Skilled Women Ethnic Immigrants: Is there any point at which being a multiple minority becomes an advantage, as predicted by Dual Process Theory?

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ABSTRACT

Previous research on bias has focused on selection bias in recruitment. This research explores the issue of Treatment Bias (lack of advancement or promotion opportunities). The context for the research is potential treatment bias against skilled immigrant women from a range of different ethnic backgrounds, some of whom may experience bias yet others not. The purpose of this research is to test the theories of treatment bias in particular to find out whether Dual Process Theory can help close the gap in understanding of why some skilled immigrant women may not always be accepted in sustainable (respectful, recognition of skills) forms of livelihood in New Zealand workplaces. The research examines the interplay of psychological theories of similarity attraction, social identity, social dominance and realistic conflict with minority influence theory, which suggests that minority status might actually become an advantage for consistent minorities, e.g., minorities that are a minority across multiple criteria (such as "woman" AND "immigrant" AND "ethnic"). Sixty-five immigrant women with approximately 6.35 years' experience working in a diverse range of New Zealand organisations completed a scenario-type questionnaire based on their direct experiences of working in New Zealand. Participants ranked employers' perceived preference for promotion, perceived similarity/cultural fit to the majority culture/workplace, perceived status in the workplace and perceived threat or competitiveness for promotion opportunities. Employees were presented in the scenarios as equally skilled, qualified and all performed at the same level. In a 2x2x2 factorial design, majority and minority status for each employee to be ranked was systematically varied by gender (male/female), ethnicity (ethnic/non-ethnic) and immigration status (immigrant/non-immigrant). Despite equality of qualifications, experience and

performance, there was no point at which being a minority presented an advantage as predicated by the minority influence theory. Instead, the mean ranking for perceived preference for promotion revealed that the majority was consistently preferred over single (e.g., female, or immigrant, or ethnic) then double (any combination of two of the above minority criteria) then treble minorities. There was also co-variation between minority status on the one hand and social dominance, social identity, realistic conflict and similarity attraction on the other, suggesting a combined explanatory role for each construct (similarity, identity, etc.) in treatment bias. With each step from single, double to treble minority status there was a consistent decrement in perceived preference; the results showed clear preference for the majority with no particular preference or advantage for the minority at any stage. Discussion focuses on opportunities for future research and improvements regarding the methodology for future research.

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Research Question and Critical Literature Review

New Zealand is a country of cultural diversity, attracting immigrants from all over the world to live in the country, and in many cases fill certain occupational shortages in the country's various employment sectors. New Zealand has a culturally diverse society, built on a bicultural foundation that potentially lays a foundation for multiculturalism (Ward & Masgoret, 2008). With a population of four and a half million people, approximately one in five people in New Zealand are born overseas (Podsiadlowski & Ward, 2010). Until recently, globalisation has created a global village and has seen many people migrating to other countries for better quality of life and financial security. Immigrants to New Zealand are recruited on the basis of skills, education and language proficiency. On average, these new immigrants hold a higher educational qualification than their native-born peers, however there are some immigrants that are more likely to be unemployed or underemployed compared to their native-born peers (Podsiadlowski & Ward, 2010).

Access Bias occurs when employers disadvantage applicants, or do not hire on the basis of factors that are not job-related, such as gender, race, or ethnicity. Treatment bias occurs when employees are treated differently on the basis of factors that are not job-related (Bell, Kwesiga, & Berry 2010). Most research is based on access bias and is relatively descriptive rather than theoretical in explaining "why" bias occurs (Williams, 2011). This research therefore focuses on treatment bias and aims to find out whether dual process theory can

help to close the gap or provide understanding on both whether and why immigrant females of ethnic origins might not always be accepted in New Zealand work places.

Context

Immigration New Zealand employs a settlement strategy for immigrants that utilises a point system to assist in the selection of attracting highly skilled immigrants to the country (Trlin & Watts, 2004). In the past, this has allowed for the entry and residence of people who have skills that are in short supply in New Zealand (Coates, 2003). In theory, this points-based system yields a transparent selection criterion as it eliminates the restriction of entry based on race, national and ethnic origin, gender, marital status and religion. One could argue that the assumption for the immigration points system is based on the premise that by selecting highly skilled immigrants, settlement in New Zealand would be easier for those highly skilled immigrants than for unskilled immigrants and upon arrival, would promote a more positive contribution to the country's economy by filling in the skills shortage areas within New Zealand's job sectors (Trlin & Watts, 2004).

However, underemployment (when workers' jobs don't use all their skills or education, or workers who are highly skilled but work in low paying jobs, or workers who are highly skilled in low skill jobs) of immigrants in New Zealand is a significant issue as per the finding from the Department of Labour's Longitudinal Study (Masgoret, Merwood, & Tausi, 2009). This study found that over a quarter of new immigrants were found to be working at a lower skill level after their arrival in New Zealand despite having migrated for a "better" life and living standards. So too is treatment bias; for example some immigrants reported having experienced significant decreases in salary after migrating to

New Zealand. This was particularly found to be the case for immigrants from the UK, South Africa and North America (Masgoret, et.al., 2009). This research explores possible treatment bias affecting women, particularly those of ethnic origins.

There are various reasons why individuals decide to immigrate to other countries. According to Horgan (2000), the reasons for immigrating are based on motives that can be categorised into push and pull motives. Push motives centre around involuntary migration associated with factors such as political instability in the immigrant's home country, forcing individuals to immigrate to other countries (Furnham, 2010). On the other hand, pull factors are associated with "free-choice" where factors such as climate, higher standards of living and career opportunities pull one to immigrate to a new country (Furnham, 2010). This study focuses on those immigrants who have moved to New Zealand for better employment opportunities, i.e., as a result of pull motives.

The chosen act of emigrating could be seen as suggesting that immigrants will show more initiative and be more willing to take risks than counterparts who stay put in their native country (Bushnell & Choy, 2001). Theoretically, immigrants with better levels of health, education and economic independence than their non-immigrant counterparts are less likely to encounter negative attitudes in their resettlement country, including New Zealand (Coates, 2003). However, research by Coates (2003) has also highlighted that there are biases in the workplace that occur in both recruitment and selection. Podsiadlowski & Ward (2010) highlight that bias also occurs with performance evaluation and promotion, leading to unequal participation of immigrants in the workplace. This bias is a result of a "complex interplay of interpersonal and intergroup processes on an individual, organisational and

societal level" (Podsiadlowski & Ward, 2010, p. 279). This study will focus on treatment bias, specifically that which occurs in post-employment for those immigrants who are in paid employment and are examining the opportunities they have for promotion i.e., advancement within New Zealand organisations.

Majority versus Minority

One key factor in treatment bias is "who" is treated unfairly. Immigrants are often, but not always, perceived as being in the minority rather than the majority (Heath, Liebig & Simon, 2013). For example, research by New Zealand Immigration Service (2004) has shown that there are salient categories underpinning social inequalities in the workplace leading to unequal participation of immigrants in the workplace. In this instance both immigrant status and ethnicity were found to influence the likelihood of obtaining employment over and above the qualifications and experience one brings to the job (Ward & Masgoret, 2008). This research will focus on the likely influence that immigration status and ethnicity will have in post-employment, particularly for ethnic immigrant women seeking career advancement opportunities.

Minority status refers to a group or category of people in society differentiated from the numerous social majority or those belonging to a subgroup that is the lesser of a wider group (Dictionary.com, 2017). The differentiation of one's minority status can be on one or more observable human characteristics including: gender, race and ethnicity, or even wealth (Barzilai, 2010). As a result of the subgroup that most immigrants belong to in relation to the majority, immigrants can be classed as a single minority as they are not accorded the same opportunity as the majority. An example of a double minority for the

purpose of this study is a male who is an immigrant and belongs to an ethnic minority group. Meanwhile an example of triple minority is a woman who is an immigrant and an ethnic minority. The purpose of this research is to test whether there are increases in disadvantages or discrimination with each progression through the single, double and triple minority statuses, and to assess whether this is the case for ethnic minority women in New Zealand.

There appears to be sufficient evidence "that" one's minority status (either race or immigration status) can lead to bias and discrimination in the workplace, but less about "why" (Wilson, Gahlout, Liu and Mouly, 2005). Research on the effects of ethnicity and name on access to employment opportunities by Wilson et al. (2005) suggest that minority status e.g., someone's physical differences, including immigration status, accent and name, affects their chances of obtaining employment. The researchers surveyed practicing managers and undergraduate students enrolled in Human Resources Management courses in New Zealand. This study reported that ethnic names which "may reflect that an individual is not a native to the country may prompt or increase discriminatory effects" (Wilson et al., 2005, p. 70). Ethnic names "could signal a lack of assimilation, trigger more pronounced stereotypes or even cause psychological discomfort because of pronunciation difficulties" Wilson et al., 2005, p. 70). They also found that an individual's ethnicity has a negative effect on selection outcomes with different levels of discrimination for different ethnic minority groups (Wilson et al., 2005). This study will explore whether there are such forms of bias occurring against minorities within New Zealand organisations particularity in relation to gender, immigration status and ethnicity status.

Immigration Status Minority 1: "Immigrant"

Wilson et al. (2005) demonstrated that both immigration status and country of origin influence the probable selection/access of immigrants. Immigrants from Australia, Great Britain and South Africa were preferred over immigrants from Pacific Islands, India and China. This was in spite of the latter being equally highly educated, experienced in their area of expertise and being fluent in English, i.e., with identical "human capital" (Coates & Carr, 2005). Immigrants from Pacific Islands, India and China were more likely to be discriminated against because of their membership to one of the ethnic groups (Wilson et al., 2005). These studies found "that" immigration status and possibly candidates' ethnicity are likely factors that could negatively influence employment opportunities for immigrants in the workplace. This study will conduct research with ethnic minority women using a control group of the majority (non-ethnic New Zealand born males) while giving a voice to give their perspective on the presence of treatment bias based on their observations in New Zealand workplaces.

According to North (2007), immigrant qualifications do not necessarily confer the same advantage on immigrant job seekers and those from non-English speaking nations in comparison to local born candidates and candidates from English speaking countries applying for similar jobs. Immigrants who manage to gain formal professional employment may still struggle to settle into the culture and are at times socially isolated, with their career advancement and promotion opportunities being minimal (Pio, 2008). The lack of career advancement and promotion opportunities will result in negative work-related outcomes including low organisational commitment and low job satisfaction, as promotions serve to motivate workers (Smith, 2005). However, it is evident that to date, research has focused

on access bias and that there is a gap in the knowledge regarding research on treatment bias within New Zealand organisations pertaining to minority status and the effects of this to career advancement opportunities.

Ngocha-Chaderopa (2014) further highlighted the social inequalities of horizontal and vertical segregation. She found that skilled immigrants to New Zealand often found themselves working in occupations where they tended to be overqualified, such as caregiving roles in the social care workforce. Horizontal and vertical segregation refers to a situation whereby opportunities for career progression within a company or sector for a particular group is limited because of their race, gender or age. According to the dual or segmented labour market theory by Berger and Piore (1980), the employment sectors that skilled immigrants may find themselves working in are regarded as secondary and undesired segments of the workforce. This theory explains how the economy is divided into two parts, namely the "primary" and "secondary" sectors that run parallel to each other.

The presence of skilled immigrants working in the secondary sector due to underemployment further highlights treatment bias towards immigrants' employment and the denial of equal access to organisation rewards in New Zealand. The secondary sector, where most immigrants usually find themselves working, is characterised by temporary employment relationships with little or no prospect of internal promotion. Immigrants are employed in the secondary sector despite being skilled workers due to the fact that it is difficult for immigrants to find employment in their various areas of expertise (Ngocha-Chaderopa, 2014). In terms of occupations, the secondary sector consists primarily of low

or unskilled jobs, in either blue collar (manual labour), white collar (for example, filing clerks), or the service industry (including wait staff and care givers) (Berger and Piore, 1980).

According to the to the dual segmented labour market theory, jobs in the secondary sector are characterised by having low skill levels, low earnings, easy entry, job impermanence, and low returns to education or experience (Berger and Piore, 1980). Coupled with low wages and poor working conditions—despite the importance of the secondary sector to society—employers find it difficult to recruit from the indigenous population in many areas, particularly in the aged care sector (Ngocha-Chaderopa, 2014). The secondary sector becomes an option for skilled immigrants who, as a result of access bias, have failed to gain meaningful employment in the areas of expertise. This research will examine whether there is any point at which being a minority is an advantage (as proposed by the minority influence theory) at gaining access to resources and employment, particularly when the employee has successfully gained employment and is considering their chances of promotion.

Gender Status Minority 2: "Woman"

Women make up close to fifty percent of the population and yet they are still regarded by society as a minority with regards to participation in employment and advancement opportunities within their workplaces (Statistics New Zealand, 2012). According to Knorr (2005), gender factor barriers that hinder career development of skilled women in organisations can be grouped into two general streams: psycho-social barriers (internal beliefs) and structural barriers. Psycho-social barriers result from the effect of socialisation

on the development of attitudes and skills. The gender-centred approach argues that women's childhood socialisation patterns are not conducive to success in managerial positions. Arguably, the behaviours that girls are raised to have are not compatible with rapid managerial advancement, for example, risk avoidance, passivity and deference (Whitehouse, 1992).

In addition to these socialised attitudes, Whitehouse (1992) believes that women also need to overcome the attitudes of other people, both male and female, in relation to women as managers. If other people in the workplace do not view women as being as successful as men, this perception can influence the real career opportunities of women as a result of access bias and treatment bias. Bias may also result in women not being given the same opportunities as their male counterparts as they are viewed as a minority (Statistics New Zealand, 2012). As shown by Statistics New Zealand, women are regarded as a minority in the workplace; this study will explore the impact this minority has on women's career advancement opportunities.

The Ministry of Women's Affairs (2012) claims that legislation such as the Human Rights Act 1993, affirmative action policies, and the equal employment opportunities (EEO) policy in New Zealand have significantly increased the number of women and ethnic minorities in managerial positions (Leslie, Mayer & Kravitz, 2014). Legislation has "achieved a significant reduction in discrepancies between men and women" (Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2012 p. 16). However, "the bias that remains towards women in the workplace is not due to conscious disregard for the law but is largely due to subconscious prejudice and factors such as occupational segregation" (Ministry of Women's Affairs,

2012 p. 16). This study will examine the presence of treatment bias towards women as a minority.

Structural barriers are aspects within the workplace and society in general that explain women's subordinate position in the managerial hierarchy, as well as the limited opportunities for promotion available to women. Regardless of race or immigration status, the factors mentioned above arguably qualify women as single minorities. Women who are also immigrants to New Zealand are a double minority (Elliot & Smith, 2004).

This thesis will examine whether women are disadvantaged due to treatment bias when it comes to promotion opportunities by ranking them in comparison to the majority (men), and other single, double, and treble minorities present in New Zealand workplaces today.

Ethnicity Minority Status 3: "Ethnicity"

Both historically and today, the patterning of labour market occupations by gender and ethnicity continues to benefit Pakeha males (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). According to Statistics New Zealand (2014), Maori earn 82.2% of what Pakeha earn on the basis of their average hourly earnings. A comparison of average hourly earnings by gender and ethnicity shows that the bias extends to Pacific women (including women with origins in the Indian peninsula, South East Asia, East Asia, the Middle East and African regions) who earn as little as 66% of what Pakeha men earn, while Maori women earn 69.4% in comparison to Pakeha men (Statistics New Zealand, 2014).

When comparing Pakeha women and Pacific women, data shows that Pacific women earn 78.8% of what Pakeha women earn. Whitehouse (1992) argues that the disparity in wages and job opportunities is not one of equal employment opportunity as women do not "choose" the "wrong" jobs, but are underpaid for the necessary and valuable work that they do. The wage disparity is most visible when comparing what Maori (who earn 69.4%)and Pacific (who earn 66%) women earn on average with the average for Pakeha men (Statistics New Zealand, 2014).

It can be argued that in some instances, migrant women face a triple discrimination due to their simultaneous gender, immigrant, and ethnicity status. The focus of this research is to investigate if this is the case. This study will focus on the psychological theories that may help to explain any subconscious bias against women who are also immigrants and ethnic minorities in New Zealand i.e., it will take into account the role of ethnicity and immigration status in gender bias.

Psychological Theories

There are a number of psychological theories that focus on explaining why discrimination, stereotyping and prejudice occur. These psychological theories may help us explain how we (1) perceive, (2) categorise and (3) compare people to ourselves, and thus why treatment bias occurs (Podsiadlowski & Ward, 2010). Understanding the reason why bias occurs helps to raise awareness and provides opportunities for organisations to find ways for continued improvement of legislation, policies and training to combat stereotyping and employment bias (UNDP, 2009).

(1) Similarity Attraction Theory

Similarity attraction theory posits that when individuals are perceived to be similar to oneself, there is a likelihood that there will be a higher preference for interaction and involvement with those individuals (Cushman, Valentinsen & Dietrich, 1982). Generally, this means that people like and are attracted to others who are similar, rather than dissimilar, to themselves; "birds of a feather flock together," as the adage goes (Byrne, 1971). According to Byrne (1971), increased similarity with a target or an individual with respect to attitudes or personality traits is associated by individuals and groups with increased attraction to the target by those individuals and groups. In the context of this research, similarity attraction theory informs us that the people who are likely to receive a promotion in a given job are those who are most similar to senior management, including those who share the same ethnic, national and linguistic background (Coates & Carr, 2005). There could be a perceived lack of fit between the majority groups and the minority groups as their perceived view of the world and attitudes could be different due to gender, immigration status and ethnicity.

Based on Schneider's (1987) model of attraction-selection-attrition, (1) individuals are attracted to organisations where members are similar to themselves with regards personality, values, interests; (2) organisations are more likely to select those who possess knowledge, skills, and abilities similar to the ones their existing members possess; and (3) over time, those who do not fit in well within the organisation's culture are more likely to leave. As a result of these three factors, the personal characteristics of those who work for an organisation are likely to become more similar over time, leading to the defining and creation of an organisation's predominant culture (Bretz, Ash & Dreher, 1989). When

attraction-selection-attrition is applied to an organisational context, similarity is the key predictor of entrance to (in recruitment and selection), advancement in (promotion opportunities) and departure from organisations.

Employees who are deemed to be similar, or employees from the majority culture (white New Zealand-born males for this purpose of this research), will be more likely employed in the first instance. As theorised, such applicants are more likely to be attracted to organisations consisting of people who match their own personal attributes, as well as be attractive to the majority population within the organisations (Schneider, Smith, Taylor and Fleenor, 1998).

