Opinions and Experiences of Unequal Pay and Pay Transparency

June 2020
Acknowledgments
The Human Rights Commission would like to thank the research respondents who gave their time and voice to make this research possible.

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“Just as the women are the first voice that you hear on a marae, the tukutuku panel on the cover was created by women for the Human Rights Commission. The panel depicts the Poutama pattern – speaking of the education, progress, and ascension of its creators to overcome their former trials to portray that mana is neither trampled nor minimised.”
“When I worked for [name of organisation] it was written in the contract that we were not allowed to discuss salaries. Not many people kept that. And it turns out, it was because the guys were actually getting paid more than we [women] were for exactly the same job, exactly the same hours.”
-Respondent in the qualitative research component of Opinions and Experiences of Unequal Pay and Pay Transparency

Foreword

The right to decent work, equal pay for equal work, and equal employment opportunities are human rights. The purpose of this research is to hear from and understand the experiences of New Zealanders in relation to pay determination, equal pay, and pay transparency. The research examines these issues through the lenses of gender, age, ethnicity, and disability.

The Human Rights Commission (HRC) has a statutory responsibility to promote human rights, including equal employment opportunities and pay equity. This work aims to ensure fairness and inclusion in all aspects of employment, including hiring, promotion, and pay.

New Zealand has ratified various international human rights conventions that guarantee equality and the right to work1, which places responsibility on the Government to ensure that these rights are upheld. Despite these conventions, the Equal Pay Act 1972, and prohibition of discrimination in the Human Rights Act 1993, Kiwi workers continue to experience unequal pay (compared to someone else for the same work) and pay inequity (earning less compared to a comparable role of similar value).

The secrecy of pay in workplaces is one of the barriers that has enabled gender and ethnic pay gaps to persist. Consequences include the persistent gender pay gap in New Zealand, which was 9.3% in 2019.2 Other structural inequalities have resulted in an ethnic pay gap, whereby Māori, Pacific peoples, and Asians earn significantly less than Europeans. Average hourly wages for Europeans are $26.85, well above that for Asians ($24.00), Māori ($23.00), and Pacific people ($22.38).3 Furthermore, disabled people earn significantly less than non-disabled people in New Zealand, with average hourly wages of $23.42 and $25.57, respectively.4

HRC is advocating alongside collaborating partners from unions, advocacy groups, and businesses to end pay secrecy, promote pay transparency, and end wage discrimination. The goal of pay transparency is publicly available information on renumeration for jobs, steps for progression, and public reporting by large employers of gender and ethnic pay gaps.

The Human Rights Commission hopes that the findings of this research will help the work of many advocates for equal employment opportunity, gender and racial equality, and the pursuit of a dignified life for all.

Saunoamaali'i Karanina Sumeo
Equal Employment Opportunities Commissioner
New Zealand Human Rights Commission

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Opinions and Experiences of Unequal Pay and Pay Transparency

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1.0 Executive summary

This report presents the results of a survey completed with a nationally representative sample of New Zealanders in order to establish their opinions and experiences of unequal pay and pay transparency in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The survey was completed online between the 28th of February and the 27th March 2020 with a sample of n=2,370 respondents in paid employment (or actively looking for a job) and was informed by an international literature scan and pre-research (i.e. a qualitative study).

The results of this survey will be used to inform human rights work in relation to equal employment opportunities for all New Zealanders by the Human Rights Commission.

Key findings

This survey has 12 key findings:

1. Paying people differently because of a person’s ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation and/or gender was unacceptable to most respondents.

Most respondents said it is “not ok” for people to be paid differently because of their ethnicity (87%), religion (86%), sexual orientation (85%) or gender (84%).

In contrast, most respondents said it is “ok” for two people to be paid differently for doing the same job because of their level of skill/job performance (83%) or experience (82%).

Between these two extremes are a number of ‘grey’ areas. Although the majority respondents felt it is “not ok” for people to be paid differently because of their age (68%) or their disability status (62%), about one-third of respondents in both cases believed it was “ok”.

2. Against this background, the percentage of respondents saying unequal pay is common was four times higher than the percentage who thought it was uncommon.

Overall, over one-half of respondents (57%) believed unequal pay is common, compared with 15% who said it is uncommon. Another 22% said it is neither common nor uncommon and six percent “didn’t know”.

Significantly, almost one-in-three respondents (31%) said that unequal pay is ‘very common’ in Aotearoa New Zealand.
3. Many respondents reported being paid less for doing the exact same job as another person.

Almost one-half of respondents (44%) said that at some stage during their working career, they had been paid less for doing the exact same job as another person. This compares with 25% saying they had been paid more and 30% reporting they had not experienced unequal pay.

Females, respondents currently aged 25 to 34, and those currently earning more than $40,000, but less than $80,000 were more likely to report having been paid less for doing the same job.

In addition, respondents who had felt they had missed out on career opportunities without good reason were more likely to report having been paid less than other people who were doing the exact same job.

4. Age, gender, as well as ethnicity, race, colour or national origin were frequently provided as reasons for being paid less.

While level of experience (48%) was most frequently provided by respondents as the reason for being paid less, age (25%), gender (18%) and ethnicity, race, colour or national origin (15%) were also frequently provided reasons.

A disability or sexual orientation were provided by two percent of respondents in each case.

5. Two out of three respondents said they were told they were paid less by a work colleague.

When asked how they knew they were being paid less, most respondents said they were told by a work colleague (68%). In comparison, 15% were told by their employer and 16% via the company’s website or published information.

6. Most respondents paid less for reasons other than experience or skill level felt aggrieved by the experience.

At least one-half of respondents paid less for reasons other than experience or skill level said they felt they had been treated unfairly (55%) and/or that their employer did not value them (52%).

Many also said the experience made them feel demotivated and that they did not want to put much effort into their job as a result (45%), while 43% did not want to work there anymore (i.e. they decided they should look for a new job). Thirty-seven percent felt discriminated against, which was particularly the case amongst those who felt they had been paid less because of their gender or their ethnicity. About one-tenth (11%) responded that they didn't mind/that it was fair/it made sense that they were being paid less.
7. The majority of respondents who reported being paid less did not formally complain, with a number of reasons responsible for this.

While many respondents being paid less raised their concerns with friends and family (28%) and/or with work colleagues (27%), relatively few took a formal course of action, raising their concerns with management (27% with their immediate supervisor or manager, and 10% with another manager,) discussing this with their union (8%) or making a personal grievance claim (1%) (giving a total of 37% who pursued some kind of formal course of action, after taking into account multiple responses).

One-fifth of respondents (22%) reported leaving their company and 27% said they did nothing.

One-half of respondents who did not formally complain (49%) reported reasons such as “it was not worth it and would not have made a difference”. Others also mentioned that they “didn’t want to upset their manager or make them angry” (22%), or that they felt it would have been “rude or inappropriate to complain” (23%). The latter was particularly the case amongst females who were paid less.

Of particular concern is the fact that 19% did not raise the issue with management because they were “worried that they might lose their job”. This was particularly the case amongst Asian and Pasifika respondents who were paid less.

8. Disabled respondents were more likely to report that they had been held back in their job or missed out on opportunities without good reason.

Forty-two percent of all respondents reported that at some point in the last 10 years they had been held back in their job or missed out on opportunities without good reason. This was particularly the case amongst disabled respondents, 53% of whom felt they had been held back or missed out, compared with 38% of non-disabled respondents.

However, in most cases, these respondents did not feel that they had been held back because of their disability (only 7% believed this was the reason). They were more likely to report that they had been held back because of their relationship (or a colleague’s relationship) with their manager (37%), their age (33%), or their level of experience (30%).

9. Just under two-thirds of respondents successfully applying for a new job were told how much they would be paid before they accepted the job.

Almost two of every three respondents (62%) who successfully applied for a job in the last five years said were told how much they would be paid before they accepted the job.

While some pay information was available in the job advertising they responded to (15%) and some said they were given this information prior to their job interview (17%), most did not receive this information until during the interview (30%), or when they were offered the job (32%). Twenty-nine percent also remembered being asked how much they were paid in their previous job.
Five percent of respondents said they were not provided with any pay information until after they had accepted the job, while another one percent said they did not know what they would be paid until they received their first pay.

10. **About one-quarter of respondents reported that they negotiated the pay of their most recent successful job application.**

Males were more likely to report having negotiated their pay compared with females (26% and 20%, respectively). Respondents’ current salary level was also highly related to whether they negotiated their pay, e.g. 49% of those earning $100,000 or more negotiated their pay compared with 14% of those earning less than $40,000.

11. **Respondents were relatively supportive of the concept of employers being legally required to provide pay information.**

Respondents were relatively supportive of employers being legally required to provide pay information (i.e. aspects of pay transparency). The levels of agreement were significantly higher than the levels of disagreement for the following statements (with some providing a neutral response):

- Almost two-thirds of all respondents (62%) agreed that employers should be required, by law, to include pay rate information in their job advertising. The remainder either disagreed (14%) or either provided a neutral response or did not know (23%).

- One-half of all respondents (49%) agreed it should be illegal for employers to ask a job applicant how much they are currently being paid. The remainder either disagreed (19%) or provided a neutral response (28%).

- Four in every 10 respondents (44%) agreed that all employers should be required to publish the current pay rates of their employees. Around a quarter disagreed (27%) or provided a neutral response (26%).

- While 58% agreed that large employers should be required to publish the differences in pay rates amongst employees doing the same jobs (e.g. gender pay gap), 17% disagreed and 20% were undecided. Similarly, while 56% agreed that large employers should be required to publish current pay rates of their staff (without identifying individuals), 18% disagreed and 22% were undecided.

- As expected, respondents who believed unequal pay is common and/or had been paid less were more likely to “strongly agree” with these statements.
12. The main advantage of providing pay information was that it would enable respondents to access whether their current pay rate is fair.

When asked about how respondents might use pay information (assuming employers were required to provide it), respondents most frequently said that pay information would help them see if their current pay rate is fair (60%), help them look for employers that pay fairly (52%), to see what their potential earnings could be if they advanced their career (50%) and to identify jobs that met their pay expectations (47%).

When asked about possible disadvantages of certain pay transparency mechanisms, responses reflected how this type of information might make employees feel. For example, 56% believed it could create tension or bad feelings between employees, 55% felt it could make some employees upset to discover they are not earning as much as other people are and 39% felt it could decrease motivation and productivity.

One-half (51%) also felt that publishing pay rate information could create tension between employees and their employers, and 43% felt that it could make it difficult for employers to attract and keep staff. Just under one-third (31%) felt that that pay information should be private.

Conclusions

This survey has provided evidence of New Zealanders’ reported experiences of unequal pay, its impacts, experiences of being held back from job advancement, and opinions about the concept of pay transparency. The survey has also provided evidence of some employer practices with regard to the provision of pay information.

Results have been reported for the overall nationally representative sample as well as for certain subgroups of people.

Given this evidence, the following considerations should be taken into account regarding advancing equal employment opportunities:

1. The vast majority of respondents think that unequal pay due to ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, or gender is not ok. This attitude reflects an underlying belief in fairness among New Zealanders, which should be highlighted in advocacy efforts.

However, the levels of support for equal pay were lower when the pay difference is based on age, disability status, and the ability to speak English. These findings suggest that advocacy initiatives could aim to increase the support for all New Zealanders to receive equal employment opportunities.
2. Roughly one in every two respondents believed that unequal pay is common. Those who were less likely to think unequal pay was common in Aotearoa New Zealand were male, currently aged 18 to 24, currently earning an income of less than $40,000, and New Zealand European.

This finding reflects an opportunity to promote awareness around the prevalence of unequal pay.

3. Almost one-in-every two New Zealanders reported that, during their working careers, they have been paid less than someone else doing the same job. Some of these respondents reported that they thought their lower pay was due to discriminatory reasons such as age, gender, or ethnicity/race/colour/national origin.

