attitude similarity led to attraction and a stronger likelihood of a positive outcome (i.e., hiring decision). In addition to this, simulated short-listing experiments with practising managers found that Asian candidates increased the likelihood of being short-listed by anglicizing their names, thereby making them sound more 'similar' and less 'foreign' (Wilson et al., 2005). Hence, there is a willingness to associate with those individuals who are more similar in all cultures and societies. The employment sector is no exception to this. According to Carr (2003), "A has to find similarity in B, and B has to find similarity in A" (p. 295). Most literature available has examined the employers' perspective (A), however this study looks at the job seekers' perspective (B).

## 2.2: Social identity Theory

Social identity theory states that individuals determine their social identity by categorizing themselves, categorizing others, and attaching value to different social categories (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner & Oakes, 1986; Stryker, 1968; Tajfel & Turner, 1985). Based on the view that people are inherently motivated to evaluate reality socially (Festinger, 1950, 1954), Tajfel's (1978), social identity theory asserts that people will often engage in social comparison at an intergroup, as well as at an individual level. The literature linking person-organization fit to selection outcomes (Schneider, 1987), would suggest that as job selectors presumably view themselves as successful organizational members, they will look for candidates who are demographically similar to themselves, with the expectation that the applicants will successfully fit in the organization like them (Judge & Ferris, 1991). Several studies have provided evidence that job selector-applicant race similarity (Rand & Wexley, 1975), are related to selection decisions. Pelled (1997) and Harrison, Price, and Bell (1998) argue that initial classifications are accompanied by perceptions of similarity that are based on surface-level demographic data. Milliken and Martins (1996), stated that diversity on visible attributes creates more serious negative affective reactions, than diversity on underlying attributes (p. 415).

According to Ashforth and Mael (1989), social classification serves two main purposes. First, it helps people to define others, usually in terms of the prototypical attributes that are associated with a group, and second, it allows people to define themselves in comparison to other social identity groups. This second purpose, involves an individual's self-categorization in terms of their own personal identity (unique personal characteristics such as values, competencies, etc.), and group identity (to one's perception of affiliation with and belongingness to a particular social identity group). From a recruitment perspective, interviewers will also view a candidate based on the two key points above (personal characteristics such as values, beliefs, etc and also their affiliation with and belongingness to a particular social group). A candidate who matches the interviewer's prototypical attributes, will be preferred over someone who does not.

Organizations are internally structured groups, positioned in complex networks of intergroup relations which are characterized by power, status, and prestige differentials (Hogg and Terry, 2000). People generally gain part of their identity and sense of self/ belonging from the organizations or

work groups to which they are a part of. People cognitively symbolize the defining and stereotypical attributes of groups in the form of prototypes. Prototypes are typically not checklists of attributes but, rather vague sets that capture the features of group membership. Prototypes embody all attributes that differentiate and categorize groups, which distinguish them from other groups (including beliefs, attitudes, feelings, and behaviours, etc). A significant feature of prototypes is that they maximize similarities within and differences between groups, therefore defining groups as distinct entities (Abrams and Hogg (1990, 1999). From a recruitment perspective, because members of the same group are exposed to similar social information, their prototypes usually will be similar and shared by other members of the group; hence they will look for other 'similar' members to add to the homogenous group.

Individuals have been known to compare themselves to others with the intention of having a positive social identity and boosting self-esteem. Likewise, groups also compare themselves to other groups they perceive to be similar to themselves (Carr et al., 2001). Individuals are stimulated to see their group as being different from other groups, in order to preserve a clear social identity or distinctiveness (Tajfel, 1978). Relational demography theorists (Mowday & Sutton, 1993; Riordan & Shore, 1997; Wesolowski & Mossholder, 1997), suggest that people in organizations compare their own demographic characteristics (such as race, gender, ethnicity, etc), with those of other members or the group as a whole, and this perceived similarity enhances work-related attitudes and behaviour. According to Hogg and Terry (2000), organizational uncertainty (for instance, during a recession), increases the likelihood for the organization to work against diversity. Relating back to our study, organizations facing uncertainty would therefore strive for homogeneity within the group that might marginalize socio-demographic minorities within the organization, and prevent admission of these minorities.

As the perception of similarity increases between two groups however, there is a likelihood that one group will feel psychologically threatened by the other group (Tajfel, 1978). This can be seen in the obvious example of New Zealand and Australia. A study conducted in East Africa by Carr, Rugimbana, Walkom and Bolitho (2001), examined the recruitment practices of selecting expatriates. 96 Bachelor of Commerce students attending the University of Dar-es-Salaam, were asked to complete a questionnaire indicating how local personnel managers might rank East African expatriates, Western expatriates and fellow Tanzanians as job candidates for a range of professions. All job candidates were presented as having equal training, education, and were said to cost the same

amount to relocate. Despite the minimal differences, expatriates from neighbouring countries tended to be less acceptable than more costly Westerners. This concept has been referred to as 'Inverse Resonance' by Carr, Ehiobuche, Rugimbana and Munro (1996).

### **2.3: Inverse Resonance**

Social Identity Theory (SIT), predicts that inter-group relations will become fractious when their degree of similarity is high (Brewer, 1991 and Brewer, 1993). The same has been predicted in migrant selection contexts, where it is described as "Inverse Resonance" (Carr, Ehiobuche, Rugimbana, & Munro, 1996). According to Carr et al. (1996), the main reason why inverse resonance occurs, is that groups who are relatively similar pose a relatively clear 'symbolic' threat to in-group distinctiveness (Brewer, 2003). Hence, intricate differences are often inherently threatening to the sense of uniqueness and distinctiveness that group often craves (Tajfel, 1978). A good example of Inverse Resonance can be found in a study conducted in Tanzania by Carr, Rugimbana, Walkom, & Bolitho (2001), where it was found that immigrant job candidates from several neighbouring countries, who were within the same theoretical 'free trade zone' as Tanzania, were ironically less preferred than their counterparts from comparatively 'exotic' countries-of-origin, e.g., in Western Europe and the United States.

Another study carried out in Malawi (Carr, 1996), reinstates this notion. African expatriates applying for posts at the National University were routinely screened out in favour of Western applicants, and in Papua New Guinea, non- Western academics often encountered some difficulty in earning the respect of their students (Carr, 1996). Ability to perform alone cannot account for these observations, very often non-Western academics are of a higher calibre than the Westerners, and it was found that they had nearly always earned their qualifications at institutions in the West. This suggests that social perception was partly responsible for the attitude towards these expatriates. A study of 30 groups in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania found that greater geographical proximity was sometimes linked with negative rather than positive relations (Brewer, 1968). One possible interpretation for these findings, is that non-positive relationships were those that took place between psychological out-groups rather than in-groups (for example things shown on the News, a negative experience related by someone close, etc).

Another possible reason for inverse resonance could be the direct comparison the two groups face. The geographical isolation of New Zealand and Australia from other Western first world nations (such as Great Britain), and the geographical proximity these two countries have to each other can pose as a threat to members of each of these two countries. Such a perception may result in a rejection of the 'best' candidate for the job, in favour of hiring Western expatriates from further a field (Jones & Popper, 1972). This candidate may be from a similar culture, and thus also have an understanding of the host country and its' work practises and ethics. The concept that candidates from less similar countries-of-origin being more favourable or desirable for the job than candidates from similar countries-of-origin, does not correlate with the view that similarity is attractive (Carr et al., 1996).

#### **2.4: Social Dominance Theory (PART C - DIFFERENT ECONOMIES of the questionnaire)**

Social Dominance Theory (SDT), states that job selectors use unspoken mental models about which countries-of-origin are socio-economically dominant over others, with deference flowing to the more dominant countries, and bias or prejudice being directed at the rest (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Lemieux and Pratto conceptualise social dominance schemata as group-based "fault-lines," set off by aspects of globalisation like inequities in global "free" trade and the migration of skilled labour (Carr, 2004). Social Dominance theory therefore implies that group mental hierarchies in terms of countries-of-origin, will influence job selectors' preferences for immigrant job applicants (Carr & Coates, 2003). In a study of selection biases in Singapore, preferences for expatriates from the USA, over expatriates from China, were interpreted as being linked to perceived levels of socio-economic development in these two countries (Lim & Ward, 2003). As a result, in our study, we expect immigrants from countries with higher perceived dominance to enjoy selection advantages, over their counterparts from countries with lower perceived dominance.

Social dominance theory explains how common factors, such as psychological tendencies for group prejudice, cultural ideologies, social roles and discriminatory behaviours, merge to maintain social group hierarchy (Pratto, 1999; Sidanius & Pratto, 1993a, 1999). The primary force maintaining group dominance is often the group ideology, which consists of the shared cultural beliefs like origin myths, social role prescriptions, and group stereotypes. According to Sidanius (1993), an individual's social dominance orientation (SDO), is the influencing variable that will significantly affect what judgements and subsequent behaviour result about an out-group member. Social dominance

orientation (SDO), was conceptualized and measured by Sidanius and Pratto (1993, 1999), as a “general attitudinal orientation toward intergroup relations, reflecting whether one generally prefers such relations to be equal versus hierarchical” and the “extent to which one desires that one’s in-group dominate and be superior to out-groups” (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994, p. 742).

In a study conducted by Sidanius, Pratto, Martin & Stallworth (1991), they ask the question why individuals in positions of power display greater tendencies toward discrimination against members of negative reference groups, than those working within other sectors of the economy. According to them, based on social dominance theory, this will be due to the view that, to a significant degree both career choice and group discrimination will be expressions of the individual's social dominance orientation. Social dominance orientation is the need or drive to have one's own primordial group be superior to or dominant over other groups. Among other things, this implies that those with high social dominance orientation should also be relatively power-oriented; everything else being equal, the greater this generalized power orientation, the more likely such individuals are to choose occupations allowing exercise of power over others.

Social dominance theory suggests that intergroup conflicts vary in two significant ways. First, the degree of hierarchy among the groups in the system, and second, the basis for the distinction made among the groups (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Group distinctions are based on a number of factors, such as religion, ethnicity, nationality, etc. These are called arbitrary-set group distinctions because unlike distinctions based on gender, the presence of such distinctions is more subjective, depending on a variety of cultural factors. In an arbitrary-set system such as this, one group often has more material and social power than other groups (for example, in the United States, whites have more social status and power than African Americans and Latinos (Smith, 1991). In a study carried out by Sidanius, Levin, Liu, & Pratto (2000), it was found that members of high status groups have higher levels of social dominance orientation (SDO), than members of low-status, and people with higher socio-economic status have higher levels of SDO than those with lower socioeconomic status.

Umphress, Smith-Crowe, Brief, Dietz and Baskerville Watkins (2004, 2006), demonstrated in 3 studies that when prospective employees supported group-based social hierarchies (i.e., high in social dominance orientation), those in high-status groups were attracted to demographic similarity



within an organization, whereas those in low-status groups resisted it. An important theoretical implication of these findings, is that social dominance theory and similarity–attraction ideas together help explain a more complex relationship between demographic similarity and attraction. One of the most effective ways to justify one group's privileged position and another group's relative disadvantage according to Lerner (1980), is to attribute negative characteristics to members of the latter group, which legitimizes their social, economic, and political subordination (Jost & Banaji, 1994). Racio-ethnic minorities have constituted a significant portion of new entrants in the labour force over the past decade (Fullerton & Toossi, 2001), and minority recruitment has become more common in organizations over the last few years. (Doverspike, Taylor, Shultz, & McKay, 2000).

## **2.5: Realistic Group Conflict literature (PART D – GROUP BOUNDARIES of the questionnaire)**

According to Jackson (1993), the basic hypothesis of Realistic Conflict theory is that intergroup hostility is created by the existence of conflicting goals (i.e., competition), and reduced by the existence of mutually desired higher/ superior goals attainable only through intergroup cooperation. Therefore, Realistic Conflict theory directly contemplates the etiology and resolution of intergroup hostility. Realistic Conflict theory also states that, intergroup conflict is determined largely by economic forces, primarily, the availability of economic resources. The most important point of this theory is that intergroup enmity and competition will arise whenever economic resources are scarce (Brewer, 1968). Therefore, in order to survive, one group has to compete with another for tangible resources and as the competition for the resource increases, so does the conflict between the groups. This in turn leads to greater hostility and negative attitudes towards members of the out-group. This point can be directly linked to the hypothesis that Realistic Conflict theory exists in selection bias in the selection of migrants for jobs during a recession, due to the fact that vacancies are few and individuals/ groups have to compete for limited resources.

Esses et al.'s (1998), conducted a study that shows when unemployment is high, media coverage on issues such as immigration can result in adverse attitudes towards immigrants. This can be even more apparent if immigrants are doing well, non immigrants view them as enjoying the benefits of limited resources, resources a 'local' might be deprived of. This can become a particularly problematic issue in case of a recession, where Kiwis want to help other Kiwis in need of work, rather than someone who has come from another country. Ironically, many jobs in high demand on

the Government's priority list are jobs that immigrants are highly trained, qualified and experienced in, and it is often assumed that because there is a surplus of vacancies and shortage of people to fill these roles, immigrants would not be taking the jobs away from New Zealanders. However, most immigrants are not given the opportunity, because they may have got degrees and qualifications in countries that are viewed as being dissimilar or foreign to New Zealand.

Williams and O'Reilly (1998), explain in the literature on organizational diversity that, "the prevalence of empirical evidence suggests that diversity is most likely to hinder how organizations function. The dysfunctional outcomes or consequences of diversity might be explained by realistic group conflict theory (e.g., Campbell, 1965). According to this theory, competition between groups for valuable but limited material and/or symbolic resources breeds hostility/ rivalry. Scott's findings were that organizations are fixed or embedded in their environments and that "employees come to the organization with heavy cultural and social baggage obtained from interactions in other social contexts" (1992). This can stand true for organizations in New Zealand as well. A study by Coates (2003), showed that HR Managers/ job selectors preferred hiring candidates from countries such as Australia and Great Britain, which they found to be more culturally similar to themselves. The purpose of this thesis examines whether candidates from the same countries of origin used in the Coates et al study (2003), perceive the same bias to exist and expressed as the HR Managers/ job selectors.

Campbell (1965; Levine & Campbell, 1972), were the first to name this premise "Realistic Group Conflict theory," however, the processes that this theory describes were in fact recorded much earlier (e.g., Sumner, 1906). Social scientists such as Bernard, 1957; Boulding, 1962; Coser, 1956; Sherif, 1966, etc, essentially hypothesized that "the perception that one's group's gain is another's loss, translates into perceptions of group threat, which in turn causes prejudice against the out-group, in-group solidarity/ negative stereotyping of the out-group, awareness of in-group identity, and internal cohesion, including tolerance of in-group deviants, ethnocentrism, the use of group boundary markers, and discriminatory behaviours" (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In turn, this enhanced in-group solidarity and devaluation of the out-group could lead to communication problems, thereby explaining declines in organizational functioning. Similarly, Realistic Group Conflict theory might explain why interracial tensions surface in communities as racial diversity in them increases. In communities, conflict may originate from competition for material resources, such as economic resources (Blalock, 1957), or symbolic resources, such as political strength (Glaser, 1994).

