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Racism and Employment: A Narrative Review of Aotearoa New Zealand and International Qualitative Studies

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Abstract
In Aotearoa New Zealand, employment inequities exist for minoritised ethnic groups (Māori, Pasifika, Asian, racialised migrants and refugees) in the forms of barriers to employment, occupation inequities, differences in promotion to leadership roles, ethnic pay gaps and discriminatory experiences at workplaces. In this review, we compiled Aotearoa qualitative studies to depict the dynamics of racism alongside other intersectional forms of prejudices that disadvantage the employment processes and career progression of minoritised ethnicities. Literature gaps in Aotearoa research were identified through reviewing international literature published between 2016 and 2021. Reviewed Aotearoa studies were categorised into three themes: unemployment and underemployment, workplace discrimination, and strategies for navigating racism. Drawing upon a framework that recognises racialised processes as spanning across micro- (individual), meso- (organisational) and macro- (institutional) levels, we found most Aotearoa studies analysing racism in the workplace focus on micro-level experiences. Compared with international literature, research in Aotearoa has yet to consider the roles of organisations and technologies as racialised structures that engender employment inequities, and the interaction of individuals in response to meso- and macro-structures that build on settler colonialism and racism. Our review echoes the call of Aotearoa scholars to name racism as the overarching oppressive mechanism embedded within organisations and to use anti-racism praxes such as te Tiriti o Waitangi as a way forward to promote employment equity.

Keywords: employment; racism; racialisation; Aotearoa New Zealand

Introduction

Racialised inequities in employment and income are a persistent feature of labour markets that have individual, community and intergenerational effects (Pager & Shepherd, 2008; Rollock, 2022). Structural forms of racism generate such inequities internationally, emanating especially from centuries of European imperialism and colonialism, as well as taking specific shape in relation to the characteristics and populations of particular contexts, such as the Indigenous, settler colonial and multi-ethnic makeup of Aotearoa New Zealand (hereafter, Aotearoa) (for example, Reid et al., 2019; Simon-Kumar et al., 2022). In Aotearoa, there are significant differences in average wages between ethnic groups: Māori earn 82% and Pasifika peoples 77% of average hourly wages of Pākehā employees (The Treasury, 2018). Moreover, Māori and Pasifika peoples are disproportionately employed in occupations at the lower levels of organisations, which come with less decision-making power (Public Service Commission, 2021). These racialised inequities in employment and income have long-lasting individual, familial, community and intergenerational impacts

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(Hergenrather et al., 2015). While multiple individual and societal factors impinge upon employment, international research highlights that the effects of racism mean that minoritised ethnicities experience worse social outcomes due to low income, underemployment and unemployment, and precarious employment conditions (Ahonen et al., 2018; Carr et al., 2021).

A substantial feature of employment inequities is the discrimination that results from institutional and interpersonal racism, alongside intersecting effects of systemic and individualised prejudice towards gender, class, age and other social differences (Tarshis, 2022). These are not new insights in Aotearoa. A nationally representative survey found Pākehā employees had worse attitudes to the growing ethnic diversity in workplaces relative to minoritised ethnicities (Houkamau & Boxall, 2015). The New Zealand General Social Survey and New Zealand Health Survey revealed that Māori, Pasifika and Asian peoples and those born overseas were all more likely to report racism at work or in recruitment (Daldy et al., 2013; Ministry of Health, 2018; Statistics New Zealand, 2012).[1] Experimental research has also shown that racism plays a role in recruitment processes whereby applicants with English/European names are given more opportunities than other applicants even when they have similar qualifications (Ward & Masgoret, 2007).

While there is substantial international research examining the relationship between racism and employment (Ray, 2019; Wingfield & Chavez, 2020), the focus on these matters has only recently begun to gain traction in Aotearoa and has often taken the shape of documentary evidence from government enquiries rather than in-depth social science research. Treasury (2018) analysis of ethnic pay gaps in 2017, for example, correlated differences with educational level and occupation but stopped short of considering the impact of racism in the labour market. By contrast, drawing from evidence-based literature and interviews with Māori experts in the field of anti-racism, the 2022 *Maranga Mai!* report (Human Rights Commission, 2022b) concluded that the inequalities and inequities in employment outcomes for Māori are the repercussion of institutional racism. Simultaneously, the Human Rights Commission (2022a) launched the Pacific Pay Gap Inquiry, which highlighted the significance of racism in finding work, the recruitment process, negotiating pay and seeking promotion for Pasifika peoples. And even the New Zealand Productivity Commission (2021) is now recognising discrimination as part of the cycle of social and economic disadvantage.

This article seeks to examine the extent of social science knowledge on racialised inequities in employment in Aotearoa and to identify gaps and directions for future research. Our discussion is based on a narrative review of qualitative research in Aotearoa that is situated in relation to recent international scholarship on racism and employment. We find that there is good evidence for heightened rates of discrimination that minoritised ethnicities face in Aotearoa (Cormack et al., 2018), but there is a paucity of research that examines the dynamics of racism and other intersectional forms of prejudices in disadvantaging the employment processes and career progression of these groups. In other words, research demonstrates that racism impacts on employment in Aotearoa but is limited in terms of addressing how racism operates to shape the inequities in jobs, conditions and incomes that are observed. This review integrates the insights from existing research in Aotearoa alongside the large body of international research on racism and employment in order to identify gaps in existing knowledge and highlighting the specific characteristics of these issues in Aotearoa. Our narrative analysis and discussion are part of the WERO:

[1] Our usage of the umbrella 'Māori', 'Pasifika' and 'Asian' terms for ethnicities follows the Stats NZ classification. Indigenous *Māori* refer to tangata whenua (people of the land) in Aotearoa that are warranted tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) through te Tiriti o Waitangi. *Pasifika peoples* are a diverse population made up of cultures from many different Pacific Islands. The eight main Pasifika groups in Aotearoa are Samoan, Cook Islands Māori, Tongan, Niuean, Fijian, Tokelauan, Tuvaluan and Kiribati. *Asian* comprises diverse populations with genealogical links in East Asia (for example, Chinese and Korean), South Asia (for example, Indian and Bangladeshi) and Southeast Asia (for example, Malaysian and Filipino).

