

**The Effect of Multiculturalism and Colour Blindness on Individual and Team
Selection in the Workplace**

by

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ABSTRACT

THE EFFECT OF MULTICULTURALISM AND COLOUR BLINDNESS ON INDIVIDUAL AND TEAM SELECTION IN THE WORKPLACE

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The purpose of this thesis was to investigate the effect of exposure to multicultural and colour blind ideologies on discrimination in individual selection decisions, and diversity in team selection decisions. One hundred and fourteen participants role played a hiring manager in a large government organization, and were assigned to a multicultural, colour blind or control condition. Participants rated either an Arab Muslim or a White Canadian job applicant, and then selected a team to form a task force from a diverse pool of employees. However, the diversity ideology espoused by the organization did not have an effect on the individual or team selection decisions that participants made, or on attitudes towards diversity issues in the workplace. Possible explanations for non-significant results and implications for practice are discussed.

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The Effect of Multiculturalism and Colour Blindness on Individual and Team Selection in the Workplace

Over the last several decades, the Canadian bureaucracy at the federal, provincial, and municipal levels has offered a great deal of public assistance to the settlement and integration of immigrants and their cultures into Canada (Bloemraad, 2006). Multiculturalism has come to be viewed as an important piece of the Canadian identity (Wayland, 1997), and Canada has become one of the most ethnically and culturally diverse countries in the world.

The current study explored the potential of two competing diversity ideologies (colour blindness and multiculturalism) to support anti-discrimination initiatives in the workplace by determining their effects on hiring discrimination, team selection, and attitudes towards diversity issues in organizations. This introduction will discuss diversity in Canada, with a focus on the policy of multiculturalism that the Canadian government has adopted. Then, the issue of discrimination against minorities in Canada will be explored, with a focus on discrimination in the workplace. It will be explained why particular attention should be paid to this issue in the public sector. Then, the two opposing workplace diversity ideologies of colour blindness and multiculturalism will be defined and contrasted. A review of the previous literature in this area and its related shortcomings will follow, leading to the hypotheses of the current study.

Multiculturalism in Canada

The policy of multiculturalism in Canada was developed in the 1970's, and was designed to improve intergroup relations by encouraging members of all ethnic groups in Canada to interact with each other by promoting and sharing their own cultures (Berry, 1984). This policy culminated in the passing of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1988), which recognizes equal status regardless of ethnic origin, and promotes the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage. The policy seeks to avoid assimilation by

encouraging groups to maintain and develop themselves. This is in direct contrast to the United States, which has no official multiculturalism policy, and instead embraces an unofficial assimilation or “melting pot” approach to the incorporation of minorities into society (Keeble, 2005). This approach encourages a heterogeneous society to become more homogenous by having people from different backgrounds come together and embrace a common culture. The US government engages in relatively little outreach to immigrants, and though it has programs to assist ethnic minorities, they were originally conceived to serve the native-born population and are not well-equipped to handle the concerns of newcomers (Bloemraad, 2006).

Multiculturalism allows minorities to retain and develop their own group’s identity and culture, while at the same time maintaining positive relationships with other groups in society. Studies of attitudes among a variety of Aboriginal and ethnic groups in Canada show that there appears to be substantial preference for this type of integration of minorities (Berry, 1984). This notion is also supported by the fact that in the most recent Canada Census for which data is available, out of approximately 10 million individuals who self-identified as Canadian, over 4 million also indicated that they belong to at least one other ethnicity (Statistics Canada, 2008a).

One theory that has been put forth to explain why multiculturalism would have a positive effect on intergroup relationships is the contact hypothesis. This states that, under the appropriate conditions, interpersonal contact is an effective method of reducing prejudice between members of different groups (Allport, 1954). The appropriate conditions for this to occur include equal status between the groups, potential for cooperation, and sanctioning of contact by authorities, laws or customs. All of these conditions are present in the multicultural policy of Canada. Indeed, studies in Canada have generally shown support for the contact hypothesis. In one example, English-Canadian students who had high contact during a trip to Quebec City showed

significantly more positive attitudes towards French-Canadians than those who had low contact or no contact at all (Clément, Gardner & Smythe, 1977). A more recent study found that in geographic areas of Vancouver that had greater representation of homosexuals, there was less discrimination against male same-sex couples in the rental market (Lauster & Easterbrook, 2011).

However, in much of the world (especially Europe), there is a growing backlash against multiculturalism and a perception that it has failed (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010). Some believe that multiculturalism promotes the social isolation of immigrants, increases stereotyping, and therefore prejudice and discrimination. It is argued that multiculturalism encourages individuals to integrate into their local ethnic-based communities (e.g., volunteer organizations, places of employment and worship, and social and cultural networks), which then creates divisions with other communities (Cantle Report, 2001). The communities develop in parallel instead of developing together. It is claimed that this separation leads to physical segregation of different ethnic groups, which can eventually lead to residential ghettoization.

Some commentators believe multiculturalism in Canada will eventually fail as well, for the same reasons it has been perceived to have failed in other countries (Greggs, 2006). In response to these concerns, it has been pointed out that Canada scores well on many indicators of social integration, such as language acquisition, residential location of minorities, intermarriage, and participation in civic/political life (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010). Furthermore, public support for immigration in Canada is higher than other Western (especially European) countries (Simon & Sikich, 2007). In other countries, native-born individuals with a strong sense of national pride tend to be more distrusting of immigrants because they are seen as a threat to the national

identity (Sides & Citrin, 2007). However, in Canada because multiculturalism is part of the national identity, it serves as a link between minority groups and national pride.

Discrimination in Canada

Despite the relative success of multiculturalism in Canada, discrimination is still an issue that minorities must face. Broadly, discrimination can be defined as an intentional act committed by a member of an in-group that results in some type of injury to a member of an out-group (Giddens et al., 2009). Discrimination is the unfair treatment of a minority group member based on prejudice or ethnocentrism, and may manifest at the individual, cultural or institutional level (Jackson et al., 1998). In Canada, discrimination has occurred against groups including, but not limited to, ethnic minorities (Beiser et al., 2001), women (Butler, 2012), and older Canadians (Gunderson, 2003). In contemporary North America, discrimination tends to be more subtle (cool, distant and indirect) than blatant (hot, close and direct; Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997). An example of blatant prejudice is the belief that minorities are not as well off as the majority group because they are less able. Meanwhile, an example of subtle prejudice is that if minorities only tried harder they could be as well off as the majority group (Coenders et al., 2001). Because subtle discrimination is more difficult to detect than blatant discrimination, it is often necessary to document it through the perceptions of its victims (Hamberger & Hewstone, 1997). In addition to the direct harm that discrimination causes, individuals who perceive themselves to be the victims of moderate to high levels of prejudice describe psychological consequences including feelings of worthlessness, helplessness, powerlessness, sadness and fear (Essed, 1991). One study of the experiences of Southeast Asian refugees in Canada found that those who reported experiencing racial discrimination had higher levels of depression than those who reported no such experiences (Noh et al., 1999).

