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The paradox of aid:
When are “socially dominant”
individuals attracted to work in aid
organisations?

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
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Abstract

This research examined whether certain international aid organisations may be inadvertently recruiting individuals with high Social Dominance Orientation, and thereby potentially perpetuating poverty and inequality. Principles are taken from social dominance and similarity-attraction theories to examine social dominance in aid organisations. In a between-subjects experiment, $N = 62$ participants had their hypothetical Job Pursuit Intentions measured for one of two aid organisations, depicted in organisational descriptions as having either predominantly hierarchy-enhancing (e.g., pay disparity between local and expatriate workers) or hierarchy-attenuating (e.g., equal pay) qualities, with all other organisational characteristics being held equal. Social Dominance Orientation was also measured. There are two key findings. Firstly, participants who were not at all interested in working in the aid industry had, on average, higher social dominance than participants who were interested ($p = .05$ and $p = .01$). Secondly, among the remaining $n = 47$ participants, there was a borderline significant interaction effect of individual social dominance and the portrayed social dominance in organisational recruitment message on Job Pursuit Intentions ($p = .07$). Specifically, those with relatively high individual Social Dominance Orientation scores reported, on average, lower intentions to pursue work with a hierarchy-attenuating organisation, compared to individuals who scored lower on Social Dominance Orientation, a result that was borderline statistically significant ($F(1,18) = 3.70$, $p = .07$). Findings indicate that, whilst individuals with low social dominance tendencies are more likely to pursue aid work, social dominance portrayed in organisational recruitment messages has the potential to impact on whether individuals higher versus lower pursue work with specific aid organisations. The potential for similarity-attraction during recruitment to reflect social dominance in aid organisations is discussed. Improvements to the methodology for future research are also discussed.

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Chapter 1

Critical Literature Review

The international aid system includes non-governmental, country-specific, and multi-national aid organisations. In principle, the system as a whole is aimed at reducing poverty and inequality of opportunity (UN, 2005). For example, it is guided by relatively egalitarian policies and objectives, such as the Millennium Development Goals (Annan, 2000) and the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (UN, 2005). Even though complete equality may be impossible to obtain, these documents recognise increased equality as a value fundamental for international relations and human development, notably poverty reduction (Annan, 2000). However, some analysts have observed that relationships of power exist in aid (Lemieux & Pratto, 2003; MacLachlan, Carr, & Mc Auliffe, 2010). Aid may, therefore, incorporate an underlying and subtle culture of social dominance which is paradoxical to the egalitarian objectives of aid (MacLachlan et al., 2010). Such a potential paradox in aid is problematic because “if the very system of international aid creates relationships between people that perpetuate the inequalities it is actually meant to address, then ‘trying to help’ does harm. It maintains poverty, heightens frustration, promotes arrogance, rationalizes disengagement, alienates the disempowered and silences the voiceless” (MacLachlan et al., 2010, p. 11). Without aid workers who actively support equality, policy statements like the Paris Declaration risk becoming rhetorical rather than practical.

In their recent review of human factors at work in aid and development projects, MacLachlan et al. (2010) argue that an analysis of human relationships in aid is needed because “it is people who make aid work, not money, technology or expertise” (MacLachlan et al., 2010, p. 11). They propose an innovative psychological perspective on how human dynamics can inhibit the effectiveness of aid using the concepts of dominance, justice and identity. This thesis focuses on one of these concepts, dominance.

“‘Dominance’ means that the interests of one prevail over the interests of another” (MacLachlan et al., 2010, p. 23). Understanding dominance in aid is crucial to improving the effectiveness of aid (MacLachlan et al., 2010). Despite its importance, as perceived by MacLachlan et al., dominance in aid has not been examined empirically. This thesis aims to examine the potential for social dominance in aid using principles from social dominance and similarity-attraction theories. Specifically, this thesis will examine whether there is a

tendency for people to be attracted to aid organisations with social dominance similar to their own, during recruitment. Such a tendency is potentially reflecting social dominance in aid organisations (Figure 1.1).

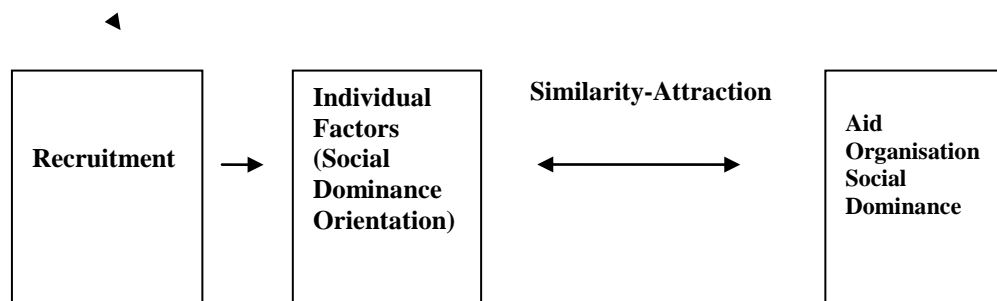


Figure 1.1

Schematic representation of relationships

1.1 Social Dominance Theory

According to social dominance theory, group-based social hierarchy is pervasive in human societies (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). The theory identifies three systems of group based social hierarchies which are claimed to be relatively universal. The universal systems comprise: (i) an age-system, in which adults have more power than children, (ii) a gender-system, in which men have more power than women, and (iii) an arbitrary-set system where groups are defined by arbitrary terms such as nationality, ethnicity, religion, or class (Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006). In the context of international aid, the potential social hierarchy proposed by MacLachlan et al. (2010) is an arbitrary-set system in which aid organisations are the dominant group and aid recipients are the subordinate group. This is the specific hierarchy which is the focus in this thesis.

Social dominance theory states that social hierarchies are characterised by the differences between dominants and subordinates in their perceived social status, power, and possession of social value (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Positive social value includes ‘quality of life’ markers such as access to quality education and healthcare whereas negative social value is the absence of these ‘quality of life’ markers. Negative social value does not refer to a complete absence of education, healthcare, etc but an absence of *quality* in these areas. Dominant groups possess more positive social value and less negative social value, whilst

subordinate groups possess more negative social value and less positive social value (Pratto et al., 2006). This means that members of dominant groups tend to have more resources to allocate and more power to distribute these resources. Aid donors, whether they are an individual, a country (funded by tax-paying residents), or an international organisation, such as the World Bank, by their very nature, have greater economic resources than aid recipients. LeMieux and Pratto (2003) argue that this ‘ipso facto’ economic dominance by aid donors can translate into an unequal power distribution in aid because donors have the freedom to set the exchange price, and the freedom to enter and exit relationships with aid recipients. The unequal power distribution, which is seen to be inherent to aid, positions donors and recipients into a social hierarchy (MacLachlan et al., 2010).

Social dominance theory identifies that a potential product of social hierarchy is ‘social dominance’ (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Social dominance occurs when social discrimination and oppression are aimed at maintaining social hierarchy. According to social dominance theory, there is a deep-seated and, quite likely, implicit tendency for some individuals and groups to want to maintain social hierarchy through social discrimination and oppression (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Intuitively, aid organisations and aid workers would not be socially dominant. However, because aid is inherently hierarchical, it is possible that even aid workers and aid organisations may, unwittingly, support social hierarchy and engage in social dominance in their everyday activities at work. This thesis builds on MacLachlan et al.’s provocative proposition that “those who serve the poor, at least in some cases, will quite literally want to lord it over them too” (2010, p. 23).

1.1.1 Social Dominance in Aid

According to MacLachlan et al. (2010), social dominance in aid is evident when implicit assumptions underlying aid manifest themselves in the daily practices of aid workers. These practices tend to be taken-for-granted, and rarely questioned by aid workers. This section outlines five practices described by MacLachlan et al. which reflect relationships of dominance and will be used in this thesis to represent social dominance in aid organisation recruitment messages.

(i) ‘We know what’s best’

According to MacLachlan et al. (2010) there is an underlying ideology that aid workers

‘know what’s best’ for recipients of aid. Aid is “something that ‘we’, the rich, do to ‘them’, the poor” (Hancock, 1989, p. 22). This ideology is evident in the tendency for aid workers to control the administration and management of aid funds. Management of aid is carried out by ‘expert’ advisors, a relationship which has been described as ‘paternalistic’ (Hancock, 1989; MacLachlan et al., 2010). The ‘we know what’s best’ nature of aid work and its associated practices represent social dominance in aid.

(ii) Superiority

The terms ‘developed’ and ‘developing’ are frequently used to dichotomise rich and poor countries. Such terms, used carelessly, construct meanings which can be harmful to others whether this is intended or not. People attribute different meanings to the terms ‘developing’ and ‘developed’. These terms are seen to reflect not only economic standing but also intellectual and cultural level (MacLachlan et al., 2010). Sachs (2005) found that assumptions about being economically ‘developed’ reflected deeper superiority. The rich-poor dichotomy in aid work is a surface manifestation which supports an underlying assumption of superiority and is, therefore, a reflection of social dominance in aid.