Again, employees who are similar to management are less likely to have restricted advancement opportunities and are also less likely to leave an organisation when they share common ground with the majority in the workplace (Van Hoye & Turban, 2015). The dissimilar are weeded out, leaving those similar to the majority. Hence, bias in entrance to, and advancement in organisations is central to similarity attraction theory. This study will examine whether minority status in the workplace is affected by similarity attraction, and whether being a single, double, or treble minority has a bearing on perceived fit to the predominant culture in the workplace.

According to Stewart and Perlow (2001), the lack of organisational fit with regards to soft skills, for example cultural fit, team fit, relational or networking skills and personality fit, are determinants for selection during recruitment. Accordingly, the perceived lack of fit by the employer is linked to discrimination and can explain the differences in recruitment and

selection as well as performance and reward systems in organisations. For the purpose of this study we will examine whether similarity attraction is influenced by one's background or minority status, i.e., gender, immigration status, and ethnicity. Is there treatment bias as a result of perceived dissimilarity to the predominant culture which influences opportunities for promotion?

Further support for similarity attraction theory was found in a meta-analysis of over 240 laboratory studies on similarity attraction. These studies observed that similarity produces "a positive, moderately sized effect on attraction (defined as liking), meaning that individuals are attracted to others who are similar to them" (Montoya & Horton, 2012, p. 65). Montoya and Horton's (2012) meta-analysis focused on reinforcement and information processing perspectives and the effect these have on similarity attraction. Through their meta-analysis they confirmed that individuals will favour stimuli that reinforces the logic and consistency of the individual's world. The study also showed that similarity of negative attributes conveys negative information about the target which will lead to repulsion and avoidance instead of similarity attraction (Montoya & Horton, 2012). However, none of this research focused on the effect of similarity attraction in the workplace with regards to perceived preference when individuals were being considered for promotion opportunities, and in particular, with regards to differences between single, double and treble minorities.

Research by Goldberg (2003) on similarity attraction in recruitment and selection has shown that ethnic and national similarity (where candidates and employees are of similar ethnicity and country of origin) underpins selection and performance biases as applicants and employees who are more similar to the evaluators are more likely to receive positive

appraisals. If this is the case and for the purpose of this research, there will be co-variation between treatment bias against minorities and their perceived similarity. Minority employees, for example women immigrants, are likely to be perceived as different or dissimilar by the majority or senior management. As a result of being dissimilar they are less likely to be hired for jobs due to the lack of fit to the predominant culture. In terms of promotion, again because of the minority's dissimilarity, they are less likely to be the preferred candidate for promotion opportunities within an organisation.

Further evidence of similarity attraction can be found in a study conducted by Ferris, Judge, Rowland and Fitzgibbons (1994), which highlighted that a supervisor and subordinate's similarity was positively related to the supervisor's preference of their subordinates when the similarity attraction paradigm is applied to an employment context.

In summary, similarity attraction theory proposes that there is a connection between perceived attitudinal similarity and interpersonal attraction where agreement with one person validates one's beliefs. Once connection established then satisfies a need to "interpret the environment correctly and to function effectively in understanding and predicting events" (Bryne, Clore & Smeaton 1986, p. 118). The lower the uncertainty about members of other cultures, the greater the attraction (Lee & Gudykunst, 2001). In the case of senior management, promotions are more likely to be given to individuals who are similar to the employer. Based on the similarity attraction framework, for the purpose of this study it is expected that the majority group is most likely to be seen to fit into the predominant workplace compared to individuals from female ethnic minority groups.

(2) Social Dominance Theory

Social Dominance Theory begins with the observation that human social groups tend to be organised according to group-based social hierarchies in societies that produce economic surplus and that these hierarchies have a trimorphic structure (Sidanius, Pratto, Martin, & Stallworth, 1991). This structure is based on (1) age (i.e., adults have more power and higher status than children), (2) gender (i.e., men have more power and higher status than women), and (3) arbitrary-set, which are group-based hierarchies that are culturally defined. This theory proposes that all societies have a predisposition to form group-based hierarchies (Sidanius et al., 1991). Hence, if the theory is valid, then we would expect, for the purposes of this study, that the workplace is not exempt from group-based hierarchies. It is expected that within the workplace social structures are formed with dominant and subordinate groups (Sidanius, 1993; Sidanius, Devereux, & Pratto, 1992; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius et al., 1991). For the purpose of this study, we would expect that the majority (New Zealand-born white males) are perceived to command higher social status compared to the female immigrants of ethnic origins.

The theory proposes that more powerful social roles are increasingly likely to be occupied by older white males, that males are more dominant than females, that males possess more political power than females, and that most high-status positions are held by males (Sidanius, 1993). The members of the upper status or dominant position in the social structure will enjoy a greater share of positive social value, wealth, status and power while the members of the subordinate, lower social structure are forced to endure unjust negative social value characterised by poverty, lack of prestige and relative powerlessness (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). As a result of these social structures, and for the purpose of this study, we

expect that the majority (white, male, locally born employees) will more likely be perceived to have higher status or perceived dominance over their minority counterparts (female immigrants). However, social dominance theory does not provide information regarding the influence of multiple or combined minority statuses, i.e., single, double, or treble minorities and their impact of perceived social dominance. This research will hopefully shed some light on this gap in knowledge regarding the influence that ethnicity and immigration status could potentially have on social dominance.

According to Social Dominance theory prejudiced beliefs such as racism, sexism, nationalism and classism are all manifestations of this social hierarchy system. Individuals in dominant groups have greater social dominance orientations and are motivated to maintain their dominance over subordinate groups and the corresponding privileges resulting from their higher status (Sidanius & Pratto, 1993b). According to Sidanius et al., (1991) hierarchy structure is achieved through the generation and maintenance of hierarchy legitimising myths, which are beliefs (stereotypes) and attitudes (prejudice) which reinforce that subordinate groups deserve their status. For the purpose of this research, we would expect that the majority (white New Zealand-born males) will be perceived to have a higher status given that they are the dominant group in comparison to their New Zealand-born female counterparts, and even more so with immigrants and ethnic minorities.

Gender and social hierarchy are also central to the social dominance theory; Social Dominance Theory proposes that men are perceived to belong to a higher social hierarchy than women (Sidanius et al., 1991). According to social dominance theory, there are social hierarchy structures within organisations. Individuals who have a high social dominance

orientation tend to believe that members of traditionally considered high-status groups (e.g., men, whites) should be hierarchically superior to members of low-status groups (e.g., women, blacks, immigrants) (Simmons & Umphress, 2015). Pratto, Stallworth, Sidanius and Siers (1997) found that the placement of candidates in status-enhancing occupations (high pay and high status occupations such as doctors and lawyers) and status attenuation occupations (low status, low paying occupations) is determined or is consistent with the position of the candidates' group in the social dominance hierarchy. Hence this thesis predicts that promotion opportunities will be better for men compared to women, and for non-ethnic employees and local natives rather than immigrants. We would also expect that perceived social dominance will covary with treatment bias; as we progress through single, double and treble minorities we would expect to find decrements in social status with each progressive minority status.

When comparing majority groups with immigrant and minority groups in the workplace, social dominance orientation has been found to be a root of bias and discrimination, particularly during the selection process (Podsiadlowski & Ward, 2010). Social dominance theory also provides an explanation for why leadership positions may not always reflect the demographic diversity of most workplaces. Simmons and Umphress (2015) set out to investigate how social dominance orientation influences the selection of an individual who is a member of a traditionally considered low-status group for a leadership position as opposed to a non-leadership position. They conducted a two phase laboratory experiment involving 63 undergraduate students who were recruited from a business course at a university in the USA. The experiments involved participants responding to a questionnaire that assessed social dominance orientation with control variables such as benevolent

sexism, social desirability, race and gender and modern racism. Their research showed that individuals who have a high social dominance orientation are more likely to discriminate against a highly qualified, traditionally considered low-status candidate compared to those with a low social dominance orientation. The job position moderated this outcome: they found that the effect was stronger when selecting the traditionally considered low-status candidate for a leadership role as opposed to a non-leadership position (Simmons and Umphress, 2015). Based on this finding we can expect this research will show that minorities are not likely to have equal advance advancement opportunities or higher status if they belong to a lower status group from the majority.

(3) Social Identity Theory

Social Identity Theory centres on social categorisation as a way of understanding the bias of inter-group discrimination. This theory proposes that individuals have an inbuilt tendency to categorise themselves into one or more "in-groups", categorising others as well as attaching value to those different categories (Turner, 1979) Individuals build a part of their identity on the basis of membership and enforcing boundaries with other groups (Tajfel, 1978). The theory suggests that individuals identify with groups in such a way as to maximise positive distinctiveness and that they will often engage in social comparison at an intergroup level, as well as at an individual level (Carr Rugumbana, Walkom and Bolitho, 2001).

Tajfel and Turner (1979) identified three distinct cognitive processes that individuals apply to define whether or not they are part of the in-group or out-group: social categorisation, social identification, and social comparison. The in-group (i.e., I am a…) and out-group

(i.e., I am not a...) form the basis of an individual's social identity and self-image and are based on the groups to which they belong, for example, race, gender or occupation (Carr et al., 2001). These surface traits (such as race and ethnicity) are useful attributes for categorising oneself as well as others given that they are most visible, unlike deeper level traits (such as personal differences in attitudes, values and beliefs), which may at times be unknown and less available (Podsiadlowski & Ward, 2008). Memberships to such groups may then be associated with appearance of prejudice, discrimination and stereotyping related to perceived group membership (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Hence the theory is relevant to this thesis because it will inform who is most likely to be regarded as "in-group" by senior management. As proposed by similarity attraction theory, we would then expect that those perceived to be in-group will be at an advantage in terms of promotion opportunities and advancement in the workplace.

Social identity theory proposes that categorisation is an automatic cognitive mechanism which leads to comparison and self-enhancement and results in individuals favouring the in-group over the out-group on certain dimensions and contributing to higher self-esteem (Podsiadlowski & Ward, 2008). Social categorisation uses stereotypical dimensions to highlight the differences or distinctiveness between the perceived in-group and another group, and also the similarities between an individual and other in-group members (Tharenou, 2010). This process of self-identification ultimately leads to intergroup bias and implicit intergroup rivalries, as well as out-group derogation and negative stereotypes (Brewer, 1999). The link to treatment bias against those who are perceived to the members of the out-group is clear because of the automatic cognitive categorisation and comparison,

and we would expect that those with visible differences to the majority in the workplace are most likely to be viewed as out-group rather than in-group.

Social identity theory also proposes that due to social comparison, the need to be distinct increases as the group's similarity with another group increases (Struch & Schwartz, 1989). Groups need to be different from each other for them to positively value each other (Tajfel, 2010). The perception of similarity between groups will likely result in psychological discomfort and conflict where groups feel threatened as similarity increases between the in-group and the perceived out-group (Tajfel, 2010). According to Struch and Schwartz (1989), "similarity increases the dimensions of comparability and makes it more difficult to differentiate between the groups and thereby increases the need to protect or enhance the groups' unique social identity" (p. 365). Based on this premise we would expect that senior management will feel threatened by those most similar to them. i.e., those employees who are male, non-immigrant and non-ethnic in origin.

Carr, et al (2001), conducted a study in Tanzania, which examined the recruitment and selection practices for expatriates. Ninety-six Bachelor of Commerce students at the University of Dar-es-Salaam completed a questionnaire indicating how local personnel managers might rank East African expatriates, Western expatriates and fellow Tanzanians given that all the candidates had equal training, education and the same relocation cost. The only difference between the candidates was their country of origin. The results indicated that the personnel managers were likely to have preference for Westerners rather than expatriates from neighbouring countries. These results support a tenant of social identity theory which suggests that intergroup relations become fractious when their degree of

similarity is high, a term which is referred to as "inverse resonance" by Carr, Ehiobeche, Rugimbana, and Munro (1996). Inverse resonance occurs when relatively similar groups pose a "symbolic" threat to in-group distinctiveness (Brewer, 2003). For the purpose of this study, we would expect that senior management will regard those most similar to them (i.e., the majority as the in-group) and will likely feel most threatened by those members most similar to themselves.

From a social identity theory perspective and for the purpose of this study, organisation can be seen to be structured groups with complex networks of intergroup relations characterised by power and status (Fielding, et. al., 2000). Given this perspective, we would expect that employees in the workplace identify or have a sense of belonging to groups within the workplace through categorisation and comparison with other workmates based on their differences and similarities (Tajfel, 2010). Senior management in most New Zealand organisations is dominated by white locally born males who are the majority (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Minorities who include women, immigrants and those of different ethnicities are likely to be viewed as out-group and likely to feel excluded while the white, locally born males who are similar to senior management or the majority will be viewed as in-group, and hence will feel included. In particular, if social identity theory is relevant to the situation of skilled immigrant ethnic women in New Zealand, we would expect to find noted differences in treatment between majority and single, double and mostly treble minority groups in the workplace. We would expect to find greater penalties as we progress from single to double and treble minority statuses, and that ethnic immigrants are more likely to be viewed as an out-group as compared to a non-ethnic immigrant.

(4) Realistic Conflict Theory

The Realistic Conflict theory proposes that discrimination and hostility are a result of the presence of conflicts of interest and competition, which arise when there is scarcity of resources (Esses, Jackson and Armstrong, 1998). Competition for resources does not need to be real, rather the perception of competition leads to conflict and intergroup hostility. The theory also proposes that group conflict is largely driven by the scarcity of economic resources that leads groups to compete against each other for survival, resulting greater conflict towards members of the out-group (Brewer, 1968). Those members of a group or individuals who desire a hierarchical structure in society—which is often the norm in workplace settings—are more likely to have the perception that resources that are limited are of the greatest value, and this results in certain groups having limited access to these resources (Esses, et al., 1998). For the purpose of this study, conflict and competition for promotion (scares resource) will, according to realistic conflict theory, lead to treatment bias and unfavourable attitudes towards minorities in the workplace as competition for fewer economic resources increases further up the corporate ladder. In particular, this thesis predicts that there will be a covariation relationship between perceived realistic conflict and minority status. When we ask immigrant women to relate their experiences of who is most likely seen as a threat or competition for promotions, we would expect that the minorities who are considered to be the out-group will be seen as the greatest threat.

Three research studies on intergroup competition conducted by Esses, et al., 1998) revealed that perceived competition for resources caused negative attitudes towards immigrants. In a situation with high levels of unemployment, it was likely that unfavourable attitudes towards immigration and immigrants was more evident. With limited resources (in this

case, promotion and advancement opportunities) within an organisation, the majority attitudes of treatment bias are heightened as the majority compete for the limited resources with non-locals. This would lead to immigrants being perceived as a threat to the majority group, and in particular positions within senior management. According to realistic conflict theory, when group members are involved in reciprocal competitive activities and the gain of a desired goal by one individual results in loss for the others, the out-group will automatically be negatively stereotyped because of this competition (Esses, et al., 1998). For the purposes of this study, we will expect that single minorities will be less disadvantaged compared to double and treble minorities, and that the out-group (characterised by immigrants, ethnic minorities and women) will more likely be viewed as posing a threat to the competition for economic and power resources. In this case, minorities possess similar skills as majority employees, hence greater conflict and perceived threat to the majority for access to promotion.

Minority Influence Theory

Despite all the overwhelming evidence from research highlighting the reasons why and how biases occur, it is now important to investigate if there is indeed a way, or if there is any hope, for minorities (e.g., women, immigrants, and ethnic minorities) to advance in their places of work or to have an influence on the majority's views. It is clear that similar people will naturally flock together, that the majority will have higher status, and that minorities will be viewed as an out-group as proposed by the theories we have discussed above. It is important to investigate if there is any point at which being a minority becomes an advantage in organisations or workplaces as proposed by the minority influence theory and under which conditions this can occur.

Minority influence refers to social influence that occurs as a result of being exposed to a consistent minority during individual and inter-groups interactions (Moscovici, Lage & Naffrechoux, 1969). The theory highlights that individuals and minorities are not simply passive agents who either resist or conform to majority judgments; that they can in fact exercise influence themselves. For the purpose of this research we would expect that single, double and treble minorities in the workplace are able to exert influence. Research by Faucheux and Moscovici (1972) and Moscovici, Lage and Naffrechoux (1969) confirms that depending on the behavioural style of a minority, that minority can successfully induce social influence over the majority. Moscovici also argues that it is not only high status individuals who influence those of a lower status: a minority individual (or group) can provoke cognitive and relational conflict within a group before it exerts influence, and induce the majority to change their opinions or judgments (Moscovici & Faucheux, 1972).

Laboratory research over the years has confirmed the support of minority influence as minorities are considered to stimulate divergent thinking and consideration of issues from multiple perspectives which can, in turn, liberate individuals from the pressure of conformity (Nemeth & Nemeth-Brown, 2003). A tenant of minority influence theory is that the influence is generally felt only after a period of time, and tends to produce private acceptance of the views expressed by the minority (Moscovici, 1976, 1980). With this in mind, one purpose of this research will be to uncover if minorities in New Zealand workplaces can be seen to influence or change the perspectives of the majority with regards to similarity attraction, social dominance, social identity and realistic conflict theories.

For the purpose of this study and based on this premise, we would expect the presence of a minority view in the workplace to significantly reduce conformity with the majority. Following these experiments, Moscovici (1976, 1980) proposed difference between compliance and conversion. Compliance is the underlying reason for individuals to publically conform to group norms, while privately, they reject those norms. Conversion, however, forms the basis of minority influence by convincing the majority that the minority views are correct. This is a result of minorities prompting private acceptance of their views. While the majority is not always ready to accept these views publically, private acceptance can exert influence over the majority groups in the workplace."

According to Moscovici (1976, 1980) conversion is achieved in different ways, for example, by consistency and flexibility. The main difference between conversion and compliance is that conversion usually involves both public and private acceptance of the minority view and results in internalisation. Minority views or dissent, even when inaccurate, contributes to group performance in the workplace as it helps stimulate individuals to consider more options and information which will result in improved decision making processes, which in turn benefits the organisation (Youngreen & Byron, 2016). Given this positive contribution that minorities can make to performance and functioning of organisations, it is important that there are minorities in leadership positions and in decision-making roles so that organisations can benefit from the diversity of their workforce.