Workplace discrimination, in particular, is still an issue that is present within Canada. For example, it has been shown that women receive only 72% of the salary that their male counterparts receive (Statistics Canada, 2008b). With regard to racial discrimination, after a qualitative review of a sample of Canadian legal cases from 1980 to 1999, Al-Waaqfi and Jain (2008) concluded that in both pre and post-hiring situations, discrimination is still a problem in a variety of organizations and industries in the public and private sectors. Furthermore, there is an earnings gap in Canada between visible minorities and Whites (Pendakur, 2011) in the private sector (Hou & Coulombe, 2010).¹ This holds true even for skilled professionals. The earnings of immigrant visible minorities in fields such as engineering and nursing is not commensurate with their Canadian-born counterparts, especially for those who migrated to Canada at an older age with foreign credentials (Anisef et al., 2003). In the Waterloo region, immigrant salaries were lower than non-immigrant salaries for all levels of education (Workforce Planning Board of Waterloo Wellington Dufferin, 2009). This is of particular relevance because Waterloo is geographically very close to Guelph, where the current study was conducted.

It is clear that there are issues of discrimination and inequality in the workplace that still need to be addressed. It has been suggested that interventions that affect traditional areas of human resources practice (i.e. selection, recruitment, compensation, training and development) may be effective in reducing discrimination (Arthur & Doverspike, 2005). This study focused on the use of multicultural and colour blind framings of anti-discrimination policies as possible measures to increase and improve attitudes towards diversity, and decrease discrimination.

Given the importance that the Canadian government places on multiculturalism, it is logical to assume that people would expect it to abide by the acts that it creates before they

¹ The same is not true for the public sector, as much of the Canadian workforce in the public sector is heavily unionized and follows strict pay structures based on level and tenure.

expect any private organization to. In the public sector the federal government has mandated, through the Employment Equity Act (1995), that organizations adopt policies and practices to proactively increase the hiring, training, retention and promotion of members of four designated groups: women, visible minorities, Aboriginal peoples, and people with disabilities. Thus, some progress has been made in increasing the representation of minorities in the workplace (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, 2004). However, the act only applies to the federal Public Service, crown corporations and certain industries that are federally regulated. It is estimated that only 10 percent of the Canadian workforce is covered under the act (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada). It should also be noted that one of the main purposes of multiculturalism is to increase accessibility and accommodation for minorities who have historically been and presently are discriminated against (Song, 2010). It can be argued that it is the responsibility of the state to redress these injustices, so it is possible that people may believe that organizations in the public sector have more of an obligation to diversity and accommodation of minorities than the private sector does. Therefore this study focused on public sector organizations.

Anti-discrimination in the Workplace: Colour Blindness vs. Multiculturalism

Within the psychology literature, there are two broad conceptualizations of approaches to promote anti-discrimination in organizations: colour blindness and multiculturalism. Colour blindness and multiculturalism can be conceptualized as different approaches to acculturation. Acculturation represents the cultural and psychological changes that occur as a result of intercultural contact (Sam & Berry, 2010). There are two main issues of concern when discussing acculturation. They are the level of preference for maintaining one's cultural identity, and the level of preference for pursuing relationships with other cultures in the larger society.

This leads to four main acculturation strategies (Berry, 2005). The first strategy, separation, reflects individuals who want to maintain their own cultural identity, but do not wish to interact with other cultures. From the perspective of the majority group, the separation strategy is called segregation. The second approach is marginalization (minority viewpoint) or exclusion (majority viewpoint). In this situation individuals are uninterested or unable to maintain their cultural identity, and avoid interacting with other cultures. These two strategies are associated with a low desire for intergroup relationships and not related to colour blindness and multiculturalism. They will not be discussed here. When individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity (i.e., give up their cultural heritage and become absorbed into the dominant society), but still want to interact with other groups, the third strategy, assimilation, is defined. As a societal strategy for intergroup relations, it is called the 'melting pot' approach. It is based on the colour blind ideology. In the fourth approach individuals are interested in both maintaining their culture, and interacting with other groups. From an ethnic group's perspective this approach is called integration, and in the context of the larger society it is called multiculturalism.

When applied to organizations, colour blindness seeks to ignore the differences between people and treat everyone in the same manner. It stresses that all people are generally the same. The ideology suggests that organizations should be "melting pots," where cultural group identities are ignored in favour of the overarching identity of the organization. It stipulates that minorities should adapt to the majority group's way of life. Differences should be ignored, while similarities are embraced. Colour blindness suggests that people should avoid talking about racial or cultural differences. Equality in the way people are treated is a key component of colour blindness and factors such as ethnicity and gender should be irrelevant to outcomes. This approach closely aligns with the North American focus on individual achievement (Beteille,

2001). Colour blindness can be conceptualized as closely associated with the consistency principle of procedural justice. Procedural justice is concerned with the fairness of the processes through which outcomes are determined. The consistency principle stipulates that individuals will believe that the rules which determine outcomes or allocation of resources are fair if they are applied consistently and accurately (Leventhal, 1980). This principle forms the basis of many of the tenets of colour blindness.

The second approach to diversity in the workplace is multiculturalism, which functions in much the same manner at the organizational level as it does at the national level. It recognizes and celebrates ethnic differences. Multiculturalism stresses that people should strive to understand cultures that differ from their own and should actively engage in learning about other cultures. Multiculturalism recognizes that diversity is a source of strength (Cox & Blake, 1991). It also recognizes that ethnic groups have the right to maintain their cultural identities. Multicultural initiatives in the workplace can include mentoring programs for under-represented demographics, corporate “diversity days” where employees’ various ethnic backgrounds are highlighted, and diversity training which is designed to decrease bias and increase cultural awareness.

