

An exploration of the gender pay gap in the hospitality industry in New Zealand

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Attestation of Authorship

I, Lutong Zhang, hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the Acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or another institution of higher learning.

Signed: _____

Lutong Zhang

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Abstract

Women in New Zealand have been seeking equal pay for almost 60 years, and research on the gender pay gap has become an important part of research on gender equality, and is consistent with goals around sustainable development. Previous studies have identified some of the causes of the gender pay gap in general, but few have specifically investigated whether these causes are applicable to the hospitality industry. Therefore, this study explores the history of the gender pay gap and contributory factors in the hospitality industry in New Zealand.

Secondary data were collected from three main sources: relevant hospitality reports, empirical studies, and official websites and government reports over a ten-year period. The findings revealed five main themes: 1) the facts of the gender pay gap, 2) women's lower capital value, 3) occupational segregation, 4) women's choice of flexible working hours without career paths, and 5) discrimination in the labour market. Although various laws and policies state that a gender pay gap is illegal, it still exists in New Zealand both in the past and at present. In the labour market, women's capital is devalued; even if women have higher educational qualifications than men, they still earn less overall. Occupational segregation, which is the distribution of workers across and within occupations mostly based on gender (Blau & Kahn, 2006), is both vertical and horizontal as discussed in this study. The findings show that more women (e.g. professionals, community and personal service workers and administrators) are segregated into the service sector, and more men (e.g. managers, technicians and tradesmen, machinery operators and drivers) are segregated into the construction, manufacturing and transportation sectors.

In the service sector, women are typically found working in lower paid and lower skilled roles, such as in accommodation and food and beverages (F&B) service, and in hospitality, generally in cleaning work. Men are typically found working in managerial positions, financial and business development roles, and as maintenance and

construction workers.

Occupational segregation also affects women's promotion opportunities. Women are segregated into feminised jobs such as housekeeping, which offers flexible hours that fit around school times, suiting those with child care responsibilities. Marital status affects women's career choices, as they may choose jobs compatible with caregiving responsibilities; hence, women often work in housekeeping, and in low-paid roles without career paths. Aside from these reasons for the gender pay gap, discrimination in the labour market is also an important factor.

Chapter 1 Introduction

This research investigates the current situation of the gender pay gap in the hospitality industry in New Zealand, and explores potential reasons. This chapter firstly presents an overview of the research background, the significance of the research, and its aims. Secondly, the research questions and method are explained, and finally, the chapter outlines the structure of the dissertation.

1.1 Research background

It is essential for each country to measure its gender pay gap. While measuring the gender pay gap is an essential indicator of gender equity, it is also an indicator of women's progress within their own countries and internationally (McGregor & Davies, 2018). In addition, in terms of sustainability goals, the world cannot hope to develop sustainably if people treat more than half the population with unfairness and inequity (United Nations, 2016).

Improvement is needed to achieve equality and sustainable development. Several studies discuss women's participation in society, but it can still be seen that women are treated differently from men in terms of wages and career paths. Bakas, Costa, Breda, and Durao (2018) observed that generally, the rates of women's education and employment have increased in the past 50 years, while at the same time women are highly participative in the economy and society. Although gender discrimination has become illegal in the workplace in many countries, the gender gap still exists in the workplace (Channar, Abbassi, & Ujan, 2011). Firstly, different wages for male and female employees are still evident. Women generally do not have the same pay as men, even for the same work (Chzhen, Mumford, & Nicodemo, 2013; Thrane, 2008). Secondly, it is much more difficult for women than for men, to achieve senior positions - a phenomenon known as 'the glass ceiling' (Bendl & Schmidt, 2010). Thus, the

measurement of the gender pay gap has become one of the important standards of gender equity for each country and internationally.

The gender pay gap represents one of today's greatest social injustices and remains a key aspect of the inequality women face in the labour market. 'Gender pay gap' describes the phenomenon of women receiving different wages and bonuses from men, while working in the same roles (Bakas et al., 2018). In other words, it reveals that men and women are not always treated fairly in the workplace. The gender pay gap provides insights into and evidence of gender inequity, because it shows how women are treated in the workplace, and how this has changed over time (Cassells & Duncan, 2018).

Researching the gender pay gap, and its reasons, contribute to eliminating the pay gap. A majority of women work in female intensive occupations in most industries (Belgorodskiy et al., 2012; Wrohlich & Zucco, 2017), so there is an opportunity for female dominated workplaces to offer pays at a level comparable to male dominated work that requires the same levels of skill, effort, and responsibility. Hence, exploring the gender pay gap is essential, as it correlates with women's rights.

1.2 Research aims and research questions

The tourism industry, which includes the hospitality industry, is the largest industry in New Zealand. There are 216,012 people employed in tourism in 2018 (eight percent of the total labour force employed in New Zealand) (Statistics New Zealand, 2018). The hospitality industry is a labour-intensive industry, and provides extensive job opportunities (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2018). Hospitality is a broad area of the service industry, which includes accommodation, catering services, events planning, theme parks, transportation, cruises, and other areas of tourism (Chikwe, 2009).

New Zealand's hospitality industry is a female dominated industry; there are more

female than male workers in the cafe, restaurant and bar sectors, and females represent 57% of the workforce. As Baum, et al (2016) stated, although the hotel industry is a significant employer with more female employees, the gender pay gap is common in almost all hotel categories, with men earning significantly more in bonuses and starting salaries than do women.

Increasingly more employees work in cafés and restaurants, however, it is difficult to check information about the gender pay gap in all hospitality subsectors. Hence, the barriers to fair pay and the current situation regarding the gender pay gap in the hospitality industry in New Zealand requires exploration.

The two research questions designed to meet the research aim of this study are as follows:

1. What is the historical extent of the gender pay gap in New Zealand?
2. What are the contributory factors to the gender pay gap in the hospitality industry in New Zealand?

1.3 Research methodology and methods

In order to achieve the research aim, the approach to this study was interpretive. An interpretive approach uses existing knowledge as a theoretical lens that serves as a “sensitizing device to view the world in a certain way” (Klein & Myers, 1999, p. 75). Secondary data were collected from government reports, hospitality industry reports, databases, Statistics New Zealand (NZ), literature reviews, magazines, newspapers and archival materials for this study. Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data and explore the current situation regarding the gender pay gap in the hospitality industry. Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data, and is widely used and seen as a foundational method in qualitative analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In addition, the flexibility of thematic analysis can help a

researcher make active choices about the particular form of analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

1.4 Structure of the dissertation

Chapter 1: Introduction. This chapter introduces the research background, the research aim, the research questions, the overall methodology and methods adopted for this study, and the structure of the dissertation.

Chapter 2: Literature review. This chapter reviews the existing literature on the gender pay gap. It also reviews the key laws about equal pay in New Zealand. Reasons for the pay gap in previous studies are identified.

Chapter 3: Methodology. This chapter explains the methodology first and the reasons for choosing an interpretive approach in the research. The data collection and data analysis methods and processes are also explained.

Chapter 4: Findings. This chapter presents the findings from the quantitative and qualitative data.

Chapter 5: Discussion. This chapter explains the key findings, combining the literature with the research.

Chapter 6: Conclusion. This chapter summarises the research objectives, and overviews the limitations and opportunities for further study.

Chapter 2 Literature review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews previous studies in order to provide background information on the gender pay gap, and relevant laws and policies. It begins by defining the gender pay gap, followed by an explanation of the situation around the world, in New Zealand, and in the hospitality industry. The reasons for the gender pay gap are then presented. This chapter also gives an overview of the gender pay gap in the hospitality industry, and a chapter summary.

2.2 Definition of the gender pay gap

Although the gender pay gap is often referred to in the media and reports, it still needs to be clearly defined in this dissertation. Generally, when people discuss the gender pay gap, they refer to the difference in incomes between women and men, and the wage gap is usually reported as a percentage difference between the pays received by women and men. As noted earlier, the gender pay gap describes the situation in which women do not receive the same wages and bonuses as men, even though they are doing the same or comparable work (Blau, Brinton, & Grusky, 2006). McGregor and Davies (2018) pointed out that this is formal cognition of the need for equality. However, there is a problem with formal equality; because women in low-paid jobs earn less, their jobs are undervalued. Although income and income disparities vary with women's individual circumstances, they affect women of different backgrounds, ages, and education levels. Watkins (2018) conducted a wage history survey in the United States of America (USA), and found that employers argued that low wages for women have an historical cause, and used this argument as the basis for paying lower wages to female employees, perpetuating the historic wage inequality between male and female employees. Hence, when researching the gender pay gap, it is not only the present salary that needs to be

taken into account, but also types of work, industry, and the backgrounds of employees.

2.2.1 Global gender pay gap

This section shows the gender pay gap at a macro level – the gender pay gap worldwide. The gender pay gap has been a popular topic for research because women participate in society and are already a part of the economy. Around the world, men tend to participate more frequently in the labour market than women. However, even a brief glance at the data on female to male labour force participation rates shows that women’s participation in the economy is growing. Women’s economic empowerment is central to achieving women’s rights and gender equality.

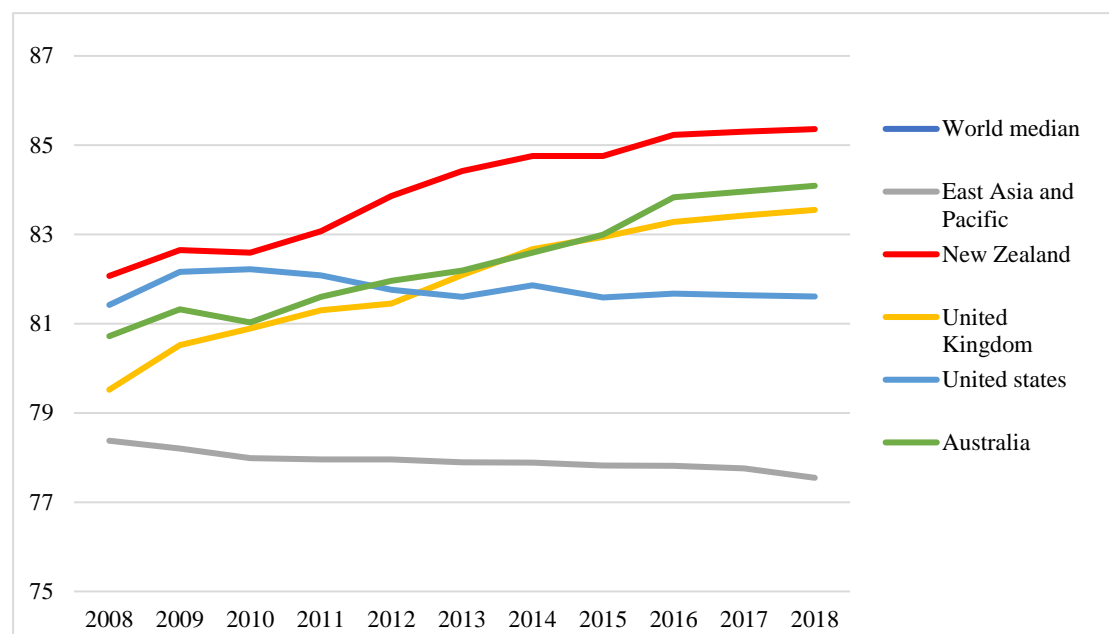


Figure 2.1: Ratio of female to male labour force participation rate (%)

Note. Adapted from “*The World Bank Data*”. Retrieved from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.CACT.FM.NE.ZS>. Copyright (2019) by the World Bank. Adapted with permission.

Improved education for women and girls, changes in laws to make discrimination on the basis of gender illegal, and an inclusive attitude shift towards women at work in society have all helped women become an integral part of society and the economy (England, 2010). Around 66% of the world’s work is done by women, and women produce 50% of the food (United Nations (UN) Women, 2015). Although this seems positive, women’s incomes account for only 10% of the total, and women own just one

percent of the world's property (UN Women, 2015). This is why the gender pay gap needs to be addressed, because it is not fair for women and not consistent with the sustainable development goal of the UN Sustainable Development Agenda to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls (UN, 2016).

The gender pay gap occurs across the whole of society and across entire economies. The gender pay gap also exists across various occupations (Belgorodskiy et al., 2012; Wrohlich & Zucco, 2017), and in the USA, no matter how the income is measured, whether by the hour, month or year, men tend to earn more on average than do women (Blau & Kahn, 2006). Fleming (2015) noted that women working full-time, including those in management, and in professional and related occupations, earned just 71.6% of the weekly wages earned by men in 2012 in the USA. Belgorodskiy et al. (2012) found that within the NZ Information Communication Technology (ICT) sector, the gender gap is much wider, at 23%. Similarly, Chinese women's monthly income is overall 22% lower than is men's income (Jiang, 2018). More recently, reports on women, business and laws by the World Bank (2019) showed that only six countries (Belgium, Denmark, France, Latvia, Luxembourg and Sweden) legislate to give women and men equal work rights, and these six are the only countries to enshrine gender equality in laws affecting work. These facts show that the pay gap exists, but also, that it could be eliminated.

2.2.2 History of the gender pay gap in New Zealand

The pay gap will now be discussed at the micro level – that is, in a New Zealand context. Undoubtedly, New Zealand also has a gender pay gap. In the early 1980s there was enough evidence to prove that women did not have full equal pay in New Zealand (Cook, 1994), and there is a long history of women fighting this kind of discrimination in the workplace.