(iii) Selection Bias

Western aid workers are more likely to be employed, in comparison to aid workers from low-income countries (MacLachlan et al., 2010). This reflects a selection bias. For example, researchers found a selection bias in Tanzania (Carr, Rugimbana, Walkom, & Bolitho, 2001). Despite their equally good qualifications for work within an aid organisation, candidates from other low-income countries were less likely to be selected than workers from Western countries. Selection biases in aid work represent blatant discrimination which, whether intended or not, maintains social hierarchy. Therefore, selection biases by aid organisations are an example of social dominance.

(iv) Lifestyle

Expatriate aid workers stationed in low-income countries often maintain their usual lifestyle and tend to be well looked after. Aid organisations are renowned for their high spending on overheads, lifestyle and salary. The life of a United Nations aid worker, for example, can include attending expensive conferences and frequent air-travel (Hancock, 1989), air-conditioned transport, good quality accommodation, access to quality medical care and education (MacLachlan et al., 2010). At the end of their assignment, expatriate workers

have the freedom to leave the contrasting circumstances of the aid recipient country (MacLachlan et al., 2010). MacLachlan et al. refer to these inequalities as ‘rationalised contradictions’ (2010, p. 54) because they are paradoxical to the objectives and values of aid work and people tend to rationalise their existence. However rational it may seem, aid workers working to reduce poverty from a position of prosperity is an ironic contradiction (Hancock, 1989). The Western lifestyle, retained by many aid workers, is a manifestation of underlying social dominance (MacLachlan et al., 2010).

(v) Pay Disparity

Aid workers from donor countries are also more likely to receive higher pay than local workers even when they are equally qualified and doing the same job. Pay discrepancies have been found both within aid organisations and between aid organisations from recipient countries and international aid organisations. This occurs even when aid organisations are based in donor countries (Carr, McWha, MacLachlan, & Furnham, 2010). Pay discrepancies reflect dominance in aid.

1.1.2 Social Dominance in Aid Workers

To assess the social dominance tendencies of individuals, social dominance theory research has developed measures of Social Dominance Orientation. The measurable construct Social Dominance Orientation is a person’s general orientation toward, and their desire for, group-based social inequality and social dominance (Sidanius, Levin, Federico, & Pratto, 2001). The Social Dominance Orientation of prospective aid workers will be measured in the present study to assess the potential for social dominance in aid.

Social Dominance Orientation is an indicator of social dominance in aid because individuals high in Social Dominance Orientation are more likely to maintain and endorse inequality through their tendency to support a variety of hierarchy-enhancing ideologies and policies (Pratto et al., 2006). Racism, sexism, nationalism, and cultural elitism are examples of hierarchy-enhancing ideologies (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Hierarchy-enhancing policies are likely to oppose things like immigration, civil rights and social welfare (Pratto et al., 2006; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). Hierarchy-enhancing ideologies and policies are in conflict to the egalitarian policies guiding aid. Thus, a logical contradiction exists between manifestations of high Social Dominance Orientation and aid work.

1.1.3 Social Dominance in Aid Organisations

Aid organisations fit into the definition of institutions: “a society or organisation founded for charitable, religious, educational, or social purposes” (Oxford, 2005, p. 561). According to social dominance theory, institutions are essential forces for supporting and maintaining social dominance (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius, Pratto, Van Laar, & Levin, 2004). They wield high power and wide influence, a large resource base, longevity, and a tendency to form their own norms. These norms serve to reduce individual differences within the institution and provide systems to remove the personal culpability of members. The social dominance of aid organisations is, therefore, of interest to this thesis.

Institutional social dominance can be defined as hierarchy-attenuating or hierarchy-enhancing depending on the institution’s level of support for hierarchy-attenuating or hierarchy-enhancing ideologies and social policies. Hierarchy-enhancing institutions disproportionately allocate more positive value and less negative value to members of dominant groups than to subordinate groups. According to social dominance theory, hierarchy-enhancing institutions include: profit-oriented financial institutions, transnational corporations and criminal justice systems (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In comparison, hierarchy-attenuating institutions disproportionately support subordinate groups, such as the poor, and members of ethnic and religious minority groups. Hierarchy-attenuating institutions also aim to increase the availability of positive social resources, such as public services, to subordinates. Examples of hierarchy-attenuating institutions include: public defenders, social services and human rights organisations (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Aid organisations have not been categorised in social dominance theory research.

Aid organisations are predominantly, and intuitively, hierarchy-attenuating institutions. The explicit objective of aid is to increase the availability of positive social resources, such as quality healthcare, nutrition and other basic human rights to the poor. Therefore, according to the definition provided by social dominance theory, aid organisations would be categorised as hierarchy-attenuating institutions.

This thesis identifies two factors that challenge the categorisation of aid organisations as *only* hierarchy-attenuating. Firstly, whilst aid is based on hierarchy-attenuating objectives, there is evidence that hierarchy-enhancing qualities *also* exist in aid (MacLachlan et al., 2010). Aid organisations can, therefore, have both hierarchy-attenuating and hierarchy-enhancing

qualities, although the latter may be more subtle and underlying than the former. Secondly, all aid organisations are not equal. They vary considerably in terms of hierarchy-enhancing and hierarchy-attenuating characteristics. It is unreasonable to group together large, government-funded multinational aid organisations, such as the World Bank, and smaller international aid organisations, such as Oxfam, or country-specific aid organisations, such as New Zealand Aid. Hence the categorisation of *all* aid organisations collectively, in terms of social dominance, is double-sided and ambivalent. This thesis is focused on finding out whether the social dominance of *specific* aid organisations could, potentially, be reflected by the people attracted to the organisation during recruitment. Thus, the recruitment messages of aid organisations would be seen to reflect their distinct social dominance qualities.

1.1.4 Similarity-Attraction in Social Dominance Theory

Social dominance theory predicts that individuals will be more attracted to institutions where their individual Social Dominance Orientation is congruent with the social dominance of the institution (Pratto et al., 2006). People with high Social Dominance Orientation will be more attracted to visibly hierarchy-enhancing institutions, whilst people with low Social Dominance Orientation will be more attracted to visibly hierarchy-attenuating institutions. According to this logic, the prediction of institutional attraction in social dominance theory is based on the idea of ‘similarity-attraction’ whereby people are attracted to people and environments similar to themselves. Attraction-selection-attrition theory (Schneider, 1987) expands on the idea of similarity-attraction and contends that a certain type of person is more likely to be attracted to, selected and retained by organisations. Potential employees are attracted to the character of an organisation – its structure, strategy and culture. Social dominance theory research has consistently found a tendency for similarity-attraction in terms of social dominance (Pratto et al., 2006). However, the tendency for people to be attracted to similar organisations, in terms of social dominance, has not been assessed in an aid work context. In line with similarity-attraction theory, it is expected that people will be attracted to aid organisations which have a relative social dominance more similar to their own.

There have been many studies on similarity-attraction in social dominance theory (Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius, Pratto, Sinclair, & van Laar, 1996; Sidanius, van Laar, Levin, & Sinclair, 2003). For example, Pratto et al. (1994) found that American university students were

attracted to careers where the institutional social dominance was congruent with their own level of Social Dominance Orientation, i.e.; people with higher Social Dominance Orientation were attracted to hierarchy-enhancing careers, such as law, whilst people with lower Social Dominance Orientation were attracted to hierarchy-attenuating careers, such as social work. Given that aid organisations are likely to be categorised as hierarchy-attenuating institutions in social dominance theory research, in line with similarity-attraction findings we would predict that people with low Social Dominance Orientation are more likely to be attracted to aid organisations. However, the majority of previous research on similarity-attraction in social dominance theory has categorised institutions on the basis of their explicit, broad objectives. This means that the potential for hierarchy-enhancing qualities in a predominantly hierarchy-attenuating institution are not taken into account.

The only study in this area to recognise that institutions in the same category can incorporate groups which differ in terms of social dominance, is a study comparing different legal institutions by Sidanius, Liu, Shaw and Pratto (1994). These researchers found a significant difference in Social Dominance Orientation between civil (hierarchy-attenuating) and corporate (hierarchy-enhancing) lawyers, and between Los Angeles police officers (hierarchy-enhancing) and public defenders (hierarchy-attenuating). Sidanius et al. differentiate between types of lawyers and types of police officers on the premise that civil law and police work are hierarchy-attenuating whereas corporate law and public defending are hierarchy-enhancing institutions. Although not explicitly, these researchers indicate that the specific nature of the institution is relevant in predicting the social dominance of its incumbents. This thesis will examine the relationship between Social Dominance Orientation and attraction to *specific* aid organisations.

Social dominance theory research has also tended to focus on similarity-attraction in samples of American students. Research has not yet assessed similarity-attraction, in terms of social dominance, in New Zealand. This thesis aims to examine the relationship between attraction to specific aid organisations and Social Dominance Orientation in a non-student, New Zealand sample.

1.2 Synthesis

Hypothesis One

In line with social dominance theory, participants lower in Social Dominance Orientation will be more likely than participants with higher Social Dominance Orientation to want to work in the general aid industry (incorporating all aid organisations).