Respondents who were more likely to report that they had been paid less were females, those currently aged 25 to 34, those currently earning a mid-range income of $40,000 but less than $80,000, and disabled respondents. This finding points to groups of New Zealanders who may benefit from advocacy efforts around employment opportunities.

4. Less than half of respondents who had found out that they were being paid less than their colleagues doing the same job reported that they formally complained (e.g. to a manager).

Advocacy around equal employment opportunities will need to communicate that it is ok to formally complain if a person feels they are experiencing unequal pay. Support mechanisms must also be offered to workers to make complaints.

5. Advocacy should involve working with employers to promote appropriate practices that advance equal pay in Aotearoa New Zealand. The results suggest that employers could reap potential benefits of practicing equal pay, such as:

- Avoiding unnecessary job turnover.
- Reducing the number of complaints received from employees.
- Employees feeling that they are treated fairly and valued.

6. Advocacy for pay transparency can highlight the findings showing that there is support among the general public for certain pay transparency mechanisms, such as:

- Requiring all employers to provide pay information in job advertising.
- Requiring large employers to publish pay rates of their staff (in a non-identifiable way).
- Requiring large employers to publish the differences in pay rates of their employees (e.g. gender pay gap).
7. Advocacy efforts should seek solutions to address the potential concerns around pay transparency, such as tensions amongst employees as well as tensions between employees and employers.

8. Based on this research’s findings, advocacy efforts could communicate to employers that they may reap potential benefits of practicing pay transparency, such as:

- Attracting new potential employees who will see certain employers as paying fairly.
- Motivating employees to work towards promotion.
- Creating more efficient recruitment practices, whereby prospective employees’ salary expectations can be easily matched to the value of a role.
- Facilitating hiring by allowing prospective employees to be informed of salary bands ahead of pay negotiation discussions.
2.0 Purpose, objectives and method

In this section of the report, the purpose, specific information objectives and methodology used to complete the survey are outlined.

2.1 Purpose of the research

The purpose of this research is to hear from and understand the experiences of New Zealanders in relation to pay determination, equal pay, and pay transparency. The research examines these issues from the lenses of gender, age, ethnicity, and disability.

The results of this research will inform the human rights work in relation to equal employment opportunities for all New Zealanders by the Human Rights Commission (HRC).

2.2 Information objectives

More specifically, the objectives of this survey were to:

1. Provide an understanding of New Zealanders’ employment experiences relating to pay transparency and unequal pay and the impacts of these experiences.

2. Measure New Zealanders’ attitudes and opinions relating to pay transparency and equal pay.

3. Provide findings disaggregated by key demographic, employment-related and attitudinal characteristics.

2.3 Methodology

The study involved three streams of work:

1. A scan of the national and international literature was undertaken to help inform the design of the survey. This involved searching for consumer research that has been completed in English-speaking jurisdictions, such as Australia, the UK and Canada. These countries, along with Germany, have introduced pay transparency legislation from as early as 2012.

   This was to see if overseas research had involved surveys measuring the population’s attitudes towards and experiences of unequal pay. If repeatable in an Aotearoa New Zealand context, this could provide a basis for benchmarking these results against those of other countries. Although various countries have implemented pay transparency legislation, the scan found no information specifically referencing surveys of the workforce population relating to these topics.
2. **Qualitative pre-research** to provide input into the development of the questionnaire for the Aotearoa New Zealand survey. The focus of the qualitative pre-research was on **pay transparency**, with the specific objectives of exploring experiences of pay transparency during employment, attitudes to pay transparency and ideal changes to existing practices.

To meet these objectives, four 90-minute focus group discussions were conducted in November/December 2019 with participants from the Greater Wellington Region. Participants were carefully selected to include a cross-section of the workforce.

Appendix A of this report contains the interim report of the results of the qualitative research.

3. Using the results of the qualitative pre-research and with the assistance of the HRC, a questionnaire was designed and cognitively tested for the purposes of completing, online, a **population survey** of a nationally representative sample of n=2,370 New Zealanders aged 18 years and over, who were either employed or were looking for work at the time of fieldwork.

The survey fieldwork was completed between the 28th of February and the 27th March 2020, with Māori, Pacific peoples and Asian peoples over-sampled¹, so that each group could be analysed separately, whilst providing the necessary statistical power to have confidence in the results.

This stratified sample was sourced with the assistance of our online panel partner, Dynata, and supplemented with a sample sourced from Research New Zealand’s omnibus panel and ‘snowballing’. The latter was necessary, in order to meet quotas for Pacific peoples and Māori males.

A demographic profile of the achieved total sample on a weighted and unweighted basis is presented overleaf in Table 1. The weighting parameters were sourced from the Statistics New Zealand 2019 Household Labour Force Survey to be representative of the Aotearoa New Zealand workforce population. Appendix B of this report contains a detailed description of the survey methodology. A copy of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix C.

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¹ Of a total sample of n=2,370 respondents, n=562 were Māori, n=423 were Pacific peoples and n=474 were Asian. These subsamples were targeted so that the results for each of these ethnic groups could be examined with confidence. Results based on subsamples of n=400 or more are subject to a maximum margin of error of less than +/-5% at a 95% confidence level. This is the sample threshold for government surveys.
Table 1: Demographic profile of achieved sample

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$^2$ Disability was defined by respondents identifying that they had significant trouble completing one or more activities. The survey question measuring disability (Question 36) was an adaptation of the Washington Group Short Set of disability questions [http://www.washingtongroup-disability.com/washington-group-question-sets/short-set-of-disability-questions/](http://www.washingtongroup-disability.com/washington-group-question-sets/short-set-of-disability-questions/)
Table 1: Demographic profile of achieved sample (continued)

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Academic qualification*:

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Employment sector**:

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Union membership**:

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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unweighted %</td>
<td>Weighted %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, I belong to a union</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I'm not a union member, but other staff members are</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
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<tr>
<td>No-one in my company/organisation belongs to a union</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>33</td>
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<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>Total</td>
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Type of pay**:

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<td>Unweighted %</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salary</td>
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<td>46</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hourly rate</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know/prefer not to say</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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Business size**:

|                                |                          |       |
|                                | Unweighted %             | Weighted % |
| Small business (2 to 19 employees) | 22                       | 24    |
| Medium business (20 to 49 employees) | 12                       | 12    |
| Large business (50+ employees)   | 62                       | 60    |
| Don't know                      | 5                        | 5     |
| Total                           | 100                      | 100   |

*Total for ethnicity may exceed 100% because of multiple response.

*Academic qualification sub-sample n=2,071 based on those respondents who were currently employees or have been employed in the last 5 years.

**Employment-related questions sub-sample n=1,725 based on those respondents who were currently employees.
2.4 Organisation of this report

This report is organised as follows:

◆ **Section 3**: General opinions about unequal pay.

This section explores current opinions and beliefs about unequal pay in Aotearoa New Zealand, including the extent to which respondents believed unequal pay was common and if there were particular circumstances when unequal pay is considered “ok”.

◆ **Section 4**: Personal experiences of unequal pay.

This section details the extent of respondents’ experience of unequal pay, how they felt about it, and the actions they took to address their situation.

◆ **Section 5**: Personal experiences of being held back from job advancement opportunities.

This section examines the extent to which respondents reported having personally experienced being held back from job advancement or employment opportunities without good reason, and why they believed this happened.

◆ **Section 6**: Timeliness of the provision of pay information.

This section investigates the availability of pay information when applying for jobs in Aotearoa New Zealand, including at what stage in respondents’ job applications information about pay was made available.

◆ **Section 7**: Attitudes to the provision of pay information by employers.

This section explores opinions about the provision of pay information by employers, whether it should be publicly available, and what the perceived benefits and disadvantages are of doing so.

◆ **Section 8**: Conclusions.

The main analysis variables used to present the survey results in this report are those that have been found to be the most statistically sensitive and can be classified as being:

◆ **Demographic** (viz. gender, ethnicity and disability status).

◆ **Attitudinal** (i.e. opinions about how common unequal pay is in Aotearoa New Zealand).

◆ **Experiential** (i.e. whether or not unequal pay has been personally experienced).

Results presented and commented in this report are, unless stated otherwise, results which are statistically significant.
3.0 General opinions about unequal pay in Aotearoa New Zealand

In this section of the report, the results are presented to a series of questions which explored respondents’ current beliefs and opinions about unequal pay in Aotearoa New Zealand, in other words, how common they feel it is for people in Aotearoa New Zealand to be paid differently for doing the same job, as well as whether they believe there are certain situations in which unequal pay is “ok”.

3.1 Situations in which unequal pay is acceptable or not acceptable

Note:

While the survey focused on respondents’ opinions about and experiences of ‘equal’ and ‘unequal pay’, these terms were not used in the survey questionnaire itself. Rather, questions were asked using phrases such as, ‘two people doing exactly the same job to be paid different amounts’ (as in Question 9 below). This language was purposeful, as the term ‘unequal pay’ is unfamiliar to many people. However, in the interest of brevity, this report refers to opinions and experiences relating to ‘(un)equal pay’, acknowledging that this was not the language used in the questionnaire.

In order to explore New Zealanders’ opinions about unequal pay in greater detail, respondents were provided with a list of 10 different factors/situations (e.g. age, gender, ethnicity, disability status, level of experience and level of skill/job performance) and asked:

Q9. In your opinion, is it ok for two people doing exactly the same job to be paid different amounts because of …?

Figure 1 overleaf shows the response to this question for the total sample of n=2,370 respondents. This shows that, with the exception of one-half of respondents feeling it is “ok” for two people to be paid differently for doing the same job because of their level of experience or skill/job performance, significantly fewer considered it was “ok” with regard to all other factors/situations.

Most frequently, over 80% said it is “not ok” for people to be paid differently because of their ethnicity (87%), religion (86%), sexual orientation (85%) or gender (84%).
Figure 1: Opinions as to whether unequal pay is “ok” in certain situations (n=2,370)

To a lesser degree, one-half of respondents also felt it was “not ok” for people to be paid differently because of their age (68%) or their disability status (62%). However, note that in both cases, about one-third of respondents believed it was “ok”.

In addition, respondents felt it was “ok” for people to be paid differently if an employee could not speak English very well (51% believed it was “ok”) or because of their educational level (61% believed it was “ok”).

Compared with females, **males** were significantly more likely to feel that unequal pay was “ok” (or “ok sometimes”) in many of the factors/situations, including in relation to a person’s:

- **Age** (34% of males reported that it was “ok”, or at least “ok sometimes”, for two people doing the exact same job to be paid different amounts because of their age, compared with 24% of females).
- Their ability to speak English (53% of males, compared with 48% of females).
- Their disability status (40% of males, compared with 28% of females).
- Their gender (16% of males, compared with 9% of females).
Interestingly, 42% of disabled respondents reported that it was “ok” (or “ok sometimes”) for disabled people to be paid differently, compared with 31% of non-disabled respondents.
### 3.2 The majority believe that unequal pay in Aotearoa New Zealand is common

In order to measure beliefs with regard to the prevalence of unequal pay in Aotearoa New Zealand, respondents were asked the following question:

**Q8. How common do you think it is in Aotearoa New Zealand that people are paid different amounts for doing the exact same job? That is, they’re paid differently not because of their experience, skill level or qualifications, but because of other factors, such as their age, gender, ethnicity, etc.**

Figure 2 below shows the response to this question based on the total sample of n=2,370 respondents and by those who self-identified as male or female. This shows that over half of respondents believed unequal pay is **common** in Aotearoa New Zealand (57%), with around one-third (31%) of the opinion that this is ‘**very common**’.

In addition, another 22% felt that it was neither common nor uncommon and six percent “**didn’t know**” (i.e. were unsure). In comparison, 15% of respondents believed unequal pay is uncommon.

**Figure 2: How common unequal pay is considered to be in Aotearoa New Zealand (n=2,370)**

![Graph showing the distribution of responses to the question on unequal pay.](image-url)
3.2.1 Profile of people who believe unequal pay is common

Figure 3 presents a demographic profile of respondents based on those who think unequal pay is common in Aotearoa New Zealand. This figure shows, for example, that females were more likely to believe that unequal pay is common in Aotearoa New Zealand (60%) than males (55%).