1. History of the pay gap in the 1980s

In the early 1980s, there was a campaign for pay equity. The NZ Clerical Workers' Association (NZCA) determined that the focus of its claim would be pay equity and achieved a final settlement with an average pay rise of 17% (Cook, 1994). However, the victory of this campaign was only the beginning. Equal pay for men and women doing the same work was needed, as well as equal pay for men and women doing work of equal value when that work employs only or primarily women. Laws and policies provide tools to protect the rights to equal pay. Since its participation in the formulation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, New Zealand has been a supportive nation-state with a strong and principled record on human rights (McGregor, 2013). The State Sector Act (1988) requires government agencies to implement and report on Equal Employment Opportunities (EEO) programmes and to be "good employers" (The Coalition for Equal Value, Equal Pay (CEVEP), 2013).

2. History of the pay gap in the 1990s

In the 1990s, three additional laws, the Human Rights Act (1993), the NZ Bill of Rights Act (1990), and the Employment Relations Act (2000), prohibited discrimination on the grounds of sex (CEVEP, 2013). However, new research suggests that there is a difference between New Zealand's commitment to national self-respect and its commitment to human rights in everyday life (McGregor, 2013; McGregor, Davies, Giddings & Pringle, 2017). Arguably, the most important of these differences is evident in the lack of equal pay for equal work, which represents a fundamental inequality.

3. History of the pay gap after the 20th century

Recently, McGregor (2013) analysed New Zealand's regular reports to the United Nations Human Rights Council over the past 25 years on women's rights and equal pay for equal work, and found evidence that employers do not always respect the principle of equal pay for equal work, and women are still not treated fairly in the workplace. For example, the gender pay gap of 11.3% was the lowest recorded since the NZ Income Survey (Statistics NZ, 2019) first measured the pay gap in 1998, but it had moved very

little in the previous decade, even for men and women doing the same jobs. Pacheco, Li, and Cochrane (2017) used the NZ Income Survey (IS) data to analyse pay inequality. They found that that females earned on average NZD25 per hour, while males earned on average NZD29 per hour. The majority of the gender pay gap remains unexplained, and the unexplained average gap ranges from 64.4% to 83.4%. In addition, the average pay gap is between 12.0% and 12.7%, and the gender pay gap has not narrowed in the past decade. Furthermore, the pay gap depends on status, or seniority; the pay gap at management level is more likely to be around 20%. In other words, women are less likely to be employed in a leadership position, and fewer women are in higher management positions. Pacheco et al's (2017) research also showed that there is a ceiling effect in New Zealand. Currently, the gender pay gap in New Zealand is 9.2 percent, and reducing the gender pay gap stalled in the decade after 1998 (Statistics NZ, 2018).

2.2.3 Gender pay gap in the hospitality industry

At the meso or organisational level (e.g. hospitality) the gender pay gap is also evident. Before introducing the details of the gender pay gap in the hospitality industry, the scope of employment in hospitality work for women will be discussed. The hospitality industry is a broad sector of the service industry, and includes accommodation, event planning, theme parks, transportation, cruise ships, tourism and various sub-sectors of tourism (Leung, Wen, & Jiang, 2018). Hospitality employment is associated with poor conditions and lower quality work than employment in other industries (García-Pozo, Campos-Soria, Sánchez-Ollero, & Marchante-Lara, 2012). Low salaries, more part-time jobs, temporary contracts and long working hours are characteristics of hospitality work (Lacher & Oh, 2012; Lu & Adler, 2009). Moreover, there is wide cognition that the hospitality industry is a female dominated industry. However, many female employees are working in the lower levels of hospitality work, such as in housekeeping and reception (Mooney, 2018). Santero-Sanchez, Segovia-Pérez, Castro-Nuñez, Figueroa-Domecq, and Talón-Ballesterero (2015) pointed out that on average, women

have lower quality jobs than men have, which means male employees tend to receive more job promotions in the workplace. Their study of the Composite Job Quality Index (CJQI) provided objective evidence of vertical gender segregation (a lack of women in higher-ranking positions) and wage disparities in the hospitality industry. In other words, senior professional positions with higher salaries are usually held by men.

There is more direct evidence of the gender pay gap in the hospitality industry around the world and New Zealand. In Portugal, women earn 8.4 percent less than do men in the hospitality industry, with a 55% pay gap still unexplained (Santos & Varejão, 2007). Skalpe (2007) studied the gender pay gap in the tourism industry, which is composed mainly of small businesses, and found that although there are more female Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) in the tourism industry (20%) than in the manufacturing industry (six percent), women were paid lower salaries in the tourism industry. Thrane (2008) analysed the salaries of more than 100,000 employees working in Norwegian hotels between 1994 and 2002 and found that men earned approximately 20% more than did women. The Restaurant Hospitality (2018) report shows that the gender pay gap remains widespread in almost all USA hotel categories and levels, with men receiving far higher bonuses and starting salaries than do women. This report covers a wide range of areas and positions in the hospitality industry and reveals the disparity in pay rates faced by hotel workers across the USA. In the United Kingdom, a report by the Shangri-La London hotel showed that women's mean hourly rate was 7.2 percent lower than men's, and women's bonus pay was 15.7% lower than men's (Shangri-La Hotel PTE Limited, 2017). According to Jennings (2018), men earned an average of \$4,728 per year more than women in hotels in the USA in 2017.

In relation to the New Zealand hospitality industry, over half (57%) of all women work in the cafe, restaurant and bar sectors (Restaurant Association, 2018), but little information on the gender pay gap is available. When looking at other sectors, it can be seen that 16.59% of the pay gap can be explained by personal, educational, household,

regional, occupational, industry or other job characteristics. In response to the pay gap, the New Zealand Government has introduced relevant policies and laws (e.g. the NZ Bill of Rights Act, 1990) to ensure women's rights. More detail will be discussed in Section 2.4, New Zealand's laws and policies for pay equity.

2.3 Measuring the gender pay gap

Although a gender pay gap exists around the world, in New Zealand and in the hospitality industry, there may be different gaps due to different measurement methods. There are three main methods for examining the gender pay gap. The first method is an income survey, which was used by Kirkwood (1998) to explore the factors responsible for prescribing the levels of workers' earnings. Kirkwood (1998) described this method as a "tree analysis", which is a kind of analysis that not only indicates relevant variables, but also provides a more focussed analysis by selecting particular characteristics of those variables. In this study, Kirkwood (1998) found that about half of the income gap between full-time male and female workers could be explained by observable characteristics such as education, occupation, race and marital status. However, this analysis method is limited by time and resources. Over time, women's work, education and family can all become variables worthy of exploration. In this study, variables standardised such as occupation, hours worked, age, highest qualification and ethnicity, need to be re-examined, which could change the results. Such a re-examination may be more beneficial to the research results, and was mentioned by Kirkwood (1998) as a limitation of his study.

Dixon (1996, 1998) used the second method, household economic surveys (HES), to investigate income distribution in New Zealand between 1996 to 2000. She used Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regressions of real hourly earnings and found that the gender wage difference was significant. This is a method that controls for factors such as age, educational characteristics, race and part-time employment. After controlling

for these factors, the results showed that women's expected earnings in 1995 were 9.6 percent lower than men's (Dixon, 1996). This second method is a standard method employed in the pay inequality literature. It classifies the pay gap as either explained (e.g. individuals' characteristics) or unexplained (Pacheco, Li, & Cochrane, 2017).

The third method is used by New Zealand government departments to measure pay according to three variables: hourly pay, weekly pay, and annual pay (Statistics NZ, 2018). Each measure gives a different picture of the gender pay gap. Hourly pay is recommended because it measures the wage of a fixed amount of work and is not directly affected by how many hours a person works, or unpaid periods. Statistics NZ (2018) uses median pay to measure the gender pay gap. The median pay is the mid-point of all pays earned and is less affected by high-incomes; middle-incomes are usually a better indicator of the income of a typical worker. However, in the hospitality industry, people are often paid on an hourly basis, because hospitality work involves many part-time workers. Thus, using median pay may not successfully reflect the pay of hourly paid workers in hospitality regardless of how many hours a week they work.

2.4 New Zealand's laws and policies for pay equity

Laws and regulations also affect the gender pay gap. There are six main acts that relate to achieving equal pay in New Zealand. The main purpose of these Acts was the "removal and prevention of discrimination based on the sex of employees" (Cook, 1994, p. 13). In other words, they abolish the discrimination associated with female wage rates and seek to eliminate any discrimination factors in future wage negotiations.

The relevant laws and policies are explained in the following section.

1. Government Services Equal Pay Act (1960)

The Government Service Equal Pay Act requires that the pay gap between government employees should be eliminated.

The Government Services Equal Pay Act (S.3(1)) states the following principles:

(a) ...to the end that women shall be paid the same salaries or wages as men whereas Government employees they do equal work under equal conditions (CEVEP, 2013, para 11)

2. The Equal Pay Act (1972)

The Equal Pay Act requires that men and women are equally paid for work that requires the same or substantially similar skills, effort, responsibilities, and working conditions. This means interpreting the Equal Pay Act as covering pay equity, not just equal pay (CEVEP, 2013)

The Equal Pay Act 1972 (S.3(1)) spells out the criteria for assessing work typically done by women in more detail:

3(1)(b) For work which is exclusively or predominantly performed by female employees, the rate of remuneration that would be paid to male employees with the same, or substantially similar, skills, responsibility, and service performing the work under the same, or substantially similar, conditions and with the same, or substantially similar, degrees of effort. (CEVEP, 2013, para 13)

3. The State Sector Act (1988)

This act restructured the public service and national agencies, and reorganised wage bargaining by department rather than by occupation. It also replaced the public service conditions that women had fought against and required that every department or state funded agency (including universities) had to develop an EEO programme and report on it annually.

4. NZ Bill of Rights Act (1990)

The NZ Bill of Rights Act details citizens' rights in relation to government. It provides the right for everyone to be free from discrimination on a range of grounds, which include wages and employment (CEVEP, 2013).

5. The Human Rights Act (1993)

The Human Rights Act prohibits discrimination in employment on the basis of gender, marital status, religious or ethical beliefs, colour, race, ethnic or ethnic origin, disability, age, political opinion, employment status, family status or sexual orientation (CEVEP, 2013).

The Human Rights Act 1993 S.22(1)(b) states that it is illegal to have

...less favourable terms of employment, conditions of work, superannuation or other fringe benefits, and opportunities for training, promotion, and transfer than are made available to applicants or employees of the same or substantially similar capabilities employed in the same or substantially similar circumstances on work of that description. (CEVEP, 2013, para 24).

6. Employment Relations Act (2000)

The Employment Relations Act requires “*good faith*” bargaining between employers, employees and unions for individual, collective or (a very few) multi-employer wage agreements. However, there is no “*good employer*” requirement for private sector CEOs as there is in the state sector.

The Employment Relations Act (2000) provides individuals’ grievance procedures, including those in relation to allegations of discrimination based on gender-based wages or employment opportunities as well as sexual harassment (CEVEP, 2013). Employees are first required to raise the grievance with their employer, and can enlist a Department of Labour mediator. If unresolved, the case goes on to the Employment Court. Few women have taken grievances about equal pay under this Act.

Overall, these Acts have developed, addressed and clarified issues relating to equal pay, equality and discrimination. The Government Services Equal Pay Act (1960) particularly addressed the issue of equal pay for equal work. The Equal Pay Act of 1972 expanded the rights for equal pay for similar work, skills, efforts, responsibility and work conditions beyond government departments. The State Sector Act (1988) mainly addressed equal opportunities, and the Bill of Rights Act (1990) confirmed that

employees should be free from discrimination with wages and employment. The Human Right Act (1993) determined the extent to which discrimination is illegal, and the Employment Relations Act (2000) legislated against discrimination by employers. However, Professor Judy McGregor observed in 2018, that New Zealand is falling behind on equality, with 20 of the country's top 100 companies having no women on their governing boards, with progress being extremely slow (Radio NZ (RNZ, 2018). Hence, much work remains to be done to address these issues, because gender equality is not only a fundamental human right, but also a necessary foundation for a peaceful, prosperous and sustainable world.

2.5 Theoretical explanations for the gender pay gap

Although legislation helps prevent the gender pay gap, never-the-less, it still exists. Various theories can be used to investigate the gender pay gap; these theories will be introduced and explained first, and then they will be critiqued. Firstly, women's human capital will be introduced, then the 'new home economy', which is also an explanation for the gender pay gap. Occupational segregation will also be discussed. After that, women's positioning in the hospitality industry will be discussed and followed by a chapter summary.

2.5.1 Women's human capital is of less value

In various theoretical investigations of the gender pay gap, human capital theory has been mentioned many times. Thrane (2008) explained that there are two important human capital variables: years of education and amount of work experience. The core of human resources is that more skilled human capital leads to higher productivity. Therefore, many employers choose employees with higher education or more work experience to improve their company's profits. In fact, when looking at human capital theory from a gender perspective, it is not difficult to find that although women's education has improved, there is still a gender pay gap. Ahmed and McGillivray (2015)

noted that the improvement of women's education, social attitudes towards women's employment, and the improvement of women's job opportunities generally will become important factors driving the growth of women's employment. Yet, women have relatively poorer working conditions than men have, and earn less than men do for similar jobs. This disparity appears in the hospitality industry as well as elsewhere. For example, Bakas et al. (2018) found that women earned less than men did in a similar or junior position in Portuguese hospitality workplaces.

Lips (2013) considered that the gender pay gap is organisational discrimination based on work skills, work hours and efforts in the workplace. Based on Lips' work, Tharenou (2013) elaborated and extended the discussion into a social context to explore women's careers using a theoretical framework, which combines the influences of human capital and social psychological factors. The gender pay gap correlates with the lower status of women in society, so even if women have the same qualification and skill as men have in the same position, the pay gap still exists. This can be considered as discrimination against women, aggravating the lower status of women in society (Tharenou, 2013).