Nemeth (1986) highlights the negative aspects of conformity in intergroup relations. The tendency of individuals to confirm to a majority and the failure to consider other alternative

viewpoint leads to negative consequences as this results in a lack of objectivity and unreflective information processing. For the purposes of this study, it will be important to see whether the perceptions of minorities are considered by senior management, even when those perceptions are deemed to be dissimilar and/or of a lower social status. This will be especially important when considering the promotion of a minority individual over a majority individual as this would stimulate innovation within the workplace. Skilled immigrants will bring novel solutions to problem solving and impede the negative outcomes of conformity to the majority (Nemeth, 1986).

A study by Nemeth and Wachtler (1983) found that even though research participants in their study did not comply with the minority judgments that they were exposed to, there was a significant change with new and novel solutions to problems that were not suggested by minorities. This is evidence that the mere exposure to minorities in the workplace will assist in stimulating a new way of working within organisations, hence the benefit of a multicultural and diverse workforce. Thus, we would expect to find that despite the differences in minority status, at some stage the minority will be advantaged in terms of promotion opportunities given the diversity they bring to the workplace.

Research on minority influence theory also suggests that exposure of individuals to opposing majority views can cause stress that inhibits originality and heightens the likelihood of conventional responses (Youngreen & Byron, 2016). A study of minority influence by Nemeth and Kwan (1985) found that subjects who were exposed to opposing minority views displayed increased stimulation (defined as different innovative kinds of thinking) because of lower stress levels caused by having to oppose the minority. In fact,

the subjects exhibited more original thinking and brought out ideas that they would not normally have considered without exposure to the influencing agent. In the context of this research and New Zealand organisations, it appears that minority influence theory highlights the advantages of minority presence in the team environments, specifically in leadership positions. This is particularly relevant to this thesis because it is expected that senior management will at some stage prefer the contribution of minorities and provide them with promotion opportunities.

Nemeth (1986) studied the relationship between status and minority influence. She suggests that lower-status group members or minorities incite conflict through their presentation of conflicting, alternative minority views. This resulting conflict stimulates a need to seek resolutions and this is turn causes minorities to exert greater cognitive effort to find a resolution compared to the majority. As minority group members exert greater cognitive effort to resolve the problem, their capacity to be innovative increases in order to solve the conflict. This in turn leads to divergent thought processes which then influence the majority views. Hence Nemeth (1986) highlights that minority influence is not necessarily always done thorough presenting captivating and influential messages. For the purposes of this study, skilled minorities do not necessarily need to have the confidence to be great orators for them to influence, but rather through their divergent thinking will enhance their teams' problem solving solutions. This could also highlight that minorities do not necessarily need to be viewed in favourable light by other team members for them to influence the majority. For the purpose of this study, we would expect that that despite their lower perceived social dominance and being perceived as an out-group in social identity theory, minorities will

still be perceived as being able to make positive contributions to the organisations they belong to.

This leads us to question under what conditions minorities are likely to influence the majority.

Moscovici (1980) argues that majority influence leads to a focus on interpersonal relationships with other members of the majority while neglecting scrutiny of the message being communicated, whereas minority influence leads to increased focus through greater scrutiny of the message. Minority views provide the majority with new ideas and information, leading them to re-examine their views (Moscovici, 1980). In this respect, minority influence involves private acceptance (i.e., internalisation) converting the majority. Minorities, despite being out-numbered and having no or little status, may in theory be in a position to have the same influence as the majority, thus yielding similar performance outcomes in career advancement when opportunities arise. It will be interesting to find out if there is an incremental advantage in being a single, double or treble minority; will the treble minority have more influence compared to the single minority? We may expect that because of compounding minority status, treble minorities, for example, may have greater influence as result of their consistent, distinct and novel ideas.

Four main factors identified as being key to a minority having influence over the majority are: (1) behavioural style, (2) style of thinking, (3) flexibility and (4) identification (Moscovici & Zavalloni, 1969). The important aspects of behavioural style for minorities to have influence are: consistency and confidence, the possession of unbiased views, and

resistance to majority and social pressure. Moscovici and Nemeth (1974) found that behavioural style, specifically the consistency of minorities over time, coupled with the patterning of verbal and nonverbal behaviour, was key to achieving influence.

The famous Blue-Green study by Moscovici et al., (1969) set out to investigate the effects of consistency of minorities on a majority. In this study, Moscovici placed two confederates within a group of four participants. The group was presented with 36 colour slides which had different shades of blue, with the shades presented as either blue (correct) or green (incorrect). Participants were exposed by the confederates to either consistently-incorrect or inconsistently-incorrect reporting of the slide shades. The results showed that the consistent confederate minority had more influence over the majority than the inconsistent minority (Moscovici & Lage, 1976). In accordance with this finding and for this purpose of this study, we would expect that minorities with consistent behavioural patterns will be able to exert influence over the majority, meaning they will have more opportunity for promotion.

Yet another aspect of consistency that is vital for minority influence is confidence (Youngreen & Byron, 2016). Confidence to present and advocate for a view point coupled with consistency will result in the majority questioning their own views, raising conflict and uncertainty as the minority view disrupts established norms. The confident and consistent presentation of the minority view may lead to the majority questioning their views and changing their attitudes (Moscovici & Lage, 1976; Nemeth & Wachtler, 1974). Moscovici and Neve (1973) found that confidence was also associated with perceived competency in minorities. Being able to present a viewpoint in a consistent and confident

manner will most likely elicit attribution of competency on the part of minority (Berger, Webster, Ridgewar, & Roseholtz, 1986). For the purposes of this study, we have established that it is important for the minority to be consistent and confident in order for them to exert influence. Hence given that they are immigrants, women and ethnic minorities who have equal qualifications and perform at the same level as the majority, they should have equal opportunities in terms of influencing decisions in the workplaces.

According to Nemeth, Swedlund, and Kanki (1974), further evidence suggests that the manner in which consistency is conveyed also plays a role in social influence. Research by Nemeth et al. (1974) differentiated between rigid and flexible consistency styles. The study found that when confederates alternated between two related yet different minority responses, they were more likely to influence results. Contrast this with rigid minorities who responded to the same way each time (Youngreen & Byron, 2016). This shows that repetitive, rigid and uncompromising minorities are less likely to change majority views compared to a well-defined, flexible and reasonable minority will more likely be successful in changing the majority view (Mugny & Papastamou, 1980). For this study we will evaluate whether there are any differences in degrees of minority influence based on whether employees have single, double or treble minority statuses. For example, do single minorities have more influence compared to double and treble minorities?

Minority influence theory also suggests that if the presentation of minority views provokes the majority to think about an idea as well as the ideas for and against the views presented to them, then the minority is likely to be successful in influencing the majority. This allows for the discussion and debate of the ideas proposed by the minority (Nemeth, 1986)), thus

highlighting that the style of thinking that the minority provokes will influence the success of their message in converting behaviour. For example, if the minorities in the workplace are able to present ideas that are both for and against the views they are presenting, then we would expect that they will be able to exert greater influence. Minorities with really diverse views may come up with brilliantly novel ideas, and hence earn more of a break in the promotion stakes than the average minority. In other words, it is not just perception; minorities may actually be more innovative and productive than majorities and thus earn just rewards. This supports the idea that there is room for minority influence, and it will a purpose of this study to examine whether this is the case in New Zealand workplaces.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Based on minority status, there will be a steady and continuous decrement in preference for promotion as we progress through from single, double and treble minority employees (minority status is subtractive: each element takes away more from one's prospects at work).

Hypothesis 2: Similarity will covary with perceived rank order. Employees perceived to have more similar backgrounds to the majority will be perceived to have better cultural fit to the predominant culture in the workplace.

Hypothesis 3: Social dominance will covary with perceived rank order of employees on the various minority statuses from majority to single, double and treble minorities.

Hypothesis 4: Social identity will covary with perceived rank. As minority status doubles and trebles, employees are more likely to be perceived as out-group.

Hypothesis 5: Realistic conflict will covary with perceived rank as perceived competition for promotion increases. Compared to majority the minorities, in order of single, double and treble minority status, will likely face greater negative treatment bias.

Hypothesis 6: All else being equal, as minority status doubles and trebles, there will be an increasing likelihood of a reversal of treatment bias.

CHAPTER 2

Method

Participants

The study privileged the perspectives of women, in particular women immigrants to New Zealand.

Participants were contacted and drawn through a convenience, non-random sampling method. Snowballing by both the researcher and the study participants was utilised to recruit participants to the research project. Snowballing is a recruitment method where some key informants are personally known to the researcher, and through these contacts further participants with relevant experiences (in this case, immigrant women) were recruited through initial participant connections. An online survey was initially sent to eighty key contacts by the researcher. From there, the survey was received and read by a total of 94 immigrant women. Out of the 94 responses, 65 surveys were completed satisfactorily, providing a return rate of 70%.

The criterion to participate in this study was that participants had to be immigrants who were or had been in paid employment in various sectors within New Zealand organisations. There was also a requirement for the participants to be proficient English speakers and to possess either a New Zealand work visa, New Zealand Citizenship, or Permanent Residency with the right to work and live in New Zealand indefinitely.

Nineteen women (29.23%) did not report on their country of origin. Eleven participants (16.92%) reported their country of origin as Zimbabwe, eight participants (12.31%) from South Africa, and three participants from the United Kingdom, and another three from the USA. India, the Philippines, Russia and Malaysia had two participants each. Table 1 shows the exact number of participants from each of the countries of origin that were reported. This shows the various countries from which the women participants for this study were drawn from and it also gives a reflection on where immigrants to New Zealand are coming from.

Table 1: Summary of Participants from Various Countries of Origin

Country of Origin	Total	%	Country of Origin	Total	%
Unknown	19	29.23%	China	1	1.54%
Zimbabwe	11	16.92%	Belgium	1	1.54%
South Africa	8	12.31%	Kenya	1	1.54%
United Kingdom	3	4.62%	Peru	1	1.54%
USA	3	4.62%	Hungary	1	1.54%
India	2	3.08%	Colombia	1	1.54%
Philippines	2	3.08%	Italy	1	1.54%
Russia	2	3.08%	Czech Republic	1	1.54%
Malaysia	2	3.08%	Kazakhstan	1	1.54%
Tanzania	1	1.54%	Germany	1	1.54%
Zambia	1	1.54%	South Korea	1	1.54%

Collectively, these women had an average of 6.35 years (S.D. = 4.30) work experience within New Zealand organisations in various job sectors. Nineteen of the women (29.23%) reported being in the 31-35 years age group, nine women (13.85%) in the 36-40 years age group, seven women (10.77%) reported being in the 46-50 years age range, six women (9.23%) in the 26-30 years, and another six women reported being in the 41-45 years age group. Two women (3.08%) reported being in the 20-25 years group and two other women in the 51-55 years age group. Fourteen women (21.54 %) did not provide a response for this question. The overall pattern in this age dimension was that the majority of the women did not have many years of experience working in New Zealand in relation to their age.

The participants were also asked to indicate their current job title. Of the women who took part in the study, the highest number of women (29.23%) reported working in the Health and Community job sector. This was followed by the Education and Social Services sector with 21.54% of the women reporting they worked in this sector. 6.15% of the women reported working in the Business sector. The Engineering, Finance, and Property sectors had an equal representation of 4.62% of the women working in these sectors. Government, Law and Safety, IT and Telecommunications and Science had 1.54% of women working in the sector. 26.15% of the women who took part in the study did not provide information on the job sectors they were working in.

The patterns shows that the majority of the immigrant women who provided information on their current job title (50.77%) work in the Health and Community and the Education and Social Services job sectors.

For those who provided information on their current occupation, eight participants were working in Administrator positions; the majority of these women (four) were Europeans, two were Africans as well as one Asian and North American. Five women reported to be working as Educators and another five working as Nurses. Out of the five who reported working in Nursing roles, three of these women were Africans and two reported being Asian. Of the five women who were working as Educators, three were Africans, one was Asian and one was European. Four African women reported working as Health Care Assistants. One European woman and one South American were working as Engineers Establishing the occupations of the participants is important for this study as doing provides necessary perspective on the environments from which the women drew their observations and experiences. Reporting on ethnicity and the background of the participants for this study is also vital as it sheds light on the type of jobs and occupations that immigrants are found to be working in. It is important to assess whether there are differences in the various occupations based on the women's ethnicities.

Other current job titles that were reported with one woman per job title are as follows: Advocate (African), Business Consultant (South American), Caregiver (African), Civil Engineer (European), Community Support Worker (Asian), Customer Service (African), Customer Services and Event Planner (European), Data Management Unit Manager/Records Manager (European), Finance (African), Health Improvement Advisor (African), Life & Disability Claims Assessor (Asian), NGO (North American), Physiotherapist (African), Psychologist (European), Public Health Strategist (Asian), Room Attendant (Asian), Social Worker (European) and Wastewater Treatment Specialist

(European. The data shows a variety of skilled workers from various occupations, thus providing observations and experiences from various job sectors within New Zealand

The majority of the women entered New Zealand within the skilled migrant visa category: twenty-five participants (38.4%) reported having entered New Zealand with permanent residency, while 13 participants (20%) reported having entered New Zealand on work visas. Five participants (7.69%) entered New Zealand on visitor visas; three participants (4.62%) entered on student visas, while two participants (3.08%) were on working holiday visas. Seventeen participants (26.15%) did not answer what type of visa they had entered New Zealand on. The participants for this study had lived in New Zealand for an average of 8.04 years (S.D. =5.10).

Measures

The questionnaire consisted of five parts: Parts 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. This questionnaire is presented in Appendix 1.

The first section of Parts 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 utilised indirect, scenario-type questions; the advantage for using such questions in research is that they are relatively immune to social desirability effects, hence are more likely to reflect and draw on the participants' experiences and observations (Robinson & Clore, 2001). The questionnaire was adapted from that used in Carr et al.'s (2001) research. Participants were presented with eight imaginary employees who were all equally qualified and equally experienced. The participants were then asked to estimate the preference for the employees' promotion by giving them a ranking from 1 to 8. Ordinal scales were utilised were in order to clearly rank

the likely preferences, thus providing direct answers for the researcher and providing some protection against over interpreting the results (Cliff, 1996).

Chapter 1 identified at least three major ways in which minority status could vary: immigrant versus non-immigrant; male versus female; and ethnic versus non-ethnic. Hence a factorial design was used for the scenario questions: 2 (immigrant versus non-immigrant) x 2 (male versus female) x 2 (ethnic versus non-ethnic); this gave 8 different possible combinations which are presented below.

The 2 x 2 x 2 factorial design:

Gender   x   Immigration Status   x   Ethnicity

(Male/Female)   (Immigrant/Non-Immigrant)   (Ethnic /Non-Ethnic)

Non-Immigrant	Male	Ethnic	Tapiwa Chenge
		Non-ethnic	Peter Jones
	Female	Ethnic	Chipo Chifundu
		Non-ethnic	Emily Smith
Immigrant	Male	Ethnic	Zima Buguma
		Non-ethnic	Michael Smith
	Female	Ethnic	Njerenje Mutoro
		Non-ethnic	Sarah Williams

Each participant was presented with 8 different scenarios for Parts 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 as well as imaginary employee profiles, which were similar for each section. The employees' profiles differed between the majority (male, non-ethnic and New Zealand-born) and various minority statuses, with gender, ethnicity, and migration status being consistently varied between each employee; credible names were applied to the profiles. The names for the candidates were selected on the basis of being either well known English names or ethnic names of African origin. The ethnic names were all of African origin in order to avoid introducing unwanted extraneous factors associated with differences in ethnicity. The minority statuses varied from a single status (e.g., New Zealand born female, immigrant non-ethnic male, ethnic New Zealand-born male), double status (e.g., non-ethnic immigrant female, ethnic New Zealand-born female, and ethnic immigrant male), and with ethnic immigrant female representing the treble minority. Participants were not presented with these details for the purposes completing the questionnaire.

 The employee profiles below were presented to participants for selection in Parts 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.

Tapiwa Chenge: Tapiwa is a male employee who was born in New Zealand

Peter Jones: Peter is a male employee who was born in New Zealand.

Chipo Chifundu: Chipo is a female employee who was born in New Zealand.

Emily Smith: Emily is a female employee who was born in New Zealand.

Zima Baguma: Zima is a male employee who migrated to New Zealand five years ago.

Michael Smith: Michael is a male employee who migrated to New Zealand five years ago.

Njerenje Mutoro: Njerenje is a female employee who migrated to New Zealand five years ago.

Sarah Williams: is a female employee who migrated to New Zealand five years ago.

Participants were asked to draw on their observations and experiences to rank the employees for each part of the questionnaire. The last two questions in each section asked the participants whether the answers they provided were based on their personal experience or observations; they were also asked to provide the reasons for their answers.

Participants were also given the opportunity to place employees in the same rank if they felt the employees had an equal chance. Participants were asked to drag and drop each employee to rank them on each section: Box 1 for the best chance, Box 2 for the next, and so on. If they felt that more than one employee should belong in each box, they were allowed to drag and drop more than one employee into the box they had chosen. The researcher manually averaged tied ranks for each employee where they were given identical rankings in order to convert this into an actual rank that could be used for data analysis. The ranking options provided the participants with the opportunity to truly present their options without forced choices. Participants were asked ensure they had ranked all eight candidates before proceeding to the next question.

Part 1 of Questionnaire

Participants were asked to estimate which of the employees would be the most to least likely to receive a promotion. Participants were asked to estimate the likely rank order of the employees ranging from 1 to 8 (1 being the most probable choice to be considered, and 8 being the least likely to be considered). The question was presented as, *"For the employees, we would like you to use your own experiences in New Zealand to estimate who would be the most to least likely to receive a promotion. All of the following candidates*

have performed at the same level in the job, each has similar English language skills, amount of experience in the job, qualifications and aptitudes and work motivation."

Part 2 of Questionnaire

Similarity Attraction was measured in Part 2 of the questionnaire following Coates's (2003) method. Participants were asked to rank the eight employees from 1 to 8 in relation to their "fit" based on similarity to the organisations identified. The question was, *How do you think Senior Management might generally view each of the same eight employees, in terms of how they fit culturally with the predominant cultural group at work"* Again, participants were asked to drag and drop each employee to rank the employee they considered to be the best fit for the environment. Participants were again given the opportunity to place employees in the same rank if they felt the employees had no differences between them.