Other statistically significant demographic results include the following:

- Respondents aged 18 to 24 were less likely to believe unequal pay is common (48%), compared with all other age groups, particularly 25 to 34-year olds and 50 to 69-year olds (59%).

- Māori were also more likely to believe unequal pay was common (63%), compared with New Zealand Europeans (56%). There were no other statistically significant differences by ethnicity.

- Respondents earning more than $40,000 but less than $80,000 were more likely to believe unequal pay was common (61%), compared with those earning less than $40,000 (53%).

- Respondents who had a post graduate qualification were more likely to believe unequal pay is common (62%), compared with 55% of respondents with a secondary school qualification.

- Respondents earning a salary were also more likely to believe unequal pay was common (61%), compared with those earning a wage based on an hourly rate (55%).

- Respondents whose first language is English, with 65% believing it is common, compared with 52% of respondents whose first language is not English.

There are no statistically significant demographic differences by disability status, workforce sector, or union membership.
Figure 3: Extent to which different demographic groups believe unequal pay is common in Aotearoa New Zealand

57% of respondents believe unequal pay is common in New Zealand

- 60% Female
- 55% Male

- NZ European: 56%
- Māori: 63%
- Pacific Peoples: 60%
- Asian: 59%

- 18-24 years: 48%
- 25-34 years: 59%
- 35-49 years: 57%
- 50-69 years: 59%

- < $40,000: 53%
- > $40,000 but < $80,000: 61%
- > $80,000 but < $100,000: 59%
- > $100,000: 58%

personal annual income
4.0 Personal experiences of unequal pay

In this section of the report, the results are presented to a series of questions which explored respondents’ personal experiences of unequal pay, how this made them feel, and what, if any, action they took to address the situation.

4.1 Many have personally experienced unequal pay

This particular line of questioning began by asking respondents if they had experienced unequal pay themselves within the past 10 years, by either being paid more, or less, than any of their work colleagues who were doing the exact same job:

Q10 To the best of your knowledge, in the last 10 years have you been paid more or less money than someone else in your company who was doing exactly the same job as you?

The survey then focused specifically on those who reported having been paid less and asked what they believed were the reasons for the pay difference and how they knew they were being paid less:

Q11 For which of the following reasons do you think that you were paid less?

Q12 How did you know you were being paid less?

As illustrated in Figure 4 overleaf, over two-thirds of respondents (69%) who were currently employed or looking for employment reported having experienced unequal pay (either being paid more or less than their colleagues) within the past 10 years. Overall, 25% reported being paid more than one of their co-workers for doing the exact same job and 44% reported being paid less, while 30% reported not experiencing unequal pay.
Figure 4: Reported experience of unequal pay in Aotearoa New Zealand (n=2,037*)

4.1.1 Profile of people paid less

Figure 5 presents a demographic profile of respondents who, in the last 10 years in Aotearoa New Zealand, have experienced being paid less than someone else in the organisation who was doing exactly the same job.

This figure shows, for example, that females were more likely to state that they had been paid less than others doing the exact same job (55%), compared with males (43%).

Other significant demographic results include the following:

- **Pasifika** respondents were also more likely to state that they had been paid less (57%) than New Zealand European respondents (49%) and Asian respondents (46%).

- Respondents aged **18 to 24** were more likely to state they had been paid less for doing the same job (54%), compared with those aged **50 to 69** (38%). In line with these findings, every other age group was more likely to state they had been paid less for doing the same job, compared with respondents aged 50 to 69.

- Respondents earning **less than $40,000**, and those earning **more than $40,000, but less than $80,000**, who were more likely to have been paid less for doing the same job (51% and 52% respectively), compared with those earning **$100,000 or more** (33%).

There are no significant differences by any other demographic variables, including whether respondents were disabled, whether respondents were born in Aotearoa New Zealand or not, their...
academic qualification, whether English is their first language or not, what sector of the workforce they were in, whether they are a member of a union, or whether they were paid a salary or an hourly rate.

**Figure 5: Extent to which different demographic groups have personally experienced being paid less**

44% of respondents have been paid less for doing the exact same job as someone else

- **Female:** 55%
- **Male:** 43%

**NZ European:** 49%

**Māori:** 51%

**Pacific Peoples:** 57%

**Asian:** 46%

**18-24 years:** 54%

**25-34 years:** 54%

**35-49 years:** 48%

**50-69 years:** 38%

**< $40,000:** 51%

**> $40,000 but < $80,000:** 52%

**> $80,000 but < $100,000:** 44%

**> $100,000:** 33%

**Personal annual income**

Other results of interest relate to respondents’ beliefs and opinions. For example, respondents who stated they had **been paid less** at some time during their working career were more likely than those who had **not** been paid differently to say that unequal pay is common in Aotearoa New Zealand (68% and 42% respectively).
4.2 Age, gender, and ethnicity are cited as some of the reasons for being paid less than others with the same job

Figure 6 shows respondents opinions illustrating why they believe they were paid less than someone else doing the exact same job. Most frequently, respondents said that this was because of their level of experience (48%), while 20% identified their level of skill as well as their level of education (18%) as reasons for why they were paid less.

In some respects, the results for being paid less are consistent with demographic results presented in the previous section. For example, reflecting the fact that younger age groups were more likely than older age groups to state that they had been paid less, 25% of respondents assumed that their age was a reason for being paid less. Similarly, reflecting the fact that females were more likely than males to state they had been paid less, 18% of respondents reasoned that their gender was the reason for this. Other respondents believed that they had been paid less because of their ethnicity, race, colour or national origin (15%).

**Figure 6: Opinions as to why respondents thought they were paid less than their co-workers (n=903*)**

*Sub-sample is based on respondents who reported having been paid less than someone else in their company for doing the exact same job. Total may exceed 100% because of multiple responses.
When asked how they knew they were being paid less, the majority of respondents said they were told by a work colleague (68%). Fifteen percent were told by their employer, whilst a similar proportion (16%) said the information was available to employees through the company’s website or published internally.

### 4.3 Being paid less has negative emotional impacts

Respondents who reported having experienced unequal pay in the last 10 years because of something other than their level of experience, skill or job performance were asked how that had made them feel:

**Q13. How did this make you feel?**

Overall, the large majority of respondents (89%) said they were aggrieved by their experience, with at least one-half saying they felt they had been treated unfairly (55%) and/or that their employer did not value them (52%).

Just under one-half (45%) said the experience had made them feel demotivated and that they did not want to put much effort into their job, while 43% did not want to work there anymore (i.e. they decided they should look for a new job).

Thirty-seven percent felt discriminated against.

**Figure 7: How the experience of unequal pay made respondents feel (n=507*)**

*Sub-sample is based on respondents who experienced unequal pay in the last 10 years for reasons not related to their experience or level of skill/job performance.
Total may exceed 100% because of multiple responses.
Respondents who believed they had been paid less because of their gender or because of their ethnicity were significantly more likely to feel they had been discriminated against or treated unfairly, compared with those who had been paid less because of their age:

- Fifty-three percent of those who stated they had been paid less because of their gender or because of their ethnicity (52%) felt discriminated against, compared with 34% for those who stated they had been paid less because of their age.

- Seventy percent of those who stated they had been paid less because of their gender or because of their ethnicity (also 70%) also felt they had been treated unfairly, compared with 54% for those who stated they had been paid less because of their age.

Respondents who believed they had been paid less because of their gender or because of their ethnicity were also significantly less likely to state they didn’t mind being paid less or that they felt it made sense (4% of those who felt they had been paid less because of their gender, and 6% because of their ethnicity, compared with 12% for those who felt they had been paid less because of their age).
4.4 Over one-third formally raised their concerns about being paid less

Respondents who reported having been paid less than colleagues doing the same job in the last 10 years were asked if they took any action about the situation and whether it was resolved:

Q14 Which of the following things, if any, did you do about this?

Q15 For what particular reasons did you decide not to raise this with a manager?

Q16 Was the situation resolved – did anything change?

As shown in Figure 8 below, many raised their concerns with friends and family (28%) and/or with work colleagues (27%). However, relatively few took a formal course of action—that is, raising their concerns with management (27% with their immediate supervisor or manager, and 10% with another manager), discussing this with their union (8%), or making a personal grievance claim (1%) (giving a total of 37% after taking into account multiple responses). One-fifth of respondents (22%) reported leaving their company.

Twenty-seven percent did nothing.

Figure 8: Action taken as a result of being paid less (n=903*)

*Sub-sample based on those who reported having been paid less than a co-worker who was doing exactly the same job. Total may exceed 100% because of multiple responses.
In terms of action taken by specific groups of respondents:

- **Females** were significantly more likely to raise their unequal pay complaint with their immediate supervisor or manager (30%, compared with 23% of males).

- **Māori and New Zealand Europeans** were significantly more likely than Asian respondents to report leaving their job because of being paid less (25% and 23% respectively, compared with 15% of Asian respondents).

- **Recent migrants** (those who had been in Aotearoa New Zealand for less than five years) were the most likely of any group to report that they did nothing about being paid less (38%, compared with 18% of migrants who had been in Aotearoa New Zealand for 5-10 years). (Twenty-seven percent of those born in Aotearoa New Zealand did nothing; however, this is not statistically significant when compared with recent migrants.)

- Respondents who were born overseas but had lived in Aotearoa New Zealand for more than 20 years were the most likely to report having left their job because of being paid less (34%, compared with 22% of respondent who were born in Aotearoa New Zealand and 9% of recent migrants).

### 4.4.1 Reasons for not raising unequal pay with management

As mentioned earlier, 37% of respondents who reported being paid less said they raised the issue with management, their union or in the form of a personal grievance claim. The 63% who chose not to do this were asked their reasons for not doing so. The most frequent response was that, “it was not worth it and would not have made a difference” (49%).

Around one-quarter of these respondent said they did nothing because they “didn’t want to upset their manager or make them angry” (22%), or they felt it would have been “rude or inappropriate to complain” (23%) (Figure 9 overleaf).

- **Females** were significantly more likely to report they did not raise the issue with their manager because they felt it would be rude or inappropriate to complain (27%, compared with 19% of males).

Of particular concern is the fact that 19% did not raise the issue with management because they were “worried that they might lose their job”.

- **Asian and Pasifika respondents** were significantly more likely than Māori and New Zealand Europeans to report this (28% of Asians and 23% of Pasifika respondents were worried about losing their jobs, compared with 17% of New Zealand Europeans and 13% of Māori).

- Twenty-eight percent of **Asian respondents** who did not raise the issue of their unequal pay complaint with management said this was because they did not want to upset their manager or make them angry (this is significantly higher than the 15% reported by Pasifika respondents).
Figure 9: Reasons for not raising issue of unequal pay with management (n=604*)

- It would not have made a difference/was not worth it: 49%
- I felt it would be rude/inappropriate to complain: 23%
- I didn’t want to upset my supervisor/manager/make them angry: 22%
- I was worried that I might lose my job: 19%
- It was fair/there was no reason to: 9%
- I didn’t think to raise it with my manager or didn’t realise that I could do so: 7%
- Other: 5%
- Don’t know: 9%

*Sub-sample based on those who reported having been paid less than a co-worker for doing the same job within the past 5 years, but did not raise the issue with management, the union or lay a personal grievance claim. Total may exceed 100% because of multiple responses.
Interestingly, one-half of respondents (51%) who raised their unequal pay with management received a pay increase, although only 22% received enough of a pay increase to put them on par with their co-workers.

**Figure 10: Outcome of raising unequal pay issue with management (n=374*)**

*Sub-sample based on those respondents who were paid less than someone else doing the same job and raised it with a manager, their union, or in a personal grievance claim.*
5.0 Personal experience of being held back and/or missing out on job advancement opportunities

In this section of the report, the results to two questions are presented that explored respondents’ personal experiences of disparity or inequality with regard to job advancement and opportunities.