A primarily relevant and complementary theoretical platform to Realistic Conflict theory is Social Identity theory (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This was intended to complement Realistic Conflict theory by highlighting group identification. In Tajfel and Turner's words, "The development of in-group identifications is seen as in the Realistic Conflict theory almost as an epiphenomenon of intergroup conflict. In this sense, the theoretical orientation to be outlined here is intended not to replace the Realistic Conflict theory, but to supplement it" (1979). One assumption of Social Identity theory, is that people desire to have positive social identities, which are largely based upon favourable comparisons made between in-groups and relevant out-groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The stimulus or motive to make such comparisons favourable to one's own group is suitably high, that the sheer presence of group differences can evoke in-group/out-group categorization and competition (e.g., Brewer & Brown, 1998; Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Thomas & Chrobot-Mason, 2004). Therefore, Realistic Conflict theory and Social Identity theory are beyond a doubt complementary, with Social Identity theory providing a cognitive explanation of how intergroup conflict can arise (perceived or otherwise), and Realistic Conflict theory addressing the consequences of this conflict.

Sherif (1979), states that in-group norms, mores and routines are decisively affected by relationships with other groups and that the overall favourability of intergroup interactions is determined by the reciprocal goals and interests of the groups involved. Such factors may include real or imagined threat/s to the safety of the group, political advantage, economic interests, social status, etc. All of these situations represent a dilemma or predicament of conflicting goals, or competition over scarce resources between the groups in question. According to Realistic Conflict theory, when groups are employed/ engaged in reciprocally competitive activities, such that the gain of desired goals by one results in loss for the other, the out-group will become unfavourably stereotyped. Over time these stereotypes become standardized and lead to a high level of intergroup social distance. In other words, competition over scarce resources causes the fundamentals of intergroup hostility to rule (Jackson, 1993). Sherif focused on the impact of competitive goals as the etiological factor in intergroup hostilities however, he also found that the simple discovery of another group significantly changed perceptions and behaviours. It has also been suggested that attitudes towards out-group members stem primarily from in-group contacts, rather than from actual personal experiences with the out-group (Sherif & Sherif, 1979). For example, a job selector may have other members of the in-group express a need to keep the group homogeneous and as a result, be driven to hire candidates more 'similar' or 'like' other members of the group.

Sherif focused on overt group competition or conflicting goals, whereas Bobo (1983), emphasizes the mediating role of subjective perceived threat. Bobo (1983), stresses that group hostility depends not only on competition and perceptions of threat, but also on the degree to which self-identity and perceptions of individual interests are based on group membership. Hostility toward the out-group may occur if the identity, interests, resources, or status of one's self or one's group is threatened. Hence, group conflict involves objective conditions of competition and conflict, shifts in relative group statuses, and subjective assessment of threats by out-group members to individual and collective interests. The level/ scale of intergroup hostility or agreement is said to be a function of their economic, social, and political relations, "the real features of group relations and conflict" (p. 1198). Bobo (1983), uses the example that American social organization allow and foster in whites the belief that blacks, as much as they demand changes in the status quo, are a threat to their lifestyles, as well as to other valued resources and accepted practices. It is therefore reasoned that racial equality programmes will likely involve some material sacrifice by whites (e.g., via quotas), or will likely alter their social experiences (e.g., via school/housing desegregation). Therefore, such programmes are considered threats to their comfortable/ familiar lifestyles.

For Realistic Conflict theory, the reduction and ultimate resolution of intergroup hostilities are directly dependent upon the existence of higher goals, or 'super-ordinate goals' as Jackson (2003), puts it. These are defined as "goals which are compelling for members of two or more groups and cannot be ignored, but which cannot be achieved by the efforts and resources of one group alone" (Sherif & Sherif, 1979). When groups in conflict come into contact under conditions symbolizing these goals, they tend to cooperate towards them. Contact and communication is employed to reduce conflict in order to obtain the goal. To decisively establish and maintain intergroup harmony, a series of super-ordinate goals is necessary. The continued collaboration/ support over time, leads to the establishment of procedures acceptable to both groups. These procedures are then transferred from one situation to the next. Super-ordinate goals serve as the broad incentive or motivational base, which induces in-group members to reformulate their opinions about the out-group. Sherif also speaks of the psychoanalytic concept of catharsis. The course of give-and-take with out-group members in constructive activity is contrasted to the results of catharsis while the groups remain in conflict. As more positive behaviors and attitudes toward the out-group become established, there is an increase in the latitude of acceptance (acceptable behaviours toward the out-group are expanded). This influx of more positive and accurate information, and expanded latitude of acceptance, gives leaders or job selectors, the chance to take bolder steps to encourage

intergroup understanding and harmony. Similarly, linking to Realistic Conflict theory in Selection Bias, if a member of the in-group (job selector), exhibits 'acceptable' behaviours such a job offer, other members of the in-group will be inclined or motivated to make such a move.

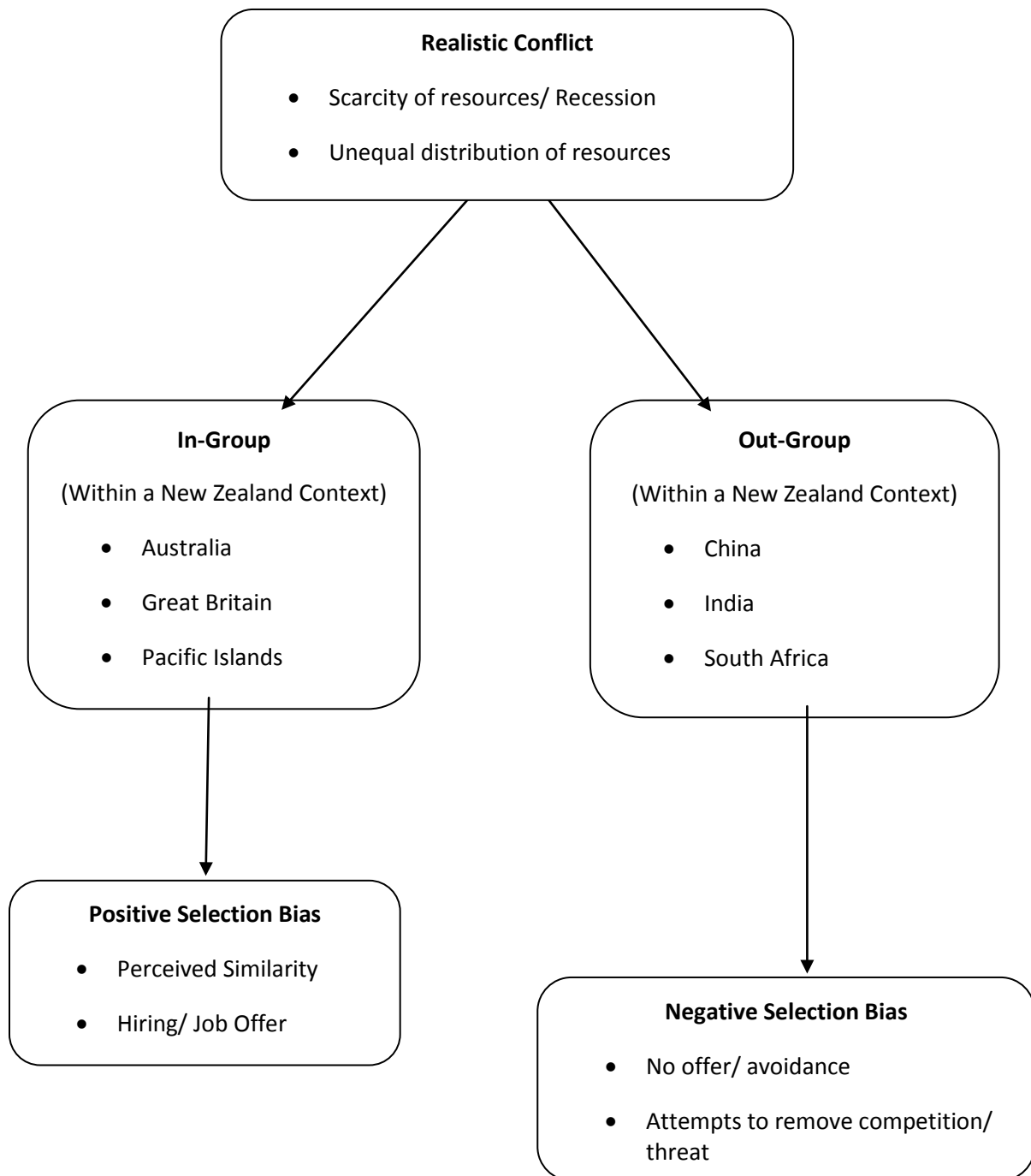
Most of the literature on racial diversity in organizations indicates that as demographic heterogeneity increases, majority group members react more negatively to their jobs (Reskin, McBrier, & Kmec, 1999; Riordan, 2000; Tsui & Gutek, 1999; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). Another study by Tsui, Egan, and O'Reilly (1992) reinforces these findings. Tsui et al. studied 151 operating units in three large organizations, and observed that as racial diversity in work groups increased, the organizational commitment of whites decreased. Riordan and Shore (1997), observed that majority group members reported lower-quality interpersonal relationships in their work groups as diversity increased, and Chattopadhyay (1999), found that in increasingly minority-dominated groups, white employees reported lower trust in and attraction to their peers. Similarly, Mueller, Finley, Iverson, and Price (1999), found that as racial diversity in organizations increased, the job satisfaction of whites declined. Jackman (1994), also suggested that among dominant group members, some presumed manifestations/ expressions of prejudice (such as negative attitudes toward affirmative action), are derived from an ideology that legitimizes the dominant group's interests (Bobo [2000] and Sidanius, Pratto, and Bobo [1996]).

Increased levels of worldwide migration, and in some cases negative attitudes toward immigrants and immigration in host countries, indicate that it is essential to gain an understanding of the bases of these attitudes. Attitudes toward immigrants and immigration are important for several reasons, the most important being the fact that the rate of migration has increased significantly within the last few decades due to changes in the global economy. Realistic Conflict theory plays an important role in understanding attitudes of members of the host country, and in the case of our study, job selectors. It is important to note that the basic principle of this theory does not require that *actual* competition over resources exists, but rather the *perception* of competition that leads to conflict and intergroup hostility. Individuals who desire a hierarchical structure in society, are likely to believe that resources that are limited are of greatest value, and as a result, some groups will have limited access to these resources. Esses, Jackson & Armstrong (1998), use the term '*resource stress*' to refer to any perception that, within a society, access to resources may be limited for certain groups. These resources may include economic resources, such as money and jobs, as well as power, which are in practice, closely aligned with economic resources.

Esses, Jackson & Armstrong (1998), proposed that *resource stress* may increase competition for resources among groups. However, some groups are more likely to be perceived as competitors than are others. Out-groups that are salient and distinct from one's own group, are more likely to stand out as potential competitors. Salience and uniqueness may be determined by factors such as increasing size of the group and novel appearance and behaviour. However, potential competitors must also be similar to the in-group on aspects that make them likely to take resources, i.e.; they must be interested in similar resources and in a position to have the potential to obtain these resources. Hence, whether similar or dissimilar out-groups are seen as potential competitors, depends on the measurement in question. For dimensions relevant to obtaining resources (e.g., skills), groups that are similar to the in-group are more likely to be seen as competitors. For irrelevant dimensions (e.g., ethnicity or national origin), groups that are distinct from the in-group are more likely to be seen as competitors. Therefore, perceived competition from a particular out-group may be a function of similarity and dissimilarity of relevant and irrelevant dimensions, as well as the interaction between them. Groups who are highly skilled in the domain in question, and who have external support for obtaining resources, as well as who are organized and willing to fight to obtain resources, are more likely to be seen as potential competitors because of their enhanced ability to take resources.

The combination of resource stress and the presence of a relevant out-group that can potentially take resources, leads to perceived group competition. Esses et al (1998), suggest that perceived group competition has both, cognitive and affective reinforcements. The cognitions associated with group competition involve beliefs that the more the other group obtains, the less is available for one's own group. There is a perception that any gains that the other group might make must be at the expense of one's own group. The emotions accompanying these beliefs may include anxiety and fear, which in turn drives the group to attempt to remove the threat by various methods such as decreasing competitiveness of the out-group (e.g. no job offer made), avoidance, etc.

The following diagram illustrates the purpose of our study, taking into account the various psychological theories mentioned above.



**FIGURE 1: A MODEL ON REALISTIC CONFLICT INFLUENCING SELECTION BIAS IN HIRING CANDIDATES**

## Chapter 3

**Method****3.1: Participants:**

The criteria to participate in this study, was that participants must have migrated to New Zealand, and looked for a job at least once in the last five years in New Zealand (2005/ 2006 – 2010/ 2011).

The questionnaire was distributed to a total of 350 potential participants registered with a range of employment and placement agencies (specializing in recruitment for immigrants), as well as job seekers from the Auckland region, acquaintances, work colleagues and students from universities across Auckland. Potential participants ranged from all kinds of educational and professional backgrounds. Out of the total 350 questionnaires that were sent out by regular mail ( $N = 130$ ), and email ( $N = 220$ ),  $N = 100$  were returned as satisfactorily completed, providing a return rate of 35%. A total of 50% of this sample was derived from employment and placement agencies (specializing in recruitment for immigrants), 10% were students from universities across Auckland, 5% were work colleagues, and 35% were personal acquaintances.

34 participants (34%), reported having Work visas, 60 participants (60%), were on Permanent Residency (right to live and work indefinitely in New Zealand), and 4 participants (4%), were in New Zealand on Student visas. 2% of participants did not answer what type of visa they held. 64 participants (64%), reported having 0-5 years previous work experience, 18 participants (18%), reported having 6-10 years previous work experience, 9 participants (9%), reported having 11-15 years previous work experience, 6 participants (6%), reported having 16-20 years previous work experience, 2 participants (2%), reported having 21-30 years previous work experience, and 1 participant (1%), reported having 30-45 years previous work experience.

The sample was gender-balanced, being comprised of  $N = 46$  male participants and  $N = 54$  female participants between the ages of 22-61 years (mean age =  $SD = 8.052$ ).



15 participants (15%), reported to have migrated to another country before coming to New Zealand, and 83 participants (83%), listed New Zealand as the first country they migrated to. 2% of participants did not answer this question on whether or not New Zealand was the first country they migrated to. Table 1 below shows the exact number of participants from each country of origin.