A component of multiculturalism that is absent from much of the research in the psychology literature is its intent to counter-balance the discrimination against minorities that has occurred in Western nations. Multiculturalism, as defined in the political philosophy literature, acknowledges the need to actively address the inequality in status and recognition between majority and minority groups (Kymlicka, 1995). In organizations, this can take the form of cultural accommodation. Reasonable accommodation entails recognizing that people have different circumstances resulting from their varied backgrounds, and making necessary and

appropriate adjustments, when needed in specific cases, to ensure that persons in designated groups enjoy privileges on an equal basis with others. For example, it has been shown that immigrant job applicants face difficulties in having their experience recognized as equivalent to standards established for Canadian workers (Krahn et al., 2000). Organizations should therefore make a special effort to verify the validity of foreign credentials when assessing immigrant job applicants. Another example may be to allow religious minorities to structure their breaks differently throughout the day to accommodate their prayers. Accommodation is a vital element of multiculturalism that is missing from much of the current research, and therefore it was included in the operationalization of the ideology in the current study.

Previous Research

Much of the research to date has concentrated on minorities' reactions to multiculturalism and colour blindness (e.g., Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008; Ryan et al., 2007; Stevens et al., 2008). It has been shown that majority group members' support for multiculturalism is positively correlated with minority group members' psychological engagement in the workplace, while majority group members' support for colour blindness is positively correlated with minority group members' perceptions of bias in the workplace (Plaut et al., 2009). Apfelbaum, Norton and Summers (2008) found that in situations where there is interracial interaction, Blacks viewed colour blind behaviour as more prejudiced compared to behaviour where racial differences were acknowledged. It has been found that ethnic minorities distrust colour blindness and view it as exclusionary compared with multiculturalism (Stevens et al., 2008). This is especially true when organizations do not appear to be very diverse in the first place (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). Minority group members may favour multiculturalism because it allows them to retain their

ethnic heritage, while colour blindness encourages these differences to be downplayed or ignored.

The current research focuses on majority group members' reactions to multicultural and colour blind ideologies. Therefore, previous studies involving majority group participants are of particular interest. It should be noted that all of the studies described below were conducted in the United States with undergraduate student participants. Among majority group members, exposure to a multicultural versus a colour blind ideology is associated with more positive attitudes toward minorities (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004). It was found that when White participants read a statement espousing colour blindness, they scored higher on measures of implicit (Implicit Association Test) and explicit (thermometer rating) bias toward Blacks when compared to participants who read a statement endorsing multiculturalism.

Another study tested the effect of multiculturalism and colour blindness on attitudes among college students (Correll et al., 2008). A new policy giving minority students preferential treatment in course selection was described. In one condition, class sizes would be expanded so there would be no adverse effect on majority students. In the second condition, majority students may not be able to register in the more popular classes. It was found that when space was limited, individuals who were exposed to colour blindness initially showed less bias toward minorities than those exposed to multiculturalism. However, when tested again after a 20 minute delay, those in the colour blind group showed a rebound effect and showed greater bias toward minorities than those in the multicultural group. It is possible that the colour blind training caused the individuals to initially conceal any resentment caused by the loss of spaces for majority students, but this effect quickly wore off. To summarize, multiculturalism may be more suitable than colour blindness as a long-term solution to mitigate prejudice against minorities,

especially in situations where there is the potential for conflict between majority and minority groups.

The stereotypicality of targets is also known to influence the effect of colour blind and multicultural ideologies on liking. Gutierrez and Unzueta (2010) found that White and Asian participants exposed to a multicultural ideology liked a stereotypical Black (basketball and hip-hop dancing) more than a non-stereotypical Black (surfing and country dancing). The opposite was found for participants exposed to a colour blind ideology: they liked the non-stereotypical Black more than the stereotypical one. This relationship is not surprising given that multiculturalism focuses on recognizing and promoting cultural differences.

As outlined above, studies have found that the effect of multicultural and colour blind ideologies on attitudes are somewhat mixed. Although some previous research has found that multiculturalism is more effective, other work has shown that both multiculturalism and colour blindness have positive effects on reducing discrimination (Correll et al., 2008; Wolsko et al., 2000).

The Current Study

Much of the research on multiculturalism has examined it from the minority group's perspective. This is especially true of research in organizational settings. The current study focused on majority group reactions to diversity initiatives in the workplace. Furthermore, previous studies that have been done in this area have not looked at changes in behaviour that occur after people have been exposed to multicultural or colour blind ideologies (e.g., Gutierrez & Unzueta, 2010; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Wolsko et al., 2006). These studies only measured explicit or implicit attitudes through the use of thermometer ratings, the Implicit Association Test, etc. This study attempted to determine the effect of multiculturalism and colour

blindness on individual and team selection decisions that people make in organizations. It should also be noted that many of the previous studies lacked a control condition, which provides a baseline with which to compare treatment conditions; this is a deficit that was addressed in the current study. With the inclusion of a control condition, it is possible to determine the effect of multicultural and colour blind interventions compared with having no anti-discrimination initiative at all. This will also be the first study that examines the effect of colour blind and multicultural initiatives in a Canadian setting.

The visible minorities that were represented in the current study are South Asians, Chinese, and Arabs. These groups were chosen because they are the most well-represented minorities in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2006), tend to report experiencing high levels of discrimination (Cassin et al., 2007), and are perceived by Canadians as facing higher levels of discrimination than other groups (Environics Research Group, 2010). The ethnicity of South Asians, Chinese, and Arabs also tend to be easily identifiable from their names alone, which made them suitable for inclusion in this study. Whites of British origin are the largest ethnic group in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2006). Therefore they were the majority group in the study, as their selection would not add to diversity.

Participants in this study role-played a manager with hiring responsibilities for a government organization and were assigned randomly to one of three conditions: multicultural, colour blindness or control. They were then asked to perform an individual selection task as well as a team selection task. For the individual selection task, participants were randomly assigned to rate either an Anglo-White Canadian or an Arab Canadian candidate. In addition to measuring discrimination, this task was designed to measure behaviour that increases organizational diversity, albeit on a relatively small scale.

Hypothesis 1: It is predicted that among participants in the control condition, those who evaluate the Arab candidate will give significantly lower ratings than those who evaluate the Anglo-White candidate. It is expected that participants in the multicultural and the colour blind conditions will rate the Arab candidates as highly as the Anglo-White candidates. Participants in all three conditions should rate the Anglo-White candidate equally high. This hypothesis will mostly confirm previous findings on the relationship between diversity ideologies and bias, but will extend previous work by determining the effect of multiculturalism and colour blindness on actual decisions that individuals make.