Hypothesis Two

Participants who would like to work in the aid industry will be more attracted to aid organisations which espouse subtle elements of social dominance similar to their own Social Dominance Orientation. Organisational attraction will depend on whether hierarchy-enhancing or hierarchy-attenuating elements are portrayed in the organisations recruitment message and the Social Dominance Orientation of the individual participant. Participants with higher Social Dominance Orientation will be more attracted to hierarchy-enhancing elements in a recruitment message than hierarchy-attenuating elements. Participants with lower Social Dominance Orientation will be more attracted to hierarchy-attenuating elements in a recruitment message than hierarchy-enhancing elements.

Chapter 2

Method

2.1 Participants

In the final analysis, a sample of $N = 62$ from a population of graduate job seekers were successfully recruited through snowball sampling. Firstly, there were $n = 12$ participants who were male and $n = 50$ participants who were female. Secondly, all participants were above 16 of age, although one participant did not supply an age. The age of the sample ranged from 22 to 67 years ($M = 34.60$ years, $SD = 13.6$). Thirdly, all participants held a tertiary degree because this study is focused on graduate recruitment and, therefore a tertiary degree was one of the selection criteria. Participants reported having a range of tertiary qualifications. The lowest qualification reported was a Certificate and the highest was a PhD. The mean qualification reported was an Honours degree or Post-Graduate diploma. Participants reported having a range of major subjects; social science majors were the most common ($n = 29$), other science subjects ($n = 12$), commerce subjects ($n = 9$), other arts subjects ($n = 4$), health subjects ($n = 4$), cooking ($n = 1$), math ($n = 1$), education ($n = 1$). The majority of participants were of New Zealand nationality ($n = 52$). Other nationalities self-reported were, European ($n = 3$), Asian ($n = 3$), and North American ($n = 4$).

2.2 Materials and Measures

The research material consisted of an online questionnaire (see Appendix 1) with five parts, (i) an organisational recruitment message, (ii) a Job Pursuit Intentions scale, (iii) an industry intentions question, (iv) Social Dominance Orientation Scale, and (v) demographic questions.

The questionnaire entailed seven pages and participants could click on arrows to get from one page to the next. It was designed to take participants approximately fifteen minutes to complete.

(i) Key Experimental Manipulation: Organisation Recruitment Messages:

Participants were asked to read one of two aid organisation descriptions in the form of a recruitment message. The following instructions were given; “Imagine you are looking for a job and there is a relevant position available in the New Zealand office of the following organisation. The following organisation description is included in each job advertisement

and you will need to read this and use this information to decide if you would be interested in seeking more information about an available position. Note that this description is only of the organisation and not the specific position that you may be interested in.”

Organisation descriptions were created using identical templates with eight characteristics manipulated to alter the tone of the description. Only the tone of the descriptions was manipulated to create either a more hierarchy-enhancing organisation or a more hierarchy-attenuating organisation. The variations (see Table 2.1) represented the manifestations of social dominance in aid (Chapter 1, pp. 3-5) originally described by MacLachlan et al. (2010). The template with hierarchy-attenuating versus hierarchy-enhancing manipulation shown in bold is displayed below.

*The Society for Humanitarian Aid is a leading humanitarian organization combating global poverty. We place special focus on **collaborating with/providing management for** disadvantaged communities on specific aid projects. Our projects aim to improve basic education, prevent the spread of disease, increase access to clean water and sanitation, expand economic opportunity and protect natural resources in **low income /developing countries**. The Society for Humanitarian Aid also provides emergency aid to survivors of war and natural disasters, and helps survivors to rebuild their lives. We provide assistance in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, Europe, and the Middle East.*

*With headquarters in New York and London, the strength of the Society for Humanitarian Aid lies in its many smaller offices both in **high-income and low-income/developed and developing** countries. We work in close partnership with private voluntary organizations, indigenous organizations, universities, corporate businesses, international agencies, governments, and government agencies.*

Our organisation seeks a world without poverty. Our mission is to manage aid workers on aid projects aimed at improving the lives of people in impoverished countries. We draw from our vast resources and experience to promote innovative solutions and advocate for global responsibility. We facilitate long-term change by:

- Delivering relief in emergencies*
- Providing economic opportunity*
- Influencing development policy*
- Maintaining good relationships with **local governments/donor governments***
- **Allowing locals to manage projects in their own communities/Providing the best quality aid workers to manage projects***

*The Society for Humanitarian Aid provides a variety of challenging and varied positions working in a team environment with vast career and training opportunities, both in New Zealand and overseas. We aim to pay all employees **equal wages/competitive salaries** making us one of the top aid organizations to work for worldwide.*

*All staff roles are rewarding and social as they are involved in building and maintaining relationships with **local communities/other aid workers**. Our employees are responsible for providing funding, **information and resources/expert advice and expatriate staff on specific projects**.*

*The Society for Humanitarian Aid offers regular opportunities for overseas travel to work on specific projects in **low-income/developing** countries. During this time we take good care of our staff, organizing **home-stay/quality hotel** accommodation for the duration of their stay.*

Organisation descriptions were structured as brief (340 and 345 word) explanations of hypothetical organisations similar to what may be found in job advertisements or on organisation websites. Extracts were taken of the organisational descriptions from a selection of aid organisation websites and reworded to ensure they were not directly copied. The aim was to construct descriptions which were typical of actual aid organisations. Descriptions were positively worded (because no recruitment message would logically contain negative information about the organisation) and described the basic function and work of the aid organisation. Both fictitious organisations were international aid organisations with offices in New Zealand and providing opportunities to work in disadvantaged communities overseas.

Table 2.1 Organisational Social Dominance Manipulation

The eight manipulated organisational characteristics (fragments or words) and the sub-section of Chapter 1 (pp. 3-5) from which they are taken.

<i>Hierarchy-Attenuating:</i>	<i>Hierarchy-Enhancing:</i>	
Low-income and high-income	Developing and developed	'Superiority'
Collaborating with	Providing management for	'We know what's best'
Local governments	Donor governments	'We know what's best'
Allowing locals to manage	Providing the best quality aid	'We know what's best'
projects in their own	workers to manage projects	
communities		
Information and resources	Expert advice and expatriate	'We know what's best'
	staff	
Equal wages	Competitive salaries	Pay Disparity
Local communities	Other aid workers	Selection Bias
Home-stay	Quality hotel	Lifestyle

Crucially, to verify that the organisational culture portrayed in each description was accurate, a manipulation check was carried out prior to the main study. A sample of 10 people were asked to read both organisation descriptions and to categorise the organisations as hierarchy-attenuating or hierarchy-enhancing, using the definitions provided by Pratto et al. (2006). All ten participants categorised both organisation descriptions correctly.

(ii) *Job Pursuit Intentions Scale:*

The Job Pursuit Intentions (JPI) Scale (part of Appendix 1) is a six-item, single factor

measure with a Likert-rating scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) measuring the job pursuit intentions participants would have for the organisation (Aiman-Smith, Bauer, & Cable, 2001). Hypothetical job pursuit intentions were seen to be a reflection of participants' level of hypothetical organisational attraction because, logically, if a person intends to pursue a job, they are attracted to it.

Validity testing of the Job Pursuit Intentions scale has not previously been conducted in aid recruitment settings. Coefficient Alpha for the measure was .91, in the general business sector. This was determined by the original authors of the measure, Aiman-Smith, Bauer and Cable (2001), in a study on business students' attraction to jobs in the USA. In the present study, the Job Pursuit Intentions scale was adapted slightly from the original measure by changing the word 'company' to 'organisation', to render it more relevant to the present thesis on aid organisations.

(iii) Industry Intention Question:

Participants' were asked: "would you be interested in working in the aid industry in general?" They were asked to select "Yes" or "No". There was also an optional space for typed answers to explain their decision. This question was included so the relationship between Social Dominance Orientation and attraction to the general aid industry could be assessed.

(iv) Social Dominance Orientation Scale (SDO-6):

The second section of the questionnaire asked participants about their social values and beliefs, giving participants the instructions; "People's chosen work often reflects their personal values. This section is asking about your own personal values and beliefs on hierarchy and equality. There are no right or wrong answers. Please be open and honest in answering the questions".

The SDO-6 (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth & Malle, 1994) is a 16-item scale ranging from 1 to 7 where 1 is *very negative* and 7 is *very positive*. The SDO-6 scale is the most recently developed measure of social dominance orientation and is based on the SDO-5 measure. The SDO-6 was developed to have higher face validity than previous scales. It correlates very strongly with the SDO-5 as well as with other previous measures (Pratto et al., 1994). Social dominance orientation scales have not been validated in an aid setting. However, as a

predictor of preference for group-based social hierarchy social dominance scales have shown a high level of validity and reliability in a range of non-aid settings. The SDO-6 was titled 'social values and beliefs' in the questionnaire, in order to state the content in this section of the questionnaire, in lay terms.