Respondents were asked the following questions to determine whether they felt they had missed out on career opportunities without good reason and, if so, why they believed that had happened:

Q17 Still thinking about any work experience you’ve had in Aotearoa New Zealand in the last 10 years, have you ever felt that you have been held back in your job or missed out on opportunities without good reason?

Q18 For which of the following reasons do you feel this was the case? That is, do you feel you were being held back, or missed opportunities at work because of…?

As shown in Figure 11 overleaf, 42% of all respondents reported that, at some point in the last 10 years, felt they had missed out on career opportunities, without good reason. This was particularly the case amongst disabled respondents, 53% of whom felt they had missed out on career opportunities compared with 38% of non-disabled respondents.

♦ However, in most cases, these respondents did not feel that they had been held back because of their disability (only 7% believed this was the reason). They were more likely to report that they had been held back because of their relationship (or a colleague’s relationship) with their manager (37%), their age (33%), or their level of experience (30%).

In addition to these results based on disability status, Asian respondents were more likely than New Zealand Europeans to report having felt they had missed out on career opportunities without good reason (46% and 40% respectively).

♦ One-half (50%) of Asian respondents who felt they had missed out on career opportunities believed this had happened because of their ethnicity.

There were no statistically significant differences when analysing those who reported being held back or missed out on opportunities by gender or age.
In addition to the demographic differences noted above, other notable differences are based on respondents’ opinions and experiences:

- Respondents who believed unequal pay is common were significantly more likely to have felt they had missed out on career opportunities without good reason (49%), compared with respondents who believed unequal pay is not common (28%).
- Respondents who stated they had been paid less for doing the same job, were also more likely to have felt they had missed out on career opportunities (50%), compared with those respondents who have not been paid differently (24%).

*Sub-sample based on respondents who were employed at the time of the survey or were looking for employment (excludes business owners and contractors).
6.0 Salary negotiation and the timeliness of the provision of pay information

In this section, the results to questions about the availability of pay information are presented. The results are based on respondents who had applied for a job (in Aotearoa New Zealand) within the last five years.

The following questions were asked to determine at what point (if any) respondents were provided with pay information when applying for jobs:

Q19 Have you applied for any jobs (in Aotearoa New Zealand) within the last five years?

Q20 Did you get any of the job(s) that you applied for?

Q21 Before you accepted your most recent job offer which of the following happened…?

Q22 At which one of the following times was information about what you might be paid first made available?

Q23 And did you have to ask for this information, or was it given to you?

Three-quarters of all respondents (74%) reported applying for a job in Aotearoa New Zealand within the last five years and most of these respondents (77%) said they had been successful in at least one job application.

Two-thirds of these respondents (62%) remembered being told how much they would be paid before they accepted the job that they were most recently successful in applying for, while 23% negotiated their pay. However, 29% reported being asked how much they were paid in their previous job, while another 16% said they were neither told nor negotiated how much they would be paid.
As mentioned above, 23% of those who had successfully applied for a new job within the last five years reported that they had negotiated their starting salary/wage. **Males** were more likely than females to report having negotiated their pay before accepting their most recent job offer (26%, compared with 20%). Furthermore, as illustrated in Figure 13, pay negotiations were significantly more likely to occur in relation to higher paying jobs (e.g. 49% of respondents reporting earning $100,000 or more said they negotiated their pay, compared with 14% earning less than $40,000).

**Figure 13: Percent reporting that they negotiated their salary, by current salary level (n=1,132*)**

*Sub-sample based on those who had successfully applied for a job in Aotearoa New Zealand within the last 5 years.*
Respondents who had successfully applied for a job in the last five years and reported that they either negotiated or were told what they would be paid were asked at what point pay information was first made available to them.

As illustrated in Figure 14, 15% reported that pay information was included in the job advertisement, whilst another 17% were provided with pay information prior to their job interview.

However, the most frequent responses were that respondents did not receive information about what they might be paid until during the interview (30%) or when they were offered the job (32%).

♀ Females were more likely to report that they had not received pay information until they were offered the job (35%, compared with 29% of males).

Five percent reported that they were not provided with any pay information until after they had accepted the job, whilst a further 1% said they did not know what they would be paid until they received their first pay.

Figure 14: When pay information was first provided to those who recently got a new job (n=939*)

*Sub-sample based on those who had successfully applied for a job in Aotearoa New Zealand within the last 5 years and were either asked how much they were paid in their previous job, were told how much they would be paid in their new job or negotiated how much they were paid.
One-fifth (21%) reported they had to ask for this pay information, rather than be provided with it.

- **Asian respondents** were significantly more likely to state that they had to ask for pay information (32%, compared with 16% of Māori and 20% New Zealand European).

- **Recent migrants** were also significantly more likely to have asked for pay information, compared with those born in Aotearoa New Zealand (32%, compared with 18% respectively).

In addition to these demographic differences, other notable differences are based on respondents’ opinions and experiences. For example:

- Respondents who believed **unequal pay is common** were more likely than those who did not believe unequal pay was common to say they had been asked how much they were paid in their previous job (30%, compared with 21% who believed it was not common).

- Respondents who believed **unequal pay is common** were more likely than those who did not believe unequal pay was common to say they did not receive pay information until they were offered the job (35%, compared with 21% who believed it was not common).

- Respondents who stated they had been **paid less** than other people for doing the exact same job were more likely than those who had not been paid less to state they had been asked how much they were paid in their previous job (28%, compared with 19% of respondents who had not been paid differently).

- Respondents who stated they had been **paid less** than other people for doing the exact same job were more likely than those who had not been paid less to state they had not been provided information about pay until they were offered the job (34%, compared with 24% who had not been paid differently).
7.0 Opinions on certain pay transparency mechanisms

In this section, the results to questions exploring respondents’ opinions about the availability of pay information are presented, including whether employers should be required to make this type of information publicly available, as well as identifying the benefits and disadvantages of their doing so.

7.1 Opinions about making it a requirement for employers to provide pay information varied

Respondents were asked to rate their agreement/disagreement with each of the following statements:

Q24a. All employers should be required, by law, to include the pay rate in their job advertising.

Q24b. All employers should be required to publish information on what current staff are paid, providing it can’t be traced back to individual employees.

Q24c. It should be illegal for employers to ask a job applicant how much they are currently being paid/were paid in their last job.

The results to these questions are provided in Figure 15 overleaf and show that while there was a significantly stronger level of agreement than disagreement with the statements, around one-fifth neither agreed nor disagreed.
Almost two-thirds of all respondents (62%) agreed that employers should be required, by law, to include pay rate information in their job advertising. Fourteen percent disagreed, while 23% either provided a neutral response or did not know.

- **Asian** (76%) and **Pasifika** (70%) respondents were significantly more likely to agree that pay information should be included in job advertising, compared with New Zealand European (60%) and Māori (57%).

One-half of all respondents (49%) agreed it should be illegal for employers to ask a job applicant how much they are currently being paid. Eighteen percent disagreed and 28% provided a neutral response.

Just under half of respondents (44%) agreed that all employers should be required to publish the current pay rates of their employees, and 27% disagreed with this statement. A similar proportion (26%) provided a neutral response.

Respondents were then asked two additional statements about pay transparency relating to large employers (defined as those with 100 or more employees) publishing pay information (Figure 16 overleaf):

- **Q25a.** Large employers should be required to publish current pay rates of their staff (without identifying any specific individuals).

- **Q25b.** Large employers should be required to publish any differences in pay rates amongst employees doing the same jobs (e.g. gender pay gap).
Figure 16: Agreement/disagreement with pay transparency statements relating to LARGE employers (n=2,370)

Similar to the statements about employers providing pay transparency information, Figure 16 above shows that there were significantly higher levels of agreement than disagreement with pay transparency statements regarding large employers, while around one-fifth neither agreed nor disagreed.

More specifically, while 56% agreed that large employers should be required to publish current pay rates of their staff, 18% disagreed and 22% neither agreed nor disagreed. Similarly, while 58% agreed that large employers should be required to publish the differences in pay rates amongst employees doing the same jobs, 17% disagreed and 20% were neither agreed nor disagreed.

- **Females** were more likely than males to agree that large employers should be required to publish differences in pay rates amongst employees doing the same jobs (62%, compared with 55% of males).

- **Asian respondents** were more likely to agree that large employers should be required to publish current pay rates of their staff (68%, compared with 54% of New Zealand Europeans, 52% of Māori and 57% of Pasifika respondents).
In addition to the demographic differences noted above, respondents also differed in their agreement with these two sets of statements based on their opinions and experiences. For example:

- Respondents who believed **unequal pay is common** were more likely than those who did **not** believe unequal pay was common to "strongly agree" that it should be illegal for employers to ask a job applicant how much they are currently being paid/were paid in their last job (25%, compared with 11% who believed it is not common).

- These respondents were also likely to “strongly agree” that all employers should be required to publish information anonymously on what current staff are paid (22%, compared with 11% who believed it is not common), and that all employers should be required, by law, to include the pay rate in their job advertising (33%, compared with 19% who believed it is not common).

- Respondents who believed **unequal pay is common** were more likely than those who did **not** believe unequal pay was common to "strongly agree" that large employers should be required to publish current pay rates of their staff (25%, compared with 12% who believed it is not common).

- Similarly, respondents who had been **paid less** for doing the exact same job were more likely to “strongly agree” that all employers should be required, by law, to include the pay rate in their job advertisement, (33%, compared with 25% who had **not** been paid differently) This was also the case for these respondents “strongly agreeing” that all employers should be required to publish information on what current staff are paid (21%, compared with 14% who had **not** been paid differently).

- Respondents who had been **paid less** for doing the exact same job were more likely to “strongly agree” that large employers should publish the differences in pay rates for specific groups (e.g. gender and ethnicity) (30%, compared to 19% who had **not** been paid differently).
7.2 Respondents believed there were both pros and cons in accessing pay information

All respondents who identified themselves as current employees or as someone who was currently looking for work (i.e. not a business owner or contractor) were asked the following question about how, if at all, they would use pay information if it were available. Note that the list of responses was shown to respondents (i.e., this was not an open-ended question):

**Q26 If Aotearoa New Zealand employers were required to make pay rate information available, how would you use it, if at all?**

As illustrated in Figure 17, 90% of these respondents stated they would access pay information if it were available, with only 5% stating they would not, and a further 5% did not know if they would.

Respondents indicated that they would use the information for a range of reasons, with the most frequently mentioned being that they would use it to see if their current pay rate is fair (60%). Following this, approximately one-half said they would use it to look for employers that pay fairly (52%), to see what their potential earnings could be if they advanced their career (50%) and to identify jobs that met their pay expectations (47%).

**Figure 17: Reasons why respondents would access pay information if it were available to them (n=2,037*)**

- **To see if my current pay rate (or the pay rate of the job I apply for) is fair**: 60%
- **To look for employers that pay fairly**: 52%
- **To see how much I could earn if I worked my way up/got a promotion**: 50%
- **To identify jobs that meet my pay expectations**: 47%
- **So I could target better paying jobs and employers**: 42%
- **For motivation/to see if it’s worth putting the effort in at my job**: 34%
- **So there are no surprises**: 33%
- **Don’t know**: 5%
- **Not applicable, I wouldn’t access it**: 5%

Total may exceed 100% because of multiple responses.
Respondents were also provided with a list of potentially negative consequences of making pay rates publicly available and asked which, if any, of those they regarded as disadvantages.

**Q27 In your opinion, what are the disadvantages of making employers publish pay rate information?**

As illustrated in Figure 18, respondents’ main concerns were about how this type of information might make employees feel. For example, 56% believed it could create tension or bad feelings between employees, 55% felt it could make some employees upset to discover they are not earning as much as other people are and 39% felt it could decrease motivation and productivity.

One-half (51%) also felt that publishing pay rate information could create tension between employees and their employers and 43% felt that it could make it difficult for employers to attract and retain staff. Another third (31%) felt pay information should be private.