**Table 1:** Summary of Participants from various Countries of Origin

Country of Origin	<i>N</i>	Country of Origin	<i>N</i>	Country of Origin	<i>N</i>	Country of Origin	<i>N</i>
South Africa	16	Europe	4	USA	2	Hong Kong	1
India	13	Malaysia	3	Chile	2	Macedonia	1
UK	11	Philippines	3	Ireland	2	Yugoslavia	1
China	6	England	3	Brazil	2	Asia	1
Germany	6	Columbia	2	Russia	2	Uruguay	1
Bangladesh	4	Pakistan	2	Vietnam	1	Italy	1
Romania	4	Finland	2	Slovakia	1		

### 3.2: Measures: *Is there a Bias?*

The questionnaire consisted of eight parts (Parts A, B, C, D, E, F and G), which were made up of ordinal scales as well as nominal scales.

#### 3.2.1: Part A of the Questionnaire:

Following Coates (2003), Questions in Part A consisted of ranking which candidate from each of the 7 countries (New Zealand, the Pacific Islands, Britain, China, Australia, India and South Africa), would be most likely to get a job in New Zealand. The question presented in Part A was, “In your experience, which of the following candidates is most likely to get the job you are thinking about? Use a ‘1’ to indicate the most probable choice, ‘2’ for the second choice, ‘3’ for the third, and so on all the way down to ‘7,’ for the least likely candidate to get the job”.

The scale was ordinal: ‘1’ for first preference, the second most likely with a ‘2’, third with a ‘3’, and so on, with ‘7’ standing for the last choice. Ordinal scales were chosen because they provide the

researcher with direct answers to ordinal questions, and there is some protection against over-interpreting results (Cliff, 1996). The next two questions in Part A asked participants what their reasons for their answers were, and whether this was based on their personal experiences/observations

### 3.2.2: Part B of the Questionnaire:

Following Coates (2003), Part B of the questionnaire was designed to measure **Similarity Attraction**. In this section, participants were asked to rate 6 of the countries in relation to their similarity to New Zealand. The question presented was, *"People looking for work in New Zealand often originate from a variety of different cultures. The next set of questions focuses on these different cultures of origin, in comparison to New Zealand..."* Participants were asked to rate how similar each of the six countries (Pacific Islands, Britain, China, Australia, India and South Africa), are to New Zealand in terms of culture. In order to do this, participants were asked to circle one country in response to each question, which rendered a rank order of countries ranging from 1-6 (1 being most similar to New Zealand, and 6 being least similar to New Zealand).

### 3.2.3: Part C of the Questionnaire:

Following Coates (2003), Part C of the questionnaire was designed to measure **Social Dominance** theory. Under this section, participants were asked to rate the 7 countries (Pacific Islands, Britain, China, New Zealand, Australia, India and South Africa). The question presented was, *"Around the world today, there are differences between the levels of socio-economic prosperity in different societies..."* Participants were asked to think about living standards, education, health and levels of wealth for these 7 countries, and rate them on a scale of 1-7 (1 being the best and 7 being the least fortunate). Once again, participants were asked to circle one country in response to each question, which rendered a rank order of countries ranging from 1-7 (1 being the best, and 7 being the last choice).

### 3.2.4: Part D of the Questionnaire:

Part D of the questionnaire was designed to measure **Realistic Conflict theory**. In this section, because the theory is about inter-group relations, participants were asked to rate the 7 countries-of-origin on in-group/out-group status. The question presented was, *"In everyday life, groups often fall*

*into “in”-groups and “out”-groups, i.e., people have a sense of being part of a particular group, or being excluded from a group. Being part of one in-group is often defined by comparison with an out-group. Organisations are groups, and they can make people feel either included or excluded, i.e., part of an in-group or out-group...”*

Participants were then asked to think about their job-hunting experiences in New Zealand and to rate which candidate from each of the 7 countries (Pacific Islands, Britain, China, Australia, India and South Africa), would be the most likely to be seen as part of an **in-group**. Participants were asked to circle one country in response to each question, which rendered a rank order of countries ranging from 1-7 (1 being the most likely to be seen as part of the in-group, and 7 being the least likely to be seen as part of the in-group). The question presented in this section was, *“In your experience, a candidate from which one of the following countries is **most likely** to be seen as part of an in-group, by selection panels in New Zealand?”* The remaining six times the question was presented, it read, *“In your experience, a candidate from which one of the following countries is **NEXT** most likely to be seen as part of an in-group by selection panels in New Zealand?”*

The second part to this section asked participants the following question, *“When people are divided into in-group and out-group, feelings toward each other can range from co-operative to competitive. One group is sometimes seen as a rival for competing resources, for instance the limited number of jobs in an economy like New Zealand, or in an organisation that sees itself as predominantly “Kiwi”.*

Participants here were asked to think about this idea of ‘rivals’ for resources, and once again rate on a scale of 1-7 who would be the most likely to be seen as part of the **out-group**, and who would be the least likely to be seen as part of the out-group in New Zealand. Participants were asked to circle one country in response to each question, which rendered a rank order of countries ranging from 1-7 (1 being the most likely to be seen as an out-group, and 7 being the least likely to be seen as part of the out-group). The question presented in this section was, *“In your experience, a candidate from which one of the following countries is **most likely** to be seen as part of an out-group by a selection panel?”* The remaining six times the question was presented, it read, *“In your experience, a candidate from which one of the following countries is **NEXT** most likely to be seen as part of an out-group by a selection panel?”*

### **3.2.5: Qualitative Measures in Parts A, C and D of the Questionnaire:**

In Parts A, C and D, participants were asked about their reasons for each answer, and also what job they had in mind when answering. All sections above asked whether participants' responses were based on actual observations/ experience and if not, what they based their answers on. There were also questions requiring a simple yes/ no answer and 'sometimes/ rarely/ never' at the end of these sections.

### **3.2.6: Parts E/ F and G of the Questionnaire:**

Part E comprised of solely qualitative data. In this section, participants were asked to briefly state their experiences while looking for a job in New Zealand, and their opinion of how selectors might view migrants' skills, qualifications, etc. Part F contained background information (gender, age, country of origin, type of visa, previous/ current work experience, etc). Part G was feedback on the questionnaire, where participants were asked whether they felt comfortable answering this questionnaire. This question was a 'yes/ no' answer, and if participants answered 'no', there was an opportunity for them to comment on their answer.

### **3.3: Procedure:**

After Ethics Approval was gained from Massey University, the researcher contacted various employment and placement agencies listed in the Auckland phone book/ yellow pages, to derive a potential sample. These agencies acted as gatekeepers in a cluster sample, contacting people in their local databases (containing candidates who had used their services in the last 18 months), by means of a letter that was drafted by me, the researcher (and approved by Massey University Human Ethics Committee - MUHEC).

The letter asked anyone interested in participating in this study to contact the researcher. Once the researcher was contacted, the information sheet and questionnaire were either emailed or posted out. The questionnaires posted out were sent with a return envelope that was addressed to the researcher, C/o the School of Psychology, Massey University. All questionnaires were completed under conditions of informed consent and confidentiality. All results remain anonymous and in agreement with the ethical principles of the New Zealand Psychological Society and Massey University, New Zealand.

The first 15 responses to this letter were used as a pilot study, before the main study was carried out. Before the questionnaire was piloted, full approval was gained from MUHEC. Each participant completed the questionnaire in his/ her own time, and returned it to the researcher by means of a prepaid envelope that was provided. In the pilot study, an incentive was offered. This involved a flyer that was distributed with the letter, and gave participants the opportunity to go into the draw to win 1 of 5 shopping vouchers. However, it was found that it was going to become complicated to track the participants who went into the draw without the participants' anonymity remaining protected. The incentive was therefore removed (with Ethics approval). The pilot sample was used in the main study in order to reach the desired sample size of  $N = 100$ .

The questionnaires emailed back to the researcher were printed out and placed in a locked drawer, and reviewed at a later stage to maintain the anonymity of the participants. All participants were briefed before they completed the survey by means of an information sheet. Emphasis was placed on the fact that there is no right or wrong answer, and the questionnaire was designed to draw on their experiences of what factors are considered when recruiters/ employers screen candidates for a role, and when applying for a role. Participants could request a summary of the key findings once the study has been completed (they needed to email the researcher to request this, so that their responses in the questionnaire could not be linked in any way to their identity).

Four months into the research project, it was found that we were not getting enough participants to reach our intended sample of  $N = 120$ , hence the criteria were modified to include participants that were from Universities, work colleagues and personal acquaintances. This was submitted to the Ethics Committee and approval was gained before participants were contacted. The researcher attended several classes at Massey University and provided a brief outline of the project to the class in the first 10 minutes of the class, and then handed out the questionnaires to be completed outside of class and returned to the researcher using the prepaid return envelope. The researcher also handed out questionnaires to work colleagues and personal acquaintances, and asked these participants to also use the prepaid envelope to maintain anonymity. For those participants who asked to email the completed questionnaire to the researcher, the questionnaires were printed in batches and looked at only at a later date in order to maintain anonymity of the participants and not create any link to questionnaire.

## Chapter 4

### Results

#### 4.1. *Is there evidence of any bias against the sampled countries of origin?*

Part A, question 1, asked candidates to rank each of the seven countries based on who they perceived to be the most likely to get the job, the second most likely, third, fourth, etc, with the seventh choice being the least likely to get the job. Table 2 below, contains the mean ranking for each country-of-origin, in descending order of preference. A low mean rank indicates a higher estimated preference; with bias being denoted by variation in the means (countries have equally able and experienced candidates). If there were no obvious preferences between each country-of-origin, then the mean ranks would be the same for all the columns. From Table 2, there are clearly arithmetic fluctuations in the mean rank scores given to each country-of-origin, as perceived by the participant subject-matter experts in this study.

Table 2 – Mean rank order for the different countries of origin

Country-of-origin	New Zealand	Australia	Britain	South Africa	Pacific Islands	India	China
Mean Rank	1.30	2.32	2.73	4.89	5.29	5.36	6.17

Following Coates and Carr (2005), in order to test for agreement between rankers, Kendall's Coefficient of Concordance ( $W$ ) was used. As a non-parametric statistic  $W$  ranges between 0 (no agreement), and 1 (complete agreement). When testing against the null hypothesis of zero concordance,  $W$  can be converted to a chi-squared statistic with  $N-1$  degrees of freedom, provided there are seven or more judges. The conversion to a chi-squared statistic generally provides an estimate of statistical significance that is conservative (Howell, 1992). In this research study, there were 100 judges doing the ranking. The test statistic for the mean ranks in Table 2 was,  $W= 0.735$ , Chi-square= 441.025 ( $p < .001$ ). Hence there was significant concordance, and thereby evidence of perceived overall bias.

Given that there was significant concordance between judges, and to that extent of overall systematic bias, the next step is to ascertain 'where' the similarities and differences lie, i.e., between

which pairs of countries-of-origin. In order to determine the statistical significance of these pairwise fluctuations in overall mean rank, the Wilcoxon Signed-Rank Test was used. This is a non-parametric test suitable for analysing pairs of rank orders for significant differences (Siegel, Sidney 1956; Corder & Foreman, 2009). The results are presented in Table 3 below. Table 3 shows that all possible pairwise comparisons in Table 2 are statistically significant at the  $p = 0.05$  level. Hence, there were significant differences between each and every pair of countries-of-origin sampled in the study, in terms of who would be expected to be the preferred candidate for the job in question.

Table 3 – Wilcoxon Signed-Rank Test to show differences in mean perceived rank preference based on Country-of-origin

Country-of-origin	New Zealand - Australia	Australia - Britain	Britain- Pacific Islands	Pacific Islands – South Africa	South Africa - India	–India - China
Z	-6.742 <sup>a</sup>	-2.899 <sup>a</sup>	-8.381 <sup>a</sup>	-1.969 <sup>b</sup>	-2.622 <sup>a</sup>	-5.209 <sup>a</sup>
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	$p < .001$	$p = .004$	$p < .001$	$p = .049$	$p = .009$	$p < .001$

Having established that there are significant and consistently significant differences in the way that candidates from different pairs of countries were each expected to be preferred for the job-in-mind, the next step in the analysis is to test whether differences in mean rank preference by country-of-origin *co-varied* significantly, with differences between those countries-of-origin in terms of (a) similarity, (b) dominance, and finally, (c) realistic conflict. To the extent that drops in preference co-varied significantly with increases in (a) (b) or (c), this would constitute evidence of a potential likely linkage between the variables: Similarity/attraction, social dominance, or realistic conflict on the one hand; and on the other hand, being judged as more versus less likely to get the job.

*4.2: Similarity Attraction (H1) [Part B of the Questionnaire]:* As an integral part of assessing co-variation between perceived similarity and job offer likelihood, we need to ascertain whether perceived *similarity* varied significantly across countries-of-origin. A section of the questionnaire used a ranking system where participants were asked to rate which country was most similar to New Zealand down to which country was least similar. Table 4 below, contains the mean ranking for each country-of-origin based on perceived similarity to New Zealand. From Table 4, Australia was on average ranked the most similar to New Zealand, followed by Britain, whereas China was found to be the least similar.

Table 4 - Mean Ranking for each Country on Perceived Similarity of country-of-origin to New Zealand

Country-of-origin	Australia	Britain	Pacific Islands	South Africa	India	China
Mean Rank	1.37	2.03	3.50	3.83	5.00	5.29

Arithmetically in Table 4, there appear to be three main clusters of similarity rankings: Australia and Britain are relatively similar; so too are the Pacific Islands and South Africa; and India plus China. Statistically, Table 4 below shows that all possible pair-wise comparisons are statistically significant at the  $p = 0.001$  level.

Table 5 - Wilcoxon Signed-Rank Test to show differences in mean ranking preferences based on Country-of-Origin

Countries of Origin	New Zealand -Australia	Australia - Britain	Britain-Pacific Islands	Pacific Islands—South Africa	South Africa-India	India-China
Z	-6.742 <sup>a</sup>	-2.899 <sup>a</sup>	-8.381 <sup>a</sup>	-1.969 <sup>b</sup>	-2.622 <sup>a</sup>	-5.209 <sup>a</sup>
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	$p < .001$	$p = .004$	$p < .001$	$p = .049$	$p = .009$	$p < .001$

*Is there co-variation between perceived similarity of country-of-origin to New Zealand and Mean Rank Preference?*

Figure 2 plots the mean rank preferences from Table 2 as a function of the mean rank similarities from Table 4.