Working to End Racial Oppression research programme and serve the function of establishing the state of knowledge on racism and employment in Aotearoa and laying the foundation for future research aimed to reveal and then transform the social structures that sustain racialised inequities in employment.

In order to place particular emphasis on the operation of racism in employment, our review of current research and research gaps in Aotearoa is informed by an emphasis on the insights that emerge from Racialised Organisation Theory (ROT; Ray, 2019). ROT posits that organisations are key to understanding racialisation processes spanning multiple (interconnected) levels such as macro/institutional (for example, racialised law and expropriation), meso/organisational (for example, wage differentials), and micro/individual (for example, in-group favouritism) (Ray, 2019). In understanding the central role of organisations in reproducing (and challenging) racial inequality, scholars need to recognise that social processes are "multiply-determined" as racial processes across micro-, meso-, and macro-levels are not necessarily mutually exclusive, including how individuals (micro) interact in response to institutional imperatives (Ray, 2019, p. 28). This article is informed by ROT (Ray, 2019) to help conceptualise the analysis of racism on multilevel experiences of minoritised ethnicities in employment settings.

Following this introduction, the article continues with a methodological overview and the identification of themes within both Aotearoa and international literature on employment and racism. The review of international literature offers insight into the research gaps that future research in Aotearoa could address. Then, the article is drawn together through a discussion that highlights key gaps and future potential areas of research to advance understanding of the operation and effects of racism on employment.

Methodological overview

This article draws on an understanding of racism developed by critical race researchers (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017) who define *racism* as an organised system, based on an ideology of superiority and inferiority, that discriminates, segregates, persecutes or mistreats individuals based on their membership in a particular ethnic group. Racism occurs through and reinforces *racialisation*, or the process of constructing race of different ethnicities (Hochman, 2019). Racialised minorities are exposed to the negative effects of institutional and interpersonal racism that reproduces the social stratification of populations that racialisation is based upon. Grosfoguel (2011) further describes racism as a global power hierarchy that is politically (re)produced through colonialism, capitalism and imperialism; thus, labour relations and employment outcomes of minoritised ethnicities are structured through a world-spanning system of racism. In Aotearoa, these international accounts of racism need to be read as one manifestation of the broader phenomenon of oppression that includes settler colonialism, which maintains material and political privilege for Pākehā as colonial settlers and marginalises the interests of Indigenous Māori (Cormack et al., 2018). Moreover, racism is also inextricably linked to the intersectional racialisation of migrants in relation to nationality and economic potential (Simon-Kumar, 2020).

The article focuses on the enactment of racism in workplaces via a framework of three conceptual levels (Reid & Robson, 2007): 1) *institutionalised racism*, evident in the differential distribution of resources and barriers to meaningful participation across ethnic groups; 2) *interpersonal racism*, the differential treatment towards others based on ethnicity; and 3) *internalised racism*, the internalisation of negative messages for structurally oppressed populations and expressions of White supremacy (the presumption of the superiority of Whiteness including culture and norms; Bonilla-Silva, 2001). International literature commonly uses umbrella terms such as "People of Colour", "ethnic minorities" and "racial minorities" to lump together people who are non-White, which risks obscuring the particular disadvantages experienced by these groups (Mahony & Weiner, 2020) and the processes through which people are racialised (Hochman, 2019). It may also be problematic to refer to Māori as ethnic minorities given that they once constituted a dominant group in Aotearoa; racialisation of Māori thus articulates with settler colonialism that has subjected Māori to land

confiscations and discriminatory legislation and policies that impose Pākehā philosophies to the detriment of mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) (Human Rights Commission, 2022b).

In this article, we use the term *minoritised ethnicities* to accentuate the racialisation of a collective group comprising Māori, Pacific, Asian, racialised migrants and immigrants, and refugees who may share similar experiences of navigating the racialised terrain of accessing employment. (See Rollock (2022) for further discussion of the importance of naming the process and effects of racialisation). The term minoritised ethnicities is used alongside specific reference to the people are reported on in particular pieces of research. This is especially important in relation to Māori as Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa. Te Tiriti o Waitangi is the founding document of Aotearoa New Zealand, negotiated in 1840 between hapū rangatira (leaders) and representatives from the Queen of England (Came, O'Sullivan, et al., 2020; Matike Mai Aotearoa, 2016). It recognises Māori as tangata whenua (Indigenous peoples) in Aotearoa and that Māori tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) should be upheld over lands, settlements and taonga (all that was and is valuable). Therefore, it is crucial to not homogenise the experiences of Māori within the larger minoritised ethnicities group, and where possible, we pay specific attention to the experiences of each group to understand their specific barriers to achieve employment equity.

This exploratory article is informed by a *narrative review method* (Ferrari, 2015) that seeks to identify and summarise key themes in qualitative research on racism and employment conducted in Aotearoa and internationally. A narrative review offers the advantage of scoping relevant studies in the field while not being restricted by the defined query, search terms and selection criteria. Our reporting of the literature search process followed the criteria listed in Ferrari's (2015) article: searching strategy; inclusion/exclusion criteria; verify the availability of all the selected studies; and citing and listing the researched references. Due to the limited number of studies on racism in employment practices, particularly in Aotearoa, no typical criteria for inclusion and exclusion were pre-defined for our narrative review to allow for a wider scoping of relevant studies including grey literature. The initial NZResearch database search for the term racism returned 287 results; however, we only retained those that involved a discussion of employment. Three-hundred and eighty-six articles were located through the Scopus database search of two key terms: racism and employment. These studies were filtered for abstract and full text, and we further identified relevant studies for inclusion through a backward reference check. We restricted the international literature search to the last five years as we were interested in characterising the field's current theoretical advances and emerging issues and because there is a much longer and larger body of scholarship on racism and employment internationally. The final number of studies included in our review is 49 (including 31 from overseas).

Broader literature, such as that involving experiences of ethnic minorities in employment (for example, Pio, 2005) and Indigenous and ethnic minority leadership and wellbeing at work (Roche et al., 2018), and that do not explicitly outline the processes of racism and racialisation of minoritised ethnicities, fall outside of the remit of the present review. Similarly, the review did not extend to publications based solely on quantitative research. While quantitative research can offer evidence relevant to understanding the relationship between racism and employment (for example, by presenting ethnic wage disparities such as those mentioned in the introduction), it is more limited in generating a nuanced understanding of how racism operates in creating differential employment outcomes. This review, however, is part of a larger multidisciplinary study of racism wherein insights are gathered across quantitative and qualitative measures to examine the extent and operation of systemic racism and pathways to challenge racism.