**Figure 18: Perceived disadvantages of having pay information available to employees (n=2,370)**

- It could create tension/bad feelings between employees: 56%
- It could make some employees upset because they’re not earning as much as other people are: 55%
- It could create tension/bad feelings between employers and employees: 51%
- It could make it difficult for some companies to attract or keep staff: 43%
- It could decrease motivation or productivity: 39%
- Pay information should be private: 31%
- Don’t know: 5%
- There are no disadvantages: 6%

Total may exceed 100% because of multiple responses.
As illustrated in Figure 19, when asked if their employer currently makes pay rate information available, 21% said pay rate information was included in their job advertising, and 18% said that their company publishes what current staff are paid. These total to 33% after accounting for multiple responses.

However, over one-half (56%) reported that their employer did neither of these, while 11% were unsure.

Almost three-quarters of respondents (72%) who stated their employer currently publishes or makes available pay information stated that they had looked at it.

Figure 19: Extent to which respondents’ employers currently make pay information available
(n=1,750*)

*Sub-sample based on current employees only.
8.0 Conclusions

In this section, we provide our conclusions based on a summary of the key findings.

This survey was completed in order to establish their opinions and experiences of unequal pay and pay transparency in Aotearoa New Zealand. It has identified 12 key findings as follows:

1. **Paying people differently because of a person’s ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation and/or gender was unacceptable to most respondents.**

   Most respondents said it is “not ok” for people to be paid differently because of their ethnicity (87%), religion (86%), sexual orientation (85%) or gender (84%).

2. **Against this background, about four times as many respondents said that unequal pay was common in Aotearoa New Zealand as said it was not common.**

   Overall, over one-half of respondents (57%) believed unequal pay is common, compared with 15% who said it is uncommon. Another 22% said it is neither common nor uncommon and six percent “didn’t know”.

3. **Many respondents reported being paid less for doing the exact same job as another person.**

   Almost one-half of respondents (44%) said that at some stage during their working career, they had been paid less for doing the exact same job as another person. This compares with 25% saying they had been paid more and 30% reporting they had not experienced unequal pay.

4. **Age, gender, as well as ethnicity, race, colour or national origin were frequently provided as reasons for being paid less.**

   While level of experience (48%) was most frequently provided by respondents as the reason for being paid less, age (25%), gender (18%) and ethnicity, race, colour or national origin (15%) were also frequently provided reasons.

   A disability or sexual orientation were provided by two percent of respondents in each case.

5. **Two out of three respondents said they were told they were paid less by a work colleague.**

   When asked how they knew they were being paid less, most respondents said they were told by a work colleague (68%).
6. Most respondents paid less for reasons other than experience or skill level felt aggrieved by the experience.

At least one-half of respondents paid less for reasons other than experience or skill level said they felt they had been treated unfairly (55%) and/or that their employer did not value them (52%).

7. The majority of respondents who reported being paid less did not formally complain, with a number of reasons responsible for this.

While many respondents being paid less raised their concerns with friends and family (28%) and/or with work colleagues (27%), relatively few took a formal course of action, raising their concerns with management (27% with their immediate supervisor or manager, and 10% with another manager,) discussing this with their union (8%) or making a personal grievance claim (1%) (giving a total of 37% who pursued some kind of formal course of action, after taking into account multiple responses).

8. Disabled respondents were more likely to report that they had been held back in their job or missed out on opportunities without good reason.

Forty-two percent of all respondents reported that at some point in the last 10 years they had been held back in their job or missed out on opportunities without good reason. This was particularly the case amongst disabled respondents, 53% of whom felt they had been held back or missed out, compared with 38% of non-disabled respondents.

9. Just under two-thirds of respondents successfully applying for a new job were told how much they would be paid before they accepted the job.

Almost two of every three respondents (62%) who successfully applied for a job in the last five years said were told how much they would be paid before they accepted the job.

While some pay information was available in the job advertising they responded to (15%) and some said they were given this information prior to their job interview (17%), most did not receive this information until during the interview (30%), or when they were offered the job (32%).

10. About one-quarter of respondents reported that they negotiated the pay of their most recent successful job application.

Males were more likely to report having negotiated their pay compared with females (26% and 20%, respectively). Respondents’ current salary level was also highly related to whether they negotiated their pay, e.g. 49% of those earning $100,000 or more negotiated their pay compared with 14% of those earning less than $40,000.
11. **Respondents were relatively supportive of the concept of employers being legally required to provide pay information.**

Respondents were relatively supportive of employers being legally required to provide pay information (i.e. aspects of pay transparency). Over or about one-half of respondents agreed with the following statements:

- Almost two-thirds of all respondents (62%) agreed that employers should be required, by law, to include pay rate information in their job advertising. The remainder either disagreed (14%) or either provided a neutral response or did not know (23%).

- While 58% agreed that large employers should be required to publish the differences in pay rates amongst employees doing the same jobs (e.g. gender pay gap), 17% disagreed and 20% were undecided.

- Similarly, while 56% agreed that large employers should be required to publish current pay rates of their staff (without identifying individuals), 18% disagreed and 22% were undecided.

- One-half of all respondents (49%) agreed it should be illegal for employers to ask a job applicant how much they are currently being paid. The remainder either disagreed (19%) or provided a neutral response (28%).

12. **The main advantage of providing pay information was that it would enable respondents to access whether their current pay rate is fair.**

When asked about how respondents might use pay information (assuming employers were required to provide it), respondents most frequently said that pay information would help them see if their current pay rate is fair (60%), help them look for employers that pay fairly (52%), to see what their potential earnings could be if they advanced their career (50%) and to identify jobs that met their pay expectations (47%).

Given these key findings, the following considerations should be taken into account regarding advancing equal employment opportunities:

1. The fact that the vast majority of respondents think that **unequal pay due to ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, or gender is not ok** reflects an underlying belief in fairness among New Zealanders, which should be highlighted in advocacy efforts.

However, the levels of support for equal pay were lower when the pay difference is based on age, disability status, and the ability to speak English. These findings suggest that advocacy initiatives could aim to increase the support for all New Zealanders to receive equal employment opportunities.
2. The fact that roughly one in every two respondents believed that **unequal pay is common** reflects an opportunity to promote awareness around the prevalence of unequal pay.

Those who were **less likely** to think unequal pay was common in Aotearoa New Zealand were male, currently aged 18 to 24, currently earning an income of less than $40,000, and New Zealand European.

3. Some of the one-in-every two New Zealanders who reported that, during their working careers, they have been **paid less than someone else doing the same job** thought their lower pay was due to **discriminatory reasons** such as age, gender, or ethnicity/race/colour/national origin.

Respondents who were more likely to report that they had been paid less were females, those currently aged 25 to 34, those currently earning a mid-range income of $40,000 but less than $80,000, and disabled respondents. This finding points to groups of New Zealanders who may benefit from advocacy efforts around employment opportunities.

4. Given that less than half of respondents who had found out that they were being paid less than their colleagues doing the same job reported that they **formally complained** (e.g. to a manager) suggests that advocacy around equal employment opportunities will need to communicate that it is ok to formally complain. Support mechanisms must also be offered to workers to make complaints.

5. Advocacy should involve working with employers to promote appropriate practices that advance equal pay in Aotearoa New Zealand. The results suggest that employers could reap **potential benefits of practicing equal pay**, such as:

- Avoiding unnecessary job turnover.
- Reducing the number of complaints received from employees.
- Employees feeling that they are treated fairly and valued.

6. Advocacy for **pay transparency** can highlight the findings showing that there is **support among the general public** for certain pay transparency mechanisms, such as:

- Requiring all employers to provide pay information in job advertising.
- Requiring large employers to publish pay rates of their staff (in a non-identifiable way).
- Requiring large employers to publish the differences in pay rates of their employees (e.g. gender pay gap).

7. Advocacy efforts should **seek solutions to address the potential concerns around pay transparency**, such as tensions amongst employees as well as tensions between employees and employers.
8. Advocacy efforts could also communicate to employers that they may reap potential benefits of practicing pay transparency, such as:

- Attracting new potential employees who will see certain employers as paying fairly.
- Motivating employees to work towards promotion.
- Creating more efficient recruitment practices, whereby prospective employees’ salary expectations can be easily matched to the value of a role.
- Facilitating hiring by allowing prospective employees to be informed of salary bands ahead of pay negotiation discussions.
Appendix A: Qualitative research

This appendix presents the objectives, methodology and results of the qualitative research.

**Objectives**

The purpose of conducting the qualitative pre-research stage was to provide input into the development of the questionnaire.

The focus of the qualitative pre-research was on pay transparency, with the specific objectives of exploring:

- Experiences of pay transparency (either lack thereof, or of having it) during their employment history (i.e. pre-employment, employment and pay/career progression), including identifying and understanding:
  - Any barriers to job entry and progression.
  - The impact of these experiences at a personal and professional level.

- Attitudes to pay transparency, including understanding:
  - Comfort levels around pay-related information sharing (with whom, type and level of information).
  - Perceived benefits and downsides of requiring employers to make pay more visible.

- Ideal changes to existing practices, laws and regulations around pay information sharing.

**Methodology**

The pre-research was completed in the form of focus group discussions, conducted in Research New Zealand’s centrally located offices in the last week of November and first week of December 2019.

Table 2 provides an overview of the sample of $n=24$ participants.
Table 2: Qualitative pre-research sample overview

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Each of the four focus group discussions included four participants, all of whom were currently in paid employment. Participants were primarily selected on the basis of gender and whether their personal income came from ‘skilled’ or ‘unskilled’ work³.

Secondary recruitment criteria included:

- **Ethnicity** – Each focus group included one representative who identified as – Māori, Pacific, Asian, NZ European.

- **Age** – Each focus group included one participant under 30 years, two participants between 31 and 59 years, and one over 60 years.

- **Disability** – The final sample also included three people with disabilities.

Self-employed and those working for small businesses (i.e. entities with less than less than six employees) were excluded from the sample.

An interview guide, developed in collaboration with the HRC, was used to facilitate the discussion. Groups lasted approx. 90 minutes in duration and participants were provided with a koha to thank them for their participation.

Consent to participate in the group discussions was obtained as part of the recruitment process and confirmed at the commencement of each group discussion. Consent to audio record the discussions for analysis purposes was also obtained immediately prior to the commencement of each focus group.

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³ For the purposes of this research ‘unskilled’ work was defined as requiring no or minimal training/qualification (e.g. hospitality (kitchen and bar work), project support, meat processing, call centre work, distribution). In contrast, ‘skilled’ work was defined as requiring at least three years of tertiary study (e.g. lawyer, accountant, architect, engineer, IT, Operations manager, Senior Advisor).
Qualitative results

**Key findings**

Few focus group participants had experienced pay transparency first-hand. Those who had, worked in heavily unionised organisations or for the public sector. It was noted from focus group discussion that some large corporates are also in the process of introducing pay transparency.

Focus group participants were of the opinion that pay transparency has real benefits at all stages of employment (i.e. pre-employment, employment and pay/career progression). Benefits include:

1. No surprises and a perception of fairness.
2. Not wasting the time and energy of employers and applicants, because applicants are able to identify the roles that meet pay expectations and, as such, which positions to apply for.
3. Being able to identify and target better paying roles and employers.
4. Helping to address the power imbalance between the job applicant/employee and employer during the negotiation of starting pay rates/salaries and at review time.
5. Clarifying potential job progression from the get-go and, as such, providing motivation for career/pay progression.

Reservations or concerns about access to pay-related information are largely linked to concerns about personal salaries/pay rates being identifiable. Such concerns are based on the belief that learning about others’ pay rate/salaries can be demotivating and create bad feelings (e.g. between colleagues and with managers).

For these reasons, participants would like access to pay band information for the positions/roles of interest, as well as pay bands for higher grades, so as to be able to ascertain the potential for job progression. The expectation is that this information would be shared within the job ads and would be readily available, if requested.

**Access to pay rate information**

How and when focus group participants learned about the pay rate/salary information associated with prospective employment varied.