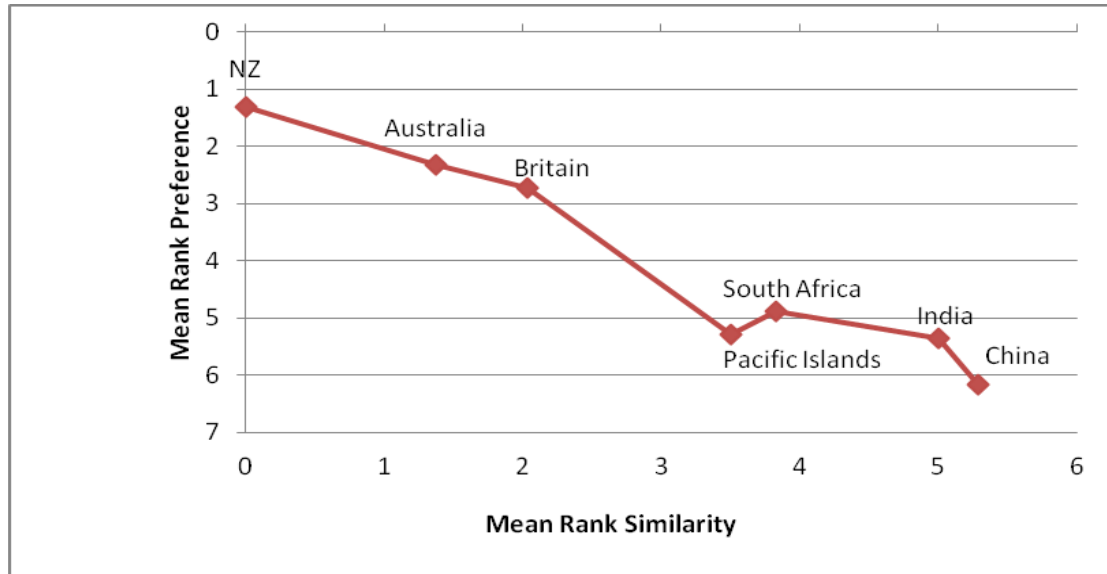


Figure 2 - Mean rank preference as a function of mean rank similarity

From Figure 2, as the perceived mean similarity decreases by statistically significant amounts (Table 5), so too does the mean predicted rank preference (Table 3, low mean rank indicates a higher estimated preference). Significant decrements in perceived similarity established by the tests in Table 5, on the pairs of means in Table 4, co-vary with perceived decrements in perceived mean rank preference for that country-of-origin, established by the tests in Table 3, on the means in Table 2. This conjointly statistically significant co-varying downward movement is broadly consistent with Similarity-Attraction theory (although it does not establish causation).

However the incline of the slope in Figure 2 is not completely smooth, we can see that it noticeably drops in steps (e.g., between Pacific Islands and South Africa; and again between India and China). These drops in mean rank preference, for arithmetically smaller drops in perceived similarity, suggest the influence of other variable(s).

#### 4.3 - Social Dominance theory (H2) [Part C of the Questionnaire]

This section of the questionnaire used a rating system where participants had to rate from 1 to 7 which country had the best standard of living, healthcare, and so on (*Measures*).

Table 6 - Mean Ranking for each Country on Perceived Social Dominance based on country-of-origin

Country-of-origin	Australia	Britain	New Zealand	South Africa	China	India	Pacific Islands
Mean Rank	1.73	1.84	2.66	4.93	5.02	5.33	6.48

As we can see, Australia was found to have the best standard of living, healthcare, education, etc, followed by Britain, then New Zealand and the Pacific Islands in last place. Table 7 below, shows that all possible pair-wise comparisons are statistically significant at the  $p = 0.01$  level.

Table 7 – Wilcoxon Signed-Rank Test to show differences in mean perceived rank preference for Social Dominance based on Country-of-origin.

Country-of-origin	Pacific Islands - Britain	Britain - China	China - New Zealand	New Zealand - Australia	Australia - India	India - South Africa
Z	-8.759 <sup>a</sup>	-8.692 <sup>b</sup>	-8.595 <sup>a</sup>	-6.069 <sup>a</sup>	-8.704 <sup>b</sup>	-2.135 <sup>a</sup>
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	$p = .000$	$p = .000$	$p = .000$	$p = .000$	$p = .000$	$p = .033$

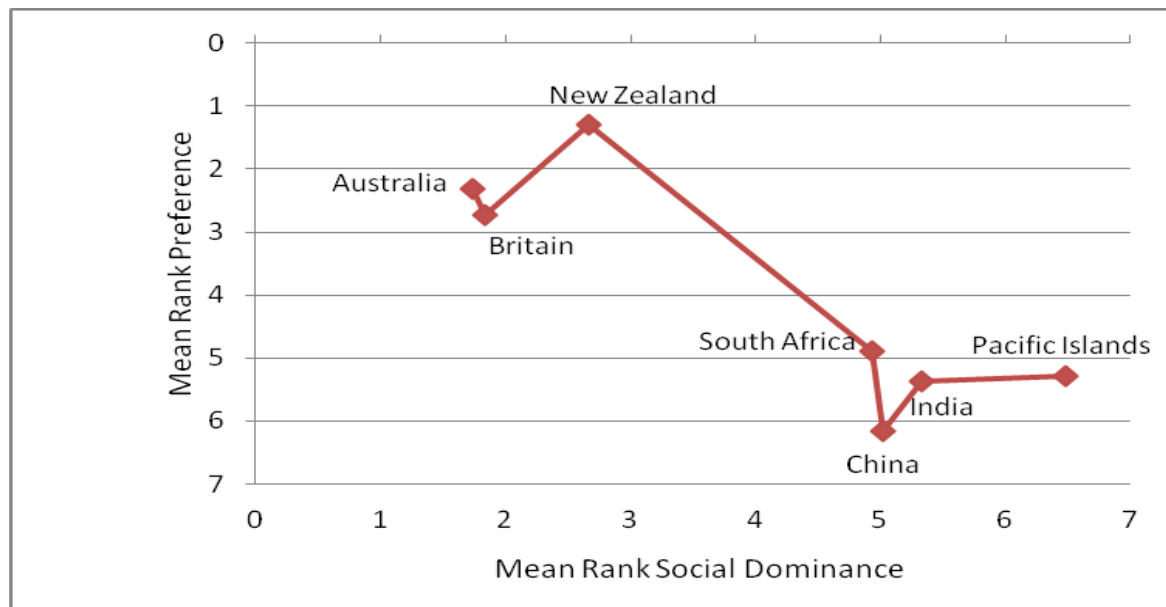


Figure 3 - Mean Ranking for each Country-of-origin as a function of Perceived Social Dominance

From Figure 3, as perceived mean social dominance decreases, so too does the mean predicted rank preference (low mean rank indicates a higher estimated preference). This downward movement is broadly consistent with Social Dominance theory. However, once again the incline of the slope is not completely even; we can see that it noticeably drops in steps (e.g., between India and the Pacific Islands; and again between New Zealand and South Africa).

Significant decrements in perceived social dominance established by the tests in Table 6, and in the pairs of means in Table 7, co-vary with perceived decrements in perceived mean rank preference for that country-of-origin, established by the tests in Table 3, on the means in Table 2. This statistically significant co-varying downward movement is broadly consistent with Social Dominance theory.

#### 4.4: RCT (H3) [Part D of the Questionnaire]:

Individual self-stereotyping, group homogeneity and self-investment, solidarity, satisfaction, and centrality are all characteristics of in-groups (Chapter 2, p.19). This section of the questionnaire had two parts.

The first part used a rating system where participants had to rate from 1 to 7 which country-of-origin would in their judgement be seen as part of the 'in-group' (New Zealand was included in the list). The second part also used a rating system where participants had to rate from 1 to 7 which country-of-origin would be seen as part of the out-group (once again New Zealand was included in the list for validity purposes).

The question for the first part was presented as, *"In everyday life, groups often fall into "in"-groups and "out"-groups, i.e., people have a sense of being part of a particular group, or being excluded from a group. Being part of one in-group is often defined by comparison with an out-group. Organisations are groups, and they can make people feel either included or excluded, i.e., part of an in-group or out-group. I would like you to think about your job-hunting experiences in New Zealand. In your experience, a candidate from which one of the following countries is **most likely** to be seen as part of an in-group, by selection panels in New Zealand?"*

As we can see from Table 8 below, New Zealand was the first preference as being part of the 'in-group', whereas China was the last choice.

Table 8 - Mean Ranking for each Country on Perceived Realistic Conflict (In-Group), based on country-of-origin

<b>Country-of-origin</b>	New Zealand	Australia	Britain	Pacific Islands	South Africa	India	China
<b>Mean Rank</b>	1.04	2.37	2.88	4.85	5.08	5.83	5.99

However, once again the incline of the slope is not completely even; we can see that it noticeably drops in steps (e.g. between Britain and the Pacific Islands). Hence, in order to determine the statistical significance of these fluctuations in overall mean rank by perceived social dominance, the Wilcoxon Signed-Rank Test was once again used.

Table 9 below, shows that all possible pair-wise comparisons are statistically significant at the  $p = 0.001$  level.

Table 9 – Wilcoxon Signed-Rank Test to show differences in mean perceived rank preference based on Country-of-Origin.

Country-of-origin	Pacific Islands - Britain	Britain - China	China – New Zealand	New Zealand - Australia	Australia - India	India – South Africa
Z Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	-8.068 <sup>a</sup> <i>p</i> < .001	-8.431 <sup>b</sup> <i>p</i> < .001	-8.811 <sup>a</sup> <i>p</i> < .001	-8.466 <sup>b</sup> <i>p</i> < .001	-8.679 <sup>b</sup> <i>p</i> < .001	-4.095 <sup>a</sup> <i>p</i> < .001

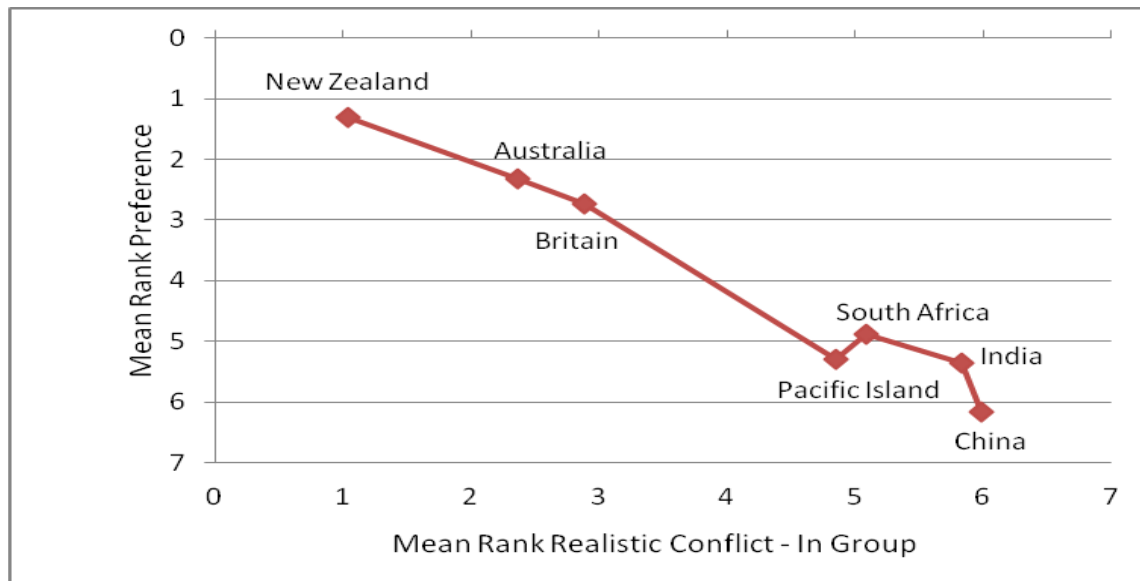


Figure 4: Mean Rank Preference each Country-of-Origin as a function of most to least likely to be seen as part of an in-group, by selection panels in New Zealand.

From Figure 4 above, we can see that when the perceived mean rank for realistic conflict (competitiveness for resources) decreases, so do the mean predicted rank preferences for candidates considered to be part of the 'in-group' (lower mean rank indicates a higher estimated preference). In other words, competitiveness of resources (i.e. jobs), decreased as similarity increased, based on country-of-origin.

Significant decrements in perceived realistic conflict established by the tests in Table 8, and in the pairs of means in Table 9, co-vary with perceived decrements in perceived mean rank preference for that country-of-origin, established by the tests in Table 3, on the means in Table 2. This statistically significant co-varying downward movement is broadly consistent with Realistic Conflict theory.

The question for the second part was presented as *"When people are divided into in-group and out-group, feelings toward each other can range from co-operative to competitive. One group is sometimes seen as a rival for competing resources, for instance the limited number of jobs in an economy like New Zealand, or in an organisation that sees itself as predominantly "Kiwi". Please think about this idea of rivals for resources. Below you will see the same SEVEN countries listed under each of the following SEVEN questions below. Please answer each question just **ONCE**. In your*

experience, a candidate from which one of the following countries is **most likely** to be seen as part of an **out-group** by a selection panel.”

As we can see from Table 10 below, China was the first preference as being part of the ‘out-group’, whereas New Zealand was the last choice (hence considered part of the ‘in-group’), thereby validating the first part of this question (the more familiar the culture, the higher the preference for that candidate).

Table 10 - Mean Ranking for each Country on Perceived Realistic Conflict (Out-Group), based on country-of-origin

Country-of-origin	China	India	South Africa	Pacific Islands	Britain	Australia	New Zealand
Mean Rank	1.78	2.33	3.24	3.56	5.01	5.4	6.68

However, once again the slope is not completely even; we can see that it noticeably drops in steps (e.g., between China and New Zealand, Pacific Islands and Britain, etc.). Hence, in order to determine the statistical significance of these fluctuations in overall mean rank by perceived social dominance, the Wilcoxon Signed-Rank Test was once again used.

Table 11 below, shows that all possible pair-wise comparisons are statistically significant at the  $p = 0.001$  level.

Table 11 – Wilcoxon Signed-Rank Test to show differences in mean perceived rank preference based on Country-of-origin.

Country-of-origin	Pacific Islands - Britain	Britain - China	China – New Zealand	New Zealand - Australia	Australia - India	India – South Africa
Z	-6.012 <sup>a</sup>	-8.252 <sup>b</sup>	-8.534 <sup>a</sup>	-7.836 <sup>b</sup>	-8.020 <sup>b</sup>	-5.129 <sup>a</sup>
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000

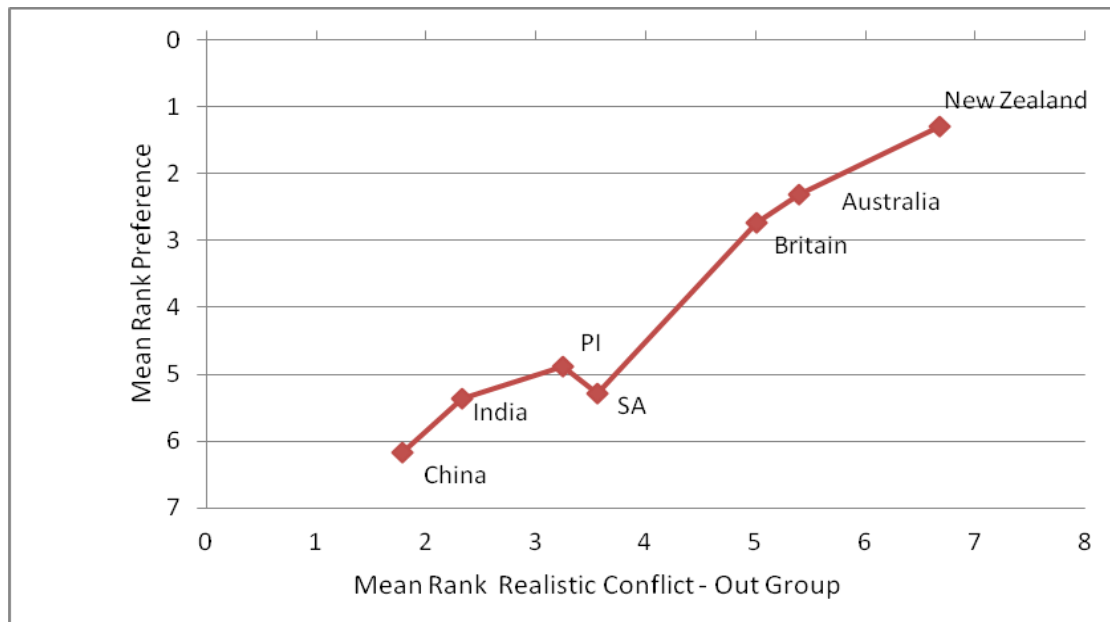


Figure 5: Mean Ranking for each Country-of-origin based on Perceived Realistic Conflict:  
***Most likely to be seen as part of an out-group by a selection panel.***

From Figure 5 above, we can see that when the perceived mean rank for realistic conflict (competitiveness for resources) increases, so do the mean predicted rank preferences for candidates considered to be part of the out-group (low mean rank indicates a higher estimated preference).