The SDO-6 scale has been found to have high discriminant and construct validities, and high cross-time and internal reliabilities in non-aid settings worldwide (Pratto et al., 2006; Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Discriminant validity has been demonstrated by showing that social dominance orientation is not correlated strongly with a variety of factors such as self esteem, neuroticism, impression managements, conformity and Right-Wing Authoritarianism (Pratto et al., 2006). The construct validity of social dominance scales has been demonstrated by showing that there is a positive correlation between individuals' support for social hierarchy and various outcome variables indicative of socially dominant attitudes or behaviours, such as generalised prejudice (Kteily, Sidanius, & Levin, 2011), sexism ($r = .51$), racism, nationalism ($r = .51$), political conservatism ($r = .28$), rape myths ($r = .43$), meritocracy, cultural elitism, and noblesse oblige, ethnic prejudice against minorities across different countries and cultures (average $r = .41$) support for the death penalty ($r = .31$), opposition to immigration ($r = .30$), and opposition to women's rights ($r = .39$), opposition to gay rights ($r = .38$), support for the war in Iraq ($r = .48$), support for the legal and judiciary systems, and opposition to social welfare (Pratto et al., 2006; Pratto et al., 1994). Construct validity findings also add to knowledge on the potential manifestations of high Social Dominance Orientation and highlight its conflict with the egalitarian guidelines of aid.

A cross-cultural analysis of social dominance orientation measures by Pratto et al. (2000) found the SDO-6 measure to be internally reliable across countries. A median reliability of .83 was found for the SDO-6 across fourteen samples in six different countries ranging from low income to high income (Canada, U.S.A, Israel, Palestine, China, and New Zealand) (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Nevertheless, the measure has never been tested, and thus remains unvalidated, in either an aid setting or in recruitment to aid organisations.

Therefore, this study adopts an exploratory approach to verifying the psychometric properties of the SDO-6 (see Chapter 3).

(v) Demographic Questions

The third and final section of the questionnaire asked some basic demographic questions – age, gender, nationality, tertiary degree, and major subject.

2.3 Procedure

Ethics: The research project was reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics committee in accordance with the Massey University Code of Ethics (Massey-University, 2010).

Participant Recruitment Advertisement: Participants were recruited in three possible ways:

- Advertisement on Facebook (www.facebook.co.nz), a popular social networking website. The advertisement was only posted onto the home pages of people who are part of the New Zealand Facebook network (those who list their home/place of residence as New Zealand)
- Advertisement on the Massey University Online Research Surveys webpage (www.massey.ac.nz), a webpage promoting staff and student research taking place online and also showing the results of past Massey research
- Being directed to the advertisement by an email sent out to a large group of people using a snowball sampling method

Advertisements stated three selection criteria: *(i)* participants were sixteen years or over, so that caregiver permission was not required; *(ii)* participants held a tertiary qualification, because the research was aiming to look at who is attracted to professional roles in aid organisations, and those with a tertiary qualification are more likely to be looking for professional positions, and *(iii)* participants were looking for employment (not necessarily currently unemployed), because the project aimed to reflect a real job application process.

Advertisements directed participants to the project information sheet, hosted on the Massey University website, via a hyperlink. The information sheet included a hyperlink to the research questionnaire, hosted on the Qualtrics website. Qualtrics provides online survey creating software for building and distributing research surveys. The Qualtrics site is secure

and the online questionnaire was set up and managed by the Massey University psychology department computer programmer/analyst, under conditions of anonymity and confidentiality. Participants were able to participate from their own local computer at home and other private settings. Because it was accessible over the internet, it is possible that participants may have accessed the questionnaire whilst overseas (on holiday, travelling, living temporarily overseas).

Information Sheet: Prior to beginning the questionnaire, participants were asked to read the information sheet which invited them to participate if they met the criteria. Selection criteria were, again, stated and applied in the information sheet. Participants were told in the information sheet that they would need to act as potential job applicants for an organisation, read a short description of this organisation and answer questions about whether or not they would pursue employment. If they wished to participate, there was a link to the questionnaire. Participation was taken as consent, as indicated on the information sheet. Participation was anonymous and no deception of participants was involved.

Questionnaire: Participants were then directed to the questionnaire from the information sheet.

Participant Prize Draw: After completing the questionnaire, participants were invited to go into the draw for one of five \$50 grocery vouchers by sending a blank email to the email address provided. This was a means of acknowledging the time freely given to the participating in the research project.

Data Storage: At the completion of data collection, the Massey University psychology department computer programmer/analyst transferred the data to the researcher for statistical analysis. All data was stored in a password-protected system, and kept confidential and anonymous, with no personal identifiers attached to any one set of responses.

Feedback/Debrief: A summary sheet of the main outline and findings of the study was made available to participants by request.

Research Design: The study had a between-subjects research design. The variables were;

the participants Social Dominance Orientation score, the portrayed social dominance in the organisational recruitment message (hierarchy-enhancing vs. hierarchy-attenuating), and participants score on the Job Pursuit Intentions scale.

Qualitative Data Analysis:

Qualitative data was obtained from participants in the Industry Intentions section of the questionnaire. Thematic analysis was carried out to ensure that this data was analysed in a meaningful and systematic way. Thematic analysis aims to find “patterns of meaning and issues of potential interest in the data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 86). The current analysis was carried out from a realist epistemology and was theory-driven, rather than data-driven. Themes were derived semantically, meaning that only the explicit, surface meaning of the data was of interest. Braun and Clarke’s (2006) outline of how to conduct a thematic analysis was used as a guideline (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2 Thematic Analysis steps (taken from Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 87)

Phase	Description of the process
1. Familiarizing yourself with your data:	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes:	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes:	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes:	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic ‘map’ of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes:	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report:	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Chapter 3

Results

3.1 Data Reduction

Both scales used in this study were defined as uni-dimensional by their original authors. However, neither the Job Pursuit Intentions measure nor the Social Dominance Orientation measure has been specifically tested in an aid setting. There were also no details available on the factor structure of each measure in a relevant setting, i.e.; in another country or location recruiting for aid workers (Chapter 2, pp. 22-25). A sample size above 100 is seen as the minimum for factor analysis (Humphries, 2010). This criterion was not met in the present study, which further reduces the confirmability of the results. Altogether, therefore, the mode of data reduction was exploratory rather than confirmatory.

Exploratory Factor Analysis - Protocol

For factor analysis to be applicable it is assumed that the data is continuous or dichotomous dummy-coded. The current dataset is continuous.

Data must also be factorable. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) is a measure of sampling adequacy which provides information on the factorability of data (Spicer, 2004). KMO scores below .5 are considered not factorable (Hair, Anderson, Tatham, & Black, 1998). Bartlett's test of Sphericity is also used to determine factorability as it indicates whether pattern and structure matrices are significantly different to one another, which they should be in order to meet this criterion (Hair et al., 1998). The anti-image correlation matrix was also examined to check the sampling adequacy of each variable, indicated by a high value on only the main diagonal of the matrix (Humphries, 2010). There should also be moderate multicollinearity between items, indicated by each item correlating at least .3 with at least one other item (Hair et al., 1998). Statistical assumptions have been met unless stated in the following results.

For each measure separately, the first step in reducing the data was to conduct a principal components analysis (PCA) to assess overall factor structure. The initial un-rotated factor matrix was examined to assess the number of factors to extract. Two stopping criteria were

used; (i) when the extracted factors account for at least 60% of the total variance; and (ii) when the point at which the curve on the scree test plot first begins to straighten out (Hair et al., 1998).

The second step in reducing the data was to examine the rotated factor solution. Given the use of both measures as uni-dimensional scales, factors within each measure are, logically, correlated and, therefore, oblique rotation was more suitable (Hair et al., 1998). However rotated factor solutions after both varimax and oblimin rotations were compared to check that the oblimin rotation provided the most simple and well-defined factor structure.

The third step in reducing the data was to assess whether the factor solution needed to be re-specified. Items with either high co-loadings above .3 or low primary loadings were deleted and the factor analysis was repeated (Hair et al., 1998). This process was repeated until a satisfactory and interpretable factor structure was obtained. At this point, final communality values were checked to make sure that all values were above .5, indicating that each variable accounted for a sufficient amount of the variance (Hair et al., 1998).

Once the final factor structure was obtained, variables were assigned to factors on the basis of their highest loadings. Composite scores were created for each new factor by calculating the mean of all primary loading variables. The new factors were labelled according to the general theme of the highest loading items whilst keeping factor labels relevant to the purpose of the original measure. Cronbach's alpha coefficients were calculated for each sub-scale to assess their internal reliability (Spicer, 2004). Coefficients above .7 were considered to indicate acceptable internal reliability (Spicer, 2004).

Factor Structure: Measure of Social Dominance Orientation (SDO-6)

Data obtained from the 16 item Social Dominance Orientation section of the questionnaire was first examined for statistical assumptions. The KMO value for the SDO-6 measure was .735 and the Bartlett's test was significant ($\chi^2 = 352.63$, $p < .01$). Therefore this measure is factorable.

Prior to data reduction, a Harman's analysis for one-factor was carried out to assess the

consistency of the original authors (Pratto et al., 1994) findings for the present study. It was found that one factor explained 32.36% of the variance. Given that the one factor did not explain at least 60% of the variance as required, the measure had more than one underlying factor in this study.

Two components met the criteria for number of factors to extract. Over subsequent analyses, a total of 10 variables were dropped because they had cross-loadings greater than .3 or low primary loadings. For the final solution, principal components analysis with oblimin rotation was carried out with two factors explaining 67.66% of the variance. The factor loading matrix for this final solution is presented in Table 3.1. Overall, these analyses indicated that two distinct factors “Preference for Equality” and “Preference for Oppression” were underlying participants’ responses to the SDO-6 measure items and that these factors were internally consistent (see Table 3.1). The inter-factor correlation was .04, and thus negligible.