The located literature was synthesised to identify recurring themes in response to the two overarching research questions: 1) What does Aotearoa literature tell us about the operation of racism in employment settings and its impacts on tangata whenua (Māori), tangata moana (peoples from the Pacific), and other minoritised ethnicities (including racialised migrants and refugees)? and 2) What does international research tell us about the common issues that constitute racism affecting minoritised

ethnicities' access to employment? The presentation of the remaining article is structured into three parts: 1) themes of racism within employment in Aotearoa; 2) themes from international research on racialised processes and outcomes within employment; and 3) a discussion of the gaps in both local and international research regarding the relevance of racism in employment.

Racism and employment in Aotearoa New Zealand

Existing literature that focuses explicitly on the relationship between racism and employment in Aotearoa is relatively limited, despite the growing recognition of income and occupational disparities across ethnic groups. In this section, we present three themes that emerge from the Aotearoa literature: unemployment and underemployment, discrimination in the workplace, and strategies for addressing racism in employment (including in relation to te Tiriti o Waitangi). Many of the studies included in this review covered a much wider range of experiences of racism than just employment, and in many cases provided insights across more than one of these themes.

Unemployment and underemployment

Studies of racism and employment in Aotearoa observe that minoritised ethnicities face numerous barriers to securing employment (Dobson, 2012; Nachowitz, 2015; Omura, 2014). These barriers include overt racism in hiring decisions, claims of lack of experience, under- or overqualification, discrimination, and being offered jobs or pay that do not align with qualifications or experiences (Huang, 2015; Majavu, 2015; Tuwe, 2018). In her research on resettlement processes, Lepina (2003) highlighted how refugees experience intersectional forms of discrimination due to their skin colour, religions, beliefs and customs, and refugee women (particularly young mothers) are particularly underrepresented in the labour force. Compared with minoritised ethnicities born locally, those born overseas were also more likely to express difficulty in finding suitable employment (Nachowitz, 2015), a factor related to claims of limited local experience as well as their own need to gain employment to secure migration status (Omura, 2014). Studies report that many minoritised ethnicities remained unemployed even after sending out hundreds of job applications (Tuwe, 2018). The hiring process can be biased as employers tend to hire those who fit into the (predominant White) organisational culture (Ray, 2019), even though on paper, candidates have similar credentials (Mesui, 2019).

Underemployment is another key employment-related challenge which has emerged within studies in Aotearoa, with different studies documenting the diverse experiences of racism occurring for Indigenous, migrants and refugee groups. Tuwe's (2018) research with African communities, for example, revealed qualified medical doctors and accountants being employed in low-paying and contract-based jobs, while Nachowitz (2015) found that some members of the Indian diaspora in Aotearoa were underemployed after spending many years seeking employment relevant to their qualifications and experiences. These experiences relate to individual racist practices (such as outward prejudice in hiring and human resource management) as well as the broader organisational and institutional positioning of minoritised ethnicities. Majavu (2015) noted that refugees have social networks primarily with other people from refugee backgrounds, which significantly limited their ability to secure high-paying jobs that rely on social capital (for example, existing connections in workplaces). Pack (2016), who interviewed Māori participants about their employment experiences, found evidence of internalised racism in that some participants expected themselves to be in manual jobs, and Revell (2012) has identified that having a moko (Māori skin adornment) was a barrier to employment for Māori due to associated stereotypes. These diverse experiences reveal some of the ways in which racism operates in employment settings as well as the significance of social positioning in processes of employment that maintain settler colonial racial hierarchies.

Discrimination in the workplace

Even after gaining employment, there is no guarantee of job security as minoritised ethnicities continue to face racial discrimination in the workplace (Tuwe, 2018). Several studies have highlighted how processes of racialisation contribute to the establishment and maintenance of organisational cultures that privilege Whiteness and that justify the uneven positioning and treatment of minoritised ethnicities. For instance, experiences of objectification wherein racialised identities were judged according to stereotypes and preconceived notions were common amongst immigrants in their workplaces (Graham, 2001). Research involving migrants and Pasifika participants (Huang, 2015; Tuwe, 2018) similarly found diverse instances of discrimination because of a perceived lack of English oral proficiency, understanding of 'New Zealand' culture and work experience in Aotearoa, as well as personality traits (appearances and manners), education or qualification, country of origin (and associated accent and surname), cultural stereotype (work ethic), and lack of social capital (networks and connections).

As a settler colonial society with expectations to assimilate to the Pākehā (White) culture, Whiteness has been established as an invisible but powerful and pervasive norm across many employment settings in Aotearoa (Mesui, 2019; Ofe-Grant, 2018; Pack, 2016). As a consequence, minoritised ethnicities are sometimes discouraged from exploring their identities or even conversing in their languages (Omura, 2014). An observed consequence is that minoritised ethnicities report having to juggle two separate cultures and values side-by-side in the workplace and to regulate their behaviours to fit in with organisational cultures driven by Pākehā norms (Ofe-Grant, 2018). Monoculturalism operates as a major barrier for Māori to participate meaningfully in employment (Boulton et al., 2020). In some cases, these values are diametrically opposed to one's belief system and identity, as seen in misinterpreted social interactions in team meetings and dialogue that were reported in Ofe-Grant's (2018) study of career advancement for Samoans.