Part 3 of Questionnaire

Part 3 of the questionnaire was designed to measure Social Dominance and was titled "Social Standing". The question was, "*Based on employees' backgrounds which were provided and similar to those in previous questions, participants were asked to indicate what status each candidate is likely to have on average in the workplace, where "status" is defined as the most to least level of respect one commands.*" Participants placed the candidate with the highest social standing first and also in tied ranks where they felt necessary. Based on the 16-item Social Dominance Orientation Scale by Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth and Malle (2000), social dominance research has been shown to predict a range of socio-political and inter-group phenomena and is a predictor of generalised prejudice and ethnocentrism.

Part 4 of the Questionnaire

Social Identity was measured and this part was titled "Social Inclusion". This term was defined based on the premise that people are divided into in-groups and out-groups in everyday life, with people having a sense of being part of particular group versus being excluded from a group. With this in mind, workplaces form groups and they can make people feel either excluded or included. Following this brief description, participants were asked to rank each employee in terms of who was most likely to be regarded as in-group by Senior Management.

The question was: "*In everyday life people are divided into in-group and out-group i.e., people have a sense of being part of a particular group, versus being excluded from a group. Being part of one "in" group is often defined by comparison with an "out" group. People have a sense of being part of particular group, or being excluded from a group. Workplaces form groups, and they can make people feel either included or excluded i.e., part of an in-group or an out-group. Please think about this idea of being an in-group or out-group an answer each question below.*"

Part 5 of the Questionnaire

Part 5 of the questionnaire was designed to measure Realistic Conflict theory. This part was titled "Competition for Resources". The question was: "*When people are divided into in-group and out-group, feelings toward each of these groups can range from being co-operative to competitive. Some people are seen as rivals competing for resources, for example in this instance with the limited number of further promotion opportunities,*

accolades, travel opportunities, etc. within an organisation that is, say, predominantly "Kiwi". Please think about this idea of rivals for promotion opportunities and answer each question below."

Participants were asked rank the employees according to who they thought most likely to be regarded by Senior Management as a potential competitive threat to their own job security and career. Participants were again given the opportunity to place employees in the same rank if they needed to. All eight employees had to be ranked before proceeding to the next question.

Qualitative Questions

In Part 1, participants were asked whether their ranking of employees was based on actual observations This question required a simple yes/no answer. Participants were asked to briefly explain why they thought the person they predicted most likely to be promoted would be so, and why the least likely would be so.

In Parts 2, 3, 4 and 5, participants were again asked whether their rankings were based on actual observations. This question was asked after completing each ranking question in each part. These questions required a yes/no answer. Participants were given the opportunity to qualify their answers by providing the reasons behind their rankings. For example, depending on whether the response was yes or no, they were asked to "please explain briefly" their answer. These qualitative responses were assessed and coded; results can be found in the results section.

Finally, participants were asked who they would promote if they were on the Senior Management Team based on the responses they had given in Parts 1 to 5. The second part of this question asked participants to explain why they thought the person they chose for promotion was the most suitable candidate.

Demographic Questions

Participants were asked the following demographic questions:

- Age

- Country of origin

- Self-reported ethnicity

- Visa type when they entered New Zealand

- Current job

- Job sector

- Length of stay in New Zealand

- Years of experience working in New Zealand.

Procedure

Following approval from the Massey University Ethics Committee, the researcher contacted family and friends in the Dunedin community to conduct a pilot study. The people were women employed in various organisations in Dunedin and had links with the Dunedin Immigrant Support Group. Ten women participated in a pilot study. All the completed surveys were returned to the researcher to get feedback on the design and clarity of the questions.

The feedback received indicated that some of the questions were lengthy and also that the participants would have forgotten the employee profiles to rank as they had been presented at the beginning of the survey only. Based on this feedback, the questions were modified by the researcher and the researcher's supervisor. For example, some participants felt that the questions ranking order forced and restricted them to rank the employees in a definite hierarchical order. The ranking task was modified to allow for shared ranks, i.e., tied ranks. Participants were given the opportunity to place more than one employee in a rank with the following instructions:

"*If you feel that more than one employee's name should belong in each box, please just use the drag and drop to place more than one employee in that box. E.g., if you felt that all eight had an equal chance of being promoted, then place all eight names in box number 1, etc.; or if you feel that one candidate is likely to win, put that name in the box number 1, and others in subsequent boxes.*"

This option was included in all the five parts of the questionnaire. Some of the other changes included having clear divisions and subtitles for each part of the questions and having the brief employee profiles presented on each part of the survey to help with the structure and comprehension of each section.

Participants were asked to complete an online questionnaire. The link to the questionnaire was emailed to the researcher's contacts within New Zealand. Immigrant Support Groups, religious organisations and New Zealand Immigration Settlement Groups nationally were contacted and emails sent for them to forward onto their clients. All participants were

briefed before they completed the survey by means of an information sheet and were assured of their anonymity and confidentiality. Recruitment for participants was done both online and in person by both the researcher and participants. Participants responded to the questionnaire electronically and the completion of the questionnaire was taken as informed consent. Completion of the questionnaire took approximately 20 minutes and participants were invited to recommend research participation to friends and acquaintances from outside their organisation/workplace or to other New Zealand based immigrant women. This was done to avoid confounding with organisational cultures.

Due to initial difficulties of participant recruitment, the questionnaire was amended partway through the data collection phase. A prize draw was included to promote participation based on the feedback the researcher had received from immigrant support groups around the country. This was approved by the Ethics Committee and at the end of the questionnaire participants were asked to indicate if they were interested in entering the draw for two $50 Prezzy cards. Unfortunately, there was no impact to the number of respondents following the introduction of this prize draw; there were no new questionnaire completions. No participants provided their email address or phone number required to enter the prize draw.

All participants were also asked to indicate if they would like to receive a summary of the findings from this research. If so, they were requested to enter their contact details including their name, email address and phone number. There were assured that individual data would not be separated from the group average and that entering the prize draw would not compromise their anonymity as these personal details would not be linked to the data they

had provided in the survey. Unfortunately, no participants entered their details; information regarding obtaining the findings from this research would have been via a Massey University research page for those who were interested.

The researcher's contact details as well support agencies, for example, the Employment Assistance Programme, Lifeline, Refugee Services, Refugee Trauma Recovery and Depression Helpline were provided for the participants in the event that they required further support after completing the questionnaire or the after the results were released.

CHAPTER 3

Results

Part 1: Which Candidate is More Likely to be Promoted?

The mean ranking for each employee in Part 1 is presented in descending order of preference in Table 2 A low mean rank indicates a higher estimated preference and a high mean rank indicates a lower estimated preference. The procedure for calculating tied ranks was done by manually averaging tied ranks for each employee where they were given identical rankings in order to convert this into an actual rank that could be used for data analysis.

Table 2: Mean Ranking for Each Employee for Perceived Estimated Preference for Promotion

Candidate name	Ethnicity	Gender	Migration status	Majority/Minority status	Mean ranking
Peter Jones	Non-Ethnic	Male	New Zealand Born	Majority	2.06
Emily Smith	Non-Ethnic	Female	New Zealand Born	Single Minority	3.04
Michael Smith	Non-Ethnic	Male	Immigrant	Single Minority	4.02
Tapiwa Chenge	Ethnic	Male	New Zealand Born	Single Minority	4.09
Sarah Williams	Non-Ethnic	Female	Immigrant	Double Minority	4.72
Chipo Chifundu	Ethnic	Female	New Zealand Born	Double Minority	4.87
Zima Buguma	Ethnic	Male	Immigrant	Double Minority	6.37
Njerenje Mutoro	Ethnic	Female	Immigrant	Treble Minority	6.87

The mean ranks in Table 2 indicate an overall first preference for the majority candidate (Peter Jones) and an overall last preference for the treble minority candidate (Njerenje Muturo). From the mean rankings in Table 2 there also appeared to be at least five main clusters: Peter Jones (majority); whose mean ranking was quite distinct from Emily Smith (single minority). Next were two employees, Michael Smith (single minority) and Tapiwa Chenge (single minority), whose mean rankings were each close to 4. These were followed by Sarah Williams and Chipo Chifundu (both of whom were double minorities), with mean rankings 4.7–4.8. Zima Buguma (who was also a double minority) had a lower mean rank mean, at 6.37, and was followed by Njerenje Muturo (our only treble minority candidate) whose overall mean rank was arithmetically different again (6.87).

As a whole, the mean ranks in Table 2 suggest that minority status was additive (mean rank consistently drops as minority attributes were added), but that each type of minority status was not identical to the next (since mean rank drops differentially within the single minority conditions, and the double minority conditions, as shown in Table 2).

Was there a significant difference across candidates in Table 2? In order to test for non-random agreement between raters (which would infer significant differences between candidates) and following Coates and Carr (2005), Kendall's Coefficient of Concordance (W) was utilised. As a non-parametric statistic, (W) ranges between 0 (no agreement) and 1 (complete agreement). W in Table 2 measures the variability for each employee being ranked. In order to test 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 raters. For Part 1 of the questionnaire there were 64 participants/raters. According to Howell

(1992), the conversion to a chi-square statistic provides an estimate of statistical significance. The test statistic for the mean ranks in Table 1 was $W = 0.505$, Chi-square=226.401 ($p < .001$). For each employee in Table 1, there was variation in ranking the employees' chances of receiving a promotion. There was significant concordance, indicating perceived overall treatment bias. If there were no clear preferences, preferences would be randomly distributed and there would not have been systematically dissimilar mean rank predictions about preferences for each employee.

In order to examine "where" the difference(s) actually occurred, i.e., between which pairs of overall mean rankings in Table 1, a Wilcoxon Signed Test (non-parametric statistical hypothesis *test*) was utilised on different pairs/combinations of employees. Table 3 below shows the pairwise comparisons between each employee in terms of the preferred candidate for promotion.

Table 3: Wilcoxon Signed-Rank Test on Differences in Rank Preferences for Promotion

Employee	Peter Jones (Majority) - Emily Smith (Single Minority)	Emily Smith (Single Minority) - Michael Smith (Single Minority)	Michael Smith (Single Minority) - Tapiwa Chenge (Single Minority)	Tapiwa Chenge (Single Minority) - Sarah Williams (Double Minority)	Sarah Williams (Double Minority) - Chipo Chifundu (Double Minority)	Chipo Chifundu (Double Minority) - Zima Buguma (Double Minority)	Zima Buguma (Double Minority) - Njerenje Muturo (Treble Minority)
Z	-4.700[b]	-3.405[b]	-.353[c]	-2.486[b]	-.718[c]	-4.608[b]	-2.766[b]
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	***p<.000***	***p<.001***	*p=.724*	***p=.013***	*p=.473*	***p<.001***	***p=.006***

Summing up from Table 3, there was a significant drop in perceived predicted promotion

prospects as the candidate's minority-majority status shifted from majority to single minorities, for example, Peter Jones to Emily Smith (see Table 3). There was then an additional significant difference between Emily Smith and Michael Smith, both single minorities with the only difference being gender. Yet another significant difference is seen between single minority Tapiwa Chenge, and double minority Sarah Williams. This could point to differences in immigration status and gender as Tapiwa is an ethnic New Zealand-born male, while Sarah is a non-ethnic female immigrant. This showed there is perceived preference for a single minority over double minorities. Similarly, there was a significant difference $(p<.00)$ between double minorities, namely Chipo Chifundu who was female and Zima Buguma who was male, which again points to differences across gender (in the same direction, i.e., being male is always a plus and being female is always a negative).

Similarity Attraction Theory (H1)

In Part 2 of the questionnaire, participants were asked to rate which employee they considered to be the best fit for the predominant culture. The perceived fit varied by similarity as denoted by the differences in the means. Table 4 shows the mean rankings for each imaginary employee based on their perceived fit to the predominant New Zealand culture.

Table 4: Mean Ranking for Each Employee on Perceived Fit

Employee	Peter Jones (Majority)	Emily Smith (Single Minority)	Tapiwa Chenge (Single Minority)	Chipo Chifundu (Double Minority)	Michael Smith (Single Minority)	Sarah Williams (Double Minority)	Zima Buguma (Double Minority	Njerenje Muturo (Treble Minority)
Mean Rank	2.01	3.04	3.76	4.25	4.71	4.93	6.58	6.93

From Table 4, we see that Peter Jones was rated as being the best fit to the predominant New Zealand culture and to that extent may have represented the majority. Peter Jones was

followed by Emily Smith who was operationally defined, in this study, as one type of single minority. Njerenje Muturo, the only "treble" minority had the least likely fit to the predominant culture. Similarity rankings in the table above suggested six clusters, with just one pair of mean ranks where Michel Smith and Sarah Williams were similar.

Table 5 summarises Wilcoxon tests to determine which pairs of differences between means in Table 4 were statistically significant.

Table 5: Wilcoxon Signed-Rank Test to show Differences in Mean Rankings Preferences Based on Perceived Fit

Employee	Peter Jones (Majority) - Emily Smith (Single Minority)	Emily Smith (Single Minority) - Tapiwa Chenge (Single Minority)	Tapiwa Chenge (Single Minority) - Chipo Chifundu (Double Minority)	Chipo Chifundu (Double Minority) - Michael Smith (Single Minority)	Michael Smith (Single Minority) - Sarah Williams (Double Minority)	Sarah Williams (Double Minority) - Zima Buguma (Double Minority)	Zima Buguma (Double Minority) - Njerenje Muturo (Treble Minority)
Z Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	-4.150[b] **p<.001**	-2.15 [b] **p=.031**	-2.836 [b] **p=.005**	-1.083[b] p=.279	-.966 [b] p=.334	-4.267[b] **p<.001**	-1.893 [b] p=.058

Table 5 indicates that not all pairwise comparisons were statistically significant. For example, the significant pairwise comparisons were those between Peter Jones (majority) and Emily Smith (single minority) which could be attributed to gender differences at $p<.001$ level. Other significant pairwise comparisons were between Tapiwa Chenge (single minority) and Emily Smith (single minority), which could again be attributed to gender differences. One of the non-significant pairwise comparisons as indicated by the results

presented in Table 5 were those between Njerenje Muturo (treble minority) and Zima Buguma (double minority).

In order to show the co-variation between perceived fit and perceived mean preference, Figure 1 below plots each overall mean rank preference from Table 4 as a function of mean perceived similarity of each employee to the predominant culture.
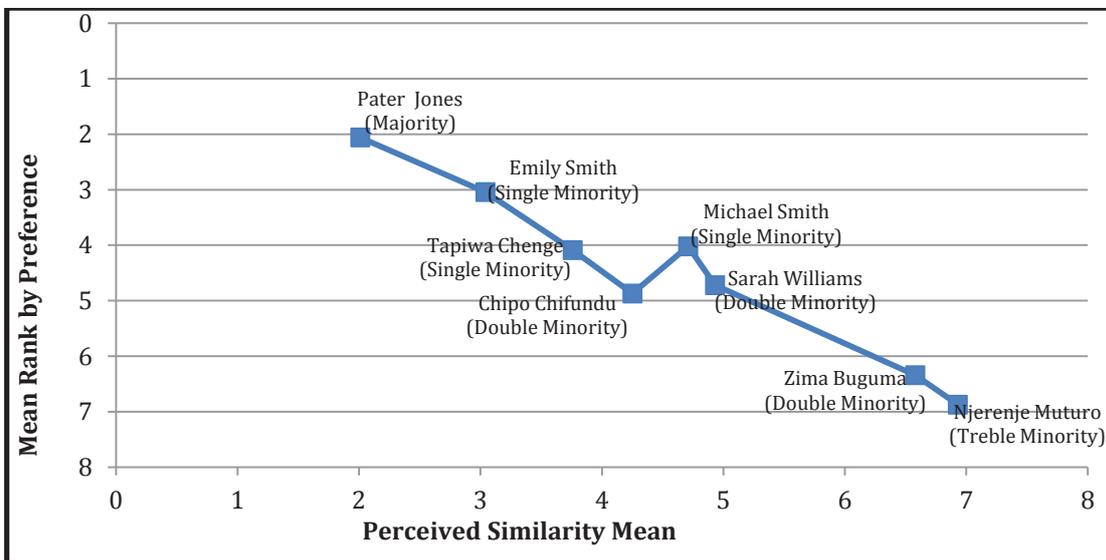
Figure 1: Similarity Attraction Slope

From Figure 1, we see that perceived mean fit decreased significantly after Peter Jones (majority, which was by definition single). The gradient of the slope was not entirely smooth; there was co-variation between the perceived mean rank for similarity attraction and perceived mean preferences. The significant decrements in perceived similarity attraction are between Peter Jones (majority) and Emily Smith (single minority), Emily Smith (single minority) and Tapiwa Chenge (single minority), Tapiwa Chenge (single

minority) and Chipo Chifundu (double minority), as well as Sarah Williams (double minority) and Zima Buguma (double minority). There was a downward trend in perceived similarity with significant decrements being evident between the majority and the various minority status which is consistent with Similarity Attraction Theory. The majority was considered more similar to the predominant cultural group in the workplace and the treble minority represented by Njerenje Muturo had the least fit with the predominant culture in the workplace.

The incline of the slope in Figure 1 shows that there was a greater perceived preference for the majority. Although there was a step "blip" in the downward trend of the slope between Chipo Chifundu (double minority), Michael Smith (single minority) and Sarah Williams (double minority), there was no significant difference between them.

Social Dominance Theory (H2)

Part 3 of the questionnaire title "Social Standing" asked participants to rate the status each employee was likely to have on average in the work place. The perceived social standing varied with social dominance from majority to minority status. Table 6 shows the mean rankings for each imaginary employee based in their perceived social dominance.

Table 6: Mean Ranking for each Employee for Perceived Social Dominance

Employee	Peter Jones (Majority)	Emily Smith (Single Minority)	Tapiwa Chenge (Single Minority)	Michael Smith (Single Minority)	Chipo Chifundu (Double Minority)	Sarah Williams (Double Minority)	Zima Buguma (Double Minority)	Njerenje Muturo (Treble Minority)
Mean Rank	2.24	2.96	3.97	4.29	4.76	5.16	6.12	6.5

Table 6 shows that Peter Jones (majority) was rated as having the highest social standing

followed Emily Smith (single minority), Tapiwa Chenge (single minority); last was Njerenje Muturo (treble minority). The overall perceived social dominance mean ranking indicated no real clusters. The order was similar to perceived similarity mean.

Table 7 summarises Wilcoxon tests to determine whether the differences between means in Table 6 were statistically significant.