Teamwork in the Workplace

There has been a great deal of interest in teamwork in contemporary organizations. A random sample of US workplaces found that nearly half of them use some type of team in their operation (Devine et al., 1999). Teams were even more common in organizations with multiple departments, multiple divisions and more employees. Several theories that investigate teamwork have been proposed. One that is often cited in the literature is the cognitive diversity hypothesis. Cognitive diversity in the context of teams is defined as the degree to which team members differ in terms of skills, expertise, experiences and perspectives (Sauer et al., 2006). The theory proposes that cognitive diversity among heterogeneous members promotes creativity, innovation and problem solving, which result in superior performance. Because people from disparate backgrounds (e.g. ethnicity, gender, disability) would differ in their experiences, it is likely that greater demographic diversity in a team would be related to greater cognitive diversity. Given the potential benefits of team diversity and the prevalence of teams in organizations, especially larger institutions such as the ones found in the public sector, it is important to determine how to help people make better, less biased decisions in their selection of team members.

Following the individual selection task, participants completed a team selection task, where the candidates of interest differed in ethnicity and gender. This task was designed to measure support for diversity in the composition of teams. Within an organization, the selection of a single individual into a role has only a small effect on diversity. This is especially true for government organizations, which tend to be quite large. The composition of a group of employees chosen to form a team reflects support for diversity at a higher level than individual selection. After making their selection decisions, participants completed a survey measuring their attitudes towards three aspects of diversity in organizations: team diversity, anti-discrimination, and accommodation.

Hypothesis 2: It is predicted that participants in the multicultural condition will select teams with significantly more gender and ethnic diversity than participants in the colour blind or control conditions. Because colour blindness places emphasis on downplaying differences and embracing similarities between people, it is predicted that participants in the colour blind condition will select teams that are significantly less diverse than those in the control condition.

Hypothesis 3a: Given that both multiculturalism and colour blindness stress that all employees should be valued equally, it is predicted that participants in the multicultural and colour blind conditions will not significantly differ in their attitudes towards anti-discrimination in the workplace. Participants in the control condition will be significantly less supportive of anti-discrimination in organizations, compared to the other two conditions.

Hypothesis 3b: Given that multiculturalism focuses on the benefits and strengths of diversity, participants in the multicultural condition will have a more positive attitude

towards team diversity than participants in the colour blind and control conditions.

Participants in the colour blind and control conditions will not significantly differ from each other in their attitudes towards team diversity.

Hypothesis 3c: Given that multiculturalism seeks to redress inequities and encourages minorities to retain their cultures, it is predicted that participants in the multicultural condition will feel that accommodation of differences is fair, compared to those in the colour blind and control conditions. Colour blindness emphasizes that outcomes should be based purely on merit, and actively discourages differential treatment. Participants in the colour blind condition may believe that the notion of accommodation is a violation of procedural justice. Compared to the control condition, it is expected that they will be less likely to view accommodation in the workplace as fair.

Methodology

Participants for this study were Anglo-White undergraduate psychology students at the University of Guelph who completed the study for course credit. Additional participants were recruited through on-campus recruitment, and were compensated with a pizza lunch. A total of 106 students participated. As part of the pre-screen, potential participants were asked to indicate their ethnic origin. Only those who indicated British or Canadian were included in the study. Participants were placed randomly in one of three groups: multicultural, colour blind or control. They were told that they were going to play the role of a human resources manager with hiring responsibilities for a local branch of an unspecified government organization in the Greater Toronto Area. The GTA was chosen as the location because Toronto is one of the most ethnically diverse cities in Canada, so the ethnicity of the candidate pool would be more

believable to participants. They were told that the purpose of the study was to test the effect that social media has on hiring and selection decisions.

Participants were given an information packet that explained the benefits of working in the Canadian public service, which is readily available on the website of the Public Service Commission of Canada. It also included the organization's vision and values. The packet for the participants in the multiculturalism condition contained information that described and outlined the benefits of the organization's multicultural approach to diversity. The packet for the colour blind group detailed the colour blind approach to diversity, and the control packet contained no information on diversity. The information participants received was otherwise identical. The information packet for the colour blind condition is included in Appendix A, as an example.

In the workplace, when compared to ethnic minorities, lower support among Whites for diversity has been found (Plaut et al., 2011). One reason for this may be that majority groups (especially White males) are typically absent from organizational diversity messages, and therefore they may feel excluded. The authors found support for this notion by demonstrating that those who had a higher need to belong showed less support for multiculturalism in organizations. To avoid this effect, the operationalization of the diversity ideologies in the current study explicitly included majority group members.

The organization's colour blind philosophy is as follows:

We are committed to the principle of equality and providing a work environment free of discrimination and harassment for all employees. Differences between people are immaterial to the evaluations and promotion decisions we make. All of our hiring and promotion decisions are based on ability, experience and qualifications without regard to race, religion, nationality, gender, disability or sexual orientation. We encourage our

employees to take pride in their individual accomplishments. It doesn't matter who you are, we treat everyone the same and help you to learn our way of doing things. This philosophy holds true for everyone, majority and minority group members alike. What's important is that we are all equal. We encourage our employees to focus on things we share, rather than what divides us. We believe that such a fair atmosphere makes for a more unified and collaborative work environment.

The organization's multicultural philosophy is as follows:

We are dedicated to promoting a diverse culture in our organization, and encouraging employees to contribute using their own unique history. People have different life experiences based on their race, religion, nationality, gender, disability and sexual orientation. We understand that treating everyone fairly does not necessarily mean treating everyone the same; people come from different backgrounds and may have differing needs. We pledge to do everything within reason to accommodate these differences. We also respect our employees' rights to maintain their distinct cultural identities. We realize that people from certain groups have been discriminated against and continue to face unique challenges in the workplace. We will do our best to anticipate these challenges and adapt our workplace to better serve the needs of our employees. We recognize that our success is built on the unique skills and experiences that all employees bring to our organization. This philosophy holds true for everyone, majority and minority group members alike. We believe that different perspectives foster innovation, lead to better decisions, and add to our collective knowledge.