Significant increments in perceived realistic conflict established by the tests in Table 10, and in the pairs of means in Table 11, co-vary with perceived increments in perceived mean rank preference for that country-of-origin, established by the tests in Table 3, on the means in Table 2. This statistically significant co-varying upward movement is broadly consistent with Realistic Conflict theory.

#### Qualitative Responses to Part A:

In this section, participants were asked three qualitative questions, (1) what type of job they had in mind when answering this question, (2) what they based their answers for this question on, and (3) whether their answers were based on their personal experiences and observations.

**1. Qualitative Question 1: What type of job they (participants), have in mind when answering this question (who would be most likely and least likely to get the job)?**

There was no particular trend in the type of job participants had in mind when answering this question; however Admin, HR, Engineering and Customer Services roles were common choices.

**2. Qualitative Question 2: What they based their answers for this question (who would be most likely and least likely to get the job)?**

The responses were analysed following Robson (1995). Once the researcher and her assistant had agreed on the themes of the responses, the researcher then coded these themes. 100% of participants took the opportunity to comment on the *reason for their answers* to why they rank ordered the seven countries in the order they did.

Table 12 below contains a summary of themes identified in a content analysis of the answers to the *reasons for their answers* to why they rank ordered the seven countries in the order they did. The Kappa for the reason for answers to why participants rank ordered the seven countries in the order they did was 0.79. According to Robson (1995), this magnitude of Kappa is normally considered excellent. The overall conclusion of the content analysis of this question (reasons for answers), showed four prominent themes emerge (listed below), and hence it can be said that there is a possible sense of similarity attraction (Theme 1 and Theme 2 below), as well as perceived social dominance (Theme 3 and Theme 4 below).

All participants reported answering this section based on their personal experiences and observations.



Table 12: The Principal reasons for the Perceived Preference, based on Country-of-origin.

	Theme Name	Count	%
Theme 1	Cultural similarity to New Zealand ( <b>Example:</b> “Kiwis first, then Australians and British”. “Mainly due to English skills and cultural similarity”)	57	57
Theme 2	English Skills ( <b>Example:</b> “English language and communication skills”)	29	29
Theme 3	Education system/ Country in which qualification was gained ( <b>Example:</b> “Communication skills, Country where qualification is gained”, “Similarity to New Zealand qualifications and work habits”).	12	12
Theme 4	Stereotyping based on Country-of-origin ( <b>Example:</b> “English skills and stereotypes that people from certain countries don't speak fluent English - even if they do”)	2	2
	N	100	100

Theme 1 (Cultural similarity to New Zealand), and Theme 2 (English Skills), were the most frequently used reasons given by participants. Participants stated that cultural similarity creates a sense of familiarity (e.g. *Kiwis first, then Australians and British, mainly due to English skills and cultural similarity; Similarity to New Zealand qualifications and work habits*), and therefore creates a rapport and a liking for the candidate. Language skills also ranked high (most common reason given by participants). This can be easily understood, as communication skills are very important among colleagues as well as with clients.

Theme 3 (Education system/ Country in which qualification was gained), and Theme 4 (Reputation and Stereotypes of Country-of-origin) are somewhat related, because the stereotypes of various countries often influences the perception of the education system and work experience of that country. Many developing (or Third World), countries are commonly known to sell certificates and degrees, and hence candidates from these countries with high qualifications are not considered as seriously as candidates from developed (or First World), countries – even though not everyone in developing countries buy their degree/ qualification.

### Qualitative Responses to Section C (Social Dominance theory):

In this section, participants were given the opportunity to comment on what they based their answers for this question. The question presented was, “*Could you briefly state what you have based your answers on in this section?*”

The responses were analysed following Robson (1995). Once the researcher and her assistant had agreed on the themes of the responses, the researcher then coded these themes. 100% of participants took the opportunity to comment on the reason for their answers to why they rank ordered the seven countries in the order they did. The Kappa for the themes in Table 13 was 0.76. According to Robson (1995), this magnitude of Kappa is normally considered excellent.

Table 13 below contains a summary of themes identified in our content analysis of the answers to this question.

Table 13: The Principal reasons for the Perceived Social Dominance, based on Country-of-origin.

	Theme Name	Count	%
Theme 1	Country in which Degree/ Qualification was gained ( <b>Example:</b> “Perceived difference in experience and qualifications, even though there isn’t”; “The job you get largely depends on where you are from and where you got your degree from”)	32	32
Theme 2	Standard of Living/ Quality of Life ( <b>Example:</b> “Work/ life balance, society, public services, infrastructure, political system, etc”)	23	10
Theme 3	Health and Education Systems ( <b>Example:</b> “Salary brackets, quality of food, education and healthcare”)	20	10
Theme 4	Number of Universities, Infrastructure, Welfare Systems ( <b>Example:</b> “Number of Universities, hospitals and product diversity”)	10	10
Theme 5	Poverty Stats, unemployment rate and salary brackets ( <b>Example:</b> “Poverty Stats, Health systems, and	10	10

	salary brackets")		
Theme 6	Economic data surveys, Poverty stats and GDP of each country ( <i>Example: "Economic data surveys, Personal opinion of which country is the most advanced/ westernized"</i> )	5	5
	N	100	100

As seen above, Theme 1 was the most frequently used reason given by participants. Participants reported that the country from which the degree/ qualification was gain was on top of the list when looking for a job. As found in Part A of the questionnaire, because the stereotypes of various countries often influences the perception of the education system and work experience of that country. Many developing (or Third World), countries are commonly known to sell certificates and degrees, and hence candidates from these countries with high qualifications are not considered as seriously as candidates from developed (or First World), countries – even though not everyone in developing countries buy their degree/ qualification.

The Standard of Living and Quality of life (Theme 2), experienced by most developed nations, is far superior to that of developing nations. This creates a sense of familiarity among candidates from countries such as Britain, Australia and New Zealand for example, who have a similar standard of living and lifestyle. Themes 3 and 4 are somewhat related, as more economically stable and thriving nations make healthcare, education and other welfare systems more accessible to the masses. Similarly, poverty stats are lower and the mean salary brackets for each profession are higher in economically dominant nations (Themes 5 and 6).

#### **Qualitative Responses to Section D (Realist Conflict theory):**

In the first section of Part D, participants were given the opportunity to comment on what they based their answers for this question, and what type of job they had in mind when answering the question.

The responses were analysed following Robson (1995). Once the researcher and her assistant had agreed on the themes of the responses, the researcher then coded these themes. 100% of

participants took the opportunity to comment on the reason for their answers to why they rank ordered the seven countries in the order they did. The Kappa for the themes in Table 14 was 0.77. According to Robson (1995), this magnitude of Kappa is normally considered excellent.

Table 14 below contains a summary of themes identified in our content analysis of the answers to this question. As seen below, the most common theme was Cultural proximity/ Similarity to New Zealand/ Britain (33%), followed by a 'Kiwis first' mentality (20%). Theme 3 'Employers also feel more comfortable hiring someone who has a New Zealand degree/ qualification' was seen in Parts A and C of the questionnaire as well, which validates the response that country-of-origin influences the decision to hire/ not hire to a high degree.

Theme 4 'Type of Visa' was reported to be a determining factor in the hiring decision, and once again, country-of-origin plays a key factor in how easy or how difficult it is to get a Work or Residency visa in New Zealand (easier for Australians and British, than Asians). Themes 5 and 6 were prominent in Part C as well, which once again highlights the fact that many countries have stereotypical images in the minds of people – either through direct contact with people from this country, or through speaking to or hearing from people who might have had experiences with them.

Table14: The Principal reasons for the Perceived Realistic Conflict (In-Group), based on Country-of-origin.

	Theme Name	Count	%
Theme 1	Cultural proximity/ Similarity to New Zealand/ Britain ( <i>Example: "Adaptability and similarity to New Zealand"</i> )	33	33
Theme 2	Kiwis first ( <i>Example: "Local experience is a must, and first preference given to Kiwis/ similar"; "Status of the economy when looking for a job". "During a recession when there is a shortage of jobs, Kiwis get first pick"</i> )	20	20
Theme 3	Employers also feel more comfortable hiring someone who has a New Zealand degree/ qualification ( <i>Example: "English skills, similarity to New Zealand and country that education/ qualification and previous work experience is gained in"; (Example: Personal experience and opinion. Kiwis don't mind employing migrants as long as they are culturally similar to New Zealand. Employers are also hesitant to employ</i>	17	17

	<i>a migrant from a country where they are uncertain of the education system or what is actually covered in the curriculum - will they have the knowledge required to do the job and deal with an emergency? Another problem is a migrants lack of knowledge of the local system and how things are done/ function in New Zealand)</i>		
Theme 4	Type of visa ( <b>Example:</b> “The selection process varies depending on type of visa, English skills, work experience, etc”)	15	15
Theme 5	Working and eating habits, religion, social setup, etc ( <b>Example:</b> “Working and eating habits, religion, social setup, etc”)	11	11
Theme 6	Reputation of hard workers and lazy people ( <b>Example:</b> “Language skills and reputation of hard workers and lazy people”)	4	4
	<i>N</i>	100	

The type of job/s reported was consistent with the type of job/s that were reported in Part A of the questionnaire.

#### **Qualitative Responses to Section D (Realistic Conflict theory):**

In the second section of Part D, participants were asked (1) what type of job they had in mind when answering the question, (2) whether the thought that job selectors in New Zealand saw migrants as a direct threat to jobs for New Zealanders, (3) in their experience whether they considered job selectors in New Zealand to treat equally qualified and experienced migrants the same as New Zealanders, and (4) what they based their answers in this section on.

The type of job/s reported was consistent with the type of job/s that were reported in Part A of the questionnaire.

For the second qualitative question in this section (whether the thought that job selectors in New Zealand saw migrants as a direct threat to jobs for New Zealanders), 4 participants (4%), reported this never to happen, 17 participants (17%), reported this to rarely happen, 37 participants (37%), reported this to sometimes happen, 26 participants (26%), reported this to often happen, and 14

participants (14%), reported this to always happen. 2 participants (2%), did not answer this question on whether they thought that job selectors in New Zealand saw migrants as a direct threat to jobs for New Zealanders.

For the third qualitative question in this section (in their experience whether they considered job selectors in New Zealand to treat equally qualified and experienced migrants the same as New Zealanders), 7 participants (7%), reported this never to happen, 36 participants (36 %), reported this to rarely happen, 40 participants (40%), reported this to sometimes happen, and 15 participants (15%), reported this to often happen. Zero participants reported job selectors in New Zealand to treat equally qualified and experienced migrants the same as New Zealanders in their experience. 2 participants (2%), did not answer this question on whether they thought that job selectors in New Zealand saw migrants as a direct threat to jobs for New Zealanders.

Below is a summary of qualitative responses to what participants based their answers in this section on. The Kappa for the themes in Table 15 was 0.77. According to Robson (1995), this magnitude of Kappa is normally considered excellent. The responses to this question were identical to the same question in the first section of Part D. Once again, this validates the theory that candidates do feel a sense of familiarity and likeability towards people of a similar culture and that there is a sense of rivalry with members of an 'Out-Group'.

Table 15: The Principal reasons for the Perceived Realistic Conflict (Out-Group), based on Country-of-origin.

	Theme Name	Count	%
Theme 1	Cultural proximity/ Similarity to New Zealand/ Britain ( <i>Example: "Although Australia is more culturally similar to New Zealand, the rivalry means that an Australian would be less favoured than a Pacific Islander. Also English skills and communication styles play a key role"</i> )	33	33
Theme 2	Kiwis first ( <i>Example: "Need local experience to get a job in New Zealand and also need to know 'Kiwi' culture to be able to fit in. Kiwis are always picked over migrants; Migrants are considered first only if they fall under the skilled shortage"</i> )	20	20

Theme 3	Employers also feel more comfortable hiring someone who has a New Zealand degree/ qualification ( <b>Example:</b> “Often skills, previous experience and qualifications are ignored if you are from a country that is not similar to New Zealand, because Kiwi job selectors find it difficult to translate the experience, etc from these places and put it in the New Zealand context”)	17	17
Theme 4	Type of visa ( <b>Example:</b> “The selection process varies depending on type of visa, English skills, work experience, etc”)	15	15
Theme 5	Working and eating habits, religion, social setup, etc ( <b>Example:</b> “Working and eating habits, religion, social setup, etc”)	11	11
Theme 6	Reputation of hard workers and lazy people ( <b>Example:</b> “Language skills and reputation of hard workers and lazy people”)	4	4
	N	100	

#### 4.5: Job Seeking Activities (Part E of the questionnaire):

The question presented was, “Different people hunt for jobs in slightly different ways. Please think back over the last 12 months, and your experiences whilst looking for work in this country, New Zealand. Could you please in a few words, briefly state what has been your experience in looking for a job in New Zealand?”

A summary of qualitative responses to this question in Part E of the questionnaire follows next.