Table 7: Wilcoxon Signed-Rank Test to show Differences in Mean Rankings Preferences Based on Perceived Social Dominance

Employee	Peter Jones (Majority) - Emily Smith (Single Minority)	Emily Smith (Single Minority) - Tapiwa Chenge (Single Minority)	Tapiwa Chenge (Single Minority) - Michael Smith (Single Minority)	Michael Smith (Single Minority) - Chipo Chifundu (Double Minority)	Chipo Chifundu (Double Minority) - Sarah Williams (Double Minority)	Sarah Williams (Double Minority) - Zima Buguma (Double Minority)	Zima Buguma (Double Minority) - Njerenje Muturo (Treble Minority)
Z	-3.865[b]	-2.492 [b]	-.874 [b]	-.929[b]	-1.690 [b]	-2.076[b]	-1.894 [b]
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	$p<.001$	$p =.013$	$p=.382$	$p= .353$	$p= .091$	$p=.038$	$p=.058$

Table 7 indicates that not all pairwise comparisons were statistically significant. Peter Jones (majority) and Emily Smith (single minority), Emily Smith (single minority) and Tapiwa Chenge (single minority), as well as Sarah Williams (double minority) and Zima Buguma (double minority) all show significant pairwise comparisons. The differences can largely be attributed to the difference between genders. Zima Buguma and Sarah Williams were

both immigrants, hence the difference between then could be attributed to gender yet again. Chipo Chifundu, Sarah Williams and Michael Smith were very much alike as they were not significantly different from each other.

To show the co-variation between perceived social dominance and perceived mean preference, Figure 2 below plots each overall mean rank preference from Table 6 as a function of mean perceived social dominance of each employee.
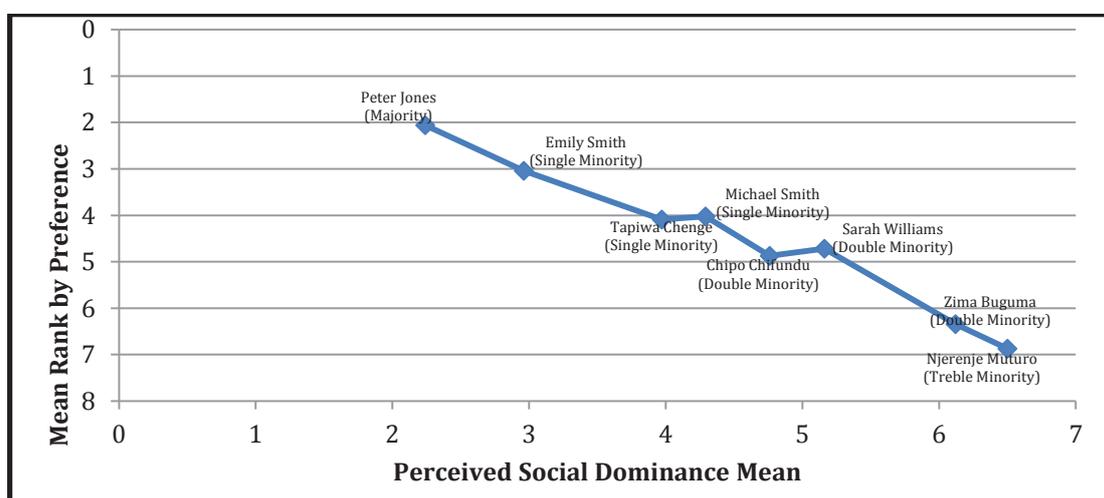
Figure 2: Social Dominance Slope

Figure 2 shows that the perceived mean social dominance decreased after Peter Jones (majority). Significant decrements in perceived social dominance were evident between the majority and the various minorities, which was consistent with Social Dominance Theory. The gradient of the slope was not completely smooth, though there was a very clear downward slope. Peter Jones (majority) had a higher social standing while Njerenje Muturo

(treble minority) had the lowest social standing.

There were no significant differences between Tapiwa Chenge (single minority) and Michael Smith (single minority), and Chipo Chifundu (double minority) and Sarah Williams (double minority). There was a clear pattern with the majority having the higher status, followed by the single minorities, then the double minorities and lastly the treble minority commanding the lowest social standing the workplace. As the minority status progressed through single, double and treble there appeared to be a decrease of social standing/status with each increase in minority status.

Social Identity Theory (H3)

In Part 4, participants were asked to rank which employees would in their judgment be seen as part of the "in group" by Senior Management. The perceived social inclusion varied by social identity. Table 8 shows the mean rankings for each imaginary employee based on their perceived social identity. The overall running order was similar to both the similarity attraction and social dominance mean.

Table 8: Mean Ranking for each Employee for Perceived Social Identity

Employee	Peter Jones (Majority)	Emily Smith (Single Minority)	Michael Smith (Single Minority)	Tapiwa Chenge (Single Minority)	Sarah Williams (Double Minority)	Chipo Chifundu (Double Minority)	Zima Buguma (Double Minority)	Njerenje Muturo (Treble Minority)
Mean Rank	2.36	3.12	3.79	4.32	4.72	4.78	6.22	6.69

From Table 8, Peter Jones (majority) was rated best preference for being part of the in-group and Njerenje Muturo (treble minority) was rated as the last choice, being regarded

as the out-group. Social identity rankings in the table above were evenly spread out and no clusters were noticeable. With every increase in minority status, i.e., single to double, and double to treble, there appears to be a decrease in mean ranking as we move from one minority status to the next.

Table 9 summarises Wilcoxon tests to determine whether the differences between means in Table 8 are statistically significant.

Table 9: Wilcoxon Signed-Rank Test to Show Differences in Mean Rankings Preferences Based on Perceived Social Identity

Employee	Peter Jones (Majority) - Emily Smith (Single Minority)	Emily Smith (Single Minority) - Michael Smith (Single Minority)	Michael Smith (Single Minority) - Tapiwa Chenge (Single Minority)	Tapiwa Chenge (Single Minority) - Sarah Williams (Double Minority)	Sarah Williams (Double Minority) - Chipo Chifundu (Double Minority)	Chipo Chifundu (Double Minority) - Zima Buguma (Double Minority)	Zima Buguma (Double Minority) - Njerenje Muturo (Treble Minority)
Z	-3.343^b	-1.986^b	$-.270^{\,b}$	-2.032^b	$-.122^{\,c}$	-4.183^b	$-2.886^{\,b}$
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	**$p<.001$**	**$p=.047$**	$p=.787$	**$p=.042$**	$p=.903$	**$p<.001$**	**$p=.004$**

The results from Table 9 indicate that the pairwise comparison show only five pairs that were statistically significant. These were Peter Jones (majority) and Emily Smith (single minority), Emily Smith (single minority) and Michael Smith (single minority), Tapiwa Chenge (single minority) and Sarah Williams (double minority), Chipo Chifundu (double minority) and Zima Buguma (double minority), and lastly Zima Buguma (double minority) and Njerenje Muturo (treble minority) who all have less than $p = 0.05$ level.

The non-significant pairwise comparisons were between Tapiwa Chenge (single minority) and Emily Smith (single minority) as both were single minority as well Chipo Chifundu (double minority) and Sarah Williams (double minority) who were both double minorities. This indicated that there were no significant differences between those of the same minority status group, i.e., single and double minority status.

To show the co-variation between perceived social identity and perceived mean preference, Figure 3 below plots each overall mean rank preference from Table 8 as a function of mean perceived social identity of each employee. The co-varying downward movement of the slope, which is mostly significant (except for the single and double minorities), is consistent with social identity theory.
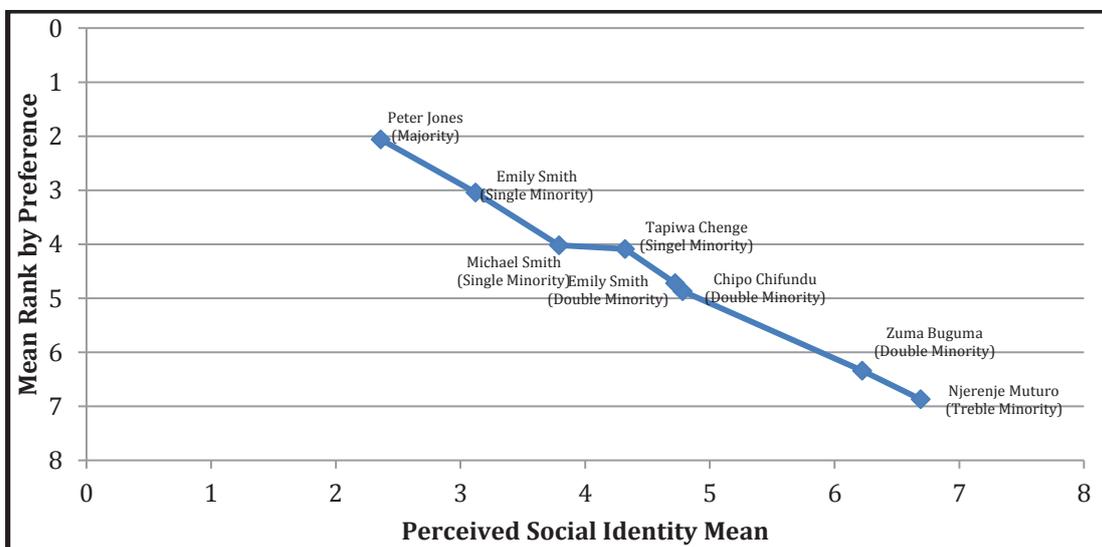
Figure 3: Social Identity Slope

Figure 3 indicates that as the perceived social identity mean decreases, so too does the mean predicted rank preferences for the employees considered to be part of the in-group (the lower mean rank indicates a higher estimated preference). The gradient for the slope was not entirely smooth, with a drop in step between Chipo Chifundu (double minority) and Zima Buguma (double minority). The main difference between them was gender and migration status, hence gender and immigration status could be influential in the ranking for perceived social identity.

Summing up from Tables 8 and 9 as well as Figure 3, there was a significant drop in being part of the in-group from majority to minority status. Minority status consistently reduced the chances of being perceived as part of the in-group, which is consistent with social identity theory.

Realistic Conflict Theory (H4)

For Part 5 for the questionnaire, participants ranked the employees who they thought were least likely to be viewed by Senior Management as a potential competitive threat to their own job security and career. Table 10 shows the mean rankings for each imaginary employee based on their perceived realistic conflict. As we can see, Peter Jones (majority) considered to be part of the "in-group" poses the greatest threat for scarce resources. The more similar the employee was to the majority or senior management the greater the perceived threat. A possible interpretation of this is inverse resonance, inverse resonance occurs when groups who are relatively similar pose a threat to the in-group distinctiveness which results in greater for competition for resources (Carr, 2003).

Table 10: Mean Ranking for each Employee for Perceived Realistic Conflict

Employee	Peter Jones (Majority)	Emily Smith (Single Minority)	Michael Smith (Single Minority)	Tapiwa Chenge (Single Minority)	Chipo Chifundu (Double Minority)	Sarah Williams (Double Minority)	Zima Buguma (Double Minority)	Njerenje Muturo (Treble Minority)
Mean Rank	3.05	3.66	3.86	3.98	4.91	4.93	5.37	6.23

Table 10 shows that Peter Jones (majority) was rated as being the greatest threat meanwhile Njerenje Muturo (treble minority) was rated as least threatening. The lower the perceived mean the greater the threat or competition. Realistic conflict rankings in the table above suggest six clusters (with just one pair of mean ranks, between Chipo Chifundu and Sarah Williams being similar).

Table 11 summarises Wilcoxon tests to determine whether the differences between means in Table 10 are statistically significant.

Table 11: Wilcoxon Signed-Rank Test to Show Differences in Mean Rankings Preferences Based on Perceived Realistic Conflict

Employee	Peter Jones (Majority) - Emily Smith (Single Minority)	Emily Smith (Single Minority) - Michael Smith (Single Minority)	Michael Smith (Single Minority) - Tapiwa Chenge (Single Minority)	Tapiwa Chenge (Single Minority) - Chipo Chifundu (Double Minority)	Chipo Chifundu (Double Minority) - Sarah Williams (Double Minority)	Sarah Williams (Double Minority) - Zima Buguma (Double Minority)	Zima Buguma (Double Minority) - Njerenje Muturo (Treble Minority)
Z Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	-2.408^b **p=.016**	$-.410^b$ p=.682	$-.042^c$ p=.966	-3.714^b **p<.001**	$-.276^b$ p=.782	-1.152^b p=.249	-3.531^b **p<.001**

Table 7 indicates that not all possible pairwise comparisons were statistically significant. Peter Jones (majority) and Emily Smith (single minority), Tapiwa Chenge (single minority) and Chipo Chifundu (double minority), as well as Zima Buguma (double minority) and Njerenje Muturo (treble minority) have statistically significant pairwise comparisons. The differences between Peter Jones (majority) and Emily Smith (single minority) indicate a possible gender-determined perceived threat. This is in addition to the differences between the single minorities and double minorities (Tapiwa Chenge and Chipo Chifundu) as well as the double and treble minority (Zima Buguma and Njerenje Muturo).

There was no significant differences between the single minorities; Emily Smith and Michael Smith, Michael Smith and Tapiwa Chenge, as well as double minorities Chipo Chifundu and Sarah Williams. This indicates that there were no significant differences between those of the same minority status group, i.e., single and double minority status.

In order to show the co-variation between perceived realistic conflict and perceived mean preference, Figure 4 below plots each overall mean rank preference from Table 10 as a function of mean perceived realistic conflict of each employee.
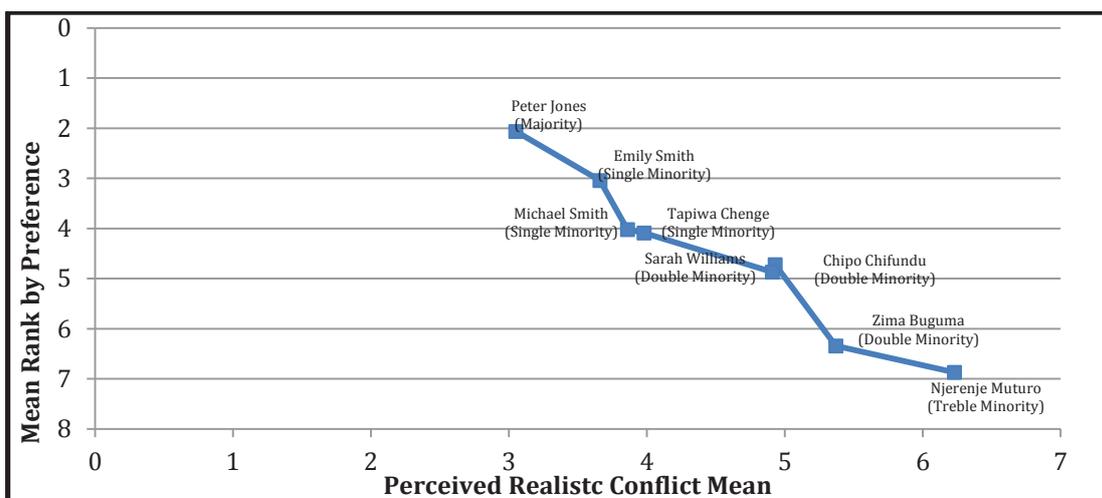
Figure 4: Realistic Conflict Slope

From Figure 4, we see that as the perceived mean rank for realistic conflict (competitiveness for resources) decreases, so too does the mean predicted rank preferences. The more similar or familiar the employee was to the predominant culture in New Zealand workplaces, the more likely they were seen as a threat or as competition for resources, i.e., job opportunities.

The data presented in Tables 10 and 11, as well as Figure 4, again show that there was a significant decrease in being considered a threat with each progressive increase in minority status from single to double. The threat increase from double to treble was determined by gender, immigration status, and ethnicity.This is particularly the case between the majority and single minorities Peter Jones and Emily Smith, and between single and double minority Tapiwa Chenge and Chipo Chifundu, and again between double and treble minority Zima Buguma and Njerenje Muturo. The results from these significant pairs are consistent with

Realistic Conflict Theory although some of the pairwise comparisons were not statistically significant. The more similar to the predominant culture, the more the perceived threat, for example, Peter Jones who had the majority status.

Qualitative Responses to the Research Questionnaire

Firstly, the participants were asked, "Did you base your judgment on this question, i.e., predicting who will get the promotion versus not, largely on actual observations"? Fifty-eight participants out of the 65 participants who took part in the research provided comments on their answers to the questions in Part 1. Eighty-six percent of the participants reported that "Yes" they had based their judgment on actual observations, meanwhile 14% reported "No" for not having based their judgments on actual observations. This statistic is important because it shows that the responses provided from the majority of the participants were based on their actual observation and experiences.

In the second part of the Part 1 qualitative question, the participants were asked to explain briefly "why" the person they predicted was most likely to be promoted and why the least likely would be so. Fifty-eight participants (76%) answered this question. The analysis of the qualitative response was done following Robson (1995). The researcher and her assistant agreed on the themes for the responses and these were coded accordingly. The Kappa for the themes was 0.78, which is considered as an excellent score (Robson, 1995). Table 12 below contains a summary of themes identified from the content analysis of the answers provided by the participants.

Overall from Table 12, the principle reasons for participants ranking the employees' chances of promotions was seen as largely driven by the employees' familiarity and similarity to New Zealand culture and also having been born in New Zealand. Those born in New Zealand were considered to have the best chance over immigrants who may not have been born into that culture. This was closely tied to the reason why the participants also viewed the majority as being the preference; predominantly that of being a white Kiwi male is preferred over an ethnic minority. As well, from Table 4 there appears to be a sense of prejudice and stereotyping based on gender and ethnicity that was considered to negatively affect the chances of ethnic minorities and females from getting a promotion.

These results are inconsistent with minority influence theory as there appears to have been no point at which being a minority was an advantage for the employees. With each progression through the single, double and treble minority status there seemed to be more disadvantages than advantage to promotion opportunities.