Task 1

The order of task 1 and task 2 was counter-balanced with participants being randomly assigned to complete task 1 first or second. Task 1 was a 3 (condition) x 2 (ethnicity of candidate) factorial design. Participants in the three conditions were given a job description for a supervisor position that needed to be filled. They were then given a resume and a structured interview evaluation (an interview with a standard set of questions and rating scale to evaluate responses) for either an Arab Canadian or an Anglo-White Canadian candidate. Previous studies have not explored the effect of multiculturalism and colour blindness on gender discrimination. It was decided that gender would not be studied in the first task because it would require a 3x2x2 design, which would require many more participants. To avoid any possible gender effects, both job candidates were male. Ethnicities were made apparent through the candidates' names (Arthur Watson and Akbar Khalid). To make ethnic group membership even more salient to participants, the Arab candidate's resume indicated that he was born in the United Arab Emirates, while the resume of the Anglo-White candidate indicated that he was born in Canada. The resumes were otherwise identical. The candidates were ambiguously qualified for the position. If the candidates were well-qualified, participants may have rated them both highly and there would have been less room to distinguish the effects of condition or ethnicity. As a manipulation check, participants were asked to recall the last name of the job candidate. The materials for the Arab candidate version of task 1 are included in Appendix B.

A between-subjects design was used for this task. It may have been possible to use a within-subjects design and have participants rate a White and an Arab job applicant. This would have had the advantage of increasing statistical power. However, a within-subjects design was rejected because rating an Arab and a White candidate would likely have made participants more

suspicious about the true purpose of the study, and it would have been difficult to make the applicants' qualifications appear equivalent, but different.

Task 2

The purpose of task 2 was to determine the effects of multiculturalism and colour blindness on team selection. A sample of the materials for the team selection task is included in Appendix C. Participants were told that they would be putting together a temporary task force to work on a project to help address an issue within the organization. They were told that there had recently been a couple of incidents of accidental employee injury and unauthorized access to the workplace. Participants were told that the organization would like to assemble a Workplace Health and Safety task force comprised of employees on the ground to make recommendations on how to best improve safety and security. This project would culminate with the team making a presentation to the executive board, and provide career advancement opportunities for team members. Participants were given a description of the project as well as the skills and experience team members will need to be successful. They were then told that they needed to recommend five of the eleven employees to form the task force.

Participants were given evaluations of each of the eleven employees that were ostensibly completed by the employees' supervisor. The evaluations were descriptive rather than numerical. This was to increase the ambiguity around which of the employees were most qualified for the team. If participants were given numerical evaluations of the employees, they may simply have chosen the ones with the five highest scores. All employees had 8-12 years of experience with the organization and were at the same level in the organization's hierarchy. Participants were not given any information on the employees' ages, sexual orientation, disability or any other demographic data. This was done so that the effect of condition on gender and ethnic diversity in

team selection could be determined without having the results confounded with any other aspects of diversity.

The ethnicity of candidates was chosen to closely approximate the ethnic mix in southern Ontario. Three of the employees were poorly qualified to join the team. Two of them were White male and the other a White female. It was expected that participants would almost never choose any of these employees. Two other employees (a White male and a White female) were highly rated and appeared well-qualified for the team. It was expected that participants would almost always select both of these employees. The remaining six employees had similar ratings and appeared ambiguously qualified to join the team. Their supervisor's descriptive evaluations stated that they possessed some of the skills necessary for the project, but were deficient in other areas. They consisted of two White males, one White female, one South Asian female, one East Asian male and one Arab male. The ethnic and gender mix for these six candidates was chosen to give participants the widest possible range of diversity to select from. They could have chosen to select all male candidates, mostly female candidates, or a mix. They could have chosen to select all White candidates, all ethnic minority candidates, or any mix in between. It was participants' selection from these six employees for the remaining three spots on the team that were of most interest and would indicate how strongly they support diversity in organizations. Table 1 summarizes the demographics information for the employees.

Within each level of qualification, employee names were randomly assigned to employee evaluations. After completing task 2, participants were administered a suspicion check. A total of 8 participants who were very suspicious were removed from all analyses.

Task 3

After completing the team selection task participants were given a 15 question survey measuring how strongly they agreed with a series of statements about attitudes towards team diversity, anti-discrimination and accommodation in organizations. Participants responded using a 7-point Likert-type scale. This task was administered last so that the issue of diversity would not be made salient to participants during the selection tasks. The survey is included in Appendix D. Questions 1 to 5 concern team diversity, questions 6 to 10 are about anti-discrimination, and questions 11 to 15 measure attitudes towards accommodation. It was necessary to create new scales to measure the constructs of interest because no suitable previous scales existed. Very few previous studies have examined support for accommodation and have focused on very specific aspects of accommodation, such as breastfeeding accommodation in the workplace (Seijts & Yip, 2008), making them unsuitable for use in the current study. Unfortunately, due to time constraints, it was not possible to scrutinize the validity and reliability of the scales before data collection began.

After completing the attitudes survey, participants were administered a manipulation check asking them to rate the organization's approach to anti-discrimination on a nine-point scale. The anchor at -4 was "Treat everyone equally/the same", 0 was "Don't know", and +4 was "Treat people differently, respecting differences".

Content Analysis

Majority group members tend to respond negatively to multiculturalism. Wolsko et al. (2006) found that compared to ethnic minorities, majority group members endorse multiculturalism to a lesser extent, and are less likely to support policies that promote diversity. The authors argued that for majority group members, endorsement of assimilation is relatively

strong because it indicates validation of their world view. Endorsement of multiculturalism, on the other hand, requires some weakening of the domination and homogeneity of the majority's culture.

To further study attitudes towards multicultural and colour blind policies, participants responded to an open-ended question after completing task 3. Participants' responses were analyzed using content analysis to explore any differences in reactions to colour blindness and multiculturalism. The question asked participants to describe the organization's approach to anti-discrimination. Asking participants to describe the ideology within the context of the organization allowed the effect of the ideologies on attitudes towards the organization to be explored as well.

Two coders, who were blind to participants' framing conditions, independently coded responses to the open-ended question. They looked for common elements in the responses and then together agreed on 15 codes to include in the final analysis. The coders then independently coded each participant's response against each of the 15 codes using a 5-point Likert-type scale where 0 indicates "not at all applicable", 1 is "slightly applicable", 2 is "moderately applicable", 3 is "strongly applicable" and 4 is very "strongly applicable". After completing independent ratings, the coders discussed each participant's response and agreed on consensus ratings.