##### 4.5.1: Understanding of other countries’ level of education, skill levels and work experience; and prejudice and stereotyping towards people from other countries:

- ✓ Applied for many roles and told although qualified for the job, lack of Kiwi experience. Ended up getting a job that paid less, but hands-on experience
- ✓ Difficult to find a job on a Work visa during a recession even if you fall under the skilled shortage, because there are so many Kiwis out of jobs
- ✓ Difficult to find a job without local Kiwi/ Australian work experience, especially as an Engineer

- ✓ Difficult to find a job without New Zealand work experience, and often if you have done various different roles in the past, employers are unsure of how good you are, rather than seeing that as you could add value to the organization with a vast set of skills
- ✓ Found it difficult to find a job in New Zealand even after doing a degree here
- ✓ Very difficult to find a job that matches your skills and qualifications, especially when English is not your first language. In New Zealand, work experience is valued more than education, so it is very difficult to compete with someone younger than you with far more work experience- even though you may have the qualifications
- ✓ Easier when you have New Zealand work experience and a local qualification
- ✓ Disrespect towards migrants, lack of skill dealing with migrants, ignoring applicants, making the recruitment process a farce
- ✓ Difficult, particularly if you are looking for something related to your skills and qualification and for career progression
- ✓ Employers are getting more 'open minded' about migrants and accepting different cultures. The type of visa plays a crucial part however
- ✓ Extremely frustrating. Without local work experience, you just don't get anywhere
- ✓ Found a job that is below skills and experience level. Very unhappy with how applications are treated
- ✓ Good, found it easy to find a job, but over qualified for the role
- ✓ Good experience and found it easy to find employment when the market was booming, but during the recent recession, it took a long time to find a job, and when a job offer was made - it came with a pay cut
- ✓ Hasn't been too difficult to find a job, however when comparing exactly the same job - a Kiwi gets paid much more
- ✓ Kiwis are always preferred for roles and migrants lack the 'local' experience. It doesn't matter what your skills and qualification is, without the New Zealand work experience, you will not get the job
- ✓ Migrants are now more accepted even if they come from different cultures, however the type of visa plays a crucial part
- ✓ Migrants need to be very patient and very flexible. Often need to accept any role just to get the local experience



- ✓ Lack of response to applications, no feedback. Felt 'fobbed' off and told no local work experience
- ✓ Most migrants leave their country with a huge amount of work experience. Due to the points system, only the best get through and are allowed into New Zealand. Once here, it is very difficult to find a job that matches the skills and experience held, and difficult to go back to University to get a degree and juggle full time work, so you end up accepting a job that doesn't require a local degree and in exchange accept a lower salary. Networking is very important in finding a job in New Zealand
- ✓ Migrants apply for jobs that they are over qualified for and often get roles that are not related to qualifications/ experience - but hands-on experience which helps them climb the career ladder
- ✓ Very difficult to get a job without local experience, and difficult to get the local experience without the first break
- ✓ Very difficult. The Government wants migrants to boost the economy and fill skilled shortages, but migrants are left to fend for themselves
- ✓ Told no vacancy available, or more suitable candidates for the role, or lack of relevant qualification and experience
- ✓ Very easy, got a job straight away and at the same level as my skills, experience and qualification

#### **4.5.2: Similarity and familiarity with self and others:**

- ✓ Difficult to get a job without New Zealand work experience and also needing to prove that you are able to communicate effectively and speak fluent English even if you come from a country where English is not the first language
- ✓ Difficult to get into HR in New Zealand if you are a migrant, because Kiwis look after each other first - like a big family here
- ✓ Difficult, frustrating
- ✓ Few opportunities and very competitive
- ✓ Found it difficult to find a job in my field, but I was able to get a job through a friend after a while
- ✓ Initially found it difficult to find a job in my field
- ✓ Initially very enthusiastic, but now very dejected and disappointed not to be able to find a job
- ✓ It is a lot about who you know, not just what you know

- ✓ Language is a big challenge when looking for a job, especially if it is phone-based. The type of visa also plays an important role
- ✓ Limited opportunities to find employment and long waiting periods
- ✓ No feedback offered when turned down for a job. Recruited internally for roles
- ✓ Not too difficult to find a job, mainly due to the fact that it was on the skilled list and there was a shortage of people
- ✓ Not very promising
- ✓ Online services such as Seek, etc to look for a job, Found that many agencies were very keen to get me on their book, but did very little to find me a job
- ✓ Poor response and lack of feedback
- ✓ Rather difficult
- ✓ Sent CV online, contacted agencies, etc and although highly qualified and very experienced, found it extremely difficult to find a job
- ✓ Student and not very easy to find employment
- ✓ Used the internet, cold calling, networking, etc as ways to find employment
- ✓ Very competitive and few opportunities available
- ✓ Very difficult, often doesn't go past the CV stage
- ✓ Very little feedback and lack of response
- ✓ Personal experience has been that if there is a migrant and a Kiwi both applying for exactly the same job, the Kiwi will get it irrespective of skills and qualifications

It is important to note that the only participants who reported having no difficulty at all in finding a job in New Zealand (irrespective of the type of role), listed their country-of-origin as either the UK ( $N = 11$ ), or England ( $N = 3$ ).

The second question presented in this section read, *"How do you think job selectors view migrants to New Zealand in terms of skills, qualifications and work experience?"* Below is a summary of qualitative responses to this question in Part E of the questionnaire.

#### **4.5.3: Understanding of other countries' level of education, skill levels and work experience; and prejudice and stereotyping towards people from other countries:**

- ✓ Depends largely on country-of-origin. Migrants from Non-English speaking countries, or who are not very fluent in English are less favoured
- ✓ Depends largely on the organization and cultural diversity of that organization
- ✓ Depends on several factors, such as English skills, perceived ability to integrate into a team, attitude of the immigrant. Also depends on how the interview goes
- ✓ Depends on whether skills, qualifications and experiences are relevant to the same standards
- ✓ Depends where migrants are from (country-of-origin). Most selectors do not know enough about a lot of other countries to be able to compare the overseas work experience and qualifications
- ✓ English skills or accents may cause a few problems, but once you have proved yourself in an interview and given an opportunity, it gets easier with the local work experience
- ✓ Find that many Selectors are not familiar with the skills and experience of migrants mainly because of their lack of knowledge and personal experience in some of these countries
- ✓ First they look at the type of visa and then skills and experience
- ✓ Found that Selectors were willing to give migrants from countries where English is not the first language a chance, however migrants often fall into jobs where they are over skilled simply due to language issues
- ✓ Higher expectations for migrants. If you are able to find employment, often for lower salary, not very nice working environment, etc. If your visa is reliant on the organization, and you feel 'exploited'
- ✓ It depends a lot on what kind of job you are applying for and language skills, work experience, qualification, etc
- ✓ Job selectors are more likely to see people who have relevant work experience. Also, for migrants a local qualification is essential
- ✓ Job Selectors do not often consider migrants skills and experience and select you only if there is no other option
- ✓ Job Selectors like giving migrants a chance, however it is difficult to check international/ foreign references and university degrees, etc
- ✓ Kiwi selectors often assume that if you have a foreign name, you will have a 'foreign' accent and you will not fit in culturally

- ✓ Lack of knowledge of international educational and work experience, and the fact that migrants can add value to an organization
- ✓ Lack of knowledge of overseas work experience, education system, etc
- ✓ Local work experience and local education is considered first
- ✓ Local work experience is highly valued
- ✓ Migrants are viewed as a threat because they are highly skilled, and despite being skilled - find it hard to find a job
- ✓ Migrants often get offered the job if they are on the skilled shortage list, but with less money than their local counterparts
- ✓ Migrants viewed as less skilled and qualified than Kiwis
- ✓ Migrants who do not speak fluent English are less favoured and applicants with local degrees and local work experience are considered
- ✓ Most Job Selectors consider migrants from certain countries to have poor English skills (stereotype), so when they have just a CV to go off, they rather choose a Kiwi or European just to be safe
- ✓ Once migrants prove themselves in a company, there is no problem. Migrants are generally more committed to the job than a Kiwi because they depend on the experience more and cannot change jobs as easily, so sometimes this is a good thing for an employer
- ✓ Overseas skills, qualification and work experience doesn't have much value when compared with local experience
- ✓ Selectors consider migrants skills and experience, they often find it 'safer' to employ someone with New Zealand work experience and who is more familiar with New Zealand work customs, etc
- ✓ Kiwis first, and often migrants are hired as a last resort
- ✓ Local work experience is valued and it is often who you know and referrals within a company that help
- ✓ Selectors do not see migrants as equals
- ✓ Selectors see migrants as cheap labour even if they have better skills
- ✓ The job that I had applied for is on the skill shortage list, so it was not too difficult to find a job
- ✓ The situation has changed over the last 5 years, where migrants are not discriminated as much and it is getting a little easier to find a job

- ✓ Selectors see migrants to have a fresh way of thinking, new ideas and a way to help the economy grow
- ✓ Selectors value migrants experience and the skills they bring
- ✓ Selectors were very friendly, helped with interview skills, etc. Skills and experience is considered but it is whether the candidate 'fits in' that determines who gets the job. Local work experience is highly valued

#### **4.5.4: Similarity and familiarity with self and others:**

- ✓ Although Selectors consider migrants skills and experience, they often find it 'safer' to employ someone with New Zealand work experience and who is more familiar with New Zealand
- ✓ Depends largely on country-of-origin. No issues with UK/ SA/ Australia, but non-English speaking or migrants who are not very fluent in English are less favoured
- ✓ Easier to find a job by a friend who refers you within a company, than through an agency or somewhere where no link or connection and they are not sure how you will perform in the role, etc
- ✓ It's more about finding the right person who will fit into the role and the team
- ✓ Only British or Australians are considered, other migrants are not really considered unless they have the local Kiwi work experience
- ✓ Selectors prefer someone who is most similar to New Zealand
- ✓ Unhappy with the experience

Once again, it is important to note that the only participants who reported job selectors to view migrants' previous experience/ qualifications very highly, or who reported the experience positively, listed their country-of-origin as either the UK ( $N = 11$ ), or England ( $N = 3$ ).

#### **4.7: Background and Demographic Information** (Part F of the questionnaire):

This section of the questionnaire asked participants questions on their age, gender, type of visa, whether New Zealand was the first country they migrated to (if not, they were given the opportunity to list the last two countries prior to moving to New Zealand), type of jobs applied for, number of years work experience, length of time spent looking for a job in New Zealand, whether their current employment was relevant to their previous work experience, etc.

Table 16: Was New Zealand the first Country Participants Migrated to?

Is New Zealand the first country you Migrated to?	Frequency	Percent
No	15	15%
Yes	83	83%
Missing	2	2%
N	100	100%

Table 16 above shows that 83 participants (83%), listed New Zealand as the first country they migrated to, whereas 15 participants (15%), reported having migrated elsewhere before migrating to New Zealand. Table 17 below illustrates the other countries listed by these 15 participants. 2 participants (2%), did not answer whether or not New Zealand was the first country they migrated to.

Table 17: List of Countries Participants Migrated to before Migrating to New Zealand (listed in alphabetical order).

Asia ( <i>N</i> = 1)	Holland, Germany ( <i>N</i> = 1)	Singapore ( <i>N</i> = 1)
China ( <i>N</i> = 1)	Japan ( <i>N</i> = 1)	UAE and Singapore ( <i>N</i> = 1)
Czech Republic ( <i>N</i> = 1)	Jersey ( <i>N</i> = 1)	UK ( <i>N</i> = 2)
England ( <i>N</i> = 2)	Oman ( <i>N</i> = 1)	UK and Romania ( <i>N</i> = 1)
Scotland and Netherlands ( <i>N</i> = 1)		

The type of jobs participants listed as ones they had applied for correlated with the type of jobs they had in mind when answering Parts A and D of the questionnaire. Table 18 below contains the type of jobs participants reported as ones they had applied for when looking for paid work in New Zealand.

Table 18: Type of Jobs applied for (Note: Some participants reported applying for more than one type of job).

Arts = 1	Finance = 4	Office roles = 1
Academic roles = 2	Food Tech = 1	Operations = 1
Account Executive = 1	Healthcare = 6	PA/ EA = 3
Accountant = 2	HR = 11	PR = 3
Accounts = 3	HR Assistant	Product Development = 1
Admin = 23	HR roles	Project Manager = 1
Analyst = 3	IT = 7	Quality Technologist = 1
Banking and Finance = 2	Lab Tech = 4	Receptionist = 1
Business Analyst = 1	Vet = 1	Recruitment = 6
Business Development = 2	Labourer = 1	Research = 2
Call Centre = 1	Logistics = 1	Research
Civil Engineer = 1	Management = 9	Sales = 4
Communications = 5	Marketing = 6	Science and Research = 1
Customer Services = 7	Media = 2	Software Developer = 1
Engineering = 8	Mental Health Coordinator = 1	Strategic Analyst = 1
Event Management = 1	Nanny/ Pre-School Teacher = 1	Teacher = 1
Various = 3		

70 participants (70%), reported to currently be in roles that matched their previous skills and qualifications, however it took long periods of time for them to find suitable employment. Table 19 contains the length of time it took for participants to find a job in New Zealand, as reported by participants themselves.

30 participants (30%), reported to still be in roles that were lower than their skills, qualifications and previous work experience.

Table 19: Length of time spent looking for a Job in New Zealand.

Length of time spent looking for a Job	Frequency	Percent
0-12 Months	72	72%
13-24 Months	21	21%
25-36 Months	3	3%
6 Years	2	2%
7 Years	1	1%
8 Years	1	1%
<i>N</i>	100	100%

**4.8: Feedback on the Questionnaire** (Part G of the questionnaire):

To conclude, all  $N = 100$  participants reported to have based their judgements on their own experience/s as well as feedback and observations from others.

$N = 99$  participants reported to have felt comfortable answering the questionnaire, and  $N = 1$  participant reported to have had difficulty commenting on other people's prejudices (job selectors prejudices in this case).



## Chapter 5

### Discussion

#### *Summary of main findings*

The main purpose of this research was to examine the possibility that there may be human factors operating that favour candidates from certain countries and act against candidates from certain other countries in New Zealand employment, particular during the recent economic times when there has been more competition for jobs ([www.dol.govt.nz](http://www.dol.govt.nz)). These human factors can be explained with the help of several psychological theories, particularly Similarity-Attraction Theory, Social Dominance Theory and Realistic Conflict Theory.

Just as human behaviour is multi-faceted, this study proves that one particular psychological theory is not adequate to explain why selection bias may exist in the workplace. There are a number of different reasons why recruiters may favour one candidate over another, and although the main substance of this study is the role of Realistic Conflict Theory in the selection of candidates, a number of other theories have been used to support and create links in the argument. Jackson (1993), said that direct tests of Realistic Conflict Theory are scarce, probably due to the fact that it is difficult in terms of design and execution; therefore, the accuracy of this theory is strong, but the theory needs more direct empirical investigations. One of the main goals of our study was to add value and empirical evidence to the area of Realistic Conflict Theory.

The Department of Immigration has a list of job skill sets and critical shortages advertised, encouraging potential immigrants to apply and live in New Zealand. On this list, the critical shortages are in the Health sector, Education, IT/ Computer Sciences, Finance/ Business, Engineering and Construction to name a few. Most South African and Indian immigrants who completed our survey, mentioned having Finance/ Business degrees, or Medical degrees, IT/ Computer Sciences, etc and also work experience in these areas in their country, but find it incredibly difficult to find employment in these fields and salaries to match their skills and qualifications.