2.5.2 New home economics theory

New home economics theory is also used as an explanation for the gender pay gap. New home economics theory is a method of studying consumption, labour supply, and other household decision factors. This theory focuses on the family, not the individual, and emphasises the importance of family production (Grossbard-Shechtman & Mincer, 2003). New home economics theory also can explain the gender pay gap, as people have different levels of productivity, which translates into different wage levels (Bakas et al., 2018). However, from a feminist economics perspective, central assumptions made by economists are often biased, which means that women are described as, or considered to be doing these jobs, because of women's own choices (Nelson, 1996). In other words, women are considered to be willing to do low-paid and low-skilled jobs.

Hence, it is not a perfect explanation.

2.5.3 Social identity theory

In early research on gender, most studies discussed the way women access leadership positions. However, Kumra, Simpson, and Burke's (2014) study shifted the emphasis from the gender role to a social role. They explained that men and women have different roles, which are based on the expectations people have of their different characteristics. Kumra et al. (2014) also used gender organisation approaches, which address the ways gender differences and inequality are produced and reproduced in organisations. They also suggested that researchers should note that women are disadvantaged because of gender stereotypes (Kumra et al., 2014).

Social identity theory, which explains gender stereotypes, is also useful for examining the pay gap. According to social identity theory, employees' identity is directly derived from their relationship with the people which they frequently interact (Liang, Chang, Ko, & Lin, 2017). In other words, employees' social identity comes from the beliefs they receive from managers or customers about requirements for the position (Liang, et al., 2017). Managers view the 'ideal worker' as a person who demonstrates full commitment to organisational goals (Mooney, Harris & Ryan, 2016) and there are stereotypical views about women's suitability for different jobs. Purcell (1996) pointed out three ways to describe female work, which was a way to investigate women's work in hospitality. Firstly, although several occupations are dominated by women, the demand for labour is gender-neutral; these occupations are called gender-contingent jobs. Secondly, there are certain occupational or other sexual qualities that are part of job characteristics. These are considered gender-specific occupations. For example, Purcell discussed employment practices and promoting equal opportunities with HR directors who worked in a well reputed multinational hotel chain. The HR manager thought that receptionists were required to be a "certain type of woman", which she defined as "ideal (sic) 21-26, long legs and a good character"; the reason given for this

requirement was that the “customers expect it” (Purcell, 1996, p. 20). Finally, there are occupations that have been traditionally occupied by men, but in which the appropriate gender is recommended, and these are called “patriarchy occupations” (Purcell, 1996, p. 18). In addition, women often work in hotel jobs, not because they are considered particularly suitable for women, but because they are only suitable for those who are disadvantaged in the workforce (McIntosh & Harris, 2012). Therefore, customers become accustomed to seeing women working at lower positions in the reception and housekeeping areas rather than as senior managers. This is considered as gender segregation, which can be addressed at the industry, establishment, occupational, horizontal and vertical levels, and influences the gender pay gap.

2.5.4 Occupational segregation

Occupational segregation is one explanation for the gender pay gap. As effects of social identity, women are employed in different occupations. Although significant progress has been made in gender equality in education and women’s increasing engagement in paid work, the gender pay gap exists in almost all labour markets around the world (Blau & Kahn, 2006; He & Wu, 2017). Mouw and Kalleberg (2010) used occupation (e.g. blue-collar occupations, service-sector occupations, and managerial and professional occupations) to explain the gender pay gap in the USA between 1983 and 2008. The gender pay gap exists within and between occupations and can be divided into two different processes. The first is called “occupational gender segregation”, introduced by Gross (1968). According to Gross (1968), due to individual characteristics and employer preferences, employees work in different occupations, and receive different salaries accordingly. In addition, this cross-occupational income inequality reflects the inequality of males and females in the labour market. For example, much of the gender pay gap stems from occupational segregation, which segregates women into jobs such as waitressing or housekeeping with the lowest levels of responsibility and pay in hospitality industry (Campos-Soria, García-Pozo, Sánchez-Ollero, 2015).

A second explanation is that employees working in similar and complex jobs are paid differently. Petersen and Saporta (2004) considered that occupational segregation is the result of distributional discrimination in workplaces. They described three mechanisms by which wage differentials between men and women are caused by employee discrimination. The first one is “allocative discrimination”, which refers to women’s segregation into different occupations and institutions with different salaries, and includes discrimination in recruitment, promotions and differential dismissal. The second mechanism is “within-job wage discrimination”, which describes situations in which women earn less than men in a given industry. The third mechanism is “valuative discrimination”, in which even though skill requirements and other wage-related factors are the same, wages are lower in occupations dominated by women than they are in occupations dominated by men (Petersen & Saporta, 2004, p. 853). In addition, women’s wages are negatively affected by the proportion of women in the workforce, whereas men’s wages are largely unaffected (He & Wu, 2017).

Occupational crowding theory suggests that wages are determined by the supply of workers relative to the demand for workers, but it is also evident that men and women are divided into occupations based on gender stereotypes (e.g. women may be preferred for receptionist roles in hotels) and that career paths for women are more limited than are those for men (Channar et al., 2011; Cotter, DeFiore, Hermsen, Kowalewski, & Vanneman, 1997). Social closure theory explains the gender pay gap as resulting from exclusion. In other words, people in high status groups will keep the best jobs for members of their groups, which excludes others from those high-level positions (Acker, 2000; Fleming, 2015).

2.6 Critical perspective of gender pay gap in hospitality

The gender pay gap trend is more obvious in the hospitality industry, than in general

occupational sectors. Zampoukos and Ioannides (2011) observed that women continue to dominate jobs in service sectors such as hospitality, which means that traditional social structures with stereotypes about women's work and men's work continue to dominate society (McDowell, 2009). There are many signs that women's positions in the hospitality industry are horizontally segregated, which means women are separated into service roles which are deemed to be in keeping with their "feminine" physiognomies, which is people's character and appearance, underpinned by strong sociocultural barriers and traditional gender roles in the hospitality industry. This leads to women working as receptionists, waitresses, room attendants, cleaners or travel agency sales people, with men employed more as barmen, porters, gardeners or maintenance staff in the hospitality industry (Cave & Kilic, 2010). Moreover, women often work in low quality jobs in hotels, not because they are considered particularly suitable for women, but because these jobs are generally considered most suitable for disadvantaged groups in the workforce (Harris, 2009), such as young people or women with caregiving responsibilities seeking part time work. The theories discussed previously, including human capital, new home economics, social identity and occupational segregation, have provided potential reasons why women are concentrated in lower quality jobs in hospitality, therefore, using a critical perspective may provide further insights on women's motivations and agency in employment.

2.6.1 Ability to be flexible

The hospitality industry has many unique characteristics. The ability for individuals to work long hours on non-standard schedules and on-call hours, as well as an emphasis on face time and geographical flexibility are all prerequisites for hospitality career development (Clevenger & Singh, 2013). These job characteristics of the hotel industry can become sources of work-family conflict and pressure (Cleveland, 2005; Clevenger & Singh, 2013). Goldin (2014) pointed out that the gender pay gap is also affected by temporal flexibility, which means that men can get more work hours or particular work times, and therefore, receive disproportionate rewards. In addition, time flexibility

often prevents women from reaching higher wage levels because they do not have time to work overtime. The reason women experience time inflexibility is related to their social reproductive roles (Goldin, 2014). Similarly, geographical flexibility is related to the gendered responsibilities of social reproductive activities. Geographical mobility is necessary if women want to move up to the next position in the hospitality industry (Mooney & Ryan, 2009). However, women with young or school-age children are not able to have geographical mobility because they are unable to fulfil their family obligations with placements of two to three months away from home (Mooney & Ryan, 2009).

2.6.2 Women's career paths in the hospitality industry

Horizontal and vertical segregation also exist in the hospitality industry, which refers to occupational segregation. Horizontal and vertical segregation refers to the grouping of jobs into different functional areas and responsibility levels (Campos-Soria, et al., 2015). Campos-Soria et al. (2015) introduced the idea of six functional areas of reception, administration, kitchen, catering, cleaning, and maintenance, and five levels of responsibility, from level 4 (jobs with the least responsibility), to level 0 (managerial positions). Horizontal segregation explains that men and women are distributed in different departments or functional areas of hotels. Vertical segregation refers to the treatment of men and women at different levels of responsibility (Campos-Soria et al., 2015). Bakas et al. (2018) explained that a greater wage gap exists at higher hierarchical levels. It was considered frustrating by Perrons and Lacey (2015) that women who had entered senior hierarchical positions and played important roles, had not been rewarded accordingly.

In the tourism and hospitality industries, the wage gap between men and women is particularly pronounced, due to high horizontal segregation and the large number of women (Campos-Soria, Ortega-Aguaza, & Roper-Garcia, 2009). Baum, Kralj et al. (2016) noted that horizontal segregation is especially strong in hospitality with roles

such as maintenance, senior kitchen staff, and F&B managers being undertaken mostly by men. In contrast, the occupations of cleaning, reception and HR were found to be dominated by women.

Santero-Sanchez et al. (2015) commented that these low-quality jobs in hospitality are marked by low job security, pay gaps, and occupational segregation – both vertical and horizontal. In addition, women’s career development has barriers in the hospitality industry. Women are frequently excluded from senior management positions; a phenomenon known as the “glass ceiling” phenomenon (Clevenger & Singh, 2013). The hotel industry offers fewer opportunities for advancements that meet the career expectations of female employees (Mooney & Ryan, 2009). Moreover, hotels may not provide as many professional opportunities for women as they do for men. There are no significant differences in management capabilities due to gender, but there are gender differences related to job moves (Mooney & Ryan, 2009). Women are more geographically restricted than men (Mooney & Ryan, 2009). If they have caregiving responsibilities, women have fewer chances to move, which is a disadvantage for their careers, and affects their wage rates. Skalpe (2007) explored the gender pay gap among CEOs of Norwegian travel and manufacturing companies and found that both the manufacturing and tourism industries have a gender pay gap. However, the gender pay gap in the travel industry was larger because female chief executives in the sector were employed by relatively small companies compared to those in manufacturing. Therefore, although tourism offers women more opportunities for advancement, most are employed by smaller companies that pay less.

2.7 Chapter summary

This chapter has provided information about the gender pay gap worldwide, in New Zealand, and in the hospitality industry. Relevant laws and policy have been explained and theoretical explanations for the gender pay gap also presented. In relation to the

hospitality industry, there is little information in the literature specifically about the gender pay gap. All of the studies reviewed describe hospitality work as low quality, insecure, poorly paid, occupationally segregated (vertically and horizontally), with women being bullied and facing career barriers at management level. No matter what approach is taken in studies of women's work in hospitality, all conclude that women are discriminated against in the workplace, and workplace barriers for women still exist. However, only critical feminist perspectives appear to examine the causes of the gender pay gap in New Zealand's hospitality industry. As there is a clear need for more information, this research will investigate the extent of the pay gap in the New Zealand hospitality sector and its contributory causes. The research method used, which was interpretive thematic analysis, will be explained in the next chapter.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology, which was interpretivism, and the research method of thematic analysis that was used in this study. Firstly, the chapter presents the research objective. Secondly, it explains why thematic analysis was chosen for this study. Thirdly, it explains the secondary data collection process with a brief introduction to the data sources and sampling techniques used. The chapter then explains the trustworthiness of the data in relation to the methods applied. Finally, the chapter presents an overview of possible limitations associated with the methods.

3.2 Research objective

The aim of this study is to explore the current situation regarding the gender pay gap in the hospitality industry in New Zealand and its possible causes. The following two research questions were used to meet the aim of the study:

1. What is the historical extent of the gender pay gap in New Zealand?
2. What are the contributory factors to the gender pay gap in the hospitality industry in New Zealand?

3.3 Research paradigm

It is essential for a study to identify the paradigm and the study's ontology and epistemology, because they show the researcher's beliefs and knowledge about the relationship of these to the research objectives. As Avgousti (2013) noted, ontology and epistemology are the two main philosophical dimensions that distinguish research paradigms. Ontology relates to how reality is conceptualised, and epistemology refers

to how a researcher knows what he or she knows (Avgousti, 2013).

The research paradigm informing this research is interpretivism. A paradigm is the set of common beliefs and agreements shared between scholars, which explains how problems are understood and addressed (Jonker & Pennink, 2010). Therefore, the paradigm of this dissertation needs to explain.

There are various paradigms; positivism and interpretivism were particularly considered for this study. The ontology of positivism is that there is a single reality. Positivism is usually associated with quantitative approaches to testing hypotheses, based on the idea that social phenomena can be measured, expressed and quantified (Gray, 2013). Therefore, a positive paradigm was not adopted for this study, because previous studies on the gender pay gap suggested there were many complex social and cultural factors influencing the gender pay gap.

In contrast, interpretive researchers believe that individuals believe things in different ways, and people may have different perceptions according to their epistemology. Moreover, the social world is too complicated for generalisations (Gray, 2013). Therefore, an interpretive paradigm can be used to understand social reality, which is diverse and complex. In other words, there is no single reality, because reality is created by individuals in groups. To understand reality, the researcher needs to combine individual subjective interpretations and perspectives (Scotland, 2012). The interpretivist paradigm chosen for this study, not only allows the researcher to conduct the study and analyse data with certain expectations based on prior theory, but it also allows new, and unexpected findings that are not identifiable at the outset of the inquiry, to emerge from the data (Ravishankar, Pan, & Leidner, 2011). It also allows the researcher to explore and explain the meaning of the data.