Results

When the study was designed, it was anticipated that participants' level of suspicion may affect their responses. Participants who suspect the study concerns discrimination may act in more socially desirable ways. Therefore, before main analyses were completed, level of suspicion was explored to determine whether it predicted any of the dependent variables. The only variable of interest that was significantly predicted by suspicion was the accommodation

rating. Therefore suspicion will be treated as a covariate for that analysis. There were too few participants who were somewhat suspicious ($N = 17$) to explore suspicion as a moderator of the two condition effects.

It has been shown that individuals are more willing to express attitudes or behave in a manner that could be viewed as prejudiced when their past behaviour has established them as non-prejudiced (Monin & Miller, 2001). This phenomenon is known as moral credentialing. Therefore, there was some concern about task order effects in the current study. Participants were randomly assigned to complete either the individual or team selection task first. Therefore, task order was examined to determine whether it had an effect on the dependent variables, or interacted with condition. Task order did not interact with framing condition in the individual selection task, but did in the team selection task. The sample size ($N = 106$) was not large enough to enter task order into the full model as a factor. Therefore, for the team selection task analysis, the details of the interaction are reported, but only those participants who completed the team selection task first were included in the main analysis. There was also a main effect of task order on accommodation rating, so it was treated as a covariate for that analysis.²

Preliminary Analyses

Preliminary analyses were performed on the outcome variables of interest (Individual Selection Task: hiring recommendation, salary recommendation; Team Selection Task: number of ethnic minorities selected, number of females selected; Accommodation Scale). Descriptive statistics and correlations for the control condition are shown in Table 2, colour blind condition in Table 3, and multicultural condition in Table 4. The reliability for the three hiring

²Given the number of comparisons that needed to be made to study the effect of task order and suspicion, there was concern about a high familywise error rate. However, because these analyses were pre-planned, the Bonferroni correction was not used.

recommendation items was sufficiently high ($\alpha = .81$) for them to be treated as a single variable. As expected, salary recommendation was also significantly correlated with hiring recommendation. The number of ethnic minorities selected was not correlated with the number of females selected, so they were treated as separate measures of team diversity. Reliability analyses were performed on the workplace attitudes surveys. Cronbach's alpha for the three surveys was low: team diversity $\alpha = .33$, anti-discrimination $\alpha = .36$, accommodation $\alpha = .51$. Therefore they cannot be further analyzed. However, Cronbach's alpha for two of the accommodation items ("Organizations should be willing to make accommodations for members who are facing discrimination" and "Organizations need to make the effort to consider the circumstances of less privileged groups in their day to day operations") was acceptable ($\alpha = .72$), so they were used as the accommodation scale in the analyses.

Manipulation Check

To test the success of the manipulation, a one-way analysis of variance and a series of post-hoc Fisher's LSD test were completed. Recall that participants rated the organization's approach to diversity, with -4 representing colour blindness, 0 being don't know, and +4 representing multiculturalism. The effect of framing condition on scoring of the organization's approach to diversity was significant, $F(2, 103) = 7.41, p = .001, \eta^2 = .139$. Importantly, participants rated the organization's approach as more multicultural in the multicultural condition ($M = .97, SD = 2.93$) than in the color-blind condition, ($M = -1.41, SD = 2.75$), $p < .001$, and control condition ($M = -.29, SD = 2.02$), $p = .047$. Participants in the colour-blind condition rated the organization's approach to diversity as more colour-blind ($M = -1.41, SD = 2.75$) than in the control condition, ($M = -.29, SD = 2.02$), but the difference was not significant, $p = .070$. Therefore, although the difference between the colour-blind and control conditions was

not significant, the manipulation was mostly successful. For more information about participants' responses to the manipulation check, see Appendix E.

Main Analyses

Individual selection task – Task order analysis. Exploratory analyses were done to test the main effects of task order on hiring and salary recommendation, as well as task order's interaction with applicant ethnicity condition and framing condition. There were no significant main effects or interactions (all p 's > .181). Therefore, task order was not included as a covariate in the individual selection task analyses.

Individual selection task – Main analysis. The effect of condition on individual selection decisions was studied using a 3 (Framing Condition: Control vs. Colour Blind vs. Multicultural) x 2 (Applicant Ethnicity Condition: White vs. Arab) factorial analysis of variance. For hiring recommendation, the overall model was not significant, nor was the effect of framing condition, applicant ethnicity condition or their interaction. The findings are summarized in Table 5.

For salary recommendation, the overall model was not significant. There was also no effect of applicant ethnicity condition or interaction between applicant ethnicity condition and framing condition. Therefore, Hypothesis 1, which proposed that participants in the control condition who rated an Arab candidate would give significantly lower ratings than participants in all other conditions, was not supported.

The effect of framing condition on salary recommendation approached significance³, $F(2, 100) = 2.71, p = .071, \eta^2 = .051$. A post-hoc Fisher's LSD test showed that the control group (M

³ When analyses were repeated using only data from participants who completed the individual selection task first, the effect of framing condition on salary recommendation was no longer significant, $F(2, 46) = .551, p = .580, \eta^2 = .023$. Otherwise, the results obtained from those who

= 50,628.57, $SD = 5736.04$) recommended a significantly lower starting salary than the colour blind group ($M = 54,432.43$, $SD = 6761.99$), $p = .014$. The multicultural group ($M = 52,417.65$, $SD = 6778.78$) did not differ significantly from the colour blind ($M = 54,432.43$, $SD = 6761.99$), $p = .192$, or the control group ($M = 50,628.57$, $SD = 5736.04$), $p = .253$.

Team selection task – Task order analysis. For the team selection task, the total number of ambiguously qualified minority group members chosen for the team was used as the dependent variable. There was no main effect of task order $F(1, 100) = .18$, $p = .671$, $\eta^2 = .002$, nor did task order interact with framing condition, $F(2, 100) = .16$, $p = .857$, $\eta^2 = .003$. There was, however, a significant interaction between task order and applicant ethnicity condition, $F(1, 102) = 5.36$, $p = .023$, $\eta^2 = .050$. The interaction is shown in Figure 1. The simple effect of task order was not significant for those who rated the White candidate, $F(1, 102) = 1.99$, $p = .158$, or for those who rated the Arab candidate, $F(1, 102) = 3.43$, $p = .063$.