According to Carr et al. (2005), focusing on brain drain alone has its limitations as it ignores research about migration, which is concerned with brain gain. According to Spoonley (2003), societies that lose skilled people through emigration, often gain replacements, sometimes in larger numbers and with greater skills through immigration. By focusing on the strengths of local culture/ lifestyle, a country may find it possible to turn the stream of talent from drain to gain. One of the main reasons immigrants choose New Zealand, is the economic promise of status and pay; immigration authorities and agencies promise good salaries and the continuation of meaningful/ worthwhile careers (Oliver, 2000). Data indicates that immigrants contribute more money to the economy than they cost the country (BERL Independent Economic Group, 2002). However, the salaries of skilled migrants are often found to be significantly less, even 10 years after their arrival, than those of New Zealand-born workers of equivalent skills (New Zealand Immigration Service, 2003).

Our first hypothesis was that equally skilled, experienced and qualified candidates are favoured more or less depending on their country of origin and how similar it was to New Zealand. The data collected in this research supported this hypothesis. The less similar countries were perceived to be to New Zealand, the less they were favoured for the job. Countries like Australia and Britain were found to be most similar to New Zealand, and were therefore most favoured/ preferred. Countries like India and China were at the other end of the spectrum, where they were considered least similar to New Zealand and therefore least favoured for the job. South Africa and the Pacific Islands featured very close to each other somewhat in the middle of the two groups mentioned above.

Our second hypothesis was that equally skilled, experienced and qualified candidates are favoured more or less depending on how socially dominant their country of origin was perceived to be (countries perceived to be more socially dominant would be more favoured). The results of this research once again supported this hypothesis. Australia was perceived to be the most socially dominant country, followed by Britain in second place and New Zealand in third. South Africa, China and India were featured very close together with South being in fourth place, China in fifth and India in sixth. The Pacific Islands was perceived to be the least socially dominant country out of the seven.

Our third hypothesis was that when resources are scarce (such as during times of economic strain), competitiveness increases. This means that often people who are perceived to be more similar are favoured over less familiar cultures. The results of this research once again were consistent with this

hypothesis. Australia and Britain were found to be most similar to New Zealand, hence part of the 'in-group', and China the least similar, hence part of the 'out-group'. According to Pratto (1999), this enhanced in-group solidarity and devaluation of the out-group could lead to communication problems, thereby explaining declines in organizational functioning.

### *Links to theory*

**Similarity Attraction Theory** (Part B of the Questionnaire): This theory states that individuals who are similar will be interpersonally attracted toward each other, because of this attraction, or liking, they will experience positive outcomes. According to Byrne (1969), people have more positive responses towards people who hold similar attitudes to their own, because they like people who view the world in the same way as they do. Factors such as race, age, gender, resumes, etc as well as verbal and non-verbal communication play an important role in an employment interview. All of these factors provide the selector with information that influences perceived similarity or dissimilarity between the individual (applicant) and the group (company) (Byrne & Neuman, 1992; Graves & Powell, 1988; Lin, Dobbins & Farh, 1992).

Our data supported the above literature. Australia was on average ranked the most similar to New Zealand, followed by Britain, whereas China was found to be the least similar. Our study showed that as the perceived mean similarity decreased by statistically significant amounts, so too did the mean predicted rank preference (low mean rank indicates a higher estimated preference). This statistically significant co-varying downward movement is broadly consistent with Similarity-Attraction theory. The quantitative findings were consistent with participants' qualitative responses. Participants gave reasons such as, "*Kiwis first, then Australians and British*". "*Mainly due to English skills and cultural similarity*", or "*Similarity to New Zealand qualifications and work habits*". Answers such as these imply that a candidate from Australia or Britain will be more favoured in terms of employment/selection than a candidate from India or China.

There is a high level of familiarity between New Zealand, Australia and Britain in terms of language, culture, ways of living, education, etc. This familiarity is largely due to travel to these countries and exposure to people from these countries. This familiarity creates a greater sense of similarity to countries like Australia and Britain, than to countries like India or China, where there is less cultural

exposure. This concept of mere exposure/familiarity is known as 'mere exposure effect' according to Zajonc (1968).

The mere exposure effect suggests that when there is repeated exposure to a particular stimulus, there will be a likelihood to prefer that specific stimulus over other less exposed stimuli (Bornstein, 1989). Repeated exposure implies that there will be a growing familiarity with an object or stimulus (Carr, 2002), and may even enhance feelings of attraction towards people represented in the stimulus materials (Moreland & Zajonc, 1982, p.396). However, there could also be a converse or negative response to 'mere exposure' effect. Repeated negative exposure to a social stimulus could possibly produce a negative rather than positive response. This can be seen from our study, Chinese people were perceived to have poor English language skills and were perceived to be least similar to New Zealand in terms of culture, hence were least preferred for the job in mind when answering the question.

**Social Dominance Theory** (Part C of the Questionnaire): Social Dominance Theory, states that selectors use unspoken mental models about which countries-of-origin are socio-economically dominant over others, with deference flowing to the more dominant countries, and bias or prejudice being directed at the rest (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Social Dominance theory therefore implies that group mental hierarchies in terms of countries-of-origin, will influence selectors' preferences for immigrant job applicants (Carr & Coates, 2003).

Once again, our data supported the above literature. Australia was found to have the best standard of living, healthcare, education, etc, followed by Britain, then New Zealand and the Pacific Islands in last place. Our study showed that as perceived mean social dominance decreased, so too did the mean predicted rank preference (low mean rank indicates a higher estimated preference). This downward movement is broadly consistent with Social Dominance theory.

The findings in our study showed that due to the perceived social dominance hierarchy, candidates from countries like the Pacific Islands, India, China and South Africa were perceived to have lower standards of education, living, health, work experience, etc. and hence less favoured for the job in mind (based on their ethnic membership/country of origin). According to Brown (1995), by

stereotyping an individual, we are attributing to that individual some characteristics that are seen by all or most of his fellow group members.

With the above theory and findings in mind (that candidates from perceived more socially dominant countries are more favoured than candidates from less socially dominant countries), one exception emerged. Australia was perceived to be the most socially dominant country, followed by New Zealand in second place and Britain in third, yet a candidate from Australia was not favoured over a candidate from New Zealand. This could be explained by 'inverse resonance' (when groups reject those most similar to themselves in favour of less similar groups, Carr, 2003).

**Realistic Conflict Theory** (Part D of the Questionnaire): Realistic Conflict Theory (RCT), states that intergroup conflict is determined largely by economic forces, primarily, the availability of economic resources. The most important point of this theory, is that intergroup enmity and competition will arise whenever economic resources are scarce (Brewer, 1968). Therefore, in order to survive, one group has to compete with another for tangible resources and as the competition for the resource increases, so does the conflict between the groups. This in turn leads to greater hostility and negative attitudes towards members of the out-group.

During a recession, resources are scarce. The supply of candidates exceeds the number of jobs/ vacancies available. Such a scenario is ideal to test the role of Realistic Conflict Theory in the selection of candidates. A study by Coates (2003), showed that HR Managers/ job selectors preferred hiring candidates from countries such as Australia and Great Britain, which they found to be more culturally similar to themselves. Our study examined whether candidates from the same countries of origin used in the Coates et al study (2003), perceive the same bias to exist and expressed as the HR Managers/ job selectors.

Our study showed that New Zealand was the first preference as being part of the 'in-group', whereas China was the last choice. The quantitative responses were supported by the qualitative responses in our study. Participants gave reasons such as, *"Local experience is a must, and first preference given to Kiwis/ similar"*; *"Status of the economy when looking for a job, "During a recession when there is a shortage of jobs, Kiwis get first pick"*, or *"English skills, similarity to New Zealand and country that education/ qualification and previous work experience is gained in"*.

### *Summary*

Just as human behaviour is multi-faceted, this study proves that one particular psychological theory is not adequate to explain why selection bias may exist in the workplace. There are a number of different reasons why selectors may favour one candidate over another, and although the main substance of this study is the role of Realistic Conflict theory in the selection of candidates, a number of other theories have been used to support and create links in the argument. Jackson (1993), said that direct tests of Realistic Conflict theory are scarce, probably due to the fact that it is difficult in terms of design and execution; therefore, the accuracy of this theory is strong, but the theory needs more direct empirical investigations. One of the main goals of our study was to add value and empirical evidence to the area of RCT.

According to Carr et al. (2005), focusing on brain drain alone has its limitations as it ignores research about migration, which is concerned with brain gain. According to Spoonley (2003), societies that lose skilled people through emigration, often gain replacements, sometimes in larger numbers and with greater skills through immigration. By focusing on the strengths of local culture/ lifestyle, a country may find it possible to turn the stream of talent from drain to gain. One of the main reasons immigrants choose New Zealand, is the economic promise of status and pay; immigration authorities and agencies promise good salaries and the continuation of meaningful/ worthwhile careers (Oliver, 2000). Data indicates that immigrants contribute more money to the economy than they cost the country (BERL Independent Economic Group, 2002). However, the salaries of skilled migrants are often found to be significantly less, even 10 years after their arrival, than those of New Zealand-born workers of equivalent skills (New Zealand Immigration Service, 2003). This study also showed that migrants do face job selection bias in New Zealand.

### *Limitations of the Study*

Although our study proved to be very interesting and showed some valuable results, there were a few limitations that future researchers could learn from.

At first sample size did not pose to be a concern, however a few months into this study we decided that we had to widen our criteria as we were unable to reach our desired sample size ( $N = 100$ ). One

of the main limitations in our study was that a number of potential participants were very hesitant to answer the questionnaire (even though it was anonymous), because they feared that it would impact on their residency/visa status in New Zealand. Despite participants being reassured that this would not be the case, they were unwilling to take the chance.

Another limitation was the language barrier for many participants. Taking into account that the questions were constructed by using very simple words, many participants emailed the researcher to say that they decided not to complete the questionnaire because they did not know the 'right' or 'wrong' answer as they did not fully understand the question. The researcher made attempts to explain the words and terminology used, however did not pressure participants to complete the questionnaire, and was careful not to suggest desired responses.

A third limitation was the complexity of the scenario based questions, and that participants found some questions difficult to understand at first. Also having the questionnaire in paper format made it a lengthy process to send out and for participants to complete. An online version of the questionnaire would have made it quicker and more cost effective in distributing, as well as more appealing to potential participants as it is easier to complete on their computer and send back.

### *Future Directions*

It is clear from our study that due to various factors, such as media exposure, travel exposure (or lack of), cultural awareness, word of mouth, etc, candidates from certain countries-of-origin can be discriminated or less favoured based largely on their ethnic membership. These stereotypes can often cause job selectors to 'miss' potentially highly skilled and qualified candidates, who will add great value to an organisation from the knowledge and experience they bring with them. The fact that they have worked overseas also brings a huge selling point, as they can see things from the point of view of the global market, thereby becoming a valuable resource to any organisation. It would therefore be important for a future research project to delve further into the impact travel exposure and cultural awareness has on hiring decisions. It would be interesting for example to note whether there would be any differences in responses to questions in a research project, by asking participants to first complete a set of questions and a few days later offering a brief training exercise on cultural awareness, and then asking them to complete the same set of questions a few days later.

### *Conclusions*

As New Zealand changes in terms of demographic constitution, it would be advisable for future research to take into account the ever changing nature of the workforce and economy, and how this impacts on job selectors' decisions, as well as job seekers employment seeking experiences to broaden our horizons as a multi-cultural, multi-dimensional workforce.

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## Appendices

### **Appendix I: Letter requesting permission of an Organization**

Subject: Request permission to carry out research.

I am currently enrolled as a Masters student at Massey University (Albany). As part of my Masters completion, I need to conduct a research component. The topic for my thesis is Job-Seeking Experiences of Migrants to New Zealand.

The purpose of my research is to determine whether immigrants showing the same level of skill, qualifications and work experience find it more difficult to secure employment that meets their standard and calibre, compared to their Kiwi counterparts. I am looking at gathering a sample of volunteers who are new immigrants/ immigrants seeking employment, and I would appreciate if you could distribute my questionnaire to new immigrants who come to your agency seeking employment. All results will be kept confidential, and candidates' identity will remain anonymous.

Previous research conducted has looked into stereotyping or selection bias from an employers' perspective. My study will be directed at candidates or job seekers, and determine what their views are, and whether they find any biases in selection processes, as well as whether any trends develop in terms of selection bias occurring more in certain occupations. Current literature available is reasonably limited in terms of how immigrants/ candidates originally from other countries perceive the selection process, and how they view current/ potential employers. The field of Industrial & Organizational Psychology could therefore, considerably be enhanced by aiming a study towards how these groups perceive potential employers, and also how these perceptions, as well as those of their potential employers *interact*.

Thank you for taking the time to assist with my research.

Yours faithfully,

Samantha-Jane Miranda.

**Appendix II: Letter requesting participation in a Research Project**

Subject: Request participates in a Masters Research Project.

I am currently enrolled as a Masters student at Massey University (Albany). As part of my Masters completion, I need to conduct a research component. The topic for my thesis is Job-Seeking Experiences of Migrants to New Zealand.

I am looking at finding 120 volunteers who are new immigrants/ immigrants seeking employment, and I would appreciate if you could get in touch with me if you are interested and I can send you the questionnaire with a prepaid return envelope to send it back to me in. All results will be kept confidential, and participants' identity will remain anonymous.

Please find attached a flyer which mentions that you go into the draw to win 1 of 5 \$20.00 Westfield shopping vouchers when you complete the questionnaire and return to me using the envelope provided.

Look forward to hearing from you.

Yours faithfully,

Samantha-Jane Miranda.

## Appendix III: Information Sheet

### Non-Student Category

#### **Job-Seeking Experiences of Migrants to New Zealand.**

##### INFORMATION SHEET

My name is Samantha-Jane Miranda, and I am currently enrolled in a Masters course in Work Psychology at Massey University. As part of my research, I am studying the experiences of the jobseekers in New Zealand from the perspective of applicants themselves. It is important to understand that all the information gathered in this survey is completely confidential and anonymous.

I would like to invite you to participate in this study, which should take 30 mins to complete. This is a voluntary process, and there is no compulsion to complete this questionnaire. If anyone should feel uncomfortable participating in this study, or have any questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to get in touch with me. I am available 7 days a week, and I can be contacted on my mobile (021 059 1094), or email (sammie\_s16@hotmail.com). If you would like to arrange a meeting to discuss any part of this study/ questionnaire in person, please contact me and I will be available to do so.

You will **not** be personally identified for any reason as a result of your answers in these questions. Your anonymity and privacy is assured. Please also know that your answers in this questionnaire will in **NO** way have any impact on your visa or residency status in New Zealand. To maintain your anonymity, I have provided envelopes with postage included for you to send your completed questionnaire back in.

If you have questions of any kind related to this study, or have difficulty understanding any part of this questionnaire (language, relevance, use, etc), I am available. You will be provided a summary of the results once this study has been completed if you wish. You do not need to decide now. I can be contacted on email even after you have completed the questionnaire. ALL results will remain confidential and participants will remain anonymous in the summary as well. Please email me on sammie\_s16@hotmail.com to request this. Your identity or email address will not be linked to the completed questionnaire.