There is also evidence of a glass ceiling related to organisational culture, policies and processes that can hinder minoritised ethnicities from advancing their careers (Mesui, 2019; Ofe-Grant, 2018). Such policies and processes are related to institutional racism that creates racial bias around the type of person who will be promoted and workers' agentive capacity, even in senior roles (Mesui, 2019). Mesui's and Ofe-Grant's research with Pasifika women in senior management roles showed that participants felt that their organisations recognised their Pasifika identity as valuable only in tokenistic ways, filling a quota to appear inclusive. The "brown glass ceiling" that manifests here is shaped around racial stereotypes that are expressed in White perceptions of the ideal manager that exclude Pasifika women as potential leaders (Mesui, 2019). Likewise, Māori participants in Pack's (2016) research reported being passed over for promotion when competing with a Pākehā applicant with similar qualifications. In this instance, racism in promotion practices serves as evidence of the normalisation of Whiteness within organisations (Ray, 2019). These studies also highlight a reproductive dimension that extends well beyond individual experiences of career advancement or barriers: the lack of visibility for minoritised ethnicities in senior roles affects the confidence of others to seek advancement (Mesui, 2019), reinforcing the racialised character of organisations (Ray, 2019) and the racialisations that structure settler colonial society (Rotz, 2017). When recognised as a pervasive feature of employment in Aotearoa, the consequence of these processes is the reinforcement of racialised inequities both in the economic resources that accrue from work as well as in the social and cultural capital generated within employment.

Strategies for addressing racism in employment

While the majority of the Aotearoa literature we reviewed focuses on experiences of racism, some studies also identify strategies used to respond to racism in the workplace. The reviewed studies summarised seven such strategies: adopting an English surname to avoid racial profiling, meeting the employer face-to-face, condensing the CV by removing overseas qualifications and experiences, accepting an undesirable job offer,

seeking a niche in the job market (for example, choosing a position less attractive to others), "knitting the web" (Huang, 2015, p. 98) by building up social networks with local connections, and transforming one's self by assimilating to New Zealand (Pākehā) norms (Marete, 2011; Nachowitz, 2015; Omura, 2014). Yusuf (2015) also observed that some migrants overcame the employment barrier by retraining and up-skilling themselves into career choices that were more in demand and had a greater chance of landing them a job. While each of these strategies are agentive and have potential to address individual experiences of racism and create opportunities for advancement despite discrimination, we observe that the strategies also have the effect of occurring within and thus reproducing existing systems of racism. The pressure to conform to White norms and standards has ramification on migrants and refugees to spend additional time and cost to achieve a modicum of equity (Huang, 2015; Yusuf, 2015). Such adaptive strategies also create unequal futures in incomes and livelihood over time that reinforce rather than challenge racial injustice. (See also Collins (2020) on racially differentiated durable inequalities for temporary migrants.)

A particular avenue for addressing racism in the context of Aotearoa exists through the obligation that public sector organisations are compliant with te Tiriti o Waitangi, including in relation to hiring and workplace cultures. Unlike individual strategies noted above, te Tiriti compliance, underpinned by "critical Tiriti analysis" (Goza et al., 2022), has the potential to challenge organisational systems and processes that regularly hold to settler colonial, White-centred norms (Camfield, 2019; Ray, 2019). Māori remain under-represented within senior leadership roles across Aotearoa public sectors, indicative of institutional racism and breaches of te Tiriti over many decades. Goza et al. (2022) examined the chief executive appointment and the performance review processes across the public service used by Te Kawa Mataaho | Public Service Commission to determine whether these processes are te Tiriti compliant. The authors found no explicit evidence of engagement with te Tiriti and/or te ao Māori in any aspect of recruitment and/or performance review processes (Goza et al., 2022). While observing these enormous shortcomings currently in the public service, their findings also point to the transformative potential of enabling Māori governance over the appointments process and more broadly "embracing wairuatanga (spirituality) and tikanga (protocols) within the public service" (Goza et al. 2022, p. 55).

International research on racism and employment: 2016–2021

In this section, we present common themes identified in our review of international research on racism and employment between 2016 and 2021. As expected, there was a much larger number of studies internationally that addressed quite diverse instances of racism and employment. There was also a heavier emphasis on racism experiences occurring at meso- and macro-levels that perpetuate employment inequities. We identified four themes, two that are similar to research in Aotearoa—unemployment and underemployment, and workplace discrimination—and two others that reflect foci and findings that are not yet apparent in studies from Aotearoa—racialised structures and institutions, and the use of technology in hiring processes.

Unemployment and underemployment

Several international studies on unemployment and underemployment present evidence of what Mirchandani and Bromfield (2021) describe as a "colour coded labour market" (p. 25) whereby minoritised ethnicities are over-represented in traditionally low-paid occupations which leads to earning disparities compared with White counterparts (see also Briones-Vozmediano et al., 2020). Minoritised ethnicities are sometimes subjected to the platitude of "beggars can't be choosers" when it comes to seeking employment (Henson, 2022, p. 17). For instance, when minoritised ethnicity workers do not move up the occupational hierarchy or get a job, they perceive themselves as lacking cultural capital or other positive attributes (Li, 2019); they can also have limited social networks to support job seeking compared with Whites and

advantaged locals (Mwanri et al., 2021). Minoritised ethnicities' initial economic insecurity and need to gain a more secure foothold in the labour market often leads them to take "any job available" (Kosny et al., 2017, p. 490) and this sometimes means putting up with racism or poor working conditions (Cooney-O'Donoghue et al., 2021; Loyd & Murray, 2021; Mwanri et al., 2021). Moreover, welfare regimes often reinforce racial injustice in insecure employment through making it mandatory for welfare recipients to accept any employment they are offered (Mwanri et al., 2021).

Underemployment or under-utilisation of people's skills and expertise exemplifies "putting square pegs into round holes" (Gatwiri et al., 2021, p. 487); this means minoritised ethnicities are not often employed in positions for which they have expertise or skills (Kosny et al., 2017; Lacombe-Duncan et al., 2022; Udah et al., 2019). The process of racialisation that underpins underemployment experiences, entails the assumption that migrants and other minoritised ethnicities lack competence regardless of their educational background and qualifications (Udah et al., 2019), a finding that resonates considerably with research in Aotearoa (Tuwe, 2018). Employers often appear not to know how to assess overseas qualifications, leading to a situation where hiring a racialised migrant is treated as a risk that many employers choose not to take (Kosny et al., 2017) and professional accreditation for occupations like engineering and medicine can privilege migrants from Western and anglophone countries over those from other nationalities. Some studies have found that racialised migrants are consequently advised to discount their qualifications (including overseas qualifications) as a way of gaining entry to the workforce, albeit often in positions that they are overqualified for or not suited to (Cain et al., 2021). Migrants felt the necessity to obtain local experience through volunteering, which serves as a gateway to enter the field that they wish to work in (Cooney-O'Donoghue et al., 2021; Kosny et al., 2017), although as Peucker (2021) notes, volunteering within ethnic communities can also be a barrier to employment. Refugees and asylum seekers are also encouraged to pursue employment in low-skilled areas that have less job security and are susceptible to exploitation, a pattern that effectively treats these workers as surplus labour during economic booms that can be discarded during downturns (Cooney-O'Donoghue et al., 2021).