The simple effect of applicant ethnicity condition was not significant for those who completed the team selection task first, $F(1, 102) = .04$, $p = .184$, but was significant for those who completed the individual selection task first, $F(1, 102) = 11.95$, $p < .001$, such that those who rated the Arab candidate ($M = 2.40$, $SD = .71$) selected more total minorities than those who rated the White candidate ($M = 1.74$, $SD = .71$). Rating an Arab candidate in the individual selection task led participants to choose more diverse teams in the team selection task. This finding is interesting given that the Arab candidate was only marginally qualified for the position.

completed the individual selection task first were identical to those obtained from all participants.

Because the sample size was not large enough to enter task order into the analysis as a factor, only those participants who completed the team selection task first were included in the team selection main analysis.

Team selection task – Main analysis. For the team selection task, a one-way analysis of variance was used (Framing Condition: Control vs. Colour Blind vs. Multicultural). There was no significant effect of framing condition on team diversity, $F(2, 51) = .60, p = .551$. Therefore, Hypothesis 2, which predicted that those in the multicultural condition would choose the most diverse teams, followed by the control condition and then the colour blind condition, was not supported.

Accommodation scale – Task order analysis. There was a main effect of task order on attitudes towards accommodation, $F(1, 98) = 8.31, p = .005, \eta^2 = .078$, such that those who completed the individual selection task first ($M = 5.37, SD = 1.17$) were significantly less supportive of accommodation than those who completed the team selection task first ($M = 5.89, SD = .79$). There was no significant interaction between task order and framing condition, or task order and applicant ethnicity condition. Therefore, task order was included as a covariate in the accommodation scale analysis.

Accommodation scale – Main analysis. A 3 (Framing Condition: Control vs. Colour Blind vs. Multicultural) x 2 (Applicant Ethnicity Condition: White vs. Arab) factorial analysis of variance was used to study attitudes towards accommodation. The overall model was significant, $F(7, 98) = 4.33, p < .001, \eta^2 = .236$. There was a main effect of suspicion on attitudes towards accommodation, $F(1, 98) = 7.52, p < .007, \eta^2 = .071$, such that those who were somewhat suspicious ($M = 5.18, SD = 1.64$) were significantly less supportive of accommodation than those who were not suspicious ($M = 5.72, SD = .85$).

There was no significant main effect of framing condition. Therefore, Hypothesis 3c, which predicted that those in the multicultural condition would be the most supportive of accommodation, followed by the control condition and then the colour blind condition, was not supported. There was a significant effect of applicant ethnicity condition, $F(1, 98) = 5.16, p = .025, \eta^2 = .050$, such that those who rated an Arab candidate ($M = 5.81, SD = 1.09$) were significantly more supportive of accommodation than those who rated a White candidate ($M = 5.47, SD = .95$). The results of the analysis are shown in Table 6.

There was also a significant interaction between applicant ethnicity condition and framing condition, $F(2, 98) = 5.88, p = .004, \eta^2 = .107$. The interaction is shown in Figure 2. The simple effect of framing condition was not significant for those who rated a White candidate, $F(2, 98) = 1.65, p = .196$, but was significant for those who rated an Arab candidate, $F(2, 98) = 4.75, p = .011$. A post-hoc Fisher's LSD tests showed that, among those who rated an Arab candidate, those in the multicultural condition ($M = 5.31, SD = 1.58$) were significantly less supportive of accommodation than those in the control condition ($M = 6.20, SD = .70, p = .023$). However, there was no difference between those in the multicultural ($M = 5.31, SD = 1.58$) and those in the colour blind conditions ($M = 5.92, SD = .65, p = .095$). Among those who rated an Arab candidate, there was no difference in support for accommodation between those who were in the colour blind and control conditions, $p = .446$.

The simple effect of applicant ethnicity condition was significant for those in the colour blind condition, $F(1, 98) = 4.45, p = .035$, such that those who rated an Arab candidate ($M = 5.92, SD = .65$) were more supportive of accommodation than those who rated a White candidate ($M = 5.31, SD = 1.09$).

The simple effect of applicant ethnicity condition was also significant for those in the control condition, $F(1, 98) = 6.18, p = .014$, such that those who rated an Arab candidate ($M = 6.20, SD = .70$) were significantly more supportive of accommodation than those who rated a White candidate ($M = 5.35, SD = .75$).

Within the multicultural condition, there was no effect of applicant ethnicity, $F(1, 98) = .85, p = .362$. For those in the colour blind and control conditions, rating an Arab candidate led to greater support for accommodation than rating a White candidate. For those who rated an Arab candidate, being in the multicultural condition generally led to less support for accommodation, while being in the colour blind and control conditions led to more support for accommodation among Arab raters.

Content Analysis

Content analysis was performed using data from the probe of participants' understanding of the organization's approach to diversity. Two raters assigned a score between zero and four in each of 15 codes for every participant's response. Descriptive statistics and correlations among the codes are shown in Table 7. It was decided that codes would be analyzed individually because correlations and reliability among thematically related codes was too low.

Measures of inter-rater reliability are shown in Table 8. Free-marginal kappa was used, rather than fixed-marginal kappa because it has been suggested that free-marginal is more appropriate when raters are not forced to assign a certain number of cases to each category (Brennan & Prediger, 1981). Because its kappa and correlation were both below .70, the "Organization treats everyone equally/the same" code was not analyzed. All other codes were analyzed using a 3 (Framing Condition: Control vs. Colour Blind vs. Multicultural) x 2

(Applicant Ethnicity Condition: White vs. Arab) factorial analysis of variance. Analyses were done using consensus scores that were agreed upon by the two raters.

Description of Organization`s Approach to Diversity

Organization promotes diversity. This code concerns the organizations support for the traditional tenets of multiculturalism (i.e., recognizing and celebrating cultural differences). A main effect of framing condition was found, $F(2, 108) = 4.17, p = .018, \eta^2 = .072$. As expected, participants in the multicultural condition ($M = .84, SD = 1.46$) felt the organization promoted diversity significantly more than those in the control condition ($M = .10, SD = .64$), $p = .005$. There were no differences between those in the multicultural and colour blind condition ($M = .39, SD = 1.05$), $p = .086$, or between those in the colour blind and control conditions, $p = .249$.