Table 12: Principal Reasons for the Preference for Promotion

Relevant Theory	Theme	Count	%
Similarity Attraction Theory	1. Similarity and familiarity to New Zealand *(Example: "New Zealand born people tend to be favoured over immigrants" and "NZ employers seem to favour their citizens more than those that migrated")*	23	39.66

Social Identity Theory & Social Dominance Theory	2. Majority preference - white Kiwi male *(Example: "Peter Jones would be promoted because he is a male employee, looks like he is white")*	9	15.52
Social Identity Theory	3. Gender *(Example: "There is a male bias in NZ & most likely male and committed to NZ" and "Emily Smith because she was born in NZ and workplace is full of females")*	7	12.07
Similarity Attraction Theory	4. Prejudice and stereotyping based on ethnicity *(Example: " ...people with weird names uncommon names are less likely to be considered" and "NZ born with European names are most likely to be promoted")*	6	10.34
Realistic Conflict Theory	5. Equal opportunity *(Example: "They will have the same or very similar chances of being promoted in NZ" and "I think they have equal chance of promotion")*	6	10.34
	6. Miscellaneous	5	8.62

Social Dominance Theory	7. Immigrants preferred *(Example: " ...migrants were preferred due to a perception of better education/worldliness")*	2	3.45
	N	58	100

Theme 1 (Similarity and familiarity to New Zealand) was the primary reason given by 39.66% of the participants. Participants stated that similarity or familiarity to New Zealand culture gave employees a better chance of being promoted. Participants expressed that one's similarity was a key determinant to chances of receiving promotion. Employees of European descent or with European sounding names were preferred over immigrants and those with *"weird, uncommon names"*. Some of the responses pointed out that Peter Jones and Emily Smith "*have a high chance to be promoted because they are New Zealanders and they have English names*". In particular, those born in New Zealand were most familiar with the culture hence would always get first preference.

The secondary theme was that the majority represented by Peter Jones (white Kiwi male) had first preference for promotion. 15.52% of the participants reported that Peter Jones, because he was a male, born in New Zealand and Kiwi or "*white*" or "*Pakeha*", with a white sounding name was more likely to get a promotion. Participants felt that Peter Jones was preferred over the females, immigrants, ethnic minorities. This was closely linked to Theme 3 (Gender) with 7% of the participants reporting that that there seems to be a perception that males were "*more likely to move quicker up the professional ladder*" compared to females.

From Table 4, Theme 4 highlighted the issue of stereotyping and prejudice over ethnic minorities and immigrants. As their names were unfamiliar and uncommon, there was an assumption that there was "*presumed or actual lack of professional connections and heaviness of their accen*t", hence, the chances of promotions were less for ethnic minorities. Another comment also stated that "*most employers are Kiwis and they tend to assume that people with different names don't speak English well are incompetent*". Participants reported that Zima Buguma and Njerenje Muturo "*have slim chances because they are immigrants with non-English names*".

For Theme 5, 10.34% of the participants reported that there were equal chances of promotion given that the employees have the same experience. The immigrants would also have equal chances as "*they had been in New Zealand long enough to have local experience if this was even required*".

For Theme 7, 3.45% of the participants reported the view that immigrants had a better chance of promotion and that locals were least likely because "*immigrants had overseas experience which could be regarded as more valuable than just New Zealand experience often regardless of the actual experience level*". There was also the view that immigrants were preferred over New Zealanders because they were usually more qualified and they brought skills and knowledge that is superior to New Zealand-born candidates.

In summary, the principal reasons for perceived preference for promotion were primarily based on the employee's similarity to the predominant culture giving local, New Zealand-

born employees better chances over immigrants and those with "ethnic sounding" names. Being a white Kiwi male was an advantage as they were preferred over other ethnicities. Similarity comes with a sense of familiarity and a better understanding of cultures in the workplace. Hence, there was a possible sense of Similarity Attraction, as Senior Management will prefer those who are similar to them.

Another reason given for preference for promotion is that male employees were seen to have better chances of promotion over females. The reason being that "*typically European males, over females are most likely to be in senior roles*". Other reasons included "*in the area of management... staff would listen to a male*, *white New Zealand born manager without resistance*". This highlighted Social Dominance theory, where the males were viewed as having power and influence and were preferred over females. Additionally, locals had more influence or better opportunities over the immigrants, which is inconsistent with minority influence theory.

Reasons Given for Perceived Rank Order for Part 2 (Cultural Fit) - Similarity Attraction Theory

Of the 51 participants who completed the first qualitative question of Part 2, 76% reported having based their responses on actual observations while 24% reported not having based their responses on actual observations.

Table 13 contains a summary of the themes identified from the 51 participants, with the Kappa *(K)* for the themes at 0.75 (Robson, 1995). The participants were asked, "Which of the following candidates for promotion is likely to be seen by senior managers as fitting the

predominant cultural group at work?" Overall, from Table 13 it is clear that the factors that determine whether or not one fits in the predominant culture was influenced by Similarity Attraction theory.

Table 13: Principal Reasons for Perceived Fit

Relevant Theory	Theme	Count	%
Similarity Attraction Theory	1. Cultural similarity to New Zealand *(Example: "Culturally those born in New Zealand will fit than migrants")*	29	56.86
Similarity Attraction Theory	2. Prejudice and stereotyping based on ethnicity *(Example: "New Zealand employers judge by colour' and "Caucasian Kiwi people are less 'frightened' of Western migrants than other culture's people (that look different and have funny names).*	11	22
Social Dominance Theory	3. Gender *(Example: "firstly males and also New Zealand born")*	4	8
Realistic Conflict Theory	4. Cultural equality *(Example: "we are all a multicultural bunch, so whether someone fits or not is more based in personality than ethnicity")*	4	8

	5. Miscellaneous	3	6
	N	**51**	**100**

Theme 1 (Cultural similarity to New Zealand) and Theme 2 (Prejudice and stereotyping based on ethnicity) were most frequently identified and bear a close relationship. Generally, participants stated that New Zealand-born employees were more likely to be perceived as having the best fit to the predominant culture at work compared to ethnic minorities or immigrants. The cultural similarity theme was identified by 56.86% of participants. As a result of participants having been asked to indicate the "most likely" to "least likely" cultural fit, it appears that prejudice and stereotyping against migrants and ethnic minorities was highlighted in contrast to those who had cultural similarity to New Zealand. This was a result of comparisons of similarity and dissimilarity between those New Zealand-born (non-ethnic), immigrants and ethnic minorities, including those ethnic minorities born in New Zealand.

This meant that the response given for cultural similarity also had prejudice and stereotyping against immigrants and minorities. For example, "*immigrants with unusual sounding names are often perceived as being culturally other and less able to adapt/fit in to the dominant culture*". This is despite some ethnic minorities having been born in New Zealand, for example Chipo Chifundu and Tapiwa Chenge. Participants' responses differentiated between immigrants based on ethnicity and those with European sounding names being most similar to the predominant culture. For example, the comment that immigrants like Michael Smith and Sarah Williams would have a better fit because

"*assuming they come from Anglo-Saxon country, their culture would be expected to be quite similar to New Zealand culture*". Similarity attraction was a prevalent theme throughout as participants felt that because "*senior management were Pakeha, then Pakeha would fit better*".

Theme 3 had 8% of the participants indicate that gender plays a role in determining whether one fits into the predominant culture or not. Males were perceived to fit into the culture over females while "*females with foreign names and immigrants*" were considered less likely to fit into the predominant cultural group. Other responses also mentioned that "*I think that a man would be more likely*". This support social dominance.

Lastly, in Theme 4, another 8% of the participants indicated that New Zealand is a multi-cultural society hence people would have equal chances in terms of fitting to the culture regardless of their cultural backgrounds. Comments such as "*I am based multicultural city and I don't think immigration status is relevant*" as well as "*organisations I have in mind are made up of variety of cultures so adding this to diversity is always welcome*".

Reasons Given for Perceived Rank Order for Part 3 (Social Standing) – Social Dominance Theory

In the first part of the qualitative questions for Part 3, participants were again asked to indicate if they had based their judgment on actual observations. 73% indicated "Yes" they had based their judgment for social standing on actual observations, while 27% indicated "No". Participants were asked to explain why they thought the person they predicted as most likely to have higher status and why the least likely would be so.

Table 14 below contains a summary of the themes identified from the 40 participants who commented on this question. Following Robson (1995), the magnitude of Kappa *(K)* was 0.7, which is considered good.

Table 14: Principal Reasons for the Perceived Social Dominance

Relevant Theory	Theme	Count	%
Similarity Attraction Theory	1. Similarity and familiarity to New Zealand (*Example: "New Zealand born candidates get more respect at the work place and tend to be at the top of the hierarchy in every organisation"*)	14	35
Social Dominance Theory	2. Gender (*Example: "males are always put first by society" and "men are preferred for positions and are paid at a higher rate than a women doing the exact same job*")	8	20
Similarity Attraction Theory	3. Prejudice and stereotyping based on ethnicity (*Example: "Europeans tend to be more highly respected and valued in the workplace"*)	6	15
Realistic Conflict Theory	4. Equality (*Example: "In my company I haven't seen discrimination. Everyone is respected and listened to"*)	5	12.5

Realistic Conflict Theory	5. Performance in employment *(Example: "status will be linked to their qualifications and status")*	4	10
	6. Miscellaneous	3	7.5
	N	**40**	**100**

Overall, from Table 14, the main theme that affects social status (social dominance) of employees is their similarity and familiarity to New Zealand, as highlighted by 35% of the participants. Compare this to immigrants where it was suggested that they would have the least social standing as they were foreigners. Participants highlighted that Europeans or those employees with European sounding names, even though not they were New Zealand born, were deemed to be similar to New Zealand and therefore would command more status in the work place. Therefore, similarity and familiarity with New Zealand culture can be seen as helping employees achieve higher status in the workplaces; meanwhile dis-similarity and non-familiarity will be associated with lower status in the work place.

Closely linked with Theme 1 in terms of support of social dominance is Theme 2, Gender. 20% of the participants indicated that males have higher status in the workplace. Participants' remarks such as "*male immigrants seem to command more respect*" shows that men, regardless of whether they were immigrants or not, were perceived to have higher social status. Male immigrants were also perceived to have higher status compared to the female counterparts as suggested by some of the participants.

Six participants (15%) suggest that Theme 4, prejudice and stereotyping based on ethnicity, is the reason why ethnic minorities have a lower social status in the workplace. Some participants reported that they were inferior because of how people perceived their countries of origin and their ethnicities. For example, one participant reported "*I put Njerenje last because she may be working hard and well at work, without any incidents, her voice would not be heard, possibly disregarded as something odd and not fit*".

Lastly, 10% of the participants suggested that social status in the workplace was largely attributed to one's performance and qualification. Gender, names or countries of origin were not seen as a hindrance in commanding respect in the workplace. Participants felt that there was no discrimination and that everyone in the workplace gained status as a result of their capability and performance in the workplace.

To sum up, Themes 1, 2 and 3 support social dominance theory in as far as it reflects that those similar to the majority, i.e., ranked in order as: white New Zealand-born males, males with European western sounding names, females with European origins, and lastly ethnic minority women. As mentioned in Chapter 1 of this research, the majority (white New Zealand-born males) were considered to have higher status positions as the dominant group, hence preferring to promote other males in high status high paying occupations/jobs. As a result, higher status in the New Zealand workplace is most likely to be seen as being associated with the majority and at no point do the minorities have an advantage, especially as they progress through the single to double and triple minority statuses as predicted by minority influence theory.

Reasons Given for Perceived Rank Order for Part 4 (Social Inclusion) – Social Identity

Theory

In Part 4, participants were asked to explain why the employee they predicted to be an out-group would be so and why the least likely to be an out-group would likely would be so. As in the previous section participants were asked if they had based their decision on actual observation. 73% of the participants indicated they had based their judgments on actual observation, while 27% indicated a "No" response.

Table 15 below outlines the summary of themes identified in the content analysis of the answers provided. The Kappa *(K)* value for this question was 0.79; this magnitude is considered excellent (Robson, 1995). The overall conclusion of the content analysis of this question indicates there is a possible sense of similarity attraction in Themes 1, 2, 3 and 5.

Table 15: Principal Reasons for the Perceived Social Identity

Relevant Theory	**Theme**	*Count*	*%*
Similarity Attraction Theory	1. Prejudice and stereotyping based on ethnicity *(Example: "because of different cultures and that would affect communication, topic of interest and understanding of cultures." and "whites will be treated as the in group and the others as the out group")*	9	23.68

Similarity Attraction Theory	2. Similarity and familiarity *(Example: "New Zealand born have knowledge of colloquial speech and fits better")*	8	21.05
Social Dominance Theory and Social Identity Theory	3. Gender *(Example: "...observation of gender segregation in the workplace... a New Zealand male is probably the most likely to be accepted...")*	7	18.42
Social Identity Theory	4. No in-group & out-group *(Example: "I believe that if you apply yourself and are social you can fit in any group" and "the CEO only cared about who was effective,....so we wore so many hats there was no "in" or "out" group")*	7	18.42
Similarity Attraction Theory	5. Immigration status *(Example: "People naturally gravitate towards people in the same situation, hence immigrants will stick together")*	5	13.17
	6. Miscellaneous	2	5.26
	N	*38*	*100*

Theme 1 (prejudice and stereotyping based on ethnicity), 23.68% and Theme 2 (similarity and familiarity), 21.05% were the reason given by participants. Participants stated that cultural similarity was the most important aspect of determining whether an individual was regarded as in-group or out-group. In contrast, Theme 2 indicates those individuals who were not of the majority group were subject to prejudice and stereotyping as they did not fit in the predominant culture group.

New Zealand-born white workers were regarded as in-group whereas immigrants were out-group. This was on the basis of them not being similar to New Zealand culture. Similarly, another indication on similarity attraction and prejudice and stereotyping was "*Peter, Emily, Michel and Sarah are easily accepted as in-group because of their English names and their colour. Tapiwa, Chipo, Zima and Njerenje are not easily accepted because of their non-English names and their colour*".

Theme 3 indicated that gender was a factor in determining whether one was part of the in-group or out-group. For example, "*senior management is made up of white male so males will be in group*". This could point to social dominance as males were regarded as the majority and dominate the workplace.

18.42 % of the participants indicated that there was no division into in-group or out-group as they felt that the inclusion of everyone in the workplace and having no divisions would result in people sharing skills, experience, and enhance the working environment. Personal characteristics were also highlighted as determining whether one would fit into a group.

Hence in-group and out-group had nothing to do with gender, immigration status or ethnicity, but rather an individual's personality.

Five participants (13.17%) indicated that the immigration status of the employee was important in determining social identity. Participants highlighted that people from the same country would naturally gravitate towards each other, creating an in-group, while those from other places or locally born will be the out-group.

To sum up, themes in Table 15 were consistent with Social Identity Theory and Similarity Attraction Theory.

Reasons given for Perceived Rank Order for Part 5 (Competition for Resources) –
Realistic Conflict Theory
In Part 5 participants were asked why the person they predicted as most likely to be an out-group and competitor would be so. The Kappa (K) for this question was 0.70, which is considered good (Robson, 1995). 83% of participants indicate that they had based their judgements on actual observations; meanwhile 17% indicated "No" they had not based their judgment on actual observations.

Themes in Table 16 were consistent with Similarity Attraction Theory and Social Dominance Theory. Twelve participants, (40%) mentioned Theme 1 (Cultural proximity/Similarity New Zealand Born Threat). This indicated that those who were similar to the majority, that is, those who would be in-group, were considered to be a threat. The more the similarities with the predominant culture, the more likely the threat. In this case

Peter Jones, being New Zealand-born would make him a threat towards the majority white males in New Zealand workplaces. This was closely tied to Theme 5, where 10% of the participants indicated that the majority (white New Zealand-born males) were most likely to be regarded as a threat.

Table 16: Principal Reasons for Perceived Realistic Conflict

Relevant Theory	Theme	Count	%
Similarity Attraction Theory	1. Cultural proximity/similarity New Zealand born threat *(Example: "I think if you are NZ born and of NZ heritage you are considered more a threat because this is home" and "Senior management may think Peter, Michael, and Emily as possible competitors due to short distance of power imbalance with them")*	12	40
Social Dominance Theory	2. Gender *(Example: "I think males are considered a threat, more likely to be promoted")*	5	16.67
Social Identity Theory	3. Immigrant status *(Example: "…migrant males pose a threat due to the likelihood that they have experienced larger organisations, more difficult business situation and bigger salaries")*	4	13.34

Social Dominance Theory	4. Majority threat - white New Zealand-born male *(Example: "a white male New Zealander has the potential of being competitive and also pose threat to their own job security and career")*	3	10
Realistic Conflict Theory	5. Individual differences *(Example: "I think this depends solely in the personality and has little to do with the immigration status")*	5	16.66
	6. Miscellaneous	1	3.33
	N	**30**	**100**

Theme 2 highlighted that males were regarded as a threat due to them being part of the majority in New Zealand organisations. Participants commented that "*European males are most threat*" especially if their qualifications were comparable to those of senior management. This is consistent with Social Dominance Theory.

Immigration Status (Theme 3) highlighted that immigrants were regarded a threat because of the experience they brought to the workplace, having worked in larger organisations overseas. Within this category, participants also highlighted that male immigrants would present more of a threat compared to female immigrants.

Lastly, some participants also mentioned that the threat was largely due to an individual's performance in the job (Theme 5: Individual Differences). Participants noted that as all the

imaginary employees presented had the same skills and experience, then all would be perceived to be a threat.

Reasons Given by Participants for their Personal Preferences for Promotion if they were on the Senior Management Team

Given the responses to the previous questions, participants were asked to indicate who they would personally promote if they were on the senior management team. The responses on their preferences are contained in Table 17 below. Thirty-eight participants completed this question. The highest number of participants indicated they would promote Peter Jones (majority) with 24%, and the lowest number of participants indicted they would promote Michael Smith (single minority) with 3%.

There appears to be no clear pattern in the preferences in comparison to the other sections above. The treble minority who has been "observed" in the sections above as being disadvantaged with regards to promotion opportunities, social dominance, and perceived lack of cultural fit has emerged to be preferred over other minorities, such as double and single minorities. It appears that the participants, skilled immigrant women, would still chose to promote the male majority, non-immigrant, non-ethnic candidates despite all their observations and experiences as reported earlier. The various reasons for these choices or preferences are outlined in Table 18 below.

Table 17: Participants' Personal Preferences for Promotion

Employee name	Number of preferences	%
Peter Jones *(Majority)*	9	24
Tapiwa Chenge *(Single Minority)*	8	21
Sarah Williams *(Double Minority)*	6	16
Emily Smith *(Single Minority)*	5	13
Njerenje Muturo *(Treble Minority)*	5	13
Chipo Chifundu *(Double Minority)*	2	5
Zima Buguma *(Double Minority)*	2	5
Michael Smith *(Single Minority)*	1	3
N	**38**	**100**

From Table 18, the major themes that emerge highlight that the participants who were immigrants themselves felt that it was important for employees to be promoted based on the performance, skills and experience they bring to the workplace. The participants also highlighted the advantages to the organisation as a result of promoting an inclusive environment as they suggest having a diverse, multicultural workplace *"provides diversity and varied point of view"*.