Only three focus group participants said that their current employers had proactively shared pay rate/salary information in job advertising (one from the public sector and two heavily unionised private sector businesses).
On the application they also provided details of how much they would pay while in training, when you graduate, and likely increases over the next four years.

Nevertheless, most participants made it their business to gain some idea of likely pay before applying for a new job. Sources of pay information included:

- Friends, family or acquaintances who hold/have held the same/similar roles in the industry or business of interest.
- Having direct access to pay rate information when applying for a different role with the same employer (e.g. as a consequence of a current or historic role in HR, payroll).
- Knowledge from previous employment in the same/similar role (e.g. when applying for a ‘previous role’ in a restructure situation or a permanent role after working in it as a contractor).
- Working it out by including pay band requirements in searches on employment websites (e.g. Trade Me).

*When you search websites like Trade Me, you put in the bands and see where your job comes up. On the face of the ad they don’t say anything, but when you search specifically, you can tell… They have what the market values are for each position.*

- Recruitment agents.

*If you’re using a recruitment agent, there is an expectation that they are in the know in terms of pay bands/salary and that they will steer you in the right direction in terms of employment opportunities, but this may not always be the case. I found this out the hard way.*

- A university professional practice paper, which provided an indication of likely pay for new graduates.
It is of note that two participants from the ‘unskilled’ focus groups accepted job offers without any information or discussion about what they would be paid (i.e. they didn’t know that they were going to be paid they received their first pay packet).

*I didn’t know what I was being paid until I got paid. The initial how much do you wanna be paid never happened… It is awkward, because its family. Saying that, I didn’t even get a contract.*

*I didn’t ask about pay because I wasn’t too worried about it. I just needed a job as I had been out of work for three months.*

**Negotiation of starting salary/payrate**

Only some participants felt they were in a position to negotiate their starting salary/payrate.

Those who did **not** negotiate included those who:

- Had assumed there was no flexibility in terms of pay (e.g. having applied for jobs with not-for-profit organisations, or because they assumed it would be about the same as a similar job they had before).

- Really wanted the job, especially if they believed that they were unlikely to easily find something else that would meet their needs (e.g. flexibility of hours and ability to work from home), and/or if they felt they were less attractive than other candidates (e.g. having been out of the workforce for a long period of time).

  *I knew that the job paid less than minimum wage (from a friend), but I didn’t feel I had options, because I had been out of the workforce for 8.5 years and, because of having a disability, I needed a job that’s not too many hours, is very flexible and can be done from home.*

- Felt it was impolite, or inappropriate to negotiate (e.g. for cultural reasons or because they were inexperienced).

  *Speaking from my personal experience, which is quite similar to other Pacific people, we find it hard to talk ourselves up in certain situations. So, when we go into these sorts of situations, it is very much, “yes sir, no sir”, kind of thing.*

Participants who felt they were in a position of power in terms of negotiating their salary included those applying for roles within their current organisations who believed that they had made themselves indispensable (e.g. because of their expertise and/or knowledge of the organisation) and those who were already in satisfying employment, but were considering a change.

More often, it would appear to be commonplace during pay negotiations for payrate/salary information to be shared with prospective employees only after a job offer has been made, unless it was specifically asked for prior to this.
During pay negotiations, some participants were asked to reveal their previous salaries. While all participants thought the question was inappropriate, as “it diminishes bargaining power”, how they responded to the question varied. For instance, it included:

- Refusing to answer or inflating their response, because they thought that answering honestly might disadvantage them in terms of how much they would be offered.

  *It was the first job I had applied for since my OE in UK. I had no idea about salary, cost of living, etc. I knew I was being underpaid in the UK, so I told him I was making more than I was in my last job. I did it because I could tell, that if I told them what I was really on, they would have offered a lot less.*

- Deflecting the question with one of their own (e.g. “so, what is the job paying?”) or stating what they thought they were worth.

- Answering honestly, because they thought they had to.

  *I didn’t think that I could have not answered the question, because I was too nervous, and it didn’t seem appropriate for an interview. I thought I would just try and answer all the questions. I needed the job for money so I could live, so I wasn’t in a position of power at all. I was like, please like me so I can get this job. I will answer all your questions.*

Some participants were of the opinion that asking about salary expectations was also a loaded question because if expectations were too high, the employer might conclude that they wouldn’t last in the position and, if too low, the employer may offer them less than they had intended to.

*Being asked about salary expectations is as bad as being asked about previous salary, because if you give them a figure that is less than they are willing to pay, then they’re not going to offer you the higher amount anyway. It’s a disguised clever question.*

**Experience of discrimination**

The following were flagged by participants as reasons why they, or people they knew, had been unsuccessful or were being disadvantaged:

- Being a new immigrant, especially if English isn’t your first language. Two Asian participants commented that it was “very hard to get past the first stage when looking for a job for anyone with an overseas qualification. Maybe it’s because they don’t trust their experience, or they can’t understand them.”

  One of these participants had raised this issue with his manager and so now the organisation he works for no longer asks whether or not applicants have New Zealand experience. The other, who had personally not experienced this issue, as she had been in New Zealand for many years and spoke unaccented English, said that she had made it her business to arrange personal introductions between people she knew were in the job market with employers she knew.
Being from an ethnic minority group. One participant had anglicised his name for the specific reason that he thought if he used his Tongan name he would have "less of a chance of getting his foot in the door".

Working for a family member. One participant felt she was being taken advantage of by her boss, who was also her uncle. This included being strong-armed into taking the job and then not being informed of the payrate prior to employment.

**Impact of experiences – personally and professionally**

Negative impacts of the absence of pay transparency in the pre-employment stage, include:

- Being disadvantaged when it comes to negotiating starting pay rates because of not having any idea of self-worth. Those who are new to the job market or are entering a particular industry or profession for the first time are particularly vulnerable in this regard.

- Feeling pressured into accepting a job offer, where it only became evident at the 11th hour that her salary expectations would not be met and, in the interim, she had burned her bridges with her current employer.

Positive impacts of pay transparency include:

- No surprises and a perception of fairness.

- Not wasting the time and energy of employers and applicants, because applicants are able to identify the roles that meet pay expectations and, as such, which positions to apply for.

- Being able to identify and target better paying roles and employers.

- Helping to address the power imbalance between the job applicant/employee and employer during the negotiation of starting pay rates/salaries and at review time.

- Clarifying potential job progression from the get-go and, as such, providing motivation for career/pay progression.
In employment – Awareness of colleagues’ salaries/payrates

Most (but not all) participants were uncomfortable with the concept of discussing their pay with their colleagues.

Employers’ attitudes towards colleagues discussing salaries

Although participants’ were of the general opinion that employers don’t like employees discussing their payrates/salaries with, some employers had made this explicit (e.g. through a clause in their contract or verbalising this during pay reviews), this was not generally the key reason why participants didn’t discuss their pay.

Awareness of colleagues’ salaries and what happened in that context

Participants generally did not discuss their pay with their colleagues because:

◆ They consider it to be a socially unacceptable topic of discussion (along with politics, religion and, for some, age)

*We don’t really talk about pay rates. It just doesn’t feel right. I think it is just something that society ingrains in us. You don’t ask someone how old they are, and you don’t ask them how much money they make.*

◆ Of the concern that doing so might cause discord or jeopardise relationships with colleagues, especially if the colleague was to learn they were earning less (i.e. the tall poppy syndrome). This was particularly, but not exclusively, a concern for female participants.

*That has caused a lot of fighting, but that’s why we tell our staff to just keep how much you’re getting to yourself and, if they ask you, just say that’s your business.*

◆ They would “prefer to avoid the ego damage” associated with learning they weren’t doing as well as others. This was a particular concern for some of the ‘skilled’ male participants.

In this regard, it is of interest that participants who appeared to be more comfortable discussing their payrate/salary, assumed that they were making the same or less than their colleagues and were uncomfortable with this.

Experiences of discovering that they were making more or less than their colleagues

Three participants said that they had had the experience of learning that a colleague in the same/similar role was being paid more than they were.

One participant learned a colleague was making considerably more than he was by ‘accident’, as his colleague had left this information up on this computer screen when he had left his desk. This participant described the impact of this as demotivating, as he believed that he had more skills and responsibility.
While he says it did not have an impact on his relationship with his colleague, it did have a negative impact on his relationship with his manager. Nevertheless, he did not tackle his manager about this. It is hypothesised that this was because he didn't want to risk finding out that he wasn't as valuable as he thought he was.

Another participant learned that the starting salary of a male friend, who she introduced to her employer, was significantly greater than her salary, despite having been in the role for some time. Her response was to ask for a pay rise. However, she described the negotiation process as hard work and “nerve wrecking” and, while “after a fight” she got some positive shift in her salary, she was still not as well paid as her friend.

This same participant also described finding out that a disgruntled colleague was paid less than her. Feeling “awkward,” she decided not to tell him how much she was getting paid, because she though it would only make him feel worse.

The third participant didn't want to take any action after learning he was being paid less than a colleague because he didn’t want his employer to know that they had been talking about their pay. However, he did quietly wonder if he was being taken advantage of because he was an “all good kind of guy”.

**Union involvement**

Four participants currently worked in workplaces that were, or had been, heavily unionised. While only three of the participants were members of the union, all had benefited from collective contracts.

These participants were of the view that the union addressed some of the traditional power imbalance between employers and employees, as well as providing a secure work environment and “fair” pay rates and conditions. They also liked the fact that payrates and job progression requirements were transparent.

In contrast, several participants shared the view that unions weren't for them because, in their opinion, they “encourage mediocrity” and “disadvantage high achievers” (such as themselves), “because everyone gets everything, despite of merit”.

**Experience of discrimination**

The following experiences of discrimination during employment were identified by participants:

- **Age, appearance and pregnancy.** A woman in her 40s working in a global sales organisation that valued staff that were “young and beautiful”, said she felt constant pressure to keep upskilling herself and making herself more marketable.

  The same participant said her employer baulked at granting her maternity leave for her third pregnancy. In response she researched the situation with HR in the overseas-based head office and found others who had taken leave in similar situations. The employer then begrudgingly granted the leave. While she knew she had grounds for a personal grievance, she decided rather than going down that path she would look for alternative employment.
◆ Working for a family member. The participant who worked for her uncle, was not provided with an employment contract and was expected to train another employee as well as do her own job, without additional renumeration.

◆ Gender. Two female participants described their personal experiences of gender inequality in the workplace.

One experience involved being in a workplace where males and females doing the same job were paid at different rates, ostensibly because the males were doing extra heavy lifting (which wasn’t, in fact, the case). This was addressed with the union and remedied.

*When I worked for [name of organisation] it was written in the contract that we were not allowed to discuss salaries. Not many people kept that. And it turns out, it’s was because the guys were actually getting paid more than we were for exactly the same job, exactly the same hours. Their reasoning was, “oh, it’s because they lift the heavy stuff”. I was like, “have you met these boys”? They don’t do crap. They didn’t, it was the girls. That went straight through the union.*

The other example was in relation to being asked to do a menial job, which might be described as ‘women’s work’, in an office of mostly males. This was addressed with the manager who retracted the request.

In contrast, two NZ European male participants explicitly made the point that they felt advantaged, largely because of their ethnicity, but also because of their education.

On a more positive note, one participant described how his employer continued to go out of their way to make sure his, and the needs of other disabled employees, were being met.

**Impact of experiences – personally and professionally**

Focus group discussion suggests that learning that you are making more than a colleague in the same or a similar role may be good for the ego, while learning you are making less may result in:

◆ Reduced self-esteem.

◆ Conflicts with colleagues.

◆ Tensions in relationships with managers.

◆ Reduced productivity.
Barriers and facilitators to career/pay progression

Having of a clear picture of what’s required to make progress (e.g. qualifications, training) and what the rewards are (i.e. transparent pay information), was identified by participants who had had this experience, as a motivator for, and facilitator of career/pay progression.