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**1. Summary of Rights as a Participant:**

- If at any stage, information gathered from this study is published, or used in peer evaluation/ review, no individuals' identity will be exposed, and no personal information will be used.
- If you would like help understanding questions in the Questionnaire or have it explained in simpler language, please contact me on 021 059 1094 or sammie\_s16@hotmail.com

*Completion and return of the questionnaire implies consent. You have the right to decline to answer any particular question.*

**2. Project Contacts:**

- *Researcher: Samantha-Jane Miranda (Sam). Contact Information: 021 059 1094, sammie\_s16@hotmail.com.*
- *Supervisor: Dr. Stuart C. Carr (School of Psychology, Massey University). Contact Information: 09 414 0800 extn: 41228, S.C.Carr@massey.ac.nz*

*Please do not hesitate to contact either myself, or my Supervisor at any time if you have any questions or concerns about the project*

**3. Committee Approval Statement:**

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, Application MUHECN 09/056R. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Denise Wilson, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, telephone 09 414 0800 x9070, email humanethicsnorth@massey.ac.nz.

## Appendix IV: Information Sheet

Student Category

### **Job-Seeking Experiences of Migrants to New Zealand.**

#### INFORMATION SHEET

My name is Samantha-Jane Miranda and I am currently enrolled in a Masters course in Work Psychology at Massey University. As part of my research, I am studying the experiences of the jobseekers in New Zealand from the perspective of applicants themselves. It is important to understand that all the information gathered in this survey is completely confidential and anonymous.

I would like to invite you to participate in this study, which should take 30 mins to complete. This is a voluntary process, and there is no compulsion to complete this questionnaire. If anyone should feel uncomfortable participating in this study, or have any questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to get in touch with me or the Agency that contacted you about participating in this study. I am available 7 days a week, and I can be contacted on my mobile (021 059 1094), or email (sammie\_s16@hotmail.com). If you would like to arrange a meeting to discuss any part of this study/ questionnaire in person, please contact me and I will be available to do so.

You will **not** be personally identified for any reason as a result of your answers in these questions. Your anonymity and privacy is assured. Please also know that your answers in **this questionnaire will in NO way have any impact on your visa or residency status in New Zealand or on any of your subject grades if you are a student.** Please take the questionnaires away with you and put them in prepaid envelopes with postage included for you to send your completed questionnaire back in.

If you have questions of any kind related to this study, or have difficulty understanding any part of this questionnaire (language, relevance, use, etc), I am available. You will be provided a summary of the results once this study has been completed if you wish. You do not need to decide now. I can be contacted on email even after you have completed the questionnaire. ALL results will remain confidential and participants will remain anonymous in the summary as well. Please email me on sammie\_s16@hotmail.com to request this. Your identity or email address will not be linked to the completed questionnaire.

**1. Summary of Rights as a Participant:**

- If at any stage, information gathered from this study is published, or used in peer evaluation/ review, no individuals' identity will be exposed, and no personal information will be used.
- If you would like help understanding questions in the Questionnaire or have it explained in simpler language, please contact me on 021 059 1094 or sammie\_s16@hotmail.com

*Completion and return of the questionnaire implies consent. You have the right to decline to answer any particular question.*

**2. Project Contacts:**

- *Researcher: Samantha-Jane Miranda (Sam). Contact Information: 021 059 1094, sammie\_s16@hotmail.com.*
- *Supervisor: Dr. Stuart C. Carr (School of Psychology, Massey University). Contact Information: 09 414 0800 extn: 41228, S.C.Carr@massey.ac.nz*

*Please do not hesitate to contact either myself, or my Supervisor at any time if you have any questions or concerns about the project*

**3. Committee Approval Statement:**

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, Application MUHECN 09/056R. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Denise Wilson, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, telephone 09 414 0800 x9070, email humanethicsnorth@massey.ac.nz.

## Appendix V: Questionnaire

The following questionnaire is designed to draw on your observations and experiences when you have been looking for work in New Zealand, Please remember that there are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers to any questions, I am simply seeking your observations and opinions. Please note, you do not have to answer any question you do not feel comfortable answering. You have the right to decline to answer any question. The criteria to participate in this study, is that **(a)** you need to have immigrated to New Zealand and **(b)** looked for a job at least once in the last 5 years in New Zealand.

### **PART A – JOB SEEKING EXPERIENCES**

The questions below are designed to draw on your observations and experiences whilst you have been looking for work in New Zealand. There are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers to any of these questions. I am simply asking for your own observations and opinions about the process of looking for work in this country. Please try to answer the questions as carefully as possible, but do not take too long over each one.

The questions below are based on the idea that, when jobs are advertised in New Zealand, the candidates are often similar to each other in skills, work experience, language skills, qualifications, relocation costs, etc. However choices still have to be made by a selection board, about who gets the job. Please think back on your own experiences and observations when job-seeking, to answer the questions below.

These questions focus on the choices you have witnessed or heard about from others. Feel free to choose any type of job you like, but preferably one you have experienced somehow. Please imagine a group of candidates, all *with no real differences in their qualifications, skills, work experience, language skills, and costs for any relocation.*

In your experience, which of the following candidates is most likely to get the job you are thinking about? Use a '1' to indicate the most probable choice, '2' for the second choice, '3' for the third, and so on all the way down to '7,' for the least likely candidate to get the job.

Pacific Islands	Britain	China	New Zealand	Australia	India	South Africa

1. What was the kind of job you had in mind when answering the question directly above?
2. Can you give any reasons for your answers?
3. Were your answers based on personal experiences, either direct or indirect, based on the experiences of people you know? Yes / No (please circle one)

### PART B – DIFFERENT CULTURES

People looking for work in New Zealand often originate from a variety of different cultures. The next set of questions focuses on these different cultures of origin, in comparison to New Zealand. In your opinion, how similar are the cultures of the countries listed below, when compared to New Zealand?

You will see **SIX** countries listed under each of the following SIX questions below. Please answer each question just **ONCE**.

1. In your opinion, which of the following countries has a culture **most similar** to New Zealand?  
(Please circle just ONE)



Pacific Islands      Britain      China      Australia      India      South Africa

2. In your opinion, which of the following countries has a culture **next** most similar to New Zealand?  
(Please circle just ONE)

Pacific Islands      Britain      China      Australia      India      South Africa

3. In your opinion, which of the following countries has a culture **next** most similar to New Zealand?  
(Please circle just ONE)

Pacific Islands      Britain      China      Australia      India      South Africa

4. In your opinion, which of the following countries has a culture **next** most similar to New Zealand?  
(Please circle just ONE)

Pacific Islands      Britain      China      Australia      India      South Africa

5. In your opinion, which of the following countries has a culture **next** most similar to New Zealand?  
(Please circle just ONE)

Pacific Islands      Britain      China      Australia      India      South Africa

6. In your opinion, which of the following countries has a culture and beliefs system **next** most similar to New Zealand? (Please circle just ONE). This should be the culture that you feel is **least** similar to New Zealand, from among the countries listed.

Pacific Islands      Britain      China      Australia      India      South Africa

### PART C - DIFFERENT ECONOMIES

Around the world today, there are differences between the level of socio-economic prosperity in different societies. Please think about living standards, education, health and levels of wealth of

different countries. Some countries will be fortunate enough to have generally (on the average) higher living standards, education, health and levels of wealth than other countries; others will generally have lower such living standards etc.

You will see SIX countries listed under each of the following SIX questions below. Please answer each question just ONCE.

1. In your opinion, which of the following countries has the **best** standard of living, education, health and wealth?

Pacific Islands   Britain   China   New Zealand   Australia   India   South Africa

2. In your opinion, which of the following countries has the **next best** standard of living, education, health and wealth?

Pacific Islands   Britain   China   New Zealand   Australia   India   South Africa

3. In your opinion, which of the following countries has the **next best** standard of living, education, health and wealth?

Pacific Islands   Britain   China   New Zealand   Australia   India   South Africa

4. In your opinion, which of the following countries has the **next best** standard of living, education, health and wealth?

Pacific Islands   Britain   China   New Zealand   Australia   India   South Africa

5. In your opinion, which of the following countries has the **next best** standard of living, education, health and wealth?

Pacific Islands   Britain   China   New Zealand   Australia   India   South Africa

6. In your opinion, which of the following countries has the **next best** standard of living, education, health and wealth?

Pacific Islands    Britain    China    New Zealand    Australia    India    South Africa

7. In your opinion, which of the following countries has the **next best** standard of living, education, health and wealth?

Pacific Islands    Britain    China    New Zealand    Australia    India    South Africa

8. Could you please briefly state what have you based your answers on in this section?

*Before proceeding to the next section, please go and check that you have circled each country only **once**.*

#### **PART D – GROUP BOUNDARIES**

In everyday life, groups often fall into “in”-groups and “out”-groups, i.e., people have a sense of being part of a particular group, or being excluded from a group. Being part of one in-group is often defined by comparison with an out-group. Organisations are groups, and they can make people feel either included or excluded, i.e., part of an in-group or out-group. I would like you to think about your job-hunting experiences in New Zealand. Please answer each question just **ONCE**.

1. In your experience, a candidate from which one of the following countries is **most likely** to be seen as part of an in-group, by selection panels in New Zealand?

Pacific Islands    Britain    China    New Zealand    Australia    India    South Africa

2. In your experience, a candidate from which one of the following countries is **NEXT** most likely to be seen as part of an in-group by selection panels in New Zealand?

Pacific Islands    Britain    China    New Zealand    Australia    India    South Africa

3. In your experience, a candidate from which one of the following countries is **NEXT** most likely to be seen as part of an in-group by selection panels in New Zealand?

Pacific Islands      Britain      China      New Zealand      Australia      India      South Africa

4. In your experience, a candidate from which one of the following countries is **NEXT** most likely to be seen as part of an in-group by selection panels in New Zealand?

Pacific Islands      Britain      China      New Zealand      Australia      India      South Africa

5. In your experience, a candidate from which one of the following countries is **NEXT** most likely to be seen as part of an in-group by selection panels in New Zealand?

Pacific Islands      Britain      China      New Zealand      Australia      India      South Africa

6. In your experience, a candidate from which one of the following countries is **NEXT** most likely to be seen as part of an in-group by selection panels in New Zealand?

Pacific Islands      Britain      China      New Zealand      Australia      India      South Africa

7. In your experience, a candidate from which one of the following countries is **NEXT** most likely to be seen as part of an in-group by selection panels in New Zealand?

Pacific Islands      Britain      China      New Zealand      Australia      India      South Africa

9. Could you please briefly state what have you based your answers on in this section?

8. Please indicate what type of job you were thinking about when completing the questions above?

When people are divided into in-group and out-group, feelings toward each other can range from co-operative to competitive. One group is sometimes seen as a rival for competing resources, for instance the limited number of jobs in an economy like New Zealand, or in an organisation that sees itself as predominantly “Kiwi”.

Please think about this idea of rivals for resources. Below you will see the same SEVEN countries listed under each of the following SEVEN questions below. Please answer each question just **ONCE**.

1. In your experience, a candidate from which one of the following countries is **most likely** to be seen as part of an out-group by a selection panel?

Pacific Islands    Britain    China    New Zealand    Australia    India    South Africa

2. In your experience, a candidate from which one of the following countries is **NEXT** most likely to be seen as part of an out-group by a selection panel?

Pacific Islands    Britain    China    New Zealand    Australia    India    South Africa

3. In your experience, a candidate from which one of the following countries is **NEXT** most likely to be seen as part of an out-group by a selection panel?

Pacific Islands    Britain    China    New Zealand    Australia    India    South Africa

4. In your experience, a candidate from which one of the following countries is **NEXT** most likely to be seen as part of an out-group by a selection panel?

Pacific Islands    Britain    China    New Zealand    Australia    India    South Africa

5. In your experience, a candidate from which one of the following countries is **NEXT** most likely to be seen as part of an out-group by a selection panel?

Pacific Islands    Britain    China    New Zealand    Australia    India    South Africa

6. In your experience, a candidate from which one of the following countries is **NEXT** most likely to be seen as part of an out-group by a selection panel?

Pacific Islands      Britain      China      New Zealand      Australia      India      South Africa

7. In your experience, a candidate from which one of the following countries is **NEXT** most likely to be seen as part of an out-group by a selection panel?

Pacific Islands      Britain      China      New Zealand      Australia      India      South Africa

8. What type of job were you thinking about in questions 1 – 7 above?

9. Do you think that job selectors in New Zealand see migrants as any kind of direct threat to jobs for New Zealanders/ Kiwis?

**Never      Rarely      Sometimes      Often      Always**

10. In your experience, do job selectors in New Zealand treat equally well-qualified and experienced migrants and Kiwis the same?

**Never      Rarely      Sometimes      Often      Always**

11. Could you please briefly state what have you based your answers on in this section?

*Before proceeding to the next section, please go back up the page and check that you have circled each country only **once**.*

## **PART E – JOB SEEKING ACTIVITIES**

Different people hunt for jobs in slightly different ways. Please think back over the last 12 months, and your experiences whilst looking for work in this country, New Zealand.

1. Could you please in a few words, briefly state what has been your experience in looking for a job in New Zealand?

2. How do you think job selectors view migrants to New Zealand in terms of skills, qualifications and work experience?

### PART F – BACKGROUND INFORMATION

To conclude, we would like to ask you a few basic demographic questions about your background and experience. Please remember that all your answers, above and below, will be treated with utmost confidentiality and anonymity.

1. Gender:        Male                Female    (please circle one)
2. Age (in years):
3. Country of Origin:
4. Is New Zealand the first country you have migrated to?        Yes                No
5. If you answered 'No' to Question 4, please list the last 2 countries you have lived/ worked in.
6. Type of Visa in New Zealand:        Work Visa                Permanent Residency    (please circle one)
7. Type of jobs you have applied for:
8. How long have you been looking for a job in New Zealand?
9. Current Job Title: (if not currently or never been employed in New Zealand, please specify your last job title).
10. Is your current role or most recent employment if not currently employed relevant to your skills/ qualifications?        Yes                No
11. Number of Years of Experience in the last role:
12. Would you like to receive a summary report of findings at the end of this project?  
  
Yes        No

### PART G: FEEDBACK ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE

This section is for you to reflect and describe your experiences and thoughts on the Questionnaire.

1. Did you base your judgements in **each of the sections (A, B, C and D)** largely on actual observations?  

Yes      No
2. If not, please state which sections (A, B, C, D), were not based on your own experiences/ observations during your job hunting experience.
3. All things considered, did you feel reasonably comfortable filling in the questionnaire?  

Yes      No
4. If your answer to 3 was No, please briefly explain why:

*Thank you for taking the time to participate in this study, and filling out  
this questionnaire!*



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S.J. Miranda

**P.S:** The completed questionnaire can be emailed back to me, or if you would like to remain anonymous, you can send it by **\*\*FREEPOST\*\*** to Samantha-Jane Miranda, C/o Dr. S. C. Carr, School of Psychology, Massey University, Private Bag 102 904, NSMC, Auckland 0745.



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