Hospitality employees are individual men and women who receive different salaries for

similar, or the same positions. Furthermore, different departments in hospitality have different characteristics. Therefore, an interpretive paradigm will allow the researcher to identify differences between individuals' wages and explain any potential reasons for different wages within the same department, or for the same type of work in the New Zealand hospitality industry.

3.4 Qualitative research

This study adopts a qualitative methodological approach. A methodology is the strategy or plan of how the research should be conducted and helps a researcher choose an appropriate research method (Ghauri & Grønhaug, 2005). Research methods include qualitative and quantitative approaches or a mix of both (Loseke, 2017).

Quantitative methods usually use numerical data instead of textual data and cannot be interpreted in more detail than numbers (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). They also tend to be deductive, that is, they use existing literature to propose hypotheses and then collect data to test these hypotheses (Loseke, 2017). Qualitative methods use textual rather than numerical data (Atieno, 2009). They can help researchers understand phenomena in detail by finding the main themes and central concerns in the data, because qualitative data often consist of words (Grbich, 2012). Qualitative research methods are suitable for understanding social reality and revealing the significance that people attach to various activities and situations (Leavy, 2014). In addition, qualitative research methods allow for flexibility in the research process and methods “to facilitate new learning or new insights or to adapt to unanticipated challenges, obstacles, or opportunities” (Leavy, 2014, p. 4). This research will examine the extent of the gender pay gap in the hospitality industry and in New Zealand using a qualitative approach, as qualitative methods are considered more suitable for collecting and analysing the type of data collected in this research.

3.5 Research methods

Research methods are used to collect and analyse data related to the research question, and concern procedures and methods (Slevitch, 2011). To meet the study's research questions, data on the gender pay gap and on the pay of hospitality workers were collected from hospitality empirical studies and government reports between 2009 to 2019. This research examines data across a ten-year period primarily because the Business and Economics Research Limited (BERL) report of 2009 was the first government report about the labour force, and provided a starting snapshot of the hospitality and tourism workforce and its future development.

3.5.1 Data collection

This research uses secondary data to answer the research questions. Secondary data are data collected previously by other researchers or used for purposes other than research, and include official statistics or documents regularly kept by organisations (Harper, Brown, & Irvine, 2005). There are also more secondary data than primary data sources. When researchers are able to analyse large amounts of data, the reliability of the results improves (Rabinovich & Cheon, 2011). In other words, secondary data are more objective, and less resources are needed to collect secondary data, which increases the feasibility of research (Rabinovich & Cheon, 2011). In order to answer the research questions, pay gap reports were collected from official websites of New Zealand. Data relating to the gender pay gap were then analysed.

3.5.2 Sampling

The research term 'population' is most often used to discuss people who live in specific places such as in particular cities, states, or nations. In addition, a population is the total number or set of units or elements in a study (Gray, 2013). In a research method, the term 'population' refers to the entire collection of people, places, behaviours, things and time (Loseke, 2017). In this study, the main population is the group of employees

who are working in the hospitality industry in New Zealand. The total number of employees employed in hospitality is currently just under 130,000 people, with more than 72,000 people employed in restaurants and cafes (Restaurant Association, 2018).

To gather data on women's and men's salaries and look for evidence of the pay gap, this study collected both quantitative and qualitative data from government reports, industry reports, relevant official reports and academic literature reviews. A summary of quantitative data resources is presented in Table 3.1, and in Table 3.2, a summary of qualitative data resources is provided.

Table 3.1: Summary of quantitative data resources

Data resource used	Description of the resource
Restaurant Association report Hospitality report of statistics on the NZ hospitality industry. Year: 2018 (Restaurant Association, 2018)	A report on the hospitality industry with an introduction to the hospitality industry. Includes hospitality sales, current employment, employees' salaries and industry trends.
Global Gender Gap Report Years: 2008 to 2018 (World Economic Forum, 2008-2018)	Four main perspectives of economic participation and opportunities, education attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment, which are used to measure the gender gap of each country. These reports comment on the gender gap of NZ from an international perspective.
Statistics NZ Years: 2008 to 2018 (Statistics NZ, 2018)	Government reports with annual data including the changes in the gender pay gap and median hourly earnings of women and men.
Ministry for Women report Empirical evidence of the gender pay gap in New Zealand Year: March 2017 (Pacheco et al., 2017)	Information from the Government's principal advisory department for achieving better results for women, and for wider NZ.

Table 3.2: Summary of qualitative data resources

Data resource used	Description of the resource
A woman's place in hotel management: upstairs or downstairs? Year: 2009 (Mooney & Ryan, 2009)	This empirical mixed method study discusses women employed in the hotel industry and their positions in the workplace.
Children and a career: yeah right! Barriers to women managers' career progression in hotels Year: 2009 (Mooney, 2009)	This empirical study discusses women's careers and children, and the relationship between the gender pay gap and women with family responsibilities.
Are we being served? Women in New Zealand's service sector Year: 2011 (Parker & Arrowsmith, 2012)	This empirical study discusses women in managerial positions showing the wage gap in hospitality, and how the wage gap is affected by occupational segregation.
International perspectives on women and work in hotels, catering and tourism Year: 2013 (Baum, 2013)	This empirical study discusses gender inequality in the hospitality labour market and reasons for the gender pay gap.
Gender differences in the hospitality industry: A job quality index Year: 2015 (Santero-Sanchez et al., 2015)	This empirical study is a gender-oriented study of job quality in hospitality that discusses discrimination in the labour market, and barriers for women in the workplace.
Sustainability and the tourism and hospitality workforce: A thematic analysis Years: 2016 (Baum, Cheung et al., 2016)	This empirical study discusses the inequality of wages in the service sector in NZ with the factors influencing women's career choices.
The intersections of gender with age and ethnicity in hotel careers: Still the same old privileges? Year: 2017 (Mooney, Ryan, & Harris, 2017)	This empirical study discusses the gendered privileges and penalties of the female-dominated hotel sector in NZ. It emphasises the extent to which gender, age, race and class influence individual career choice.
Achieving pay equity: Strategic mobilization for substantive equality in Aotearoa New Zealand Year: 2018 (McGregor & Davies, 2018)	This empirical study analyses legislation relating to pay equality in NZ, and provides empirical data on the concept of substantive equality.

3.5.3 Data analysis method - thematic analysis

Thematic analysis is rooted in the more ancient tradition of content analysis.

Krippendorff (2018) defines content analysis as a research technique for reproducible

and valid inferences from text or other meaningful content to its usage. The main purpose of content analysis is to describe the characteristics of the text content by determining who says what, to whom, and with what effects (Bloor & Wood, 2006).

Thematic analysis has similar principles and procedures to those of content analysis (Smith, 2000) and is a method for identifying and analysing meaningful patterns in data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It illustrates which themes are important in describing phenomena, and can mine the manifest and latent factors related to a problem, highlighting the most significant meanings in the data (Joffe, 2012). Moreover, thematic analysis is simple and easy to use for novice researchers who are unfamiliar with more complex types of qualitative analysis and allows researchers the flexibility to choose theoretical frameworks (Joffe, 2012). With this flexibility, thematic analysis allows for rich, detailed, and complex descriptions of data (Braun & Clarke, 2012). Braun and Clarke (2006) outline the process of thematic analysis, using six steps: familiarising with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the report.

Due to the requirements and aims of this dissertation, thematic analysis was considered the most suitable method, because the aim of the study was to explore the gender pay gap in the hospitality industry and in New Zealand. In addition, this research aimed to explore contributory factors. These features and aims fit with thematic analysis. The specific data analysis was conducted according to Braun and Clark's (2006) step process, and included four main steps as follows:

1. Step one: Identify the sources of documents and become familiar with the data. In this stage, the main resources were first collected. In order to achieve the aim of the study, quantitative and qualitative data resources identified for use were relevant hospitality reports, empirical studies, official websites, and government sources relating to the gender pay gap, which included reports on equal pay for similar jobs, skills and

qualifications, and data on salary and pay gaps. Analysis started with reading and noting down the key information from the resources. The purpose of this step was to identify the reports and empirical studies relevant to the gender pay gap.

2. Step two: Generate initial codes

This stage involved generating initial codes for the data. This step can use a software program, but in this research, data were coded manually. Given the time constraints of a dissertation (one semester), learning to use unfamiliar software was not an option. In this process, the researcher used highlighters, sticky paper notes, and computer text highlights to record the text being analysed. It is important to write codes for as many potential codes and topics as possible. Therefore, related information on wages, salaries and pay were noted, as well as the reasons for pay gaps given in empirical studies. When this stage was finished, similar data were identified with the same code. For example, characteristics relating to female employees were identified, such as types of work, working hours, department worked in, family status and so forth.

Initial codes included: family, children, work types, women working in HR, accounting, cleaning, housekeeping, career path, occupation, horizontal, vertical, flexibility, pay, salary, etc.

3. Step three: Search for themes and review

In this stage, there was a long list of different codes which were sorted into different potential themes. As noted, initial codes could be sorted according to occupation, marital status, career path, and facts about wage differences. Then, after the simple sorting of codes, keywords were checked to ensure they were compatible with the coded extracts and the entire data set, then a thematic map was generated. In this stage, it was found that marital status was more related to career path, so marital status was sorted as a sub-category of career path. After the review stage, the overall story could be presented, and needed to be analysed. In addition, every key word in the list was named

as a potential theme.

4. Step four: Name themes and produce the report

In this stage, the essence of each theme and aspects of the data that linked with the theme were captured. As Joffe (2012) suggests, significant meanings in the data were teased out as indicated in Figure 3.1. Step four includes defining and naming themes, and producing the report, which combined step four, step five and step six of Braun and Clark’s process. In this stage, the researcher firstly selected vivid, compelling data to present. Then, conceptual maps of thematical analysis are presented in the final analysis, relating the analysis to the research question and literature, and producing conclusions.

The key research themes found when analysing the data are presented in **Figure 3.1**.

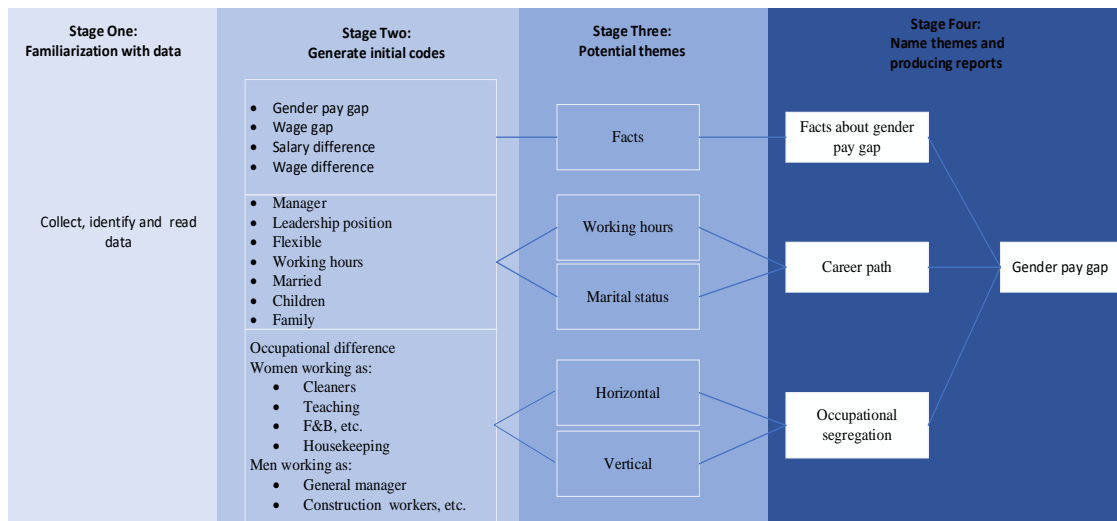


Figure 3.1: Map of the thematic analysis in this study

3.6 Trustworthiness

Although evaluating the quality of qualitative research is difficult, respected authorities on qualitative research, Lincoln and Guba (1985), posited the concept of trustworthiness as a substitute for the concepts of validity and reliability in quantitative research. Qualitative research can be assessed in four ways: credibility, confirmability, dependability and transferability. ‘Credibility and confirmability’ refer to the truth of

participants' views and quotations with these views. However, in this study, data were secondary numerical and textual data, so there were no participants. The secondary data sources were considered credible and confirmable as they were scientifically peer reviewed studies or government reports. 'Dependability' refers to the research paradigm, however, it should be noted that thematic analysis research rarely undertakes validity checking used in other research methods (Popping, 2000). A structured coding scheme that is constantly reviewed is the key to ensure the effectiveness of thematic analysis (Neuendorf, 2017). In this study, the generation of coding and themes was faithfully followed step by step according to the Braun and Clarke's (2006) stages, with explanations supporting each stage.

3.7 Limitations of the study

This study was limited to a specific industry and location. The result has a very specific relationship with the New Zealand hospitality industry in relation to the research question. The opportunities to extend it beyond hospitality or other industries in New Zealand or overseas are therefore limited. Secondly, data for this study were collected from government reports, industry reports, relevant official reports and academic literature reviews, however, it is possibly that relevant data sources that could have been useful for this study were overlooked. A further limitation in this study was the way the themes were coded, because it is possible to leave out nuances of data, and different researchers may have different ways of coding and defining themes.