In the original measure, items on the Preference for Equality scale were all reverse-coded, i.e.; participants’ scores on these items were reversed so that they fit in with the overall meaning of the scale and a high score on one of these items reflected a high score on overall Social Dominance Orientation. However, as a single factor, it made sense to use the original, not reverse-coded data so that a high score on the “Preference for Equality” scale reflected a low score on overall Social Dominance Orientation.

Table 3.1 Final factor solution for the Social Dominance Orientation Measure

	Preference for Equality	Preference for Hierarchy
All groups should be given an equal chance in life	.85	
We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally	.84	
No one group should dominate in society	.72	
We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible	.71	
To get ahead in life it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups		.88
If certain groups stayed in their place we would have fewer problems		.88
<i>Eigenvalues</i>	2.47	1.60
<i>% of Variance accounted for</i>	41.15	26.51
<i>Cronbach's Alpha Reliability Coefficient</i>	.73	.71

*Values less than .30 (ns) have been suppressed

Factor Structure: Measure of Job Pursuit Intentions (JPI)

Data obtained from the 6-item Job Pursuit Intentions section of the questionnaire was first examined for statistical assumptions. The KMO value for the SDO-6 measure was .744 and the Bartlett's test was significant ($\chi^2 = 101.88$, $p < .01$). Therefore this measure is factorable.

Prior to data reduction, a Harman's analysis for one-factor was carried out to assess the reliability of the original authors' (Aiman-Smith et al., 2001) findings that the JPI is uni-dimensional. The present analysis found that one factor explained 47.41% of the variance. Given that the one factor did not explain at least 60% of the variance as required, the measure had more than one underlying factor in this study.

Two components met the criteria for number of factors to extract. For the final stage, a principal components factor analysis of the 6 items, using oblimin rotation, was conducted, with two factors explaining 71.74% of the variance. The factor loading matrix for this final solution is presented in Table 3.2. Overall, these analyses indicated that two distinct factors, "Employment-Seeking Intentions" and "Information-Seeking Intentions" were underlying participants' responses to the JPI items. Cronbach's alpha for the "Information-Seeking Intentions" scale did not meet the minimum criteria of .7, however the decision was made to

keep the scale in the analysis because the alpha value was close to the minimum criteria. The inter-factor correlation was .18, which is reasonably low.

Table 3.2 Final factor solution for the Job Pursuit Intentions Measure

	Employment-Seeking Intentions	Information-Seeking Intentions
I would attempt to gain an interview with this organisation	.87	
I would accept a job offer with this organisation	.85	
I would actively pursue obtaining a position with this organisation	.83	
I would seek this organisation out at a job fair	.68	
I would request more information about this organisation		.88
I would want to speak with a representative from this organisation		.84
<i>Eigenvalues</i>	2.85	1.46
<i>% Variance explained by factor</i>	47.49	24.25
<i>Cronbach's Alpha Reliability Coefficient</i>	.81	.67

*Values less than .30 (ns) have been suppressed

Median Split

So that high and low scores on the social dominance factors could be compared, a median split was performed on both social dominance factors. This involved splitting scores on each sub-scale, "Preference for Equality" and "Preference for Oppression," into two groups according to whether they fell above or below the sub-scale median value. Due to the small range of possible values (1 to 7), high and low groups were not of exactly equal size for either sub-scale (see Table 3.3).

Table 3.3 Cell sizes

Factor	Median Split	Total (n)	Hierarchy-Attenuating Recruitment Message (n)	Hierarchy-Enhancing Recruitment Message (n)
Preference for Equality	Low	25	10	15
	High	22	10	12
Preference for Hierarchy	Low	21	12	9
	High	26	8	18

Demographic Data

The demographic data collected did not require factor analysis. Gender was the only variable which required coding.

The demographic data used as covariates in the main data analyses were:

- Gender as a dummy coded variable (1 = male, 2 = female)
- Age

3.2 Hypothesis Testing

Assumption Testing for ANOVA

For analysis of variance (ANOVA), including multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA), procedures to be applicable, assumptions must be met. Once again, assumptions have all been met unless identified in the following results.

- It is assumed that the population is normally distributed. Normality is assessed by examining histograms, skewness (symmetry of the data), and kurtosis (steepness of the slope) values. A relatively normal distribution is indicated by skewness and kurtosis values between 1 and -1, with 0 representing a completely normal distribution (Humphries, 2010).
- It is assumed that there is homogeneity of variance across groups. Levene's test for

homogeneity of variance and Box's M test (only for MANOVA) for homogeneity of covariance were examined, with non-significant values indicating the required homogeneity (Humphries, 2010).

- It is assumed that relationships between predictor and criterion variables are linear. Scatterplots were examined for linearity and homoscedascity.
- It is assumed that outliers have been identified and controlled. Outliers are extreme scores in either direction which can distort the data (Humphries, 2010). Mahalabnosis Distance was examined to check for univariate outliers, indicated by cases with values greater than 2.5 on any scale. Bivariate outliers were assessed by checking Cook's Distance values, where values greater than 1 were identified as outliers.
- It is assumed that measures are reliable which they are, although the internal reliability of the "Information-Seeking Intentions" scale is slightly lower than the optimal value.
- It is assumed that there is an adequate range on all variables, assessed through the examination of range values.
- It is assumed that there is a sample greater than $n = 30$ for each group.
- It is assumed that multicollinearity is not violated.
- It is assumed that there are 'Independence of Observations', indicated by checking that there is no logical reason why participants scores would be influenced by or related to any other participants scores.
- Finally it is assumed that data is at least interval level, which it is.

Significance Level

Due to the exploratory nature of the study, the alpha level was set to .10 as recommended by Grimm (1993). The reason for setting the level at a slightly more liberal level is to avoid prematurely rejecting a promising hypothesis (type II error), which is a risk in all exploratory research, such as this study. According to Grimm, Type II error is particularly likely in exploratory research when sample sizes are relatively small and if statistical power is low, which are both the case in this study.

Treatment of "Not Interested" Group

A subset of $n = 10$ of the $N = 63$ participants answered "No" to the Industry Intention

question, “would you be interested in working in the aid industry in general”, indicating that they were not interested in working in the aid industry (“Not Interested”). This group was relevant for testing Hypothesis One, which focused on the effect of participants’ intentions to work, or not work, in the aid industry. However, this group was deemed not relevant for testing Hypothesis Two, because the latter hypothesis focused on people who would like to work in the aid industry. Participants who are not interested are not likely job applicants for aid organisations and are, therefore, not likely to look at a job advertisement in real life. A one-way ANOVA, testing the effect of industry intentions (Yes vs. No) on “Employment Intentions” and “Information-Seeking Intentions”, revealed that participants who were not interested in working in the aid industry had significantly lower scores”, on both “Employment-Seeking Intentions”, $F = 17.52(1,55)$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .24$, ($M = 2.73$, $SD = .51$ and $M = 3.71$, $SD = .70$) and “Information-Seeking Intentions,” $F = 9.17(1,55)$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .14$, ($M = 3.65$, $SD = .91$ and $M = 4.34$, $SD = .59$) factors than participants who were interested. Partial eta-squared values indicate that industry intentions accounted for 24% of the total variance in “Employment-Seeking Intentions” and 14% of the total variance in “Information-Seeking Intentions”. These results suggest that a lack of industry intentions reduced specific Job Pursuit Intentions, although, contrary to logical expectations, participants in the “Not Interested” group still had reasonably high hypothetical job pursuit intentions for aid organisations, given that they were not interested in working in the aid industry. Nevertheless, because they were not in the specified population, the “Not Interested” group was left out of Hypothesis Two testing.

Treatment of Outliers

A subset of $n = 5$ of the $n = 53$ remaining participants were identified as univariate outliers, defined as 2.5 or greater standard deviations from the mean. Examination of outliers indicated one outlier on the “Preference for Equality” factor. This participant had high scores on only the reverse-coded items whilst their scores on the remaining items were low. This was interpreted by the researcher as a result of confusion with the rating scale, only for this participant. This participant was, therefore, removed from further analyses. An additional four participants were outliers with extremely high ($SD > 2.5$ from the mean) scores on the “Preference for Hierarchy” factor. Kruskal recommended that, when the cause of the outliers is not certain, analyses should be carried out with and then without the outlying cases. If both results are similar then outliers can remain in the analysis. If results are

significantly different, then the researcher needs to decide whether to include or remove outliers for the main analyses, using clearly defined criteria (Kruskal, 1960a, 1960b).

Consistent with recommendations (Kruskal, 1960a, 1960b), both ANOVA and MANCOVA analyses were carried out with and without the four “Preference for Hierarchy” outliers. Results from both analyses were compared (see Appendix 3 for tests with outliers included). The inclusion of outliers in the ANOVA, for Hypothesis One testing, removed the significant effect of “Preference for Hierarchy,” whilst the inclusion of outliers in the MANCOVA, for Hypothesis Two testing, removed all statistically significant main effects. Because the inclusion of outliers obscured statistically significant main effects, the reduced sample (with outliers removed) was seen to be the most reliable one, as outliers were seen to be overshadowing any significant main effects. Hence, results are only reported from analyses with all $n = 4$ outliers removed.