As in Aotearoa, there is relatively little international research on Indigenous peoples' experiences of racism in employment. Guimond and Desmeules (2018) argue that the position of Indigenous workers in Canadian resource development projects is indicative of wider unequal relationships with non-Indigenous people, a reflection of settler colonial structures. In particular, they note an ambiguity in Indigenous workers' sense of place because they are concentrated in undervalued jobs and yet simultaneously perceived by non-Indigenous workers to have the upper hand because of policies that assert to address racism and improve inclusion. They also observe a high turnover rate amongst Indigenous workers in these sites, one that is influenced by rigid routines, long shifts and work cycles, and strict hierarchy and supervision that clash with the notions of work, culture and lifestyle for Indigenous peoples in Canada (Guimond & Desmeules, 2018). These findings echo Camfield's (2019) aforementioned assertion that studies of labour in settler colonial contexts need to take more seriously Indigenous conceptions of work as alternative framings of the value of employment and the ways in which norms around work can play a role in reinforcing Whiteness in organisations and society.

Discrimination in workplaces

Workplace discrimination occurs through what Nguyen and Velayutham (2018) describe as an "ethnic habitus" (drawing on Bourdieu's social theory of practice), a term that signals how workers are positioned differentially in the workplace depending on their ethnicity and their location within social hierarchies. In their research in Australia, Nguyen and Velayutham argue that workplaces are dominated by a White habitus, which is linked with the nationalistic notions of cultural capital and the normative cultural framing of daily life. Workplace discrimination emerges in this context, whereby differences in ethnic habitus lead to

workplace tension and guide individual workers' everyday actions in a way that leads to social exclusion of minoritised ethnic colleagues (Nguyen & Velayutham, 2018). Ethnic habitus can also lead to cross-cultural discomfort among minoritised ethnicities (the uncomfortable feeling related to a lack of sense of belonging) in the workplace when disengaged from social conversation or subjected to insensitive racial comments (Guimond & Desmeules, 2018; Nguyen & Velayutham, 2018). Contemporary racism is a pervasive part of life (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017) with studies demonstrating frequent experiences of microaggressions and covert racism (for example, negative cross-cultural interaction) amongst minoritised ethnicities that are meant to hurt the intended victim in a deliberate manner (Asey, 2021; Briones-Vozmediano et al., 2020; Gatwiri, 2020). The ambiguous nature of covert racism places the burden of interpretation on those at the receiving end (Gatwiri, 2020). In the context where perpetrators' intentions are difficult to discern, minoritised ethnicities are left to resolve whether an encounter was discriminatory, irrespective of intent (Sahraoui, 2020).

Workplace discrimination can take the form of suspicions about the competence, value and ethics of minoritised ethnicities (Asey, 2021), a hypervisibility that entails near daily encounters with excessive surveillance and scrutiny at work, including being expected to provide intrusive details and superfluous updates in support of mundane requests (Gatwiri, 2020). Excessive targeted monitoring is a form of workplace harassment that reflects a framing of minoritised ethnicities "through a deficit and criminal lens" (Gatwiri, 2020, p. 668) that suggests they require more guidance, given the inferiority of their labour status (Asey, 2021). Having a non-native accent is also seen as a deficit marker that provides grounds for accentism and subsequent disentitlement in employment (Dryden & Dovchin, 2021; Gatwiri, 2020; Kosny et al., 2017; Li, 2019; Nkimbeng et al., 2021; Udah et al., 2019). There are reports from non-native English speakers of being mocked for the way they speak or stereotyped based on their country of origin and culture (Dryden & Dovchin, 2021). Racialisation can exclude minorities from promotional chances that come with proximity and visibility with decision-making executives (Asey, 2021; van der Heever & van der Merwe, 2019); for example, some minoritised ethnic employees described becoming sceptical of their immediate supervisors in supporting their career mobility as most would not furnish them accurate references (Asey, 2021).

Minoritised migrant workers are exposed to specific forms of exploitation due to the institutional insecurity generated by migration policies. The chances of migrant exploitation are heightened when migrants are dependent on their employer who may also be from the same ethnic community (for example, requiring assistance with visa application and accommodation arrangement) (Sahraoui, 2020). For instance, there is evidence of racialised migrants working extra hours and performing additional tasks with no increase in salary or corresponding compensation in what has been termed modern slavery (David et al., 2019). The vulnerable position of migrant workers provides opportunities for employers' arbitrariness given the very low probability that their exploitation would be sanctioned (Sahraoui, 2020). The continued existence of racism will undoubtedly affect the career progression and income of minoritised ethnicities as they deploy strategies such as changing jobs, moving across departments, and quitting to escape from discrimination (Cain et al., 2021; Naseem & Adnan, 2019; Nkimbeng et al., 2021; van der Heever & van der Merwe, 2019).

Racialised structures and institutions

Accounts of inequalities in hiring and discrimination in the workplace highlight the kind of racialised structures and institutions that shape differential employment experiences (Ray, 2019). Entering such racialised organisations can be challenging, not least when workers feel that they are the first minoritised ethnicities to be employed (Loyd & Murray, 2021). Despite the existence of numerous policies and programmes to assist migrants and refugees in finding jobs, studies continue to report difficulties for these

groups in securing employment (Gatwiri et al., 2021). On the surface, a job position may appear open to everyone based on equal opportunity regardless of racial backgrounds. In practice, however, research suggests that employers may have their own prejudices that reflect a racialised social system (Li, 2019). Organisations usually only place much greater value in managing cultural diversity when hiring minoritised ethnicities is mandatory (Caron et al., 2019). The tokenistic hiring process that results is unlikely to overcome racism at the organisational level and may cause some minoritised ethnicities to perceive or be treated as though their recruitment is only needed to meet a quota (Loyd & Murray, 2021).