Chapter 4 Findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the significant findings from the analysis of quantitative and qualitative data on the gender pay gap. In order to present a clear picture of the data, the chapter is divided into two main parts. Firstly, the quantitative data derived from global and local reports are presented, and these indicate that a gender pay gap does exist in New Zealand. This section also reveals women's education levels and positions in the workplace, and general information on the hospitality industry in New Zealand. Secondly, the chapter presents qualitative data from empirical studies, which offers key facts and explanations for the gender pay gap.

4.2 Quantitative data on the gender pay gap

For this section, data were mainly collected from a global report on the gender pay gap (World Economic Forum, 2008-2018), empirical evidence of the gender pay gap in New Zealand (Pacheco et al., 2017), the Restaurant Association's 2018 hospitality report, and data from Statistics NZ (2018). These reports provide direct numerical evidence of a gender pay gap in New Zealand.

4.2.1 New Zealand's global ranking on gender pay gap

In order to show a clear picture of the gender pay gap in New Zealand, data are firstly presented to give a clear picture of global measurements of the gender pay gap and the gender pay gap in New Zealand. This is a macro perspective that indicates New Zealand's gender pay gap changes and development over time. The global gender pay gap index is presented in Table 4.1, which examines the pay gap between men and women according to four basic categories: economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival and political empowerment (See World

Economic Forum, 2008-2018). This table shows the worldwide rankings and tools used to measure the gender gap. It also includes the New Zealand rankings over ten years. New Zealand’s comprehensive performance has always been among the top ten in the world, which indicates that New Zealand performs better than most other countries in terms of the gender gap.

It can be seen that educational attainment in New Zealand is always ranked highly, which means New Zealand has equal education for women and men, which is a significant achievement. Although economic participation and political empowerment have been fluctuating over the ten years of data examined, these two aspects are ranked in the top 50 in the world. Health and survival rates continued to decline in the ten years examined. However, this does not mean that the sex ratio at birth (women/men) or the rate of health and life expectancy has declined in ten years, as this may be influenced by other countries’ increases in the sex ratio at birth and health and life expectancy.

Table 4.1: The global ranking of the gender gap for New Zealand from 2008 to 2018

Year	World ranking	Economic Participation and Opportunity	Educational Attainment	Political Empowerment	Health and Survival
2008	5	7	1	6	69
2009	5	7	1	7	72
2010	5	9	1	8	91
2011	6	11	1	8	92
2012	6	15	1	9	94
2013	7	15	1	12	93
2014	13	30	1	14	96
2015	10	30	1	15	105
2016	9	24	40	16	104
2017	9	23	43	12	115
2018	9	23	1	9	107

Note. Adapted from “*The global gender gap report*” by World Economic Forum.

Retrieved May 13, 2019 from <https://www.weforum.org/reports/the-global-gender-gap-report-2018>. Copyright (2019) by World Economic Forum. Reprinted with permission.

The report on the global gender gap data measured New Zealand's place in the world rankings. Data on gender pay equity are one of the measurement standards of the economic participation and opportunities category. This report also presents a comparison of pay equity scores between New Zealand and the world average (See World Economic Forum, 2008-2018).

New Zealand's world ranking on the gender pay gap is presented in Figure 4.1. Over the decade examined, New Zealand's ranking was not stable, but fluctuates. New Zealand had its best ranking in 2009 and 2012, at 16th in the world. However, 2011 and 2014 had the worst rankings of 29 and 33 respectively.

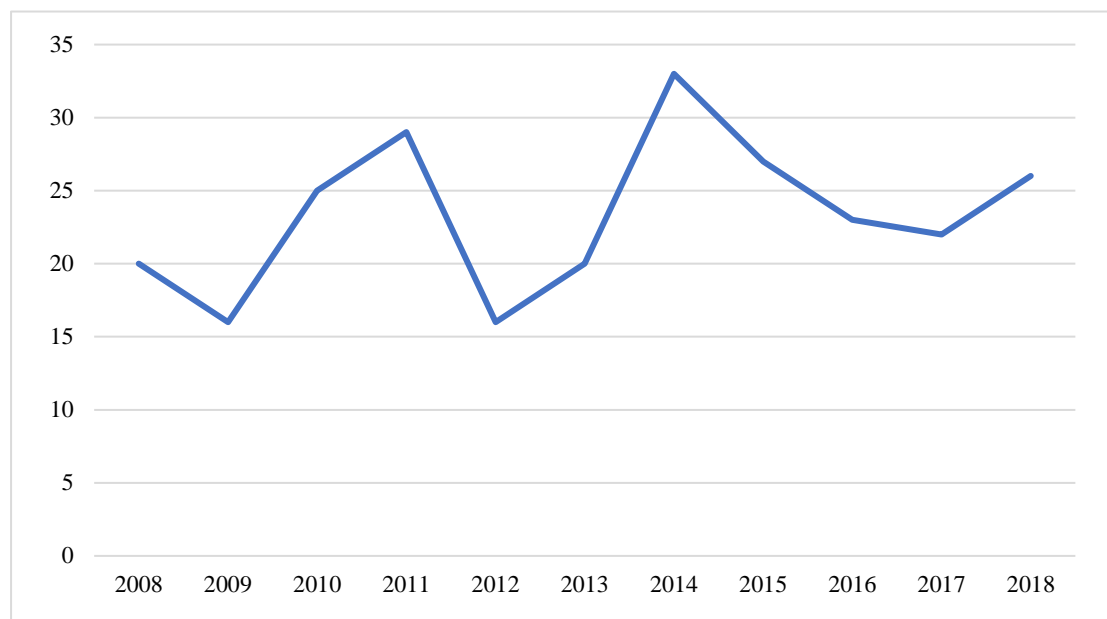


Figure 4.1: New Zealand's world rankings on wage equality for similar work (survey)

Note. Adapted from “*The global gender gap report*” by World Economic Forum. Retrieved May 13, 2019 from <https://www.weforum.org/reports/the-global-gender-gap-report-2018>. Copyright (2019) by World Economic Forum. Reprinted with permission.

Three female to male ratios of the gender pay gap (full equity ratio, New Zealand

female to male gender pay gap ratio, and the global average female to male gender pay gap ratio), are presented in Figure 4.2. The ratio of one represents full equity, which indicates no pay gap between women and men. Both New Zealand and global average ratios are below full equity ratio. This means that pay gaps between women and men not only occur in New Zealand, but are also a global phenomenon, and women are in a worse situation than are men in terms of their wages. Although New Zealand does better than average in achieving pay equity, as the New Zealand ratio is higher than the global average ratio, the gender pay gap is seen to exist in New Zealand according to international measures.

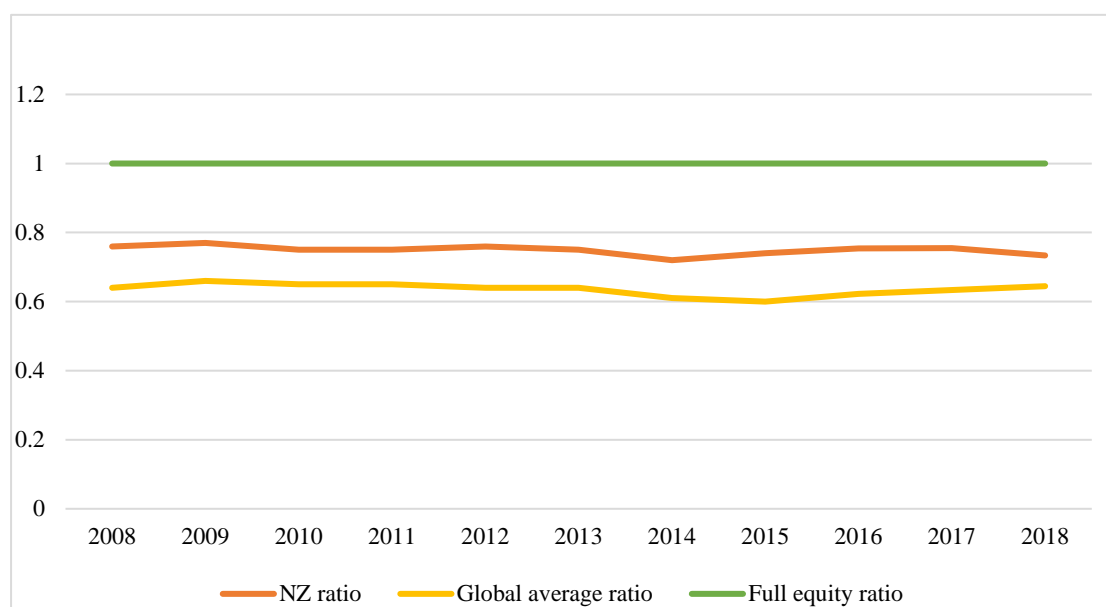


Figure 4.2: The female to male ratio of gender pay gap

Note. Adapted from “*The global gender gap report*” by World Economic Forum. Retrieved May 13, 2019 from <https://www.weforum.org/reports/the-global-gender-gap-report-2018>. Copyright (2019) by World Economic Forum. Reprinted with permission.

4.2.2 New Zealand’s gender pay gap

The changes over 10 years for the gender pay gap in all occupations in New Zealand from 2008 to 2018 are presented in Figure 4.3. Overall, it is clear that the gender pay gap exists in New Zealand. The trends show that the gender pay gap in New Zealand

fluctuated slightly and slowly reduced in 2012 to an upward tendency over the next four years. The biggest drops were in 2017 and 2018. Overall, the gender pay gap narrowed to 9.4 percent and 9.2 percent in 2017 and 2018 respectively.

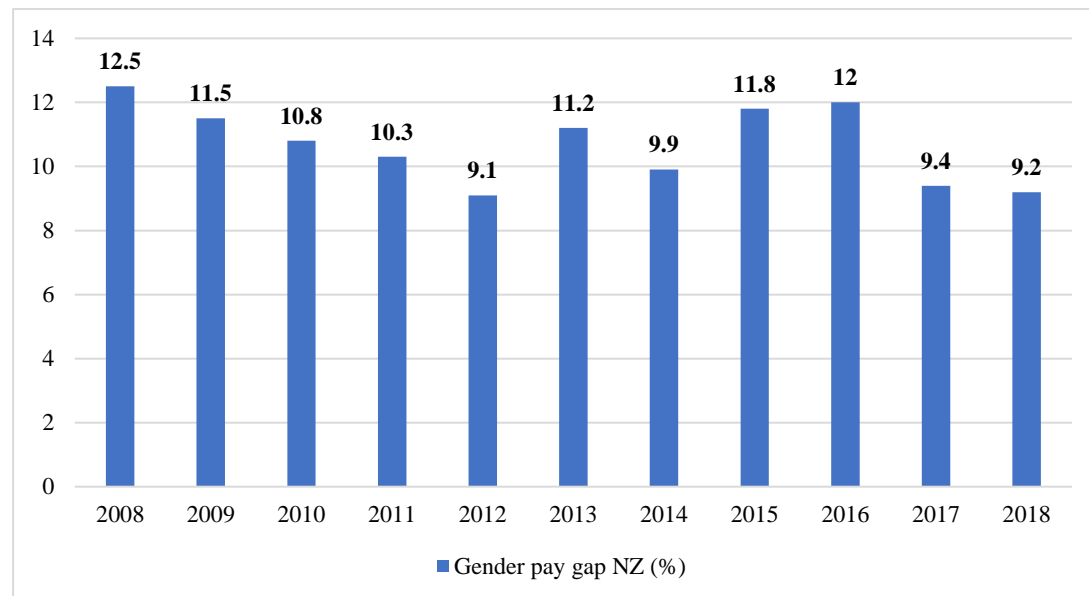


Figure 4.3: Gender pay gap in New Zealand between 2008-2018

Note. Adapted from “Gender pay gap is second-smallest” by Statistics NZ. Retrieved December 12, 2018, from <https://www.stats.govt.nz/news/gender-pay-gap-is-second-smallest>. Copyright (2019) by Statistics NZ. Adapted with permission.

The differential hourly earnings between women and men of all occupations in ten years in New Zealand are presented in Figure 4.4. It can be seen that although incomes were rising, the wage gap between men and women did not change in ten years.

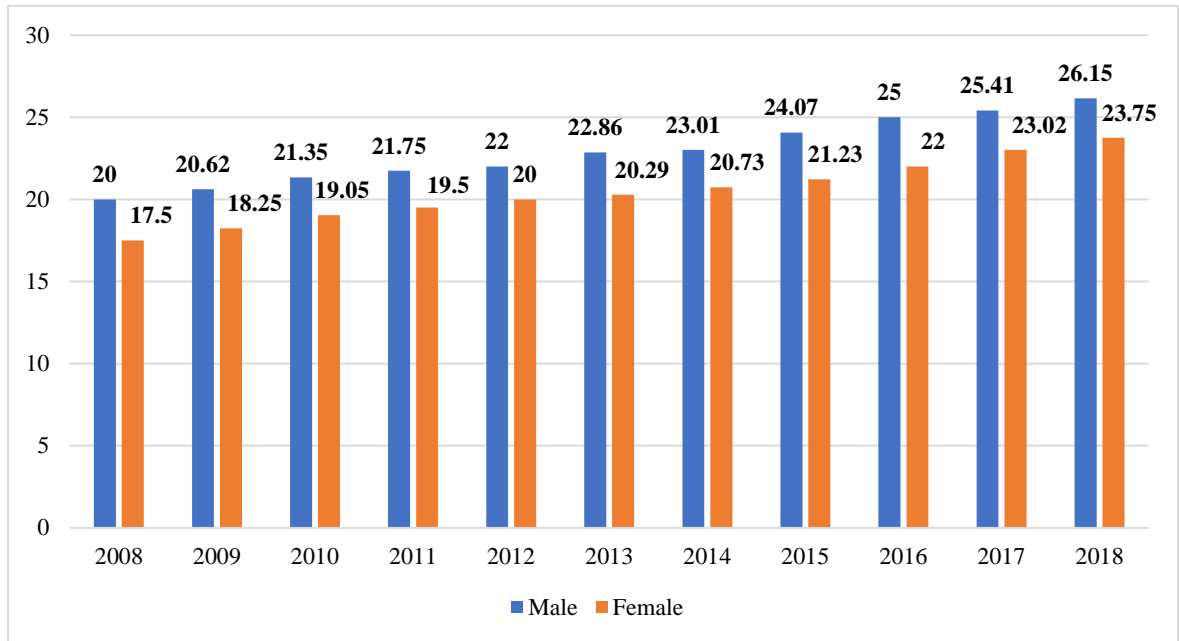


Figure 4.4: Annual percentage of median hourly earnings, by gender

Note. Adapted from “Gender pay gap is second-smallest” by Statistics NZ. Retrieved December 12, 2018, from <https://www.stats.govt.nz/news/gender-pay-gap-is-second-smallest>. Copyright (2019) by Statistics NZ. Adapted with permission.