Hypothesis One – Relationship between Industry Intentions and Social Dominance Orientation

A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was carried out to test the prediction that participants who were interested in working in the aid industry had significantly lower Social Dominance Orientation than participants who were not interested. Industry Intentions (Yes vs. No) was the independent variable and Social Dominance Orientation factors, “Preference for Equality” and “Preference for Hierarchy” were the dependent variables. There was a borderline significant effect of Industry Intentions on “Preference for Hierarchy”, $F(1,55) = 4.12$, $p = .05$, $\eta^2 = .07$, and a significant effect on “Preference for Equality”, $F(1,55) = 7.60$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2 = .12$. Participants in the “Not Interested” group had a significantly lower “Preference for Equality” ($M = 5.05$, $SD = 1.26$) and significantly higher “Preference for Hierarchy” ($M = 2.05$, $SD = .90$) than participants in the group that reported being “Interested” in aid work ($M = 5.97$, $SD = .89$, $M = 1.56$, $SD = .64$). Partial eta-squared values indicated that industry intentions accounted for 7% of the total variance in “Preference for Hierarchy” and 12% of the total variance in “Preference for Equality”. These findings suggest that participants who were interested in working in the aid industry were less socially dominant than participants who were not interested. Hypothesis one is thus supported.

Hypothesis Two – Effect of Recruitment Message and Social Dominance Orientation

A number of MANCOVA assumptions were violated. As in the factor analysis, the sample size was smaller than ideal with less than 30 cases per variable. Secondly, the relationship between the predictor and criterion variables was not linear. Both of these violations reduce the power of the analyses (Humphries, 2010). Hence the analyses proceeded under caution of a Type II error.

A three-way mixed model Multivariate Analysis of Co-variance (MANCOVA) analysis was conducted. Gender and age were the covariates. “Employment-Seeking Intentions” and “Information-Seeking Intentions” were the two criterion variables. Recruitment message (Hierarchy-Attenuating vs. Hierarchy-Enhancing), “Preference for Equality” (High vs. Low, using a median split) and “Preference for Hierarchy” (High vs. Low, using a median split) were the predictor variables (treatment variables) (see Table 3.4 and Table 3.5 for means and corrected means). Both the “Preference for Equality” and “Preference for Hierarchy” Social Dominance Orientation factors were able to be included in the same multivariate analysis because there was a low collinearity between them ($r = .04$). This meant that the unique contribution of each could be assessed whilst the other was held constant.

The analysis revealed no significant multivariate effects (for a full table of multivariate effects see Appendix 3). The variable means (see Tables 3.4 and 3.5) indicate that, with the possible exception of “Employment-Seeking Intentions” being predicted by a combination of “Preference for Equality” and recruitment message condition, there is little difference between the mean scores per item, across the conditions. Indeed, there was a significant univariate statistical interaction between recruitment message (Hierarchy-Enhancing vs. Hierarchy-Attenuating) and “Preference for Equality” (High vs. Low using a median split) on “Employment-Seeking Intentions”, $F(1) = 3.53$, $p = .07$, $\eta p^2 = .09$ (see Figure 3.1). Whilst univariate effects are usually only explored when there is a significant multivariate main effect (Humphries, 2010), they are part of the output for a MANCOVA analysis, and because the present study is exploratory, examination of the statistically significant univariate effect ($p = .07$) was carried out under caution of Type I error.

Table 3.4 “Preference for Equality” Multivariate Means

Factor	Preference for Equality	Hierarchy-Attenuating Recruitment Message <i>Mean(Corrected Mean)</i>	Hierarchy-Enhancing Recruitment Message <i>Mean(Corrected Mean)</i>
Employment Intentions	Low	3.35(3.36)	3.86(4.00)
	High	3.93(3.93)	3.68(3.70)
Information Seeking Intentions	Low	4.35(4.35)	4.46(4.35)
	High	4.35(3.98)	4.23(4.59)

Table 3.5 “Preference for Hierarchy” Multivariate Means

Factor	Preference for Hierarchy	Hierarchy-Attenuating Recruitment Message <i>Mean(Corrected Mean)</i>	Hierarchy-Enhancing Recruitment Message <i>Mean(Corrected Mean)</i>
Employment Intentions	Low	3.75(3.75)	3.90(4.01)
	High	3.47(3.54)	3.69(3.69)
Information Seeking Intentions	Low	4.54(4.51)	4.50(4.43)
	High	4.06(4.08)	4.25(4.25)

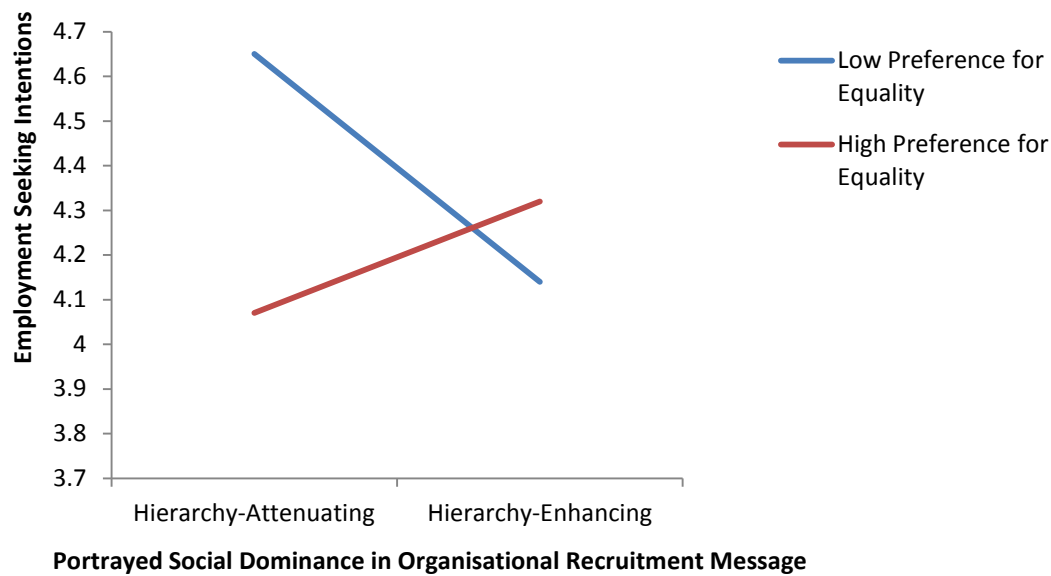


Figure 3.1

Interaction effect of “Preference for Equality” (high vs. low) and Organisational Recruitment Message on “Employment-Seeking Intentions”

Post-Hoc ANOVA's

To examine the statistical interaction between Organisational Culture and “Preference for Equality” on “Employment-Seeking Intentions”, a one-way ANOVA was carried out for each recruitment message condition (Hierarchy-Attenuating and Hierarchy-Enhancing). The aim was to test whether the differences between the “Employment-Seeking Intentions” of participants with high versus low “Preference for Equality” were statistically significant in each recruitment message condition, i.e.; to test whether the blue and red points on the left are significantly different, and to test whether the red and blue points on the right are significantly different (see Figure 3.1).

A one-way ANOVA was calculated on the effect of “Preference for Equality” (high vs. low) on “Employment-Seeking Intentions” in the hierarchy-attenuating recruitment message condition. The analysis was significant, $F(1,18) = 3.70$, $p = .07$, $\eta^2 = .09$. Participants with a low “Preference for Equality” had higher “Employment-Seeking Intentions” ($M = 4.65$, $SD = .78$) than participants with a high “Preference for Equality” ($M = 4.07$, $SD = .54$) when the recruitment message stressed hierarchy-attenuating organisational qualities (see Table 3.4 for means). The partial eta-squared value indicated that “Preference for Equality” explained

only 9% of the variability in “Employment-Seeking Intentions” in the hierarchy-attenuating condition. Hence, a hierarchy-attenuating recruitment message divided high versus low “Preference for Equality” groups on “Employment-Seeking Intentions.”

A second one-way ANOVA was calculated on the effect of “Preference for Equality” (high vs. low) on “Employment-Seeking Intentions” in the hierarchy-enhancing recruitment message condition. The analysis was not significant, $F(1,25) = .42, p = .53, \eta^2 = .08$. Participants with a low “Preference for Equality” had greater “Employment-Seeking Intentions” ($M = 4.14, SD = .45$) than participants with high “Preference for Equality” ($M = 4.32, SD = .86$) when the recruitment message stressed hierarchy-enhancing organisational qualities (see Table 3.4 for means). The partial eta-squared value indicated that “Preference for Equality” explained only 8% of the variability in “Employment-Seeking Intentions” in the hierarchy-enhancing condition.

3.3 Qualitative Analysis

The qualitative data obtained from participants’ answers to the Industry Intentions question, “would you be interested in working in the aid industry in general,” was analysed using thematic analysis.

Findings

(i) Aid Industry Intentions for Practical Reasons

Three of the $n = 10$ participants who stated that they were *not* interested in working in the aid industry explained that they were not interested for practical, rather than person reasons. For example, family commitments, health problems and careers not related to aid, e.g., “*While I seek to work for organisations that are synonymous with my own values and ethics, the fact that I have a family would prevent me seeking employment that would take me overseas.*” This highlights practical reasons for disinterest in aid work as a potential confound to results from some participants in the “Not Interested” group.