One potential response to the experience of racialised organisations is various kinds of anti-discrimination legislation but these are often out of reach for minoritised ethnicities as their experiences fall short of scrutinising the factors that foster racism at the institutional level (Sahraoui, 2020). Some minoritised ethnicities also discussed how Whiteness is safeguarded when complaints of racism are made because there are rarely any meaningful follow-up actions (Mahony & Weiner, 2020). Due to fear of retaliation, employees who have been victimised by racial discrimination rarely report these incidents. The ways in which decision-makers choose to respond to complaints of racism may also amount to racial discrimination. For instance, there is evidence of minoritised ethnicities being requested to change department after reporting a racist incident; such response obscures the roles of perpetrators and victims and further marginalises the positions of affected employees (Sahraoui, 2020).

Access to employment support services is crucial for migrants and refugees to effectively integrate into their country of resettlement (Madut, 2019). However, career training programmes for these groups often impose a process of 'Whitening' and compel participants to conform to hegemonic norms of Whiteness and acculturate to local ways of speaking, knowing and living (Maitra, 2017; Mwanri et al., 2021). A unidirectional process of integration neglects the importance for the host community of developing an understanding of culturally diverse values (Mwanri et al., 2021). Furthermore, there is a lack of customised cultural and social programmes for migrants of different ethnicities and staff members are rarely equipped with sufficient cultural competency to identify specific employment barriers for racialised migrants (Madut, 2019). By urging migrants to self-modify to adapt to norms in the new host nation, these programmes downplay the racism that prevents minoritised ethnicities from accessing and progressing in employment. In doing so, a monocultural training programme may reinforce the ongoing operation of racialised organisations and racist structures in society more generally.

Technology for hiring

Technological systems such as talent acquisition software and hiring platforms are increasingly used to meet organisational labour requirements (Mann & O'Neil, 2016). For instance, some organisations refer to the platform LinkedIn, which implements predictive analytics to screen through job profiles and provides recommendation of eligible candidates for specific roles. The driving forces for the shift in favour of algorithmic decision-making are savings in both costs and times, increased perceived objectivity in making hiring decisions, and enhanced productivity of human resource practices (Köchling & Wehner, 2020). However, the development of technological systems is not race-neutral (Benjamin, 2019), as there is evidence of biased algorithmic decision-making processes that create an unfair advantage for applicants based on ethnicity (Yarger et al., 2020). Even if developers responsible for data input have no intention of discriminating, studies suggest that algorithmic output is informed by implicit human judgements or unconscious biases (Köchling & Wehner, 2020; Yarger et al., 2020).

The systematic disadvantage of minoritised ethnicities is related to employment of historical data that underrepresent minoritised ethnicities to inform algorithm design, developers not having an adequate understanding of conditions needed to create equitable employment outcomes, and a lack of diverse representation during the development of software that hinders minoritised ethnicities from raising

questions and checking for implicit biases (Köchling & Wehner, 2020; Yarger et al., 2020). It is problematic if companies implement algorithms without considering the applicability of their three core elements: transparency (how algorithms are used to support the decisions of human), interpretability (how algorithms are being understood by people), and explainability (how people make sense of results to derive conclusions) (Köchling & Wehner, 2020). To improve equity in hiring through algorithms, Yarger et al. (2020) urged for an intentional design justice approach that: a) removes identifying information from the resume; b) offers a blind skills-based test; c) conducts anonymous technical interviews; d) uses a welcoming tone in job advertisements; and e) seeks feedback from job applicants on their perception of fairness of the recruitment process. As Benjamin (2019) notes, however, even these kinds of design features do not alter the racial injustice that automated processes can amplify because of the ways in which racism operates through structural positioning of applicants and their recorded experiences of discrimination in other sectors, such as within housing, health and criminal justice systems, which can influence progression in employment.

Discussion

Our review of Aotearoa and overseas research reveals that racism articulates with employment in a range of ways that need to be accounted for and challenged in any effort to create more socially just labour market and societal situations. There is only limited existing literature in Aotearoa that explicitly addresses mechanism of racism in employment, particularly those at meso- (organisational) and macro- (institutional) levels (see Table 1). While being mindful that there are different terms employed to describe similar mechanism of racism (with overlapping nature), what we have identified in this review does reveal similarities with the much broader and more diverse international literature. That said, the lack of literature in Aotearoa is likely a reflection of the institutional racism that permeates not only every stratum of society, but also research design. If researchers cannot name and address racism in research, then it is not possible to understand the operation and effects of racism nor to establish insights that can lead to meaningful transformative responses to challenge racism. Table 1 provides an overview of the racialised experiences of minoritised ethnicities (including Indigenous peoples, migrants and refugees) in employment, which are grouped into a three-level framework, encompassing individual, organisational and institutional levels.

This multilevel analysis of racism in employment highlights the geographical and historical contingency of racism, its embeddedness within organisations, and its intersectional and relational characteristics. This framework aligns with Racialised Organisational Theory's (ROT) claim that organisations constitute and are constituted by racial processes across micro-, meso-, and macro-levels and (Ray, 2019)racial structures at micro- and meso-levels can transform as people interact in response to institutional imperatives. A multilevel analysis of insights highlighted in Table 1 offers us a tool to identify unique issues in the context of Aotearoa as well as international perspectives that signal areas for future research on racism and employment in Aotearoa.