Table 18: Principal Reasons for by Participants' Preference for Promotion

Relevant Theory	Theme	Count	%
Realistic Conflict Theory	1. Based on personality and performance *(Example: " ...I would promote a person who has qualities to be a manager e.g. stress resistance, leadership and people skills")*	*14*	*31.11*
Social Identity Theory	2. Migrants to improve diversity and inclusiveness *(Example: "I find that migrants has a lot to offer, new ideas, possibly some solutions that has been tried and tested before in their Country of Origin that has worked, migrants tend to not be stuck-in-a-rut like locals and they also known for working extremely hard")*	*12*	*26.69*
Similarity Attraction Theory	3. Similarity to New Zealand *(Example: "Peter Male, New Zealander, White, professional background")*	*9*	*20*
Social Dominance Theory	4. Gender *(Example "Men are generally better suited to higher management jobs. Often women in*	*6*	*13.33*

	those positions say that they are forced to "be a man" in that environment. They have to fight harder to get the same results as a man does")		
	5. Miscellaneous	*4*	*8.89*
	N	*45*	*100*

Lastly, Themes 3 and 4 were consistent with Similarity Attraction Theory and Social Dominance Theory. Nine participants (20%) indicated that they would promote the majority as they would be "*established*" in the culture and would suit the company's professional image. Participants also reported that they would promote males over females because males were "*more in control*" and "*less likely to take time off work for family purposes /maternity leave*".

CHAPTER 5

Discussion

Summary of Main Findings

The purpose of this research was to test the theories of treatment bias and in particular to find out whether Dual Process Theory can help to close the gap in understanding of why some skilled immigrant women may not always be accepted in sustainable (respectful, recognition of skills) forms of livelihood in New Zealand workplaces. The research examined the interplay of the psychological theories of similarity attraction, social identity, social dominance and realistic conflict with minority influence theory, which suggests that minority status might actually become an advantage for consistent minorities, e.g., minorities that are a minority across multiple criteria (such as "woman" AND "immigrant" AND "ethnic").

Our first hypothesis was that based on minority status there will be a steady and continuous decrement in preference for promotion as we progress from single to double and treble minority employees (minority status is subtractive: each element takes more away from one's prospects at work). The data collected in this research supported this hypothesis. Overall preference for promotion was for the majority candidate (Peter Jones) and the least preferred was the treble minority candidate (Njerenje Muturo). It was clear that the mean rank consistently dropped as the minority attributes were added from single to double and lastly treble minority status. The more similar the employees were to the majority or to New Zealand culture, the higher the preference and chances for promotion

Our second hypothesis was that employees perceived to have more similar backgrounds to the majority will be perceived to have a better cultural fit to the predominant culture in the workplace. The results in this research were consistent with this hypothesis. Employees most similar to New Zealand culture were considered to have the best fit to the predominant culture. Peter Jones (majority) was perceived to have the best fit to the predominant New Zealand culture. This was followed by New Zealand-born employees regardless of their gender and ethnicity, i.e., Emily Smith (single minority), Tapiwa Chenge (single minority) and Chipo Chifundu (double minority). The less similar the employees were perceived to be to New Zealand culture, the less likely they were perceived to fit within the predominant culture at work. Njerenje Muturo, the only treble minority, was perceived to have the least likely fit to the predominant culture.

Our third hypothesis was that social dominance will covary with perceived rank order of employees on the various minority statuses from majority to single, double and treble minorities. Employees who were more similar to the majority were perceived to have a higher social standing in the workplace. The data in this research were once again consistent with this hypothesis. Peter Jones, who represented the majority, was perceived to be the most socially dominant employee with the highest social standing in the workplace. This was followed by the single minorities, then the double minorities and lastly the treble minority represented by Njerenje Muturo. The perceived social dominance/social standing decreased as minority status progressed through single, double and treble minority statuses.

Our fourth hypothesis was that social identity will covary with perceived rank. As minority status doubles and trebles, the employees are more likely to be perceived as out-group. The

results from this study were consistent with this hypothesis. The results show that minority status reduced the chances of being perceived as part of the in-group. With every increase in minority status from single to double, and double to treble, the more the employees were perceived to be out-group rather than in-group. For example, Peter Jones was rated best preference for being part of the in-group, while Njerenje Muturo (treble minority) had the lowest preference and thus considered out-group.

Our fifth hypothesis was that when resources are perceived to be scarce, competition for those resources increases. In this case, the perceived scarcity of promotion opportunities increases the competition for promotion, Compared to the majority, minorities (single, double and treble) will likely face greater negative treatment bias. Those employees who are perceived to be less similar, i.e., out-group (characterised by immigrants, ethnic minorities and women), are more likely to be viewed as posing a threat to the competition for economic and power resources. Results from this study did not support this hypothesis. Instead, the results showed that the more similar or familiar the employee was to the majority predominant culture or to Senior Management, the more the employee was seen as threat in the face of competition for limited resources. i.e., as a threat to Senior Management's job security and career. Peter Jones (majority) was rated as being the greatest threat, while Njerenje Muturo (treble minority) was rated as least threatening. A possible interpretation of this is inverse resonance and is discussed in greater detail later.

Our sixth and final hypothesis was that all else being equal, as minority status doubles and trebles, there will be an increasing likelihood of a reversal of treatment bias. The results of this research were not consistent with this hypothesis. The results for preference for

promotion, perceived similarity, perceived social dominance, perceived social identity and perceived realistic conflict show that there is no point at which minorities, particularly treble minorities, have an advantage over the majority. For example, in the case of preference for promotion opportunities, the mean rank consistently dropped as the minority attributes were added from single to double and lastly treble minority status. Generally, the same pattern was evident across perceived social dominance, perceived social identity and perceived similarity. With regards to realistic conflict, there was a significant decrease in being considered a threat with each progressive increase in minority status from single to double and treble minority due to gender, immigration status and ethnicity. The likelihood of treatment bias increased as minority status progressed through the single to double and triple minority statuses. These findings are not consistent with Minority Influence Theory.

The participants (who were immigrant women) were asked to indicate who they would promote if they were part of the Senior Management team. The results indicated an overall high preference for the majority, represented by Peter Jones. There was no clear pattern in the participants' preferences but it is important to note that the treble minority was not the least preferred as was the case in the previous sections. It is interesting to note that even when the participants, who were themselves either double or treble minorities, were given the opportunity to indicate their preference for promotion, still often chose the majority over single, double and treble minorities. It could be argued that the possible reasons for this is the glass cliff phenomenon or despondency on the part of the minorities. This will be discussed in further detail later.

Links to Theory

Similarity Attraction Theory

This theory states that when individuals are perceived to be similar to each other, they are likely to be attracted to each other and this attraction will result in a positive outcome (Byrne, 1971). The theory of similarity attraction also states that individuals will have positive responses for those who are similar to themselves because of the similarity in their world views (Byrne, 1971). Data from this research supported this hypothesis: the results showed that there was covariation between perceived similarity and preference. This study predicted that Senior Management would be attracted, and therefore would most likely promote, those individuals most similar to the majority and to themselves as the majority in New Zealand workplaces is characterised by non-ethnic New Zealand-born males. Both quantitative and qualitative results showed that Senior Management would have a greater preference of promoting Peter Jones (who represented the majority) and were least likely to promote Njerenje Muturo (who represented the treble minority). Thus, minority status, gender, immigration status and ethnicity have an influence on preference for promotion and career advancement opportunities.

The mean rank and qualitative responses such as "*New Zealand born tend to be favoured*" and males of "*European descent whether born in New Zealand or not get first preference*" implies that employees who are non-ethnic, male and non-immigrant will have better chances of promotion over other minorities. The results show that minority status is additive: preference consistently decreased as minority attributes were added. Hence, the more similar and familiar to the majority, the greater the preference for promotion while

the more dissimilar (i.e., ethnic, female and immigrant), the lower the preference for promotion opportunities.

Participants were asked to rank which employees they considered to be the best fit to the predominant culture. This study predicted that employees perceived to have more similar backgrounds to the majority would be perceived to have a better cultural fit to the predominant workplace culture. Again, the findings indicated that similarity and familiarity to the majority was the key driver in determining cultural fit. This is consistent with Similarity Attraction. Peter Jones was rated as being the best fit, followed by Emily Smith (single minority), and Njerenje Muturo (treble minority) with the least fit to the predominant culture. The quantitative and qualitative findings showed that perceived similarity decreased significantly between the majority and other minority statuses. Comments such as "*New Zealand born first and last non-European female immigrant last*" and "*New Zealand employer judge by colour*" show that perceived similarity is influenced by gender, immigration status and ethnicity. Those who are not similar to the majority, specifically immigrants and ethnic minorities, were considered to have the least fit to predominant culture.

Social Dominance Theory

Social Dominance Theory states that societies stratify into hierarchical groups structured by age, gender, and arbitrary-sets. These arbitrary-sets are culturally defined group-based hierarchies (Sidanius, et al., 1991). Participants were asked to rate the status/social standing that each employee was likely to have in the workplace. Overall, findings supported Social Dominance Theory as there was consistent perception regarding social status in the

workplace. Peter Jones (majority) followed by Emily Smith (single minority) were considered to have the highest social standing, hence gender influenced the ranking in social status. This is consistent with social dominance as males are considered to have more power and higher status than females (Sidanius, et al., 1991).

Figure 2 showed the correlation between perceived social dominance and preference. As predicted by this study, non-ethnic New Zealand-born males were perceived to have higher status followed by the single minorities, then double minorities and lastly the treble minority, Njerenje Muturo. This shows that gender, immigration status and ethnicity--despite equal experience and qualifications--influence social standing/social dominance in the workplace. As minority status progressed through single, double and treble minority statuses, there was a decrease in social status. The statistically significant pairwise comparison shown in Table 7 indicates that gender influences perceived social standing. Consistency with Social Dominance Theory is also echoed with the qualitative responses given by the participants. For example, "*males are always put first by society*" and "*New Zealand born candidates get more respect*". Social Dominance Theory proposes that men are perceived to belong to a higher social hierarchy than women (Sidanius et al., 1991)

Social Identity Theory

The data from this study supports Social Identity Theory. This theory focusses on social categorisation as an inbuilt tendency where individuals categorise themselves into one or more in-groups and others into out-groups. The theory states that individuals attach value to those groups and in so doing, build individuals' identity (Turner, 1979). Race, gender and occupation inform individuals' identity as well as self-image. The quantitative and

qualitative findings are consistent with Turner (1979); for example, participants were asked to indicate which employee was most likely to be seen as part of the in-group by Senior Management. There was covariation between perceived social identity and perceived mean preference.

Peter Jones (majority) was the most likely to be considered as the part of the in-group while least likely was treble minority, Njerenje Muturo. The results also indicate that gender and immigration status influence perceived social identity. For example, there was a sharp drop in the gradient on Figure 3 between double minorities Chipo Chifundu and Zima Buguma. The differences between the two employees were their gender and immigration status. Since Chipo was New Zealand-born, her social identity was closer to the in-group compared to Zima Buguma. The results were consistent with Social Identity Theory: with each minority status there was a consistent reduction in being perceived as part of the in-group. The qualitative results also echoed this. The less similar and familiar with the majority, the less chance of being considered as part of the in-group, as shown by comments such as "*New Zealand male is probably the most likely to be accepted, with migrant woman the least likely.*" From the above it is clear that surface traits such as race and ethnicity are attributes that individuals use to categorise themselves given that those traits are most visible (Podsiadlowski & Ward, 2008). As a result, social identity and social categorisation may then be associated with prejudice, discrimination and stereotyping related to perceived group memberships (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Realistic Conflict Theory

Realistic Conflict Theory states that discrimination and hostility are a result of the presence of conflicts of interest and competition which arises when there is scarcity of resources (Jackson, 1993). For this study, scarce resource was linked to promotion opportunities. Participants were asked to indicate who was most likely to be viewed by Senior Management as a threat in the face of competition for scarce resources, i.e., promotion opportunities. Realistic Conflict Theory also proposes that group conflict is largely driven by the scarcity of economic resources that in turn leads groups to compete against each other for survival, and greater conflict is experienced towards members of the out-group (Brewer, 1968). Given the findings from perceived social identity, we predicted that the threat posed by members of the out-group (i.e., single, double and treble minorities) would likely increase as they progressed from single, to double and treble minority status. This would find Njerenje Muturo (treble minority) as the most competitive threat to Senior Management's job security.

However as mentioned above, the data did not support Realistic Conflict Theory. Instead, Peter Jones (majority) who was part of the in-group, was considered to pose the greatest competitive threat for Senior Management's job security. A possible interpretation of this result is inverse resonance, where groups reject those most similar to the in-group (or members of the in-group) in favour of the less similar out-group as those who are similar are considered a threat to in-group distinctiveness (Carr, 2003). The more similar the employee was to the majority, the greater the perceived threat. As a result, the treble minority posed the least threat in the face of promotion opportunities and Senior Management's job security.

Minority Influence Theory

The data from this research did not support Minority Influence Theory. Given all the findings from perceived similarity, perceived social dominance, perceived social identity and realistic conflict, there is no indication that the minority have an advantage over the majority at any point. The theory states that the consistent minority will at some stage experience some advantages because of their uniqueness (Moscovici, 1967). The theory also states that if confident and consistent, a minority's presentation or views may lead to the majority questioning their views and thereby changing their attitudes (Moscivici & Lage, 1976). We would expect that because all the employees in the study had equal skills, knowledge and experience that women, immigrants and ethnic minorities would have equal if not better opportunities to exert influence and decisions in the workplace, thereby showing that minority status has the opportunity to influence the majority. However as mentioned, minorities were not in an advantageous position as a result of their minority status and even when participants (who were themselves minorities) were given the opportunity to indicate who they would promote, they still chose to promote the majority over the minorities.

The reasons given for employee promotion by the highest number of participants indicated promotion based on an individual's merits and performance. However, there was a significantly high proportion of participants who indicated that similarity to New Zealanders and gender were important factors in determining their choice for promotion, hence they indicated that they would promote Peter Jones (majority). This shows that minorities are still being disadvantaged as they are less likely to be perceived as being similar to New Zealanders. Similarly, some participants indicated that they would be

influenced by gender in their choices for promotion. Comments such as "*men are generally better suited for senior management role*" and "*Peter Jones would be familiar with the New Zealand systems and staff will feel more confident with a New Zealander*" are good examples. This could point to the glass cliff phenomenon: a situation that occurs where women or minorities are appointed to occupy risky or precarious roles over their male majority counterparts (Ryan & Haslam, 2005). When women or minorities are appointed to leadership roles, their performance is often placed under scrutiny and their performance evaluation is not always positive (Ryan & Haslam, 2005). There is the feeling that they have been set up to fail as the situation they find themselves in does not support their development and success in the roles. Another possible reason could be despondency, where minorities have lost hope and courage due to pressures from the perceived obstacles inherent in the system, and as such, minorities have given up trying to fight the system. This results in minorities choosing to accept their subordinate position in the workplace without seeking to remedy.

It is important to highlight that human behaviour is complex and multidimensional; no one psychological theory can adequately explain the existence of treatment bias in the workplace. This research examined five key theories (namely similarity attraction, social identity, social dominance and realistic conflict with minority influence theory) that could help close the gap in knowledge and provide empirical evidence for Minority Influence Theory. Although these five theories were tested, it is clear that there is still need for additional theories to account for the findings. For example, Similarity Attraction Theory on its own does not fully explain the intricacies of why Senior Management are most likely to promote those employees most similar to themselves. Instead, from the qualitative

comments, we found that a combination of theories, e.g., social dominance and social identity theories, might account for some of the reasons why Senior Management prefer those similar to themselves.

Limitations of the Study

By giving immigrant women a voice, this research has highlighted insightful aspects into treatment bias in the workplace. The study has provided some interesting and valuable results, however, as with all research it is subject to some limitations. Participants for this research were provided with imaginary employee profiles that differed between the majority (male, non-ethnic and New Zealand-born) and various minority statuses, with gender, ethnicity, and migration status being consistently varied between each employee and credible names applied to the profiles. The names for the candidates were selected based on being either well-known English names or ethnic names of African origin. However, it can be argued that there was the possibility that the non-ethnic candidates were quite close to majority, i.e., Michael Smith, Sarah Williams and Emily Smith. This could have led participants to rate these imaginary employees as favourable (as they did the majority employee profile) without taking into consideration the other minority statuses assigned to their profiles, e.g., Michael Smith's immigration status may not have been taken into account because his name is so similar to the majority that he may well have been the majority, i.e., male, non-ethnic and New Zealand-born. This choice of names used in the study was especially complex given that the research did not want to introduce other extraneous variables associated with names.

Another limitation of this research was that there was no inclusion of New Zealand Maori in the investigation of treatment bias New Zealand workplaces. Given that New Zealand is a bi-cultural society under the Treaty of Waitangi, the inclusion of New Zealand Maori in the employee profiles would have given a good representation and context for New Zealand organisations. The inclusion of New Zealand Maori could have enriched this study with regards to the effects of ethnicity in treatment bias. It would have been desirable to examine if there were differences in perceptions and treatment bias between New Zealand European and New Zealand Maori employees when considering promotion opportunities. Hence, future research could consider including New Zealand Maori candidates in the choices available for promotion opportunities within New Zealand organisations.

This research focused on focused on the minority voice, hence it focused on the perceptions of immigrant minority women in treatment bias. However, it can be argued that in every situation there are two sides to every story. Future research could also include Senior Management/employers' perspective in order to examine their perceptions as well as the factors that influence and inform their decisions when candidates have promotion opportunities. Future research could examine this aspect of treatment bias to help provide a balance in perspectives into the study of treatment bias.

The small sample size for this study is yet another limitation identified, with a sample size of (N=65). It would have been desirable to have had a larger sample however, given the nature of the enquiry, potential participants were hesitant to answer the survey despite being reassured of their anonymity. The participants feared being identified and the impact this might have had on their employment prospects given that some towns in New Zealand have

very low numbers of immigrants. However, given the importance of the research and findings into this enquiry, it is important that future research continues to emphasise anonymity for participants so that there is confidence in research undertakings.