(ii) General Positive Statements about Aid Work

Almost all qualitative data was in the form of simple statements regarding why, or why not,

the individual wanted to work in the aid industry, e.g., *“I have always been interested in helping people so this industry appeals to me greatly.”* These answers provided additional evidence, to social dominance theory, that people generally perceive aid to be hierarchy-attenuating.

(iii) *Request for More Information from Participants*

Nine of the $N = 47$ participants stated that they would need more information about the hypothetical job position, e.g., *“I would be interested in working in the aid industry dependant on the position available. I wouldn't just take a job because of the organisation,”* and/or about the organisation, such as finding out how the organisation is financed and governed, e.g., *“I would want to know about the ethical, political, and religious background of the organisation before accepting employment there though.”* This indicates that job pursuit intentions should be examined with caution, because the present study was not representative of a full job recruitment process.

Chapter 4

General Discussion

Hypothesis One

Results supported hypothesis one. Participants who were interested in working in the aid industry had, on average, lower Social Dominance Orientation (higher scores on both sub-scales) than participants who were not interested in working in the aid industry. This finding supports the categorisation of aid organisations as *generally* hierarchy-attenuating institutions, in line with social dominance theory.

Hypothesis Two

Results partially supported hypothesis two. Evidence of an interaction was found whereby individual and organisational social dominance similarity predicted greater intentions to work for specific aid organisations. Specifically, participants with a high preference for equality (a Social Dominance Orientation factor) had, on average, greater intentions to seek employment (a Job Pursuit Intentions factor) for the more hierarchy-attenuating organisation than participants with a low preference for equality. However, no significant effect was found for individual social dominance on intentions to pursue work with the more hierarchy-enhancing aid organisation. This finding indicates that similarity-attraction in terms of social dominance occurs in relation to specific aid organisations.

Relation to Recruitment in Aid Organisations

This study provides evidence that even seemingly subtle changes to an aid organisation's recruitment message can impact on the type of person attracted. According to attraction-selection-attrition theory, the tendency for similarity-attraction in organisations means that, if hired, people are likely to reinforce the organisational characteristics to which they were initially attracted (Schneider, Smith, Taylor, & Fleenor, 1998). This thesis provides evidence that there is a tendency for similarity-attraction in aid organisations which, according to Schneider et al., has the potential to reinforce hierarchy-enhancing culture in aid organisations.

According to Judge & Cable (1997), congruency between individual and organisational values is primarily assured during the employee selection process. These researchers

recommend that organisational management and recruitment staff consider the values they are portraying during recruitment to ensure that people with the desired values are more likely to apply for a position. A high Social Dominance Orientation is not a sought-after value for aid workers because of its relationship with non-egalitarian ideologies and policy support. Therefore, aid organisations need to be careful about the level of social dominance they are portraying in their recruitment message, because this has the potential to impact upon the type of person who will be attracted to the organisation.

Relation to Social Dominance Theory

The present findings support the categorisation of institutions as hierarchy-attenuating in social dominance theory research. However, these findings also challenge the generalist nature of institutional categorisation in social dominance theory by providing evidence that aid organisations are not equivalent to one another in terms of social dominance. This means that research on similarity-attraction in terms of social dominance has tended to be at the level of general, rather than specific institutional attraction. Social dominance theory has tended to overlook the commonsensical notion that different organisations within the same industry may have different qualities to one another.

Relation to Social Dominance in Aid

This thesis provides a conceptualisation of how subtle characteristics of aid organisations can reflect social dominance in aid. In addressing inefficiencies and inaccuracies in organisations, one must aim to first uncover the underlying organisational culture (Argyris, 1999) and then to address the implicit assumptions (Senge, 2002). Analysts have argued that when aid initiatives fail, it is often because they have violated some underlying, tacit assumptions (Coghlan & Mc Auliffe, 2003). According to organisational culture and learning theory, “aid work is doomed unless these tacit assumptions are unearthed, and the contradictions resolved” (MacLachlan et al., 2010, p. 55). Social dominance in aid is not a concept often discussed within aid organisations. It needs to be. This thesis identifies recruitment as a starting point for aid organisations to uncover their potential for social dominance.

4.1 Limitations of the Research

Items removed during Exploratory Factor Analysis

Removing items during data reduction is necessary, however having too few items per factor can mean that there are not enough items left to accurately represent the factor (Russell, 2002). Similarly, factors can also be overrepresented by too many items (Russell, 2002). According to Russell (2002), each factor should have at least three items. In this study, both the “Preference for Oppression” and “Information-Seeking Intentions” factors consisted of only two items. This underrepresentation may explain the fact that neither of these factors had significant relationships with any other variable(s) in the final analyses.

Sample

Due to the time and financial limitations of this thesis, a less than optimal sample size was obtained. This sample size was also significantly reduced to $N = 47$ after the removal of the outlier and “Not Interested” groups. The small sample size is likely to have reduced the power of the study (Humphries, 2010).

High versus Low Social Dominance Orientation

Prior to performing a Median Split on the “Preference for Equality” and “Preference for Hierarchy” data, all participants had low absolute scores on both scales. Only one participant from the “Not Interested” group had a score in the upper 50% of possible scores, and this case was removed from the final analysis. Therefore, the “High” and “Low” labels accorded to cases on each scale after the Median Split referenced only relative and not absolute scores.

Organisation Descriptions - Organisation not Position focused

Organisational descriptions were brief and only discussed the hypothetical organisation rather than any specific occupation. Qualitative findings indicate many participants perceived the organisational descriptions provided did not contain enough relevant information to make an occupational choice. This is understandable, and person-environment fit theory research (Furnham, 2001; Holland, 1959; Schneider, 1987) has identified a number of important predictors of organisational attraction and occupational choice, many of which are unrelated to organisational culture, such as position, pay and location. This thesis recognises that the similarity between individual and organisational social dominance is likely to be only a small

predictor of job choice. Nevertheless, social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) has identified that Social Dominance Orientation is still a reliable and valid predictor of occupational choice.

Social Dominance Portrayed in Recruitment Message

Due to the brevity of the organisational description, its use in a hypothetical job advertisement context and the need for both descriptions to be identical, apart from the manipulations, the portrayal of organisational social dominance was not complete. Hierarchy-attenuating versus hierarchy-enhancing culture was portrayed only through the manipulation of eight minor organisational characteristics. Whilst the results indicate that the manipulation of organisational culture was successful, it is still possible that some participants did not, either implicitly or explicitly, pick up on the hierarchy-enhancing characteristics. This would have reduced the effect of portrayed organisational social dominance on Job Pursuit Intentions. It may, therefore, explain the insignificant difference found on “Employment-Seeking Intentions” between participants with a high “Preference for Equality” and a low “Preference for Equality” in the hierarchy-enhancing condition.

Job Pursuit Intentions Measure

In hindsight, a measure of ‘organisation attraction’ should have been used in conjunction with the Job Pursuit Intentions measure. This would have served to remove the potential effect of other predictors of occupational choice, because measures of ‘organisation attraction’ are focused on a more general attraction to organisational characteristics (Aiman-Smith et al., 2001).

Participants Responses to Social Dominance Orientation Measure

Two participants emailed the researcher to share their concern over questions in the Social Dominance Orientation scale. The first participant had trouble interpreting the rating scale (“*the scale didn’t make any sense to me*”). The second participant felt that the use of the terms ‘equal’ and ‘equality’ were problematic, because it is not ‘equality’ but ‘egalitarianism’ that should be supported.

In addition to participants’ criticisms of the Social Dominance Orientation measure, it was

evident that there was an issue with the 2-item “Preference for Hierarchy” sub-scale. Four participants had extremely high scores on this scale but all had average scores on the “Preference for Equality” sub-scale. This indicates that “Preference for Hierarchy” was not an accurate measure of Social Dominance Orientation for these participants. The two “Preference for Hierarchy” items were:

- “To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups”
- “If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems”

It is the personal opinion of the researcher that a high score on these items does not reflect a preference for hierarchy. Both items, when thought about logically, are a reality in the world. Therefore, a high agreement with them is a reflection of a rational, realist thinking style. However, the present study does not provide enough evidence to make any conclusions about the “Preference for Hierarchy” items.

Social Desirability Bias in Social Dominance Orientation

Negative connotations of high social dominance may cause a tendency for people to have low scores on Social Dominance Orientation measures. Intuitively, it seems more likely, that when portraying themselves openly, people would want to be seen to support equality rather than oppression. A social desirability bias in social dominance orientation scores may be related to participants’ overall low social dominance scores in the present study. The potential for a social desirability bias brings into question the use of a self-report measure to assess individual social dominance tendencies.

4.2 Recommendations for Future Research

Because of the exploratory nature of this study as well as the methodological limitations, these findings open up many potential new research areas exploring similarity-attraction in aid organisations, and the underlying culture of social dominance in aid.