Table 1. A framework of understanding employment experiences of minoritised ethnicities

	Micro/Individual	**Meso/Organisational**	**Macro/Institutional**
Aotearoa/New Zealand research	• Discrimination due to race/ethnicity • Discrimination due to religion • Multiple and intersectional discrimination • Stereotypes • Limited access to social capital	• Unemployment and barriers to secure employment • Hiring bias • Underemployment • Brown glass ceiling • Lack of cultural diversity • Forced assimilation • Tokenistic policies	• Racialised occupation and labour market • Recognition of overseas education qualifications • Te Tiriti o Waitangi compliance
International research	• Discrimination due to race/ethnicity • Discrimination due to religion • Multiple and intersectional discrimination • Stereotypes • Limited access to social capital • Equity in hiring • Cross-cultural discomfort • Ethnic in-group favouritism	• Wage disparity • Poor working condition • Unemployment and barriers to secure employment • Underemployment • High turnover • Predominantly White ethnic habitus • Deficit framing • Excessive targeting • Forced assimilation • Migrant exploitation • Complaint management system	• Racialised occupation and labour market • Recognition of overseas education qualifications • Talent acquisition systems • Migration policies • Refugee policies • Equal opportunity policies • Anti-discrimination legislations • Career training programmes

Racialisation and biculturalism in Aotearoa

While a comparative international analysis allows us to capture a broader picture of the manifestation of racism in organisations and understand the experiences of minoritised ethnicities from more nuanced theoretical perspectives, the generalisation of overseas findings to the bicultural, settler colonial and increasingly ethnically diverse context of Aotearoa cannot be made without caution. There are two particularly unique themes found within the Aotearoa literature. First, Goza et al. (2022) reported te Tiriti non-compliance in the recruitment and performance review processes of public sector chief executives. Te Tiriti compliance was determined based on a staged process of critical Tiriti analysis (CTA; Came, O'Sullivan, et al., 2020) that rates the degree of engagement of a particular policy with te Tiriti elements; these comprise preamble (identification of how te Tiriti commitments are represented), kāwanatanga (mechanisms in place to warrant equitable Māori leadership), tino rangatiratanga (inclusion of Māori philosophies in influencing policy processes), ōritetanga (platforms available for Māori to exercise citizenship), and wairuatanga (recognition of Māori customs). As an anti-racism praxis, CTA serves as a useful tool for employers who wish to improve employment outcomes for Māori through measurable goals. Second, Pasifika people face specific challenges related to their ethnicity when advancing their career to senior management roles, which scholars identified as a brown glass ceiling (Mesui, 2019; Ofe-Grant, 2018). These challenges stem from racial stereotypes emergent within colonialism that imply Pasifika people (especially women) do not fit into the White ideal of a leader.

These insights speak to the specific formulation of racism in Aotearoa that has taken shape through White settler colonisation, its detrimental effects for Māori, the stratified incorporation of minoritised ethnicities into society and the workforce, and the potential for transformation through centreing te Tiriti and prioritising Māori responses to racism. Aotearoa's settler colonial context is racialised in relational ways with racisms manifested in ongoing colonisation and prioritisation of Pākehā norms and institutions at the expense of Māori sovereignty operating in relation to external colonisation of the Pasifika (directly historically and indirectly through development and border control in recent years; Barber & Davidson, 2021). Pasifika people are racialised both through the brown glass ceiling (Mesui, 2019; Ofe-Grant, 2018) and by the New Zealand Government which simultaneously excludes migrants from the Pacific from migration outside of seasonal work programmes and limits quotas in ways that reflect colonial hierarchies.

Alongside these racialisations are the earlier identified experiences of Asian, African and other minoritised ethnicities who are positioned in distinct ways in relation to the bicultural notion of ethnic group relations that affirms Māori as tangata whenua. Racialisation of Asian, African and other minoritised ethnicities are reflected through construction of "model minority" and "grateful refugee" models (Thiruselvam, 2019), workplace and institutional norms (Omura, 2014), migration policy (Collins, 2020) and claims to diversity and inclusion (Lee et al., 2021). Research in Aotearoa on racism and employment, then, needs to take account of both the insights that emerge in international theories of racism (such as Racialised Organisation Theory and Critical Race Theory) as well as the contextually and culturally specific insights that can be generated through analyses of arrangements and experiences here.

Gaps in employment literature for minoritised ethnicities in Aotearoa

As existing studies tend to focus on individual experiences of racism and discrimination, there is an opportunity for Aotearoa research to explore racism experiences at meso- and macro-levels as the main sites of production of racial inequality. An analysis that includes scrutiny of racialised structures, alongside other power hierarchies produced through colonialism and capitalism, offers potential for transformative responses such as those identified in CTA (Came, O'Sullivan, et al., 2020). Organisations are commonly grounded within a predominant White ethnic habitus (Nguyen & Velayutham, 2018) that views Whiteness as a credential in distributing organisational resources, legitimising racial hierarchy, and restricting the

agency of minoritised ethnicities (Ray, 2019). While Aotearoa research has documented evidence for individual-level employment discrimination due to ethnicity (as well as intersectional forms of prejudices) for Māori (Chittick, 2017; Pack, 2016), Pasifika (Mesui, 2019; Ofe-Grant, 2018), migrants (Graham, 2001; Huang, 2015), and refugees (Majavu, 2015; Yusuf, 2015), there are insufficient linkages made to the role of organisations as bureaucratic structures that racialise groups and generate stratified experiences for minoritised ethnicities (Ray, 2019) and even fewer that situate such critiques in relation to capitalism and colonialism. Below, we discuss racialisation examples relevant to employment practices at the institutional level that have been under-researched in Aotearoa.

The presence of formal policies and regulations to address racism within organisations has been found to promote fairer and more equitable employment practices (Li, 2019). In Aotearoa, an Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) Policy is a formal document that outlines an organisation's commitment to equal opportunities, diversity and inclusion. EEO is mandated in legislation for employers in the public sector while those in the private sector are encouraged to voluntarily do the same. A few overseas studies (Li, 2019; Ray, 2019; Sahraoui, 2020) noted the constrained capability of EEO in addressing institutional racism and inequity in workplaces, except when these discriminatory practices occur in blatant forms, which can in turn be reported to a commission (for example, the Human Rights Commission in Aotearoa). Some organisations in Aotearoa also rely on diversity policies to promote employment equality. For example, Spark NZ (a nationwide telecommunication company) introduced a Diversity and Inclusion Policy to express its commitment to "pay parity as well as attracting, recruiting, developing, promoting and retaining a diverse group of talented individuals" (Spark NZ, 2016, p. 1). Scholars such as Ahmed and Swan (2006), however, critique the "management of diversity" as a form of human resources to portray an organisation as inclusive. Doing diversity work that masks the underlying issues of institutional racism risks (re)producing social privilege that sustains the interests of the Pākehā majority. There have been several Aotearoa studies (for example, Lee et al., 2021; Parker et al., 2017) that have examined how diversity management policies can be used to create culturally appropriate institutions and manage cross-cultural workforces. As Lee et al. (2021) note in relation to employment in health, however, diversity and inclusion policies are also characterised by conflicting agendas between diversity, equity, te Tiriti commitments and addressing racism. Thus, future studies are required to connect the roles of these institutional interventions with the discourse of racism (Ray, 2019).