Whether an employer is supportive or not also plays an important role in career/pay progression. Examples of how employers facilitate career/pay progression include:

- Through the provision of flexible working conditions. For example, the provision of part-time work and being able to work from home was welcomed by the mother of a pre-school child and a disabled woman who had been out of the workforce for over eight years.

- By taking an active interest in employees’ career progression (e.g. suggesting and encouraging further education and training, supporting roles changes and relocation).

Examples of barriers to career/pay progression include:

- An employer obstructing movement to other parts of organisation.

- The absence of any opportunity to progress (e.g. because of the small size of the organisation).

Experience of discrimination

Focus group participants did not identify discrimination as a barrier to their career/pay progression.

Impact of experiences – personally and professionally

The focus group discussion suggested that, in the current high employment environment, the presence of barriers to career/pay progression are likely to result in employees finding new employment.

On the other hand, supportive employers who facilitate career/pay progression through the provision of pay transparency, clarity around career progression and other supports, are more likely to earn the loyalty of their employees and encourage a positive and encouraging workplace culture.
Having access to pay related information was seen to be beneficial at all stages of employment (i.e. pre-employment, employment and pay/career progression). This includes:

- No surprises and a perception of fairness.
- Not wasting the time and energy of employers and applicants, because applicants are able to identify the roles that meet pay expectations and, as such, which positions to apply for.
- Being able to identify and target better paying roles and employers.
- Helping to address the power imbalance between the job applicant/employee and employer during the negotiation of starting pay rates/salaries and at review time.
- Clarifying potential job progression from the get-go and, as such, providing motivation for career/pay progression.

**Opinions about employers being required to make salary information more visible**

Because of the many benefits, participants were of the opinion that requiring employers of large organisations to make salary information more visible is a good idea. This information was generally thought to be of benefit to everyone and would potentially encourage employers to pay more fairly.

In this regard, some participants thought that this information would be particularly beneficial to minority groups and may help to close the gender gap. However, it should be noted, that some participants were also of the firm opinion that, because of equal pay, the gender gap is a thing of the past. It should also be noted that discussion revealed that few participants had an appreciation of the concept of pay equity.

**Downsides of pay-related information sharing**

Reservations or concerns about access to pay-related information, such as they exist, are primarily linked to concerns about individuals’ personal salaries/pay rates being identifiable. Such concerns are based on the belief that learning about others’ pay rate/salaries can be demotivating and create bad feelings (e.g. between colleagues and with managers).

Also, on the downside, some concern was expressed in relation to the impacts of businesses being required to provide pay-related information. This included the cost of compliance of providing pay-related information and the impact on small businesses. In particular, that they may suffer from flight risks and have an even greater struggle to attract good staff, as they will be unable to compete with the obviously better payrates/salaries offered by larger organisations.

Given their concerns, participants were of the opinion that sharing broad band pay information would only work for very large organisations and for roles with adequate numbers of people.
Participants were also of the opinion that there is little value in sharing this information for roles with commission payments (e.g. sales). Some also thought that sharing this type of information in organisations with toxic cultures might simply add to the problems.

**Optimal pay related information**

Regardless of the stage of employment (i.e. pre-employment, employment or career progression), the optimal pay information identified by participants was the same. More specifically, participants want to know the pay band for the position/role they are interested in, as well as the pay bands for higher grades, so as to be able to ascertain the potential for job progression and how this can be achieved. Other information of importance includes a clear job description and clarity around training/qualifications required at each step.

**Ideal changes**

Participants were in agreement that they would like the following changes to existing practices:

- Employers to state pay bands in job advertising (albeit, some thought that this information was already freely available by searching online for jobs within a certain band).
- To be able to request salary information on roles in their own and other organisations, so long as the information can't be traced back to an individual.
- Large employers to publish information on their employees’ salaries.

**Changes with mixed support**

Opinions about whether or not there should be changes to the following existing practices were mixed:

- While participants agreed that employers asking candidates about their current salary is not a fair question (see section 3.1), only some thought that it should be illegal.
- Participants were less sure about the value of any requirement for employers to state overall differences in pay rates (e.g. by gender). In fact, several participants took offence to this idea, as they felt that sharing such statistics might feed negative stereotypes (i.e. because those from their ethnic group were not doing so well or because they were doing considerably better than others).

**Likelihood of accessing this information**

Participants were of the opinion that, if pay-related information were to be available, that they would access it and use it, as it would be to their advantage at all stages of employment (i.e. pre-employment, employment and pay/career progression).

_I think it would become quite normal for people to seek out this type of information… If it was available, you would access it and make some advantage out of it. It’s human nature, that’s what we do with information._
Appendix B: Survey methodology

This appendix details the methodology for the online survey research.

Survey design, testing and piloting

The design of the survey questionnaire for this work stream was informed by the results of the qualitative research described above, commencing with the development of a question schedule in collaboration with our client in the HRC. When the schedule was finalised and approved, it was used as a template to develop the questionnaire.

Given that the survey was to be administered online, particular care was taken to use question and instruction wording that would be clearly understood.

The draft questionnaire was subsequently cognitively tested between 3rd and the 14th February 2020, using Belson’s ‘double-back’ methodology. This involved administering the questionnaire as if a ‘real-life’ interview situation and then doubling-back with the respondent, question-by-question and instruction-by-instruction, in order to confirm that the questions and instructions would be understood.

The pre-testing was completed with a total of 14 participants who reflected a range of demographics based on ethnicity, gender, age and skilled/unskilled employment (see Table 3 overleaf). After the first 10 interviews were completed, a few of the original questions were slightly amended and then retested with another four participants to ensure the changes were appropriate. The cognitive testing also allowed us to test the interview length, which was found to be nine minutes on average.
### Table 3: Cognitive pre-testing participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Skilled/Unskilled</th>
<th>Interview time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Pākehā</td>
<td>18-34</td>
<td>Copy Writer</td>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>9 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Māori</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>Receptionist/gardener/kitchen hand</td>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>10 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Pacific</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>Call Centre</td>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>9 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Pacific</td>
<td>18-34</td>
<td>Marketing Manager</td>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>6 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Māori</td>
<td>35-49</td>
<td>IT Service Management Consultant</td>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>5 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Pacific</td>
<td>35-49</td>
<td>Enterprise Release Manager</td>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>10 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Pākehā</td>
<td>18-34</td>
<td>Veterinarian</td>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>11 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>35-49</td>
<td>IT Specialist</td>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>8 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>18-34</td>
<td>Barista</td>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>7 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Pākehā</td>
<td>18-34</td>
<td>Research Assistant</td>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>5 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Pākehā</td>
<td>35-49</td>
<td>Communications Advisor</td>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>12 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Pacific</td>
<td>35-49</td>
<td>Operations Team Leader</td>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>10 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Pacific</td>
<td>35-49</td>
<td>Project Manager</td>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>8 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Pākehā</td>
<td>18-34</td>
<td>Assistant Administrator</td>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>11 minutes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A brief, summary report was prepared based on the results of the cognitive testing. Although the testing confirmed that the question/instruction wording would be understood, some minor rewording was completed, in order to aid clarification.

The final, scripted version of the survey questionnaire was then **technically tested**, to ensure that all in-built conditional routing would function correctly.

When the final version of the questionnaire was approved (a copy of which is attached to this report as Appendix B), the survey was ‘**soft launched**’ on 28th February 2020. The purpose of this was to pilot the survey, to ensure that all survey-related processes would also function correctly.

**Completion of the survey**

The survey sample was sourced from Dynata, which has the largest panel of any panel provider in Aotearoa New Zealand, with about 300,000 'active' panel members (www.dynata.com). Dynata has significant behind-the-scenes processes and systems to monitor the response to surveys and especially the quality of the response. Our Research Team was in constant contact with Dynata during this monitoring process to make any necessary adjustments to ensure quotas were met for the stratified sample based on gender and ethnicity.

Specifically, Māori, Pacific peoples, and Asian peoples were over-sampled, so that interviews with a sub-sample of at least n=500 respondents who identify as Māori were completed, as well as interviews with n=400 respondents who identify as Pacific peoples and n=400 respondents who identify as Asian peoples. Interviews with a total of n=1000 respondents who identify as New Zealand European and other were also targeted.

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*Magill K., Pay Transparency Cognitive Testing, 24-02-20.*
The survey was fully launched on our secure survey platform on the 29th February 2020, one day after it had been soft launched, and closed on 27th March 2020. The survey was also listed on our company website as a bona fide survey.

Difficulties meeting set quotas for Pacific peoples meant that Dynata’s sampling was supplemented with another panel provider, Consumer Link, and our own omnibus panel, as well as ‘snowballing’. For this reason, the survey was in field for an extended two weeks.

The final achieved sample of n=2,370 included a sub-sample of n=562 respondents who identify as Māori n=423 respondents who identify as Pacific peoples and n=474 who identify as Asian peoples. Interviews with a total of n=1,108 respondents who identify as New Zealand European and other were also completed.

Weighting and margins of error

The data has been weighted by gender and ethnicity to ensure the total sample results are nationally representative of the Aotearoa New Zealand adult working population. The weighting parameters were sourced from the Statistics New Zealand 2019 Household Labour Force Survey.

Results based on the weighted total sample of n=2,370 respondents are subject to a maximum margin of error of +/-2.2% for the overall sample (at a 95% confidence level). This means, hypothetically, had we found 50% of respondents believing themselves to be informed about unequal pay, we could be 95% sure we would have got the same result had we interviewed the entire Aotearoa New Zealand population, give or take 2.2%. Larger margins of error apply to the results of subgroups of respondents. These vary by the size of the subgroup. For instance, the margin of error based on results for n=562 Māori respondents is +/-4.2% (at a 95% confidence level).

Limitations

The possible mechanisms for pay transparency are varied. This survey does not represent all of the potential mechanisms that could be legislated; rather, the aim of the research was to provide some evidence around New Zealanders’ opinions on some of the available mechanisms (in addition to their experiences of unequal pay and of being held back in their career).

The questionnaire uses the term ‘pay information’ to ask about respondents’ experiences and opinions. This term could be interpreted as a pay range or as an exact number, and this interpretation could influence responses to either under-represent or over-represent agreement with certain statements or experiences.

While the questionnaire was clear to state that the ‘pay information’ provided in certain pay transparency mechanisms would not be traced back to individuals, it is possible that some respondents envisaged these salaries as being identifiable. This would result in the actual support for pay transparency being higher than what was found in this research.
Appendix C: Survey questionnaire
Thank you ...

... for agreeing to complete this important survey about people’s current and past employment experiences.

Here are a few important points

- The survey is voluntary.
- We know that your time is important, so we have kept the survey short – it should take no more than about 10 minutes to complete, depending on your answers.
- Your responses will be grouped together with other respondents so that the survey results are analysed and reported in the form of summary statistics.
- Your answers are therefore completely confidential.

Any questions?
If you have any technical difficulties completing the survey, please contact Alice Brimer at Research New Zealand on Alice.Brimer@researchnz.com.
Some questions about you

Q1 Which **one** of the following **currently** best describes you?
*Please select one answer only*
1 ..... I am self-employed/contractor
2 ..... I am an employer (I own a business that employs staff)
3 ..... I am an employee who works part-time (i.e. up to 30 hours per week)
4 ..... I am an employee who works full-time
5 ..... I am currently unemployed but looking for work and have been in paid employment in the last 5 years
96 ... Other **TERMINATE**
98 ... Don't know **TERMINATE**

Q2 What is **your age**?
*Please select one answer only*
1 ..... 18-24 years
2 ..... 25-34 years
3 ..... 35-49 years
4 ..... 50-69 years
5 ..... 70 years or over

Q3 What is your **gender**?
*Please select one answer only*
1 ..... Male
2 ..... Female
3 ..... Non-binary
4 ..... Takatāpui
96 ... Not listed, **Specify**
99 ... Prefer not to say

Q4 Which **ethnic groups** do you identify with?
*Please select as many answers as apply*
1 ..... New Zealand European (or Pākehā)
2 ..... Māori
3 ..... Pacific Peoples
4 ..... Asian
5 ..... Middle East/Latin American/African
96 ... Other ethnic group **Specify**
99 ... Prefer not to say

Q5 Were you born in **New Zealand**?
*Please select one answer only*
1 ..... Yes
2 ..... No
99 ... Prefer not to say

*The following questions are only asked if NOT NZ born*

Q6 If Q5 = 2 ask, else go to Q8: About how long ago did you arrive in New Zealand?
*Please select one answer only*
1 ..... Less than 5 years ago
2 ..... 5-10 years ago
3 ..... 11-20 years ago
4.....21-30 years ago
5.....More than 30 years ago
98...Don’t know
99...Prefer not to say

Q7 Is English your **first** language? That is, the language mainly spoken by your family at home. Please select one answer only

1.... Yes
2.... No
98...Don’t know
99...Prefer not to say
Your opinions about pay

Q8 How common do you think it is in New Zealand that people are paid different amounts for doing the exact same job? That is, they’re paid differently not because of their experience, skill level or qualifications, but because of other factors such as their age, gender, ethnicity, etc.