Another limitation of this research may be in the complexity of understanding the scenario based questions by the participants. Some participants reported finding the questions difficult to understand at first and also the fact that in the real world, it was not likely that employees presented for promotion would have equal levels of skills, education and experience. However, given the nature of this research and being unable to carry out such research in the real world due to ethical reasons, scenario type questions were the best option available. By using scenario type questions where all the candidates possessed equal levels of skills, qualifications and experience, the researcher was able to control for extraneous variables that could influence treatment bias. Despite the complexity of scenario type questions, they provide the most effective approach in information gathering, which would not be possible if only rating scales were used; hence, this research used a combination of rating scales and scenario type questions (Wren, 2003).

It was also important for this study to reflect on the country of origin and job sectors which the immigrant women were employed in as this would give a good perspective on which environments the women had drawn their observations and experiences. This could have provided more detailed information on whether there are differences in treatment bias based on country of origin and the job sectors the women were employed in. For example, are there differences in treatment bias based on the occupations and whether the job is on Immigration New Zealand's skills shortage list while taking into account the overseas

experience and qualifications the immigrants bring to their roles. This could shed some light on whether skilled women immigrants occupying jobs on the skills shortage list do experience treatment bias, especially given that the skills they bring to the workplaces are in high demand.

Future Directions

Based on the results from this study it is clear that minorities, i.e., women, immigrants and ethnic minorities, are disadvantaged in terms of opportunities for promotion in favour of the majority. This is contrary to what was predicated by the Minority Influence Theory which states that at some point, being a minority will be advantageous to the individual. Based on the experiences and observations of the immigrant women who took part in this study, stereotyping often causes minorities, and in particular treble minorities, to have limited career advancement opportunities.

These results highlight the importance for Human Resources practitioners and those in places of leadership within organisations to introduce or enhance already existing initiatives that address some of the conscious and unconscious treatment biases that are prevalent in the workplace. This particularly important to focus on the system changes driven by legislation that focusses on changing structures within the workplace along with psychological aspects of discrimination and prejudice. The introduction and enhancement of cultural awareness, diversity and equal employment opportunity training within the workplace, particularly to those in decision-making positions, is vital in bringing awareness to forms of bias that could affect their judgments when evaluating performance and when considering promotion decisions. There is also a need for there to be representation of

minorities (i.e., women, immigrants and ethnic minorities) at all levels of the structure in order to experience the benefits that diversity brings to the workplace. Understanding why and how bias occurs, particularly for those in decision-making roles, will help raise awareness and provide opportunities for organisations to find ways for continued improvement in legislation, policies and training to combat stereotyping behaviours (UNDP, 2010).

The New Zealand Government is party to and has singed the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals agreement (UNDP, 2017). Under Goal 10 of the Sustainable Development Goals, New Zealand has an obligation to reduce "inequalities in income as well as those based on age, gender, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status within a country" (Goal 10 .:. Sustainable development knowledge platform, 2010). The target for New Zealand as a country is to "adopt policies, especially fiscal, wage and social protection policies, and progressively achieve greater equality" (Goal 10 .:. Sustainable development knowledge platform, 2019). The New Zealand Government can assist the country in meeting its obligations and enhance its achievement by engaging with employers through the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE) to highlight the treatment biases that exist in workplaces and promote representation from all structures of society, including women, ethnic minorities and immigrants. Further development of laws or checks and balances that provide structural changes to people conduct in the workplace regarding discrimination is important rather than just addressing the psychological changes in workplace attitudes. MBIE can promote the advantages of a diverse workforce as different skills and experiences (e.g., languages and cultural understanding) help organisations and companies to provide service on global scale

(AlphaMeasure, 2017). Also, a workplace with diversity can improve innovation as employees from diverse backgrounds bring varied talents and experiences which will make a positive contribution to the New Zealand economy. A healthy, culturally diverse workforce will ensure that New Zealand is successful in these times of global mobility (Podsialowski & Ward, 2010).

Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to examine potential treatment bias against skilled immigrant women from a range of different ethnic backgrounds, some of whom may experience bias yet others not. This research tested the theories of treatment bias to explore reasons why bias was taking place, and in particular to find out whether Dual Process Theory can help close the gap in understanding why some skilled immigrant women experience treatment bias. The research also tested whether at some stage being a minority would be an advantage for consistent minorities. The results suggest that there is a preference for the majority or those who are similar and familiar to New Zealand's predominant culture as opposed to the minorities, i.e., single, double and more so for the treble minorities. In the face of changes to New Zealand's demographic composition and globalisation, it is of paramount importance that policy makers and leadership as well as Human Resources practitioners are aware of treatment bias that could influence their decision-making. Future research could focus on the perception of New Zealand employers with regards to the equity of career advancement opportunities for minorities in New Zealand workplaces.

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Questionnaire

Immigrant women's perspectives on employment experiences in

New Zealand

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

My name is Farai Madambi and I am conducting this research in fulfillment of my Masters in Psychology programme with Massey University. Thank you for showing interest in this project. I am interested in finding out perceptions of immigrant women with regards to their work experiences and observations in New Zealand organisations.

I would like to invite you to participate in this study, which will take less than 20 minutes of your time and put you in the draw to win one of two Prezzy cards.

You will need to be currently employed in a New Zealand organisation and be fluent in English for you to take part in this study. Please click on the "Next" button below, which will take you to the questionnaire.

You will not be personally identified for any reason as a result of your answers in the questions, nor will your individual data be separated from the group average. Your anonymity and privacy/confidentiality are thus assured. If you decide it is appropriate for you to participate we appreciate your contribution to our study. If you decide it is not appropriate to take part there will be no disadvantage to you of any kind and we thank you for considering our request.

If anyone should feel uncomfortable participating in this study, please do not hesitate to get in touch with me on the details provided below or contact the following organisations that will be available to help you;

Employment Assistance Programme (EAP): 0800 327 669
Lifeline: 0800 543 354
Refugee Services: 0800 733 276
Refugee Trauma Recovery: 04 805 0351
Depression Helpline: 0800 111 757

The data collected will be securely stored in such a way that only my Supervisor and I will be able to gain access to it. Data obtained as a result of the research will be retained for at least 5 years in secure storage and will be destroyed thereafter.

If you are interested in obtaining a copy of the summary of the results, these will be available after 30 April 2014 via our research pages at http://psych-research.massey.ac.nz.

Please can you also pass information about this research to friends and work associates (for statistical reasons they would need to be working at a different organisation from the one you are currently working in). I would really appreciate their participation in this study.

Participant's Rights

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

Many thanks
Farai Madambi

Contact Information

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Email: farai.madambi@hotmail.com

Supervisor
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School of Psychology Wellington Campus Massey University Auckland
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+64 9 414-0800 ext 41228
S.C.Carr@massey.ac.nz

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, Application 13/030. If you have any concerns about the conduct of the research, please contact Associate Professor Mark Henrickson, Acting Chairperson, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, telephone 09 414-0800 x 43350, Email: humanethicsnorth@massey.ac.nz

Immigrant women's perspectives on employment experiences in New Zealand

Introduction

I would like you to imagine that the people on the following page, with diverse backgrounds, are employed in an organisational environment with which you are familiar, either now or in the recent past. They are all candidates for a promotion. They are currently employed at middle management level and have applied to, and have been shortlisted for advancement opportunities within their various areas of employment. Please imagine that each employee has equivalent qualifications, training and experience, and that each is performing consistently at a similar level to each other at the jobs as reflected in their performance appraisals. These employees' English language fluency is similar and they all desire to work for the organisation over the same time span. Please imagine also that all eight employees have been with the organisation for the same length of time in identical positions.

The questionnaire is designed to draw on your own observations and experience – or what you have seen or know to be happening in the kind of occupational sector you are currently working in. We are seeking your own personal opinion about these candidates based on your experiences, your own best prediction. Please remember that there are absolutely no "right" and no "wrong" answers to the questions below.

Please think back on your experiences and observations while working in any New Zealand organisation(s) to answer the following questions.

Respondent Consent

I have read and understood the information sheet for this study and consent to collection of my responses. *(Please click on the 'Yes' choice if you wish to proceed.)*

Yes   No

PART I

For the employees below, we would like you to use your own experiences in New Zealand to estimate who would be the most to least likely to receive a promotion.

All of the following candidates have performed at the same level in the job, each has similar English language skills, amount of experience in the job, qualifications and aptitudes and work motivation.

Please drag and drop each employee to rank their chances. Box 1 for the best chance, 2 for the next, and so on. If you feel that more than one employee's name should belong in each box, please just use the drag and drop to place more than one employee in that box. E.g., if you feel that one candidate is likely to win, put that name in Box number 1, and the others in subsequent boxes.

ITEMS

Tapiwa Chenge: Tapiwa is a male employee who was born in New Zealand

Peter Jones: Peter is a male employee who was born in New Zealand.

Chipo Chifundu: Chipo is a female employee who was born in New Zealand.

Emily Smith: Emily is a female employee who was born in New Zealand.

Zima Baguma: Zima is a male employee who migrated to New Zealand five years ago.

Michael Smith: Michael is a male employee who migrated to New Zealand five years ago.

Njerenje Mutoro: Njerenje is a female employee who migrated to New Zealand five years ago.

Sarah Williams: is a female employee who migrated to New Zealand five years ago.

1	2
3	4
5	6
7	8

Did you base your judgments on this questions, i.e., predicting who will get the promotion versus not, largely on actual observations?

Yes   No

Please explain briefly why you thin the person you predicted is most likely to be promoted would be so, and why the least likely would be so?

_____

_____

PART 2

CULTURAL FIT

Most people, including Senior Management, have an idea or image of the match between their own and other peoples' and their cultures, including their own and those countries' way of living and systems of belief.

How do you think Senior Management might generally view each of the same eight employees, in terms of how well they fit culturally with the predominant cultural group at work?

Which of the following candidates for promotion is likely to be seen by Senior Managers as fitting the predominant cultural group at work?

Please drag and drop each employee to rank with the employee you consider to be the best fit for the environment at the top. Again please feel free to put more than one candidate in each box, if you think there are likely to be no differences between them.

ITEMS

Tapiwa Chenge: Tapiwa is a male employee who was born in New Zealand

Peter Jones: Peter is a male employee who was born in New Zealand.

Chipo Chifundu: Chipo is a female employee who was born in New Zealand.

Emily Smith: Emily is a female employee who was born in New Zealand.

Zima Baguma: Zima is a male employee who migrated to New Zealand five years ago.

Michael Smith: Michael is a male employee who migrated to New Zealand five years ago.

Njerenje Mutoro: Njerenje is a female employee who migrated to New Zealand five years ago.

Sarah Williams: is a female employee who migrated to New Zealand five years ago.

1	2
3	4
5	6
7	8

Did you base your judgments on this questions, i.e., predicting whose cultural background will best fit the environment versus not, largely on actual observations?

Yes   No

Please explain briefly why you think the person you predicted is most likely to fit the environment would be so, and why the least likely would be promoted would be so, and why the least likely would be so?

_____

_____

PART 3

SOCIAL STANDING

Based on the employees' backgrounds, can you indicate what status each candidate is likely to have on average in the workplace, where "status" is defined as the most to least level of respect one commands.

Put the candidate with the highest social standing first, and feel free to use tied ranks, if needed.

Please remember to ensure you rank all 8 candidates before proceeding to the next question.

ITEMS

Tapiwa Chenge: Tapiwa is a male employee who was born in New Zealand

Peter Jones: Peter is a male employee who was born in New Zealand.

Chipo Chifundu: Chipo is a female employee who was born in New Zealand.

Emily Smith: Emily is a female employee who was born in New Zealand.

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Michael Smith: Michael is a male employee who migrated to New Zealand five years ago.

Njerenje Mutoro: Njerenje is a female employee who migrated to New Zealand five years ago.

Sarah Williams: is a female employee who migrated to New Zealand five years ago.

1	2
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7	8

Did you base your judgments on this questions, i.e., predicting who will have the higher status versus not, largely on actual observations?

Yes   No

Please explain briefly why you think the person you predicted is most likely to higher status would be so, and why the least likely would be promoted would be so, and why the least likely would be so?

_____

_____

PART 4

SOCIAL INCLUSION

In everyday life people are divided into in-group and out-group i.e., people have a sense of being part of a particular group, versus being excluded from a group. Being part of one "in" group is often defined by comparison with an "out' group. People have a sense of being part of a particular group, r being excluded from a group. Workplaces from groups, and they can make people feel either included or excluded i.e., part of an in-group or an out-group.

Please think about this idea of being an in-group or out-group and answer each question below.

Please drag and drop each employee who is MOST likely to be regarded as in-group by Senior Management. Please feel free to place more than one employee name in each bow.

ITEMS

Tapiwa Chenge: Tapiwa is a male employee who was born in New Zealand

Peter Jones: Peter is a male employee who was born in New Zealand.

Chipo Chifundu: Chipo is a female employee who was born in New Zealand.

Emily Smith: Emily is a female employee who was born in New Zealand.

Zima Baguma: Zima is a male employee who migrated to New Zealand five years ago.

Michael Smith: Michael is a male employee who migrated to New Zealand five years ago.

Njerenje Mutoro: Njerenje is a female employee who migrated to New Zealand five years ago.
Sarah Williams: is a female employee who migrated to New Zealand five years ago.

1	2
3	4
5	6
7	8

Did you base your judgments on this questions, i.e., predicting who will be seen as an out-group versus not, largely on actual observations?

Yes   No

Please explain briefly why you think the person you predicted is most likely to be an out group would be so, and why the least likely would be promoted would be so, and why the least likely would be so?

_____

_____

PART 5

COMPETITION FOR RESOURCES

When people are divided into in-group and out-group feelings toward each of these groups can range from being co-operative to competitive. Some people are seen as rivals competing for resources, for example in this instance with the limited number of further promotion opportunities, accolades, travel opportunities, etc within an organisation that is predominantly "Kiwi".

Please think about this idea of rivals for promotion opportunities and answer each question below.

Please drag and drop each employee to rank the employee according to who is MOST likely to be regarded by Senior Management as potential competitive threat to their own job security and career. Again, please feel free to place more than one employee name in each box. Please remember to ensure you rank all 8 candidates before proceeding to the next question.

ITEMS

Tapiwa Chenge: Tapiwa is a male employee who was born in New Zealand

Peter Jones: Peter is a male employee who was born in New Zealand.

Chipo Chifundu: Chipo is a female employee who was born in New Zealand.

Emily Smith: Emily is a female employee who was born in New Zealand.

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Njerenje Mutoro: Njerenje is a female employee who migrated to New Zealand five years ago.

Sarah Williams: is a female employee who migrated to New Zealand five years ago.

1	2
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7	8

Did you base your judgments on this questions, i.e., predicting who will be seen as an out-group and a competitor versus not, largely on actual observations?

Yes   No

Please explain briefly why you think the person you predicted is most likely to be an out group and competitor would be so, and why the least likely would be promoted would be so, and why the least likely would be so?

_____

_____

Given your responses to the previous questions, who would you promote if you were on the Senior Management Team?

Tapiwa Chenge: Tapiwa is a male employee who was born in New Zealand

Peter Jones: Peter is a male employee who was born in New Zealand.

Chipo Chifundu: Chipo is a female employee who was born in New Zealand.

Emily Smith: Emily is a female employee who was born in New Zealand.

Zima Baguma: Zima is a male employee who migrated to New Zealand five years ago.

Michael Smith: Michael is a male employee who migrated to New Zealand five years ago.

Njerenje Mutoro: Njerenje is a female employee who migrated to New Zealand five years ago.

Sarah Williams: is a female employee who migrated to New Zealand five years ago.

Please explain briefly why you think the person you chose for promotion is the most suitable candidate.

_____

_____

DEMOGRAPHICS

To end, we would just like to ask a few basic demographic question about your background and experience. The information gathered here will simply be used to summarise the people who kindly participate, e.g. average age, average years of experience working in New Zealand, etc., no to identify any individuals.

The summary will be provided at the debriefing stage, which is mentioned on the Information Sheet. Please feel free to access this summary from 30 April 2014 via our research web page at

http://psych-research.massey.ac.nz

How old are you?

Less than 20 years	41-45 years
20-25 years	46-50 years
26-30 years	51-55 years
31-35 years	56-60 years
36-40 years	Greater than 60 years

Country of Origin

_____

What ethnicity/ies do you regard yourself as? (select more than one is required)

New Zealand European/Pakeha

New Zealand Maori

Cook Islander

Fijian

Samoan

Chinese

Indian

Other (please specify)

Under what type of Visa have you entered New Zealand?

Visitor visa

Student visa

Working holiday visa

Work Visa

Permanent residency

Which job do you currently wok in?

_____

Which sector is your job in?

Animal Care and Conservation	Government, Law and Safety
Arts and Media	Health and Community
Business	Hospitality, Tourism and Recreation
Construction and Infrastructure	IT and Telecommunications
Education and Social Sciences	Manufacturing
Engineering	Retail and Personal Services
Farming, Fishing, Forestry and Mining	Science
Finance and Property	Transport and Logistics

How long have you been in New Zealand?

_____

How many years of experience do you have working in New Zealand?

_____

Immigrant women's perspectives on employment
experiences in New Zealand (continued...)

These separate survey pages are provided to enable you to provide contact details so that you can enter the prize draw for one of two Prezzy gift cards of $50 each or to register your interest in receiving a summary of results. Your contact details are not linked to your previous responses in the preceding survey and will be used only for the prize draw or to send out a summary of results if requested.

What is this research about?

I am interested in finding out perceptions of immigrant women with regards to their work experiences and observations in New Zealand organisations
Please feel free to contact the researcher if you have any questions about the project.

Thanks
Farai Madambi.

Contact information

Researcher

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Email: farai.madambi@hotmail.com

Supervisor
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School of Psychology Wellington Campus Massey University
Auckland
New Zealand
+64 9 414-0800 ext 41228

S.C.Carr@massey.ac.nz

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, Application 13/030. If you have any concerns about the conduct of the research, please contact Associate Professor Mark Henrickson, Acting Chairperson, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, telephone 09 414-0800 x 43350, Email: humanethicsnorth@massey.ac.nz

Prize draw or results

Would you like to enter the draw for a Prezzy gift card**?**

Yes   No

Would you like to receive a summary of the finding of this research project?

Yes   No

Please enter your contact details so that we can contact you with the findings and/or a successful prize draw.

Name _____

Email Address _____

Phone _____

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