Another example of racialisation at the institutional level is migration policy (Sahraoui, 2020). In recent years, migration policy in Aotearoa has shifted from a primarily long-term settlement-oriented programme towards various kinds of temporary visas (Collins, 2020). The shift has led to certain industries having a higher proportion of migrants on temporary visas following the desirability of particular occupations and availability of domestic workers with relevant skills. Similar to overseas research (Briones-Vozmediano et al., 2020; Sahraoui, 2020), there is evidence of precarious employment conditions and employer exploitation of migrants as a consequence and extension of the racialisation of different people in Aotearoa (Collins & Stringer, 2022; Huang, 2015; Tuwe, 2018). The distribution of income for racialised migrants is also connected to their nationality as employed migrants from anglophone countries receive higher wages than those of other nationalities across almost all occupations (Collins, 2020).

In Aotearoa, some empirical evidence (for example, Soleimani et al., 2021) exists in identifying cognitive biases in the development of artificial intelligence recruitment systems. However, there has been little attention paid to how the use of technologies in human resource practices can perpetuate racism by hampering the recruitment of a diverse pool of applicants, which as we have noted earlier is likely to be exacerbated by technology-enhanced racism in other domains such as policing and criminal justice. A focus on how racism is embedded in the construction of technology is crucial to avoid individualising the issue of systemic bias as a matter that only emerges within specific recruitment teams. While overseas studies demonstrate that most companies do not intentionally engage in discriminatory hiring practices, there is a

misconception that algorithm-based decision-making is race-neutral and can screen candidates objectively (Benjamin, 2019; Mann & O'Neil, 2016). When algorithms are not responsibly designed to foster equity in the hiring of minoritised ethnicities, or when no proactive steps are taken to address racialised bias built into the automated processes, there is a high risk of sustaining employment inequity through the creation of a homogenous work environment (White habitus) that systematically benefits certain ethnic groups at the expense of others (Yarger et al., 2020).

Roth (2014) highlighted how most workplaces in Aotearoa do not operate in accordance with Māori cultural values, which may create barriers for Māori to access employment. That being said, there are some positive observations in some parts of the public sector (for example, hospitals and universities) in Aotearoa incorporating or at least naming Māori values (for example, manaakitanga or hospitality) and health models to care for employee wellbeing. However, more research is required to examine the effect of 'grafting' Indigenous values onto Pākehā-centric institutions (Ahenakew, 2016). Compared with tauiwi, Māori are more likely to experience burnout from engagement in aronga takirua or double-shift roles while negotiating their ethnic identities and upholding mātauranga Māori in Aotearoa workplaces (Rauika Māngai, 2020). Studies with Māori scientists and researchers found Māori are sometimes expected to carry out cultural labour (for example, performing official welcomes such as karakia) and act as a conduit between employer and other Māori stakeholders, which are not compensated appropriately (Haar & Martin, 2022; Rauika Māngai, 2020). More research is needed to understand the effects of racialised structures on the work experiences of Māori, including the corresponding institutional responses, to address the employment inequities and severe under-representation that Māori experience across sectors. (For a discussion of this issue in academic settings, see McAllister et al. (2019).)

While accounts that identify individual experiences of discrimination in employment are important, these need to be understood as systemic features of labour regimes that have deep histories in European colonisation, and the expansion and establishment of modern capitalist relations and its concomitant socio-spatial divisions of labour. The Aotearoa literature outlined in this review has signalled the place of different minoritised ethnicities in labour regimes (Māori, Pasifika, racialised migrants and their descendants, current temporary migrants) but currently stops short of an integrated analysis of racial capitalism in labour markets (Bhattacharyya, 2018). Such an approach is important not only for revealing White supremacy in employment and labour markets but also in laying foundations for social relations that are alternative to the racist colonial labour structures that persist today.

The articles included in our analysis are restricted to those with the two keywords of 'racism' and 'employment'. The drawback of using this search criterion is the exclusion of articles that utilise other key terms to depict the employment barriers faced by minoritised ethnicities. Relative to overseas literature, we found that there has been insufficient dialogue around racism and its relevance to employment practices in Aotearoa/New Zealand. We acknowledge that many Aotearoa scholars have explored unjust employment conditions amongst minoritised ethnicities (including wage disparities and unemployment) but many of these studies fail to explicitly name racism as the overarching oppressive mechanism manifested within organisations. Naming racism is a crucial preliminary step to understand precisely how different minoritised ethnicity groups are racialised in recruitment and workplace environments, and how it can be disrupted through the collective use of anti-racism praxes (Came, Badu, et al., 2020). Further, a literature search with a less restrictive guide may reduce the replicability for other researchers to track the development of studies on racism in employment (Ferrari, 2015).

The small number of studies found on Indigenous populations suggest future reviews should expand the search by using relevant key terms such as Indigenous and colonisation, and scanning through journals with Indigenous themes. Although our review has touched on settler colonialism to highlight the specific employment issues that Māori face (Pack, 2016; Revell, 2012), future research could consider a

decolonial approach as a system thinking to explore how organisations can dismantle racialised structures to reduce employment privilege ascribed to the White habitus that reproduce inequities for Māori.

Conclusion

This review drew on Aotearoa and overseas research to illuminate how racism operates within employment. Despite seemingly appearing to be race-neutral, organisations are heavily embedded within racial structures as our review revealed the existence of racist employment practices across micro- (individual), meso- (organisational) and macro- (institutional) levels. The analysis of racism and employment that we undertook has revealed a range of under-researched areas in Aotearoa. Most existing studies have focused on micro-level understandings of racism and have not delved into the interdependent relationship of different processes of racialisation, discrimination and privilege. The international studies reviewed in this article further highlight the need to examine ethnicity as a social construct and that employment experiences of minoritised ethnicities are influenced by settler colonialism alongside racism and other forms of oppression (for example, sexism and classism) that generate barriers to equitable employment.

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Note: the studies involved in the narrative review are bolded.

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