*Please select one answer only*

1 ....Not at all common
2 ..... 
3 ..... 
4 ..... 
5 .....Very common
98 ...Don’t know

Q9 In your opinion, is it ok for two people doing exactly the same job to be paid different amounts because of … *Randomise list*

*Please select one answer for each row*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes, it’s ok</th>
<th>It’s ok sometimes</th>
<th>No, it’s not ok</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Their age</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Their gender</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Their ethnicity, race, colour, or national origin</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Their religion</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Their sexual orientation (e.g. gay, heterosexual, bisexual, etc.)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Their disability</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Their level of education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Their ability to speak English</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. Their level of experience</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. Their level of skill/job performance</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Your experiences related to job advancement

Q10 If Q1 = 3-5 ask, else go to Q24: Now we’d like you to think about your current job, and any other jobs you have had in New Zealand in the last 10 years.

To the best of your knowledge, in the last 10 years have you been paid more or less money than someone else in your company who was doing exactly the same job as you?

Please select as many answers as apply

1 ..... Yes, I’ve been paid more than other people who were doing the same job
2 ..... Yes, I’ve been paid less than other people who were doing the same job
3 ..... No, I have not been paid differently
97 ... Not applicable – no-one else does/did the same job
98 ... Don’t know

Q11 If Q10 = 2 ask, else go to Q17: For which of the following reasons do you think that you were paid less?

Please select as many answers as apply

1 ..... My age
2 ..... My gender
3 ..... My ethnicity, race, colour, or national origin
4 ..... My religion
5 ..... My sexual orientation (e.g. gay, heterosexual, bisexual, etc.)
6 ..... My disability
7 ..... My level of education
8 ..... My ability to speak English
9 ..... My level of experience
10 .... My level of skill/job performance
96 .... Other Specify
98 .... Don’t know

Q12 if Q10=2 ask: How did you know you were being paid less?

Please select as many answers as apply

1 ..... This information was available to employees (e.g. on the company’s/organisation’s website or published internally)
2 ..... My employer told me
3 ..... My work colleague told me
96 .... Other Specify
98 .... Don’t know

Q13 if Q11=1-8 or 96 or 98 ask: How did this make you feel?

Please select as many answers as apply

1 ..... As if my employer didn’t value me
2 ..... Discriminated against
3 ..... That I was treated unfairly
4 ..... Demotivated/like I didn’t want to put much effort into the job
5 ..... That I should look for a new job
6 ..... I didn’t mind/it was fair/it made sense
96 .... Other Specify
98 .... Don’t know
Q14 If Q10 = 2 ask Which of the following things, if any, did you do about this?
Please select as many answers as apply
1 ..... I raised this with my immediate supervisor/manager
2 ..... I raised this with another manager
3 ..... I discussed this with my work colleagues
4 ..... I discussed this with my union
5 ..... I discussed this with my family and/or friends
6 ..... I raised a personal grievance claim
7 ..... I left the job
96 ... Other SPECIFY
97 ... I did nothing
98 ... Don't know

Q15 If Q14 not = 1 or 2 ask For what particular reasons did you decide not to raise this with a manager?
Please select as many answers as apply
1 ..... I didn't think to raise it with a manager or didn't realise that I could do so
2 ..... I was worried that I might lose my job
3 ..... I didn't want to upset my manager or make them angry
4 ..... I felt it would be rude or inappropriate to complain
5 ..... It would not have made a difference or was not worth it
96 ... Other SPECIFY
98 ... Don't know

Q16 If Q14 = 1, 2, 4, 6, or 96 ask Was the situation resolved – did anything change?
Please select as many answers as apply
1 ..... Yes, I got a pay increase (to the same level as the other person)
2 ..... Yes, I got a pay increase (but not to the same level as the other person)
96 ... Other SPECIFY
97 ... No, nothing changed

Q17 Still thinking about any work experience you've had in New Zealand in the last 10 years, have you ever felt that you have been held back in your job or missed out on opportunities without good reason?
Please select one answer only
1 ..... Yes
2 ..... No
98 ... Don't know

Q18 If Q17 = 1 ask, else go to Q19: For which of the following reasons do you feel this was the case? That is, do you feel you were being held back, or missed opportunities at work because of...
Please select as many answers as apply
1 ..... Your age
2 ..... Your gender
3 ..... Your ethnicity
4 ..... Your level of education
5 ..... Your ability to speak English
6 ..... Your level of experience
7 ..... Your level of skill/job performance
8 ..... Your relationship or your colleagues' relationship with your manager
9 ..... Your sexual orientation (e.g. gay, heterosexual, bisexual, etc.)
10 ... Your disability
96 ... Other SPECIFY
98 ... Don't know
Your experience of pay information being available when applying for jobs

Q19 if Q1 = 3-5 ask, else go to Q24: Have you applied for any jobs (in New Zealand) within the last 5 years?

Please select one answer only

1 ..... Yes
2 ..... No
98 ... Don’t know

Q20 if Q19 = 1 ask, else go to Q24: Did you get any of the job(s) that you applied for?

Please select one answer only

1 ..... Yes
2 ..... No
98 ... Don’t know

Q21 if Q20 = 1 ask: Before you accepted your most recent job offer, which of the following happened...?

If Q20 = 2 ask: Thinking about the most recent job you applied for, which of the following happened...?

Please select as many answers as apply

1 You were asked how much you were paid in your previous job
2 ..... You were told how much you would be paid in the new job
3 ..... You negotiated how much you would be paid (i.e. asked for more money than what was offered)
97 ... None of the above
98 ... Don’t know

Q22 if Q20 = 1 and Q21 does not = 97 ask: At which one of the following times was information about what you might be paid first made available?

Please select one answer only

1 ..... This information was in the job advertisement
2 ..... Before the job interview, in discussions with the recruitment agency
3. Before the job interview, during an initial discussion with the employer
4 ..... When I was interviewed for the job
5 ..... When I was offered the job
6 ..... After I had accepted the job
97 ... I was never told what my salary/pay would be/I didn’t find out until I got my first pay
96 ... Another time Specify
98 ... Don’t know

Q23 if Q22 = 3-6 ask, else go to Q24: And did you have to ask for this information, or was it given to you?

Please select one answer only

1 ..... I had to ask for it
2 ..... It was given to me by my employer (without me having to ask for it)
98 ... Don’t know
Opinions about the availability of pay information

Q24 How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?  
*RDN. Please select one answer for each statement*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. All employers should be required, by law, to include the pay rate in their job advertising</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. All employers should be required to publish information on what current staff are paid, providing it can’t be traced back to individual employees</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. It should be illegal for employers to ask a job applicant how much they are currently being paid/were paid in their last job</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q25 And how much do you agree or disagree with these statements about large employers (with 100 or more employees)?  
*RDN. Please select one answer for each statement*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Large employers should be required to publish current pay rates of their staff (without identifying any specific individuals)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Large employers should be required to publish any differences in pay rates amongst employees doing the same jobs (e.g. gender pay gap)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q26 If Q1 = 3-5 ask, else go to Q27: If New Zealand employers were required to make pay rate information available, how would you use it, if at all?  
*RDN. Please select as many answers as apply*

1. To identify jobs that meet my pay expectations
2. So I could target better paying jobs and employers
3. …To see how much I could earn if I worked my way up/get a promotion
4. …So there are no surprises
5. …To see if my current pay rate (or the pay rate of the job I apply for) is fair
6. …For motivation/to see if it’s worth putting the effort in at my job
7. …To look for employers that pay fairly
96. …Other **Specify**
97. …Not applicable, I wouldn’t access it
98. …Don’t know
Q27 In your opinion, what are the disadvantages of making employers publish pay rate information?

RDN. Please select as many answers as apply

1. It could create tension/bad feelings between employers and employees
2. It could create tension/bad feelings between employees
3. It could make some employees upset because they’re not earning as much as other people are
4. It could decrease motivation or productivity
5. It could make it difficult for some companies to attract or keep staff
6. Pay information should be private
96. Other Specify
97. There are no disadvantages
98. Don’t know

Q28 If Q1 = 3-4 ask, else skip to Q35: Does your employer currently …?

Please select as many answers as apply

1. Make pay rate information available in their job advertising
2. Publish (internally or externally) what current staff are paid (without identifying individual employees)
97. None of the above
98. Don’t know

Q29 If Q28 = 1 or 2 ask, Q30: Have you ever looked at the pay rate information that your employer makes available?

Please select one answer only

1. Yes
2. No
98. Don’t know
Final questions about you

These last few questions are to make sure we’ve interviewed a wide range of people.

Q30 If Q1 = 3-4 ask, else go to Q35: Are you currently working in …?

Please select one answer only

1. The public (government) sector
2. The private sector
98...Don't know

Q31 What is the size of the company or organisation you work in? Note: If you work for a franchise or branch of a national organisation, please answer this question in terms of the number of staff nationwide, not the number working in the franchise or branch. Please provide your best estimate.

Please select one answer only

1. 1 staff member (only myself)
2. 2-5 staff
3. 6-9 staff
4. 10-19 staff
5. 20-49 staff
6. 50-99 staff
7. 100 or more staff
98...Don't know

Q32 Do you, or anyone else in your company or organisation belong to a union?

Please select one answer only

1. Yes, I belong to a union
2. I'm not a union member, but other staff members are
3. No-one in my company/organisation belongs to a union
98...Don't know

Q33 Are you paid a salary or an hourly rate?

1. Salary
2. Hourly rate
98...Don't know/Prefer not to say

Q34 Which of these best describes your annual wage or salary (before tax) from this job in the last year?

Please select one answer only

1. Under $40,000
2. $40,000 but less than $80,000
3. $80,000 but less than $100,000
4. $100,000 or more
98...Don't know/Prefer not to say
Q35 If Q1=3-5 ask: What is your highest academic qualification?

*Please select one answer only*

1....No qualification  
2....Secondary school qualification  
3....Tertiary qualification (e.g. trade, polytechnic or bachelor’s degree)  
4....Postgraduate degree/diploma/certificate or higher (e.g. honours, masters, doctorate)  
98.. Don’t know

Q36 Do you have a lot of difficulty with or are you unable to do any of the following?

*Please select as many answers as apply*

1.....Seeing, even if you are wearing glasses  
2.....Hearing, even if you are using a hearing aid  
3.....Walking or climbing steps  
4.....Remembering or concentrating  
5.....Personal care, such as dressing or washing all over  
6.....Communicating, when using your usual (customary) language (i.e. understanding or being understood)  
97...No difficulties with the above  
98...Don’t know  
99...Prefer not to say

Q37 If Q36=1-6 ask: Do you think of yourself as disabled or having a disability?

*Please select one answer only*

1.... Yes  
2.... No  
98...Don’t know  
99...Prefer not to say

Q38 You have now reached the end of the survey. Thank you for your time. If you would like to provide any other feedback about the topic of this survey, please do so here.

1 .....Comment  
98 ...No comment E;