- Further research could explore the underlying culture of aid organisations, and implicit social dominance in individuals, with ethnographic, qualitative and/or priming methods which may be more likely to access the underlying social dominance of aid workers than self-report measures.
- A similar research project could be conducted with the use of an ‘organisation

attraction' measure in place of the Job Pursuit Intentions measure

- For the findings of the present study to be useful to aid organisations, future research needs to examine whether organisational characteristics can actually be manipulated by purposefully hiring job applicants with ideal values in line with organisational strategy.
- Future research could examine the Social Dominance Orientation (SDO-6) measure to assess the relevance of the "Preference for Hierarchy" items to social dominance.
- Future research could examine the effect of gender on employment seeking intentions for aid work and on the two "Preference for Hierarchy" items in the Social Dominance Orientation measure. Given that research has found a consistent gender difference in Social Dominance Orientation, examining the gender difference on these two items is necessary to assess whether the gender difference is actually reflective of social dominance.

4.3 Conclusion

The overall aim of this study was to examine whether some aid organisations may be, inadvertently, attracting individuals with a tendency to engage in and support social dominance. This study provides some evidence that similarity-attraction in terms of social dominance occurs in the aid industry *and* in specific aid organisations. Specifically, aid organisation recruitment message can impact on the type of people attracted to the organisation. This means that, whilst evidence suggests that aid work generally attracts people with low Social Dominance Orientation, specific organisational qualities portrayed in recruitment messages have the potential to attract people with *relatively* high Social Dominance Orientation. This is important because the type of people attracted to an organisation during recruitment, if hired, can reinforce the organisational qualities which attracted them in the first place.

In addition to the main hypotheses, this thesis supports MacLachlan et al's (2010) proposition that aid has contradicting egalitarian and socially dominant qualities which need to be discussed if the egalitarian objectives of aid are to be met. It is also observed that aid organisations, like many other institutions, are not equal in terms of social dominance. Most

importantly, this thesis adds to a very small group of research on social dominance in aid.

Due to the exploratory nature of the study, as well as its methodological limitations and low power, future research is needed to support and build on these findings.

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Appendix I

Questionnaire

What draws people to work in aid organisations?

All going well you have been directed to here from the preceding information sheet.

Instructions:

Thank you for participating in this study. I appreciate your taking part.

The first section of the questionnaire asks you to read one hypothetical organisation description and to answer questions on how likely you would be to pursue employment at this organisation.

The second section of the questionnaire asks about your social values and beliefs.

The third and final section of the questionnaire asks some basic demographic questions.

The questionnaire and reading requires approximately 20 minutes of your time.

Your responses are anonymous and data will be stored in a secure file with no way of linking back to respondents.

Please complete all sections below. You have the right to decline to answer any question.

Section 1. Organisation preference

Imagine you are looking for a job and there is a relevant position available in the New Zealand office of the following organisation. The following organisation description is included in each job advertisement and you will need to read this and use the information to decide if you would be interested in seeking more information about an available position. Note that this description is only of the organisation and not the specific position that you may be interested in.

Remember that the organisation and all information contained in the description is hypothetical and has been created for the purpose of this research. Please read the short description of the organisation before answering the following questions.

Description of Organisation

The Society for Humanitarian Aid is a leading humanitarian organisation combating global poverty. We place special focus on providing management for disadvantaged communities on specific aid projects. Our projects aim to improve basic education, prevent the spread of disease, increase access to clean water and sanitation, expand economic opportunity and protect natural resources in developing countries. The Society for Humanitarian Aid also provides emergency aid to survivors of war and natural disasters, and helps survivors to rebuild their lives. We provide assistance in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, Europe, and the Middle East.

With headquarters in New York and London, the strength of the Society for Humanitarian Aid lies in its many smaller offices both in developed and developing countries. We work in close partnership with private voluntary organisations, indigenous organisations, universities, corporate businesses, international agencies, governments, and government agencies.

Our organisation seeks a world without poverty. Our mission is to manage aid workers on aid projects aimed at improving the lives of people in impoverished countries. We draw from our vast resources and experience to promote innovative solutions and advocate for global responsibility. We facilitate long-term change by:

- Delivering relief in emergencies
- Providing economic opportunity
- Influencing development policy
- Maintaining good relationships with donor governments
- Providing the best quality aid workers to manage projects

The Society for Humanitarian Aid provides a variety of challenging and varied positions working in a team environment with vast career and training opportunities, both in New Zealand and overseas. We aim to pay all employees competitive salaries making us one of the top aid organizations to work for worldwide.

All staff roles are rewarding and social as they are involved in building and maintaining relationships with other aid workers. Our employees are responsible for providing funding, expert advice and expatriate staff on specific projects. The Society for Humanitarian Aid offers regular opportunities for overseas travel to work on specific projects in developing countries. During this time we take good care of our staff, organising quality hotel accommodation for the duration of their stay.

Section 1: Questions

Please respond by selecting or filling in the relevant answer

I would accept a job offer from this organisation.

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

I would request more information about this organisation.

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

I would want to speak with a representative from this organisation.

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

I would attempt to gain an interview with this organisation.

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

I would actively pursue obtaining a position with this organisation.

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

I would seek this organisation out at a job fair.

Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree

Would you be interested in working in the aid industry in general?

Please give a brief explanation of this decision in the space provided

Section 2: Social Values and Beliefs

People's chosen work often reflects their personal values. This section is asking about your own personal values and beliefs on hierarchy and equality. There are no right or wrong answers. Please be open and honest in answering the questions.

Please select the number that best describes your answer to each question. The response scale is 1 = very negative to 7 = very positive

We should do what we can to equalise conditions for different groups.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

It would be good if groups could be equal.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

No one group should dominate in society.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

It's okay if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Group equality should be our ideal.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

All groups should be given an equal chance in life.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Inferior groups should stay in their place.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Increased social equality is good.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Section 3: Demographic Information

Please respond by selecting or filling in the relevant answer

What is your age in years?

What is your gender?

Male ☐

Female ☐

What is your nationality?

What is the highest tertiary level qualification that you hold (eg; Bachelor of Arts)?

What was your major subject for this tertiary qualification?

Appendix II

MANCOVA Multivariate Tests

		Hypothesis				Partial Eta		Observed
Effect		Value	F	df	Error df	Sig.	Squared	Power ^b
Intercept	Wilks' Lambda	.267	47.950 ^a	2.000	35.000	.000	.733	1.000
Age	Wilks' Lambda	.943	1.056 ^a	2.000	35.000	.359	.057	.332
Gender	Wilks' Lambda	.946	1.006 ^a	2.000	35.000	.376	.054	.321
Education	Wilks' Lambda	.948	.969 ^a	2.000	35.000	.390	.052	.313
Organisational Culture	Wilks' Lambda	.984	.290 ^a	2.000	35.000	.750	.016	.164
Group								
Inequality	Wilks' Lambda	.985	.264 ^a	2.000	35.000	.770	.015	.158
Oppression	Wilks' Lambda	.924	1.445 ^a	2.000	35.000	.249	.076	.413
Group*Inequality	Wilks' Lambda	.903	1.877 ^a	2.000	35.000	.168	.097	.496
Group*Oppression	Wilks' Lambda	.985	.263 ^a	2.000	35.000	.770	.015	.157
Inequality*Oppression	Wilks' Lambda	.900	1.953 ^a	2.000	35.000	.157	.100	.510
Group*Inequality*	Wilks' Lambda	.998	.040 ^a	2.000	35.000	.961	.002	.109
Oppression								

Appendix III

Analyses with Outliers Included in the Dataset

ANOVA – Outliers Included

A one-way ANOVA was used to test for the effect of Industry Intentions (Yes vs. No) on “Preference for Equality” and “Preference for Oppression”. There was a significant effect of Industry Intentions on “Preference for Equality”, $F(1,59) = 7.03$, $p = .01$, $\eta p^2 = .10$.

Participants in the “Not Interested” group had a significantly higher “Preference for Equality” ($M = 2.95$, $SD = 1.26$) than participants in the “Interested” group ($M = 2.05$, $SD = 1.05$).

MANCOVA – Outliers Included

A three-way MANCOVA was conducted with the $n = 4$ univariate outliers included in the analysis. The covariates in the analysis were gender and age. “Employment-Seeking Intentions” and “Information-Seeking Intentions” were the two criterion variables.

Organisational Culture (Hierarchy-Attenuating vs. Hierarchy-Enhancing), “Preference for Equality” (High vs. Low, using a median split) and “Preference for Hierarchy” (High vs. Low, using a median split) were the predictor variables (treatment variables). The analysis revealed a significant multivariate effect of gender on both criterion variables, $\Lambda\lambda = .86$, $F(2,40) = 2.46$, $p = .099$, $\eta p^2 = .11$. Following the significant multivariate test, a significant univariate effect was found for gender on “Employment-Seeking Intentions”, $F(1) = 3.69$, $p = .06$, $\eta p^2 = .08$.

Post-Hoc ANOVA – Outliers Included

A one-way ANOVA was carried out to explore the significant univariate effect of gender on “Employment-Seeking Intentions”. The analysis found that male participants ($M = 4.13$, $SD = .57$, $n = 10$) had significantly higher “Employment-Seeking Intentions,” $F(1,49) = 4.33$, $p = .04$, $\eta p^2 = .08$, than female participants ($M = 3.63$, $SD = .70$, $n = 41$).