Data in tables 4.2 to 4.4 were collected from the study of Pacheco et al. (2017), which is an empirical study investigating the gender pay gap in New Zealand. These tables provide a comprehensive description of 13,737 samples collected in New Zealand. For all variables used in the analysis, both full sample, and male and female samples are provided. The last column of the table identifies whether the differences between gender subgroups are statistically significant. The symbols of ***, **, and * indicate the significance of the differences between the male and female subgroups, at one percent (most significant), five percent (significant), and ten percent (less significant), respectively. In other words, the last column indicates whether the data are meaningful or not.

Table 4.2: Different ways of measuring the pay gap

Variable	Definition	Mean			
		Full Sample	Male	Female	Significant difference
Hourly wage	Usual hourly total earnings (NZD)	27.0 (15.7)	29.0 (16.8)	25.0 (14.1)	***
Ln hourly wage	Natural logarithm of usual total hourly earnings	3.18 (0.45)	3.25 (0.47)	3.12 (0.42)	***
Weekly hours	Weekly usual total hours' work	36.7 (12.5)	40.9 (11.1)	32.5 (12.5)	***

Note. Adapted from *Empirical evidence of the gender pay gap in New Zealand* (p.13), by Pacheco et al. 2017, Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry for Women. Copyright (2019) by Ministry for Women. Adapted with permission.

Different ways to calculate the gender pay gap are presented in Table 4.2. “Ln” is generally used to denote a natural logarithm, which is a number’s logarithm to the base e (e approximately equal to 2.718281828). Firstly, these data indicate that the average hourly salary of female employees is lower than that of male employees: NZD29 per hour compared to NZD25 per hour. However, even when both measurements are used, the results are the same. The other significant finding is regarding weekly working hours, which show that men work nearly eight more hours a week than do women. Although New Zealand does not have a standard working week, 40 working hours is the normal full-time requirement (NZ Immigration, 2018). Therefore, most men tend to work 40 hours per week, and most women work around 32 hours per week. Pacheco et al. (2017) stated that the density of women’s working hours is lower than men’s, which means that weekly hours worked by women are more widely distributed at lower levels in comparison to the clustering of male hours around the 40-hour mark.

Table 4.3: Educational attainment-highest qualification in New Zealand

Educational attainment		Mean			
		Full Sample	Male	Female	Significant difference
No qualification	Dummy variable: 1 = No qualification; 0 otherwise	0.152 (0.359)	0.163 (0.369)	0.142 (0.349)	***
School	Dummy variable: 1 = Lower/upper secondary school qualification; 0 otherwise	0.243 (0.429)	0.230 (0.421)	0.255 (0.436)	***
Post-school	Dummy variable: 1 = Post school qualification (level 1-7 certificate or diploma); 0 otherwise	0.339 (0.474)	0.381 (0.486)	0.298 (0.457)	***
Bachelor's	Dummy variable: 1 = Bachelor's degree (including Honours); 0 otherwise	0.180 (0.385)	0.153 (0.360)	0.207 (0.405)	***
Postgraduate	Dummy variable: 1 = Postgraduate qualification; 0 otherwise	0.085 (0.279)	0.072 (0.259)	0.098 (0.298)	***

Note. Adapted from *Empirical evidence of the gender pay gap in New Zealand* (p.14), by Pacheco et al. 2017, Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry for Women. Copyright (2019) by Ministry for Women. Adapted with permission.

The education levels of men and women in New Zealand are presented in Table 4.3. It can be seen that women overtake men in all qualification levels. Men are more likely to have no qualifications (16.3% compared to 14.2%) and less likely to have bachelor's and postgraduate qualifications than are women.

Table 4.4: Occupational and industry characteristics differences between women and men in New Zealand

Occupational characteristics		Mean			
		Full Sample	Male	Female	Significant difference
Dummy variables (8)	1 = Manager; 0 otherwise	0.130 (0.336)	0.17 (0.376)	0.09 (0.285)	***
	1 = Professional; 0 otherwise	0.238 (0.426)	0.195 (0.396)	0.28 (0.449)	***
	1 = Technician and Trades Worker; 0 otherwise	0.124 (0.329)	0.199 (0.400)	0.049 (0.215)	***
	1 = Community and Personal Service Worker; 0 otherwise	0.098 (0.297)	0.054 (0.225)	0.141 (0.348)	***
	1 = Clerical and Administrative Worker; 0 otherwise	0.132 (0.339)	0.063 (0.243)	0.201 (0.401)	***
	1 = Sales Worker; 0 otherwise	0.098 (0.298)	0.073 (0.261)	0.123 (0.328)	***
	1 = Machinery Operator or Driver; 0 otherwise	0.065 (0.247)	0.112 (0.315)	0.020 (0.138)	***
	1 = Labourer; 0 otherwise	0.115 (0.319)	0.134 (0.341)	0.097 (0.295)	***
Industry classifications					
Dummy variables (19)	1 = Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing; 0 otherwise	0.045 (0.206)	0.060 (0.238)	0.029 (0.168)	***
	1 = Mining; 0 otherwise	0.004 (0.061)	0.006 (0.080)	0.001 (0.034)	***
	1 = Manufacturing; 0 otherwise	0.131 (0.337)	0.187 (0.390)	0.075 (0.264)	***
	1 = Electricity, Gas, Water and Waste Services; 0 otherwise	0.012 (0.108)	0.018 (0.131)	0.006 (0.079)	***
	1 = Construction; 0 otherwise	0.073 (0.260)	0.126 (0.332)	0.020 (0.141)	***
	1 = Wholesale Trade; 0 otherwise	0.041 (0.199)	0.056 (0.230)	0.027 (0.161)	***

Occupational characteristics		Mean			
	1 = Retail Trade; 0 otherwise	0.103 (0.304)	0.088 (0.283)	0.118 (0.322)	***
	1=Accommodation and Food Services; 0 otherwise	0.053 (0.224)	0.040 (0.196)	0.065 (0.247)	***
	1= Transport, Postal and Warehousing; 0 otherwise	0.045 (0.207)	0.062 (0.241)	0.028 (0.166)	***
	1 = Information Media and Telecommunications; 0 otherwise	0.019 (0.137)	0.020 (0.140)	0.018 (0.133)	
	1 = Financial and Insurance Services; 0 otherwise	0.022 (0.147)	0.018 (0.132)	0.026 (0.160)	***
	1 = Rental, Hiring and Real Estate Services; 0 otherwise	0.013 (0.115)	0.013 (0.112)	0.014 (0.117)	
	1 = Professional, Scientific and Technical Services; 0 otherwise	0.056 (0.230)	0.050 (0.218)	0.062 (0.241)	***
	1 = Administrative and Support Services; 0 otherwise	0.038 (0.190)	0.042 (0.200)	0.034 (0.181)	**
	1 = Public Administration and Safety; 0 otherwise	0.054 (0.227)	0.047 (0.212)	0.062 (0.240)	***
	1 = Education and Training; 0 otherwise	0.109 (0.311)	0.069 (0.254)	0.148 (0.355)	***
	1 = Health Care and Social Assistance; 0 otherwise	0.109 (0.312)	0.037 (0.190)	0.180 (0.384)	***
	1 = Arts and Recreation Services; 0 otherwise	0.039 (0.193)	0.021 (0.143)	0.057 (0.231)	***
	1 = Other services; 0 otherwise	0.034 (0.182)	0.040 (0.196)	0.029 (0.167)	***
Other job-related characteristics					
	Dummy variable: 1= Part-time (working less than 30 hours a week); 0 otherwise	0.197 (0.398)	0.088 (0.284)	0.304 (0.460)	***

Note. Adapted from *Empirical evidence of the gender pay gap in New Zealand* (p.14-

15), by Pacheco et al. 2017, Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry for Women. Copyright (2019) by Ministry for Women. Adapted with permission.

The different proportions of men and women within the occupational structures and the industry categories are presented in Table 4.4. This occupational classification method is a common occupational classification standard in New Zealand and Australia and is known as the ‘Australian and NZ Classification of Occupations’ (ANZCO). Skill level numbers show the level of qualifications or experience needed for each job. Skill Level 1 is a bachelor’s degree or higher qualification (Northern Territory Government of Australia, 2019). The industry classification method is an Australian and NZ Standard Industrial Classification (ANZSIC).

The occupational structures show that men are more likely to be managers, trade workers, machinery operators or labourers, and women are more likely to be professionals, community and personal service workers, or in administration roles. Many industry categories also have significant differences in their gender distributions; for instance, the manufacturing and construction sections typically employ more men than women, whereas retail and education seem to employ more women. In addition, women are more than three times as likely as men to work part-time, at 30.4 percent and 8.8 percent respectively. Although these tables do not indicate women earn less than men, they show that New Zealand has occupational gender segregation.

4.2.3 New Zealand’s hospitality industry

One figure and one table are used to present the number of employees in New Zealand’s hospitality within the subsectors, giving an overall picture of employment in New Zealand’s hospitality industry. The overall proportion of employees of tourism and hospitality in different sectors in 2010 is presented in Figure 4.5, using data collected from the only government report on tourism as a specific subsector, published by the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE) (2013). It can be seen from these data that most people were working in food and beverage services (21%), and

accommodation (16%) areas in hospitality.

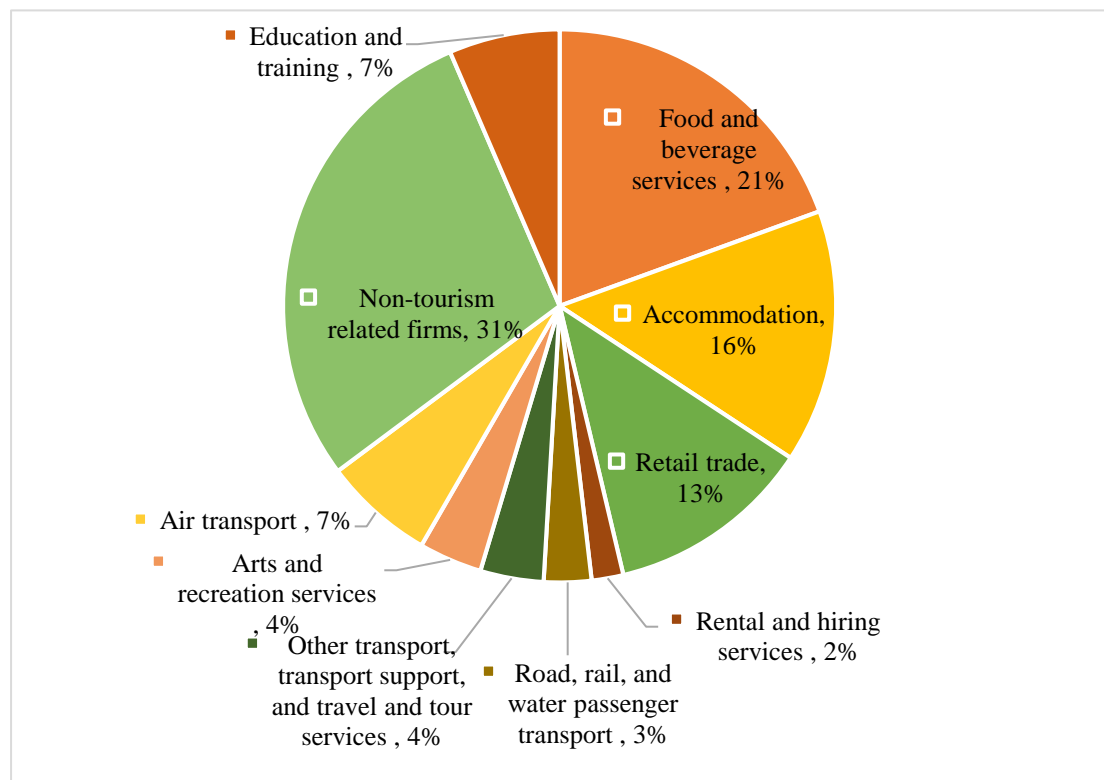


Figure 4.5: The proportion of employees in different sub sectors of tourism in 2010

Note. Adapted from “*The New Zealand sectors report 2013: Featured sector – Tourism*” by MBIE. Retrieved May 19, 2019, from <http://media.nzherald.co.nz/webcontent/document/pdf/201348/tourism-sector-report.pdf>. Copyright (2019) by MBIE. Adapted with permission.

Table 4.5: Number of employees by sector market share in the NZ hospitality industry from 2013 to 2017

Subsectors of hospitality	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Cafes and restaurants	57,500	59,700	63,400	67,200	72,200
Takeaway food services	19,100	20,200	21,900	23,600	25,300
Catering services	10,900	10,300	11,300	11,900	12,900
Pubs, taverns and bars	14,300	14,600	14,600	14,400	14,900
Clubs (hospitality)	3,650	3,750	4,000	4,200	4,400
Total New Zealand	105,500	108,600	115,200	121,400	129,600

Note: Adapted from “*2018 hospitality statistics: Topline statistics for New Zealand’s*”

hospitality industry” (p.9) by Restaurant Association, 2018. Retrieved April 2, 2019, from http://img.scoop.co.nz/media/pdfs/1809/2018_Hospitality_Report.pdf. Copyright (2019) by Restaurant Association. Adapted with permission.

The number of employees in the New Zealand hospitality industry between 2013 and 2017 is presented in Table 4.5. These data show that the number of people working in the hotel industry is increasing; over half of all hotel employees worked in cafés and restaurants.

Although this table does not give specific wages data because there were no direct data on the gender pay gap in hospitality, it still gives a clear picture of the types of business and departments with the largest number of employees, and may help in understanding the status of occupational segregation when combined with the previous and following data analyses.

4.3 Qualitative data on gender pay gap

This section presents mainly qualitative data. These data offer figures and facts about the gender pay gap and reasons given in these studies to explain the gender pay gap. The subsections include evidence concerning the gender pay gap from empirical studies in global, local and industrial domains. Firstly, this section discusses women working in the hospitality. Then, it presents details of women’s employment and career paths in the hospitality industry. Marital and partnered statuses are then presented, followed by data on discrimination. These empirical data were mostly sourced from studies by McGregor and Davies (2018); Mooney and Ryan (2009); Mooney (2009); Parker and Arrowsmith (2012); Baum (2013); Baum et al. (2016); and Mooney, Ryan, and Harris (2017).

4.3.1 Women’s positioning in hospitality

In order to understand the origin of the gender pay gap, it is important to identify how

women earn and work in hospitality. Baum's (2013) report on women working in hotels, catering and tourism (HCT) produced for the International Labour Organisation (ILO) collected and presented empirical data. Baum (2013) observed gender disparity; that is, he observed differences based on gender and occupation in HCT and noted that this is a global phenomenon. Gender disparity refers to the significant horizontal and vertical gender segregation in the labour market, and occurs within the HCT sector. In addition, the gender pay gap was reinforced by segregation in the labour market. For instance, women and men were engaged in different occupations - women were employed as waiters, cleaners, travel agents, and tour guides (90% of those employed were women), while men were employed as bartenders, porters, gardeners, and maintenance and construction workers. A vertical "gender pyramid" was also observed, which means that lower levels and occupations with few opportunities for career development are dominated by women, and major managerial positions are dominated by men (p.7). These occupational differences lead to the gender pay gap.

The empirical study of Santero-Sanchez et al. (2015) offered objective evidence of gender-based vertical segregation and a pay gap in tourism and hospitality through the creation of a Composite Index of Job Quality (CIJQ). The gender pay gap is not obvious for positions that require high qualifications, but exists more in low skilled work. This relates to kitchen staff, waiters and housekeeping staff, which have the highest feminisation rate (62%) (Santero-Sanchez et al., 2015). In addition, two dilemmas are apparent for women. One dilemma is that jobs such as waiting and working in housekeeping are lower quality and do not lead to management positions, and the other one is that the job quality gap between men and women is widest in positions that are feminine and low skilled. For instance, the higher paid senior management and professional positions are more likely to be held by men, which is a clear example of vertical segregation in hospitality.

Feminised work is also discussed in these studies. Baum (2013) discussed the tendency

for women to be working in sectors where their work is low-valued and low-paid. In addition, women often work as administrative assistants, shop assistants or low-skilled or unskilled workers, which account for almost half of the female workforce. Many women work in low-paying occupations such as cleaning and nursing, as the quantitative data presented previously showed.

The New Zealand service sector, which has various defining characteristics such as consumer inseparability, variability, invisibility and perishability, includes some of the most feminised sub-sectors (e.g. health care and social assistance, education and training, financial and insurance services, retail, rental, and real estate) (Parker & Arrowsmith, 2012). For example, of all employees in the New Zealand accommodation and food services, around 60% are women (Parker & Arrowsmith, 2012). The empirical study of Parker and Arrowsmith (2012) explained that New Zealand has high female employee participation in the labour market, and more than eight out of ten female employees work in the service sector. However, while women make up 59% of the workforce, less than one in ten of department chief executives are women. This reflects a pattern of both horizontal and vertical segregation. Moreover, with the effects of horizontal and vertical segregation, and the effects of the low wages prevalent in service sectors such as hotels and restaurants, men earn more than women on average, representing the most significant pay gap in service sector work.

In New Zealand's hospitality industry, women working in accommodation and restaurant services (62.4%) were in the lowest-paid of all occupations in 2013, accounting for the total amount earned by all women was 16% less than the total amount of men's earnings in the industry (84%) (Baum, Cheung et al., 2016). Mooney et al. (2017) also noted that women were vertically and horizontally segregated in New Zealand's hospitality organisations.

4.3.2 Flexibility within career path

Many women choose to work in hospitality because of its flexible hours. Baum (2013) commented that it may be difficult for women with caregiving responsibilities to offer the kind of flexibility that companies require, because women may not be available to travel for long periods, or work unplanned overtime. In other words, time flexibility may be harder to achieve for women with family responsibilities. Baum (2013) also suggested that hotel employers seek managers with flexible time availability, as these employees are worth investing in long-term. This attitude particularly disadvantages women seeking flexibility in their career plan to achieve management positions. In addition, Baum's study (2013) showed that evaluations of performance, pay levels and career development processes may be biased towards men, which means they are more likely to be promoted and Mooney and Ryan's (2009) hotel study supported this finding.

An empirical study of Mooney et al. (2017) discussed the career paths of women working in hotel housekeeping departments, and those in executive housekeeper positions in New Zealand. The authors observed that women tended to stay in these roles for the rest of their careers because when they tried for promotion to other departments (such as in F&B management) to prove their abilities, they encountered the career penalty of non-promotion to departments outside housekeeping. Men, by contrast, were able to use housekeeping experience as a career privilege, which meant they could be promoted to senior roles in other departments such as F&B quickly after a short-term experience in housekeeping management.

Marital or partnered status also affects work flexibility for women. Baum (2013) noted that women have significantly more difficulty than men when balancing work and personal lives because the responsibilities of family and care are still not shared equally. As a result, women have more career breaks or shorter working hours than men. This may have a negative impact on women's career development and promotion prospects (Baum, 2013).

Mooney's (2009) hotel study collected survey data from a sample of 600 women at supervisory or managerial level in Australian and New Zealand hotels; they achieved a 50% response rate, and followed up with semi-structured interviews. This study commented that the hotel culture of long hours has a strong impact on women with caregiving responsibilities as this made it difficult for them to find a balance between work and family life. Women with children have to juggle childcare and working hours. Therefore, being childless is an advantage for women's hotel management careers. Women with children therefore tend to choose housekeeping jobs with lower pay, because these fit with their children's school times. Therefore, Mooney and Ryan (2009) suggest that career flexibility as a key characteristic of a hotel management career, in which employee flexibility is seen as a positive characteristic, providing more job opportunities and higher wages. The long working hours culture in hospitality is a visible career barrier, because many women found their working hours and caregiving responsibilities incompatible (Mooney & Ryan, 2009)

4.3.3 Discrimination

McGregor and Davies (2018) explored the history of pay equity settlement in New Zealand by analysing data from care workers, providing two important and novel contributions to knowledge. Firstly, they found that achieving pay equity is a long and complex process and needs collaborative work with other sectors of the community (e.g. legal support, organisational efforts, women's voice, and government intervention). The second contribution was the empirical support for the concept of substantive equality. As McGregor and Davies (2018) stated, a lack of pay equity is an expression of discrimination in terms of status, pay and representation. Baum's (2013) study also stated that the gender pay gap represents a form of sex discrimination within the HCT sector. In addition, it is direct discrimination, because many countries have laws that prohibit discrimination in relation to wages. Furthermore, women's career choices are limited by discrimination (Mooney et al., 2017).

4.4 Chapter summary

The quantitative data provide proof that New Zealand has a gender pay gap, even though overall, women have higher educational qualifications. Occupational segregation exists in New Zealand workplaces. The qualitative data show that women earn less in hospitality workplaces, they work in the lowest paid service subsectors, such as housekeeping, and do not have access to job promotions from entry level jobs, such as room attendant, which is reflected in the vertical job index in hospitality industry discussed by Santero-Sanchez et al. (2015). More women than men work in part-time jobs and choose jobs that offer flexible working hours. These factors all affect women's career pathways. Whatever the measurement, the data reveal that men earn more than women. Although women have higher education levels, they still earn less. Occupational segregation in hospitality shows that men occupy more managerial positions, even though some of these jobs or functions are recognised as feminised. Men have more opportunities for promotion than women and are less affected by marital/partnered status, because mostly it is the women who take on family responsibilities; in contrast, women tend to choose jobs which offer flexible or convenient hours. Discrimination also emerged from the qualitative studies as an explanation for the gender pay gap in hospitality.

Chapter 5 Discussion

5.1 Introduction

This dissertation aimed to explore the historical trend of the gender pay gap in New Zealand, and the contributory reasons for the gap in the hospitality industry. Chapter 4 presented the key findings from the quantitative and qualitative data. The figures and facts gave a clear picture that indicates the present situation: facts about the gender pay gap, the devaluing of women's capital, and women's positioning in the workplace. In order to address the research questions, the key findings are compared and contrasted with theories in existing academic literature in this chapter. Firstly, the discussion addresses the first research question about the historical extent of the gender pay gap in New Zealand. Then, based on the key findings relating to the reasons for the gap, Section 5.3 discusses how women's capital is less valued than men's, and Sections 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6 discuss occupational segregation, the parenthood penalty for women, and discrimination.

5.2 Historical trend of the gender pay gap in New Zealand

It has taken almost 60 years for New Zealand to adopt statutory measures to address gender pay inequality. In spite of the many laws and policies implemented between 1960 to 2019, New Zealand still has a gender pay gap. In addition, equality legislation and policies have gone beyond demanding equal pay for equal work and include more gender-related equal treatment rights and issues of equality. However, there are persistent reports of discrimination and inequality in the process. New Zealand reports show that the gender pay gap was 9.2 percent in favour of men in 2018 (Statistics NZ, 2018). Although incomes have been rising, the wage gap between men and women has lasted a decade. Therefore, the gender pay gap existed 60 years ago, it existed during the development of the New Zealand hospitality industry, and it exists now (Statistics

NZ, 2018).

Previous studies have focused on the gender pay gap as a fact in New Zealand, showing the development of relevant laws and policies (See RNZ, 2018; CEVEP, 2013; Cook, 1994). McGregor and Davies (2018) indicated that while New Zealand has had equal pay legislation for several decades, progress in women's economic rights has been hampered by negative political willingness, different policy initiatives, infrequent and low use of legal strategies, and differing commitments from unionists and women's groups. In an earlier study, Wilson (1992) indicated that after the Equal Pay Act (1972), work to improve pay equity has largely been left to female unionists and women's civil society groups. McGregor, Davies, Giddings, and Pringle (2017) commented that the Government also shut down the labour department's pay and employment equity unit in 2009 and stopped the Public Service Pay Equity Review. This directly reflects the end of the New Zealand Government's intervention to resolve unequal wages based on gender.

However, as mentioned previously, pay equity is a basic human right (McGregor, 2013) and consistent with the requirements of sustainable development (UN, 2016), which requires the efforts of government and everyone in society, rather than relying on social groups dominated by women to maintain it.

5.3 Women's human capital is valued less than men's

Human capital is one explanation for the gender pay gap. In previous studies, the theory of human capital is described as the phenomenon in which people with higher productivity and education have higher wages – that is, they are highly skilled human capital (Thrane, 2008). In other words, having more male employees with higher education or skills than female employees, leads to a gender pay gap. The theory of human capital has been widely discussed in previous studies (Thrane, 2008;

McGillivray, 2015), however, even if women have the same qualifications and skills as men in comparable positions, there is still a pay gap. It is a form of discrimination and reflection of the lower status of women in society (Bakas et al., 2018; Lips, 2013 & Thareous, 2013). In a recent hospitality industry study, Bakas et al. (2018) discussed a perspective of gender awareness in terms of how gender plays an important role in employee selection. In other words, no matter what women's skill and education is, employers will choose male employees; the results of the present study are consistent with those of previous studies in this regard.

Quantitative data on education show that New Zealand has equity in education for women and men. More women have higher education levels than do men, with more bachelor's and postgraduate degrees (See Table 4.3). Even though the theory of human capital suggests that employers will hire more women with higher education for higher positions, there are still more men in managerial positions. When comparing women's and men's wages for similar skills, qualifications, or experience, data showed that women tend to be underpaid and undervalued in the global hospitality industry (Baum, 2013). Pacheco et al. (2017) commented that as a result of the change in education levels for men and women in New Zealand - from higher education for men to higher education for women - the differences in human capital narrowed considerably, but women's capital is still less valued than men's in the New Zealand labour market.

5.4 The influence of occupational segregation

Occupational segregation refers to horizontal and vertical segregation. The literature shows that based on personal characteristics and employer preferences, different employees will have different occupations with different wages (Gross, 1968; Petersen & Saporta, 2004; He & Wu, 2017). In addition, women in female-dominated occupations are paid different amounts. One reason is that on average, women earn less than do men, in the same male-dominated jobs. Also, on average, women still earn less

than do men, in female-dominated jobs (Petersen & Saporta, 2004). The results of this study show that New Zealand findings are consistent with those of previous studies, but with more evidence.

Baum's (2013) study showed that occupational segregation exists visibly and globally. Baum discussed two explanations for occupational segregation. The first one is that women tend to work in subordinate positions and professions where it is considered that women's 'innate' attributes can be commercialised, such as in care and household work. The second is that women tend to work in low-paid industries. As a result, there is segregation not only within an organisation but also within the industry (Baum, 2013). Santero-Sanchez et al. (2015) explored vertical segregation in the hotel industry as being more pronounced in jobs with lower skill levels. This was associated with kitchen staff, waitresses and domestic staff, which have the highest feminisation rates. Higher paid senior management and professional positions are more likely to be held by men. Occupational segregation is affected by tradition and gender stereotypes (Baum, 2013) and relates to previous studies on the influence of social identity on such stereotypes. As Zampoukos and Ioannides (2011) observed, women work in the female-dominated hospitality industry, which means that traditional social structure stereotypes in women's and men's work continue to dominate society. This is also evident in New Zealand.

Occupational segregation also shows in the New Zealand workplace (Table 4.4). The findings for New Zealand show that women are segregated into service sectors– this is supported by strong social and cultural barriers and traditional gender roles associated with a feminine nature or appearance. These feminised jobs include teaching, community and personal service workers and administration roles. More men than women work as managers, technicians, tradesmen, machinery operators, drivers, and labourers. Women dominate the services sector - accommodation and F&B, and care work, which are low-paid and feminised (McGregor & Davies, 2018). Parker and

Arrowsmith (2012) discussed the combined negative effects for women of horizontal and vertical segregation, combined the low wages prevalent in service sectors, which have the biggest effects of pay gap in services sectors.

Women are also segregated into different occupations in the hospitality industry in New Zealand, working in cleaning, reception and human resources roles. Men dominate as chefs, general managers and executive positions. Mooney et al. (2017) noted that it is taken for granted that women take housekeeping jobs at entry-level in hotels, because they are supposed to have 'innate' housekeeping skills. In other words, it is a women's privilege, because it is believed that women's natural skills and abilities are suited to housekeeping work. As Purcell (1996) discussed, a male general manager participant believed that receptionists should be women who have long legs, a good personality and between the age of 21 and 26. These job requirements seem to retain the traditional stereotyped characteristics and abilities of women but limit the choices for women working in hotels, leading to the existence of occupational segregation in hospitality. Therefore, women work in low-paid and low-skilled jobs, which creates a wage gap between men and women (Baum, Cheung et al., 2016).

Occupational segregation not only shows women will be segregated into female-dominated industries and jobs, but will also affect women's careers. In previous studies, this is one of the reasons given for the gender pay gap, because a greater pay gap exists in the higher hierarchical levels, and less women than men are in leadership positions in the hospitality industry (Bakas et al., 2018; Skalpe, 2007). Baum's study (2013) showed women have difficulties developing a career in HCT. New Zealand has the same phenomenon. Firstly, due to the effects of vertical segregation in New Zealand, women are less likely to get a leadership position, and there are less women in higher management positions (Pacheco et al., 2017; Parker & Arrowsmith, 2012). Secondly, in New Zealand's hospitality industry, there are fewer promotional opportunities that meet female employees' expectations. In addition, hotels provide fewer career

opportunities for women than for men (Mooney & Ryan, 2009). Therefore, occupational segregation will affect women's career paths and lead to the gender pay gap that exists at the higher hierarchical levels.

Overall, it can be seen that as a consequence of occupational segregation, which is affected by social structures and stereotypes, women dominate in service sector employment. Women also dominate the service sub-sectors of hospitality. In hospitality, women dominate in housekeeping and cleaning, which are low-paid and feminised. That is, women tend to work in the lowest skill-level departments such as in housekeeping and cleaning jobs in hospitality, receive the lowest pay rates, and therefore have no career paths.

5.5 The influence of parenthood for women

Previous studies discussed the characteristics of hospitality, which are long working hours, non-standard schedules, on-call hours, and geographical flexibility as prior conditions for career development. In addition, women are also expected to spend more time on family responsibilities in society (Cleveland, 2005; Clevenger & Singh, 2013). Therefore, parenthood is a penalty for women's careers, as confirmed by the results of this study.

The findings of this study show that women take more responsibilities in family life, which has negative effects on women's wages and careers in the hospitality industry (Baum, 2013). Baum observed that due to traditional stereotypes, women are expected to reduce their work time or come out of the labour market to take care of children. Responsibilities for the family are still not equally shared. Most women undertake the main task of taking care of family members. Women are often forced out of the labour market; the employment rate for women with dependent children is only 62.4%, compared with 91.4% for men with dependent children (Baum, 2013). As a result,

women have few chances of promotion, and shorter working hours than men have. This has negative impacts on women's career development, and means women work in low paid jobs. This problem also exists in New Zealand, where women are more than three times as likely as men are, to work part-time, at 30.4% and 8.8% respectively (Table 4.4). Furthermore, the density of women's working hours is lower than men's, which indicates that weekly hours worked by women are more fragmented than those of men (Pacheco et al., 2017).

In New Zealand hospitality, the need for flexible working hours is an important reason for women to work in housekeeping, because these hours fit school hours. If women do not have children or their children have already grown up, they will have an opportunity to build their career path; therefore, childlessness seems to be an occupational advantage for women in workplaces (Mooney, 2009). Mooney (2009) noted that women with young or school-age children are unable to be flexible enough to move, if their job needs them to travel somewhere for a long time. However, for hospitality promotion opportunities, it is necessary to be flexible and be able to relocate. Compared to women experiencing imbalance between life and work, male executives are more relaxed. Mooney et al. (2017) reported that male executives described how their wives leave their jobs to organise their family, which is difficult for dual-career households. In addition, if women show unwillingness to be flexible at work, they are considered unambitious. When women are willing to move, they also have trouble accessing the support systems enjoyed by their male peers to help them transfer into a new environment (Mooney et al., 2017). Therefore, it shows that motherhood is a penalty for most women's career paths and development and keeps women in low-paid positions in the hospitality industry.

5.6 The influence of discrimination

Inequity in pay can also be seen as discrimination in the workplace. In the lower levels

of work in the service sector, feminised hospitality departments (e.g. housekeeping), and entry-level jobs, women are not treated fairly. In practice, women and men are paid differently for the same work, even at lower levels. In previous studies, the gender pay gap is attributed to organisational discrimination affecting women's skills, working hours and efforts in the workplace (Lips, 2013). This discrimination is caused by the lower status of women in society (Tharenou, 2013). Occupational segregation is distributional discrimination in the workplace in terms of different occupations, recruitment, promotions, wages and efforts between men and women (Petersen & Saporta, 2004). The results of this study regrettably are, therefore, consistent with previous studies (McGregor & Davies, 2018; Baum, 2013; Mooney et al., 2017).

Empirical evidence of the gender pay gap in New Zealand shows that 16.59% of the pay gap can be explained by personal, educational, household, regional, occupational, industry and other job characteristics. However, 83% of the gap is "unexplained" (Pacheco et al., 2017, p. 7). In this respect, when the value of women and men working for a profit-oriented employer are at the same contribution level, and differences in wages exist, it is considered to be caused by sexism (RNZ, 2017). McGregor and Davies (2018) suggest that inequality of pay is status discrimination, pay discrimination and representativeness discrimination. In hospitality, Mooney et al. (2017) highlight the discriminatory promotional practices that limit women's employment choices in hospitality in New Zealand. Therefore, gender discrimination must be part of the reason for the gender pay gap in hospitality and in New Zealand.

5.7 Chapter summary

Overall, the gender pay gap is a global issue. New Zealand has a history of a gender pay gap that can be traced back to 60 years ago. Undoubtedly, the gender pay gap also occurs in the hospitality industry.

It discussed in the literature, human capital theory was one explanation for the gender pay gap. However, an increasing number of women have higher education and more qualifications, thus human capital does not explain the gender pay gap in New Zealand any more. It seems that women's capital is devalued in the labour market.

Occupational segregation is a stronger explanation for the gender pay gap, which is also influenced by gendered social structures and stereotypes. New Zealand and the hospitality industry show effects of occupational segregation. Occupational segregation causes women to be segregated into lower pay and lower skilled occupations and limits their career paths. And the gender pay gap also occurs in the higher hierarchical levels.

Due to the characteristics of hospitality work and the expectation that women will assume greater share family responsibilities, it is difficult for women to find more family-friendly jobs in other sectors of the hospitality industry; as such, their jobs tend to be low-paid and low-skilled, with flexible hours and no career path. Therefore, motherhood does not appear to go with having a career path and leads to being low paid; motherhood is a career penalty for women.

Gender discrimination is another reason for the gender pay gap in New Zealand and in hospitality. Occupational segregation is discrimination, which leads to women working at lower levels and low skilled occupations, and is discrimination in terms of devaluing women's work skills, working hours and efforts.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a conclusion to this dissertation on the gender pay gap in New Zealand and in the hospitality industry. Firstly, the chapter discusses the major findings in this study related to the research questions. Secondly, it provides theoretical and practical implications, and finally, it discusses the limitations of this study and offers recommendations for future research.

6.2 Research objectives and main findings

This research collected both quantitative and qualitative data to uncover facts about the gender pay gap and its causes. By analysing the data, this study was able to answer the research questions and fill a knowledge gap in the literature relating to reasons for the gender pay gap in hospitality and in New Zealand. This study concludes that the gender pay gap is a global issue. In New Zealand, even legislation and policies to protect women's rights have not prevented the gender pay gap over the last 60 years. The contributory factors to the gender pay gap are complex and influenced by each other.

The data analysis and review of the literature show that the causes of the gender pay gap consist of several intersecting factors and overlapping social elements. Firstly, in New Zealand, women's human capital is devalued in the labour market. Although women tend to have higher qualifications, these do not help them gain more pay or equal career opportunities with men. Secondly, occupational segregation is affected by social gendered structures and stereotypes, which segregates women into low-paid, low-skilled, feminised industries and departments in New Zealand and in hospitality, and leads to the gender pay gap. In addition, occupational segregation affects women's career paths. Fewer women than men work in leadership positions because many entry-

level jobs in hospitality do not have career paths.

Thirdly, marital/partnered status also reduces women's career opportunities, which in turn influences the gender pay gap in New Zealand and in hospitality. Due to the social expectations of women, where women and men share responsibility for their family, women spend more time and energy on family responsibilities. This affects women's availability, as women choose jobs that offer flexible hours. On the one hand this reduces the working hours that women work (32 hours per week), which are eight hours less than men's hours (40 hours per week) in New Zealand. On the other hand, it also influences women's opportunities for promotion in hospitality, as employers need employees (women and men) to be flexible to move. The last explanation is sexism in the labour market and in the workplace in New Zealand and in hospitality; sexism has been confirmed in previous studies and in the qualitative data analysis.

6.3 Theoretical and practical implications

This study aimed to explore the historical extent of the gender pay gap in New Zealand and the contributory factors. The most important contribution of this study is that the results provide a potential theoretical framework to explain the gender pay gap in New Zealand and in hospitality. Prior studies mainly focused on the general New Zealand situation, and women's work in the service sector (e.g. McGregor, Davies, et al., 2017; Pacheco et al., 2017; McGregor & Davies, 2018; Parker & Arrowsmith, 2012), and fewer studies (e.g. Baum, Cheung, et al., 2016) focused on New Zealand's hospitality industry. However, this study particularly allocated its focus to New Zealand and its hospitality industry, and identified the reasons for the gender pay gap. There are four inter-related reasons for the gender pay gap. In summary, the reasons are: 1) women's devalued capital, 2) gendered occupational segregation, 3) women's reduced career path opportunities, and 4) sex discrimination. Therefore, this study has contributed to the current literature on the gender pay gap in New Zealand.

The findings of this study provide practical implications for hospitality employers. Firstly, many women with children are disadvantaged because they cannot work flexible work hours. And employers believe they cannot. Therefore, there is an obligation for employers to provide flexible working hours for all employees and put in place research-based measures to reduced systemic discrimination against women. Secondly, organisations should give support to women who want career opportunities in hospitality. However, it is beyond the scope of this study to provide a solution for the sexism that disadvantages women in New Zealand society and workplaces.

6.4 Limitations of the study

In this dissertation, the interpretive approach was appropriate, but there are some limitations. Firstly, data were collected from relevant studies and government reports with limited numerical data. Ideally, this study would have had richer data and more varied data sources. That they were not available suggests this is a neglected area of research. Secondly, the study adopted a qualitative thematic analysis which was conducted by one researcher, thus, the process of coding data may have been affected by the researcher's personal interpretations. However, the coding was checked for accuracy and consistency by the researcher's supervisors and no concerns were raised. Thirdly, the result of this study particularly relates to the New Zealand hospitality industry. The findings may give insights into other service sub-sectors in New Zealand but are not generalisable to other contexts or countries.

6.5 Recommendations for future study

This dissertation identified the extent of the gender pay gap in New Zealand and identified only some contributory causes due to limited information. Further research could further investigate the reasons for the gender pay gap as well as explore potential

solutions, using a variety of methods. Due to New Zealand's equality in education, education does not explain the gender pay gap. However, it may be a different situation in other countries, and worth exploring.

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