Organization treats people differently/accommodates or respects differences. This code concerns how strongly the organization believes that differential treatment is appropriate for members of disadvantaged groups. A main effect of framing condition was found, $F(2, 108) = 23.59, p < .001, \eta^2 = .304$. As expected, participants in the multicultural condition ($M = 2.16, SD = 1.83$) felt the organization accommodated differences more than those in the control condition ($M = .28, SD = .86$), $p < .001$, and colour blind condition ($M = .47, SD = 1.11$), $p < .001$. There was no difference between those in the colour blind and control conditions, $p = .523$.

Organization has anti-discriminatory/non-racist policy. A main effect of framing condition was found, $F(2, 108) = 3.26, p = .042, \eta^2 = .057$. As expected, participants in the colour blind condition ($M = 1.71, SD = 1.69$) felt the organization was less discriminatory than those in the control condition ($M = .82, SD = 1.33$), $p = .014$. There was no difference between those in the multicultural and colour blind conditions, $p = .098$, or between those in the multicultural and control conditions, $p = .424$.

Evaluation of Organization's Approach to Diversity

Organization is currently diverse. There was no effect of framing condition, $F(2, 108) = 1.87, p = .159, \eta^2 = .033$ on belief that the organization is currently diverse. There was a marginally significant effect of applicant ethnicity condition, $F(1, 108) = 3.51, p = .064, \eta^2 = .031$.⁴ Participants who rated an Arab candidate ($M = .30, SD = .87$) viewed the organization as more diverse than those who rated a White candidate ($M = .07, SD = .37$). It seems that merely considering a minority job applicant compared to a White applicant led participants to believe the organization was more diverse.

Organization considers a diverse group of candidates/employees. A main effect of applicant ethnicity condition was found, $F(1, 108) = 9.13, p = .003, \eta^2 = .078$. Participants who rated an Arab candidate ($M = .82, SD = 1.45$) thought that the organization considers a diverse group of candidates more than those who rated a White candidate ($M = .19, SD = .63$). It is apparent that considering an Arab job applicant compared to a White job applicant caused participants to view the organization as more open to a diverse candidate pool.

Suspicion that organization is discriminatory. A marginally significant effect of framing condition was found, $F(2, 108) = 2.91, p = .059, \eta^2 = .051$. Those in the control condition ($M = .38, SD = 1.09$) suspected that the organization evaluated minorities more negatively compared to those in the multicultural condition ($M = .00, SD = .00$), $p = .023$. There was no difference between those in the colour blind ($M = .13, SD = .67$) and control conditions ($M = .38, SD = 1.09$), $p = .129$, and colour blind and multicultural condition ($M = .00, SD = .00$), $p = .434$.

⁴ When analyses were repeated using aggregate scores, rather than consensus scores, the marginal main effect of applicant ethnicity condition became significant in the same direction as with the consensus scores, $F(1, 108) = 5.34, p = .023, \eta^2 = .047$.

There was a significant interaction between framing condition and applicant ethnicity condition, $F(2, 108) = 3.70, p = .028, \eta^2 = .064$. The interaction is shown in Figure 3. For those who rated a White candidate, the simple effect of framing condition was not significant, $F(2, 108) = .44, p = .349$. For those who rated an Arab candidate, the effect of framing condition was significant, $F(2, 108) = 6.05, p = .002$, such that those who were in the control condition ($M = .74, SD = 1.49$) felt the organization evaluated minorities more negatively compared to those in the colour blind ($M = .05, SD = .23, p = .020$), and multicultural conditions ($M = .00, SD = .00$), $p = .013$; there was no significant difference between those in the colour blind ($M = .05, SD = .23$) and multicultural conditions ($M = .00, SD = .00$), $p = .856$. For those participants who rated an Arab candidate, being in the control condition led to greater perceptions that the organization negatively evaluated minorities compared to being in the colour blind or multicultural conditions.

There were no significant effects for the following codes: organization uses merit based selection, organization is fair/treats people fairly, organization respects employees, personal suggestion for organization to be more colour blind, disapproval of organization's approach/approach was unfair, approval of organization's approach.

Discussion

The starting point for this investigation was the previously demonstrated finding that being exposed to a multicultural or colour blind ideology impacts an individual's attitude towards minorities. This study attempted to apply this concept within a hypothetical organizational context, and extend it by determining whether being primed with multiculturalism or colour blindness could affect the selection and promotion decisions that individuals make. However, there was no support found for the hypotheses related to this notion. This section will

review the study's hypotheses and the research that lead to them, explore explanations for the non-significant results, highlight practical implications of the study's findings, and suggest directions for future research in the area.

Hypothesis 1 predicted that individuals in the control condition who rated Arab candidates would give lower ratings than individuals in all other conditions. The results did not show any differences between the experimental conditions. Hypothesis 2 predicted that participants in the multicultural condition would select more diverse teams than those in the colour blind and control conditions, but there were no significant differences based on framing condition. Hypotheses 3a and 3b could not be tested because the reliabilities for the anti-discrimination and team diversity scales were too low. Hypothesis 3c predicted that those in the multicultural condition would be most supportive of accommodation in organizations, followed by the control condition, and then the colour blind condition. There was, however, no significant effect of framing condition on attitudes towards accommodation.

The manipulation used in the current study was presented in a manner that was similar to previous studies, but it was buried within a large amount of information presented on the organization and task, and therefore may have been overlooked by participants. However, the fact that the manipulation check was successful indicates that participants did pay sufficient attention to the organization's diversity initiative as it was presented.

It was difficult to perform a power analysis before the study was conducted. Many previous studies in the area did not include a control condition in their design, or introduced a manipulation unrelated to the current research question, making it difficult to generate an accurate estimate of the expected effect size. Given the time constraints on data collection, the

sample size was made as large as possible, and was sufficient to perform the required statistical analyses.

Restriction of variance in some of the scales may have been an issue in this study. For example, the accommodation scale means were quite high in all three framing conditions (7-point scale: multicultural – $M = 5.6$, $SD = 1.3$; colour blind – $M = 5.6$, $SD = .9$; control – $M = 5.7$, $SD = .8$). One reason for this may have been that the items were too strongly worded. For example, participants may have found it difficult to disagree with the statement “Organizations should be willing to make accommodations for members who are facing discrimination” without appearing biased. It may have also been that among participants, support for accommodation was already high, and therefore, the manipulation had little effect.

There are several other methodological, theoretical and contextual reasons to explain the lack of significant findings in the current study. Even though the main hypotheses were not confirmed, the study did provide some insights that will be relevant for future research and that may be of practical significance to organizations interested in implementing diversity initiatives. The rest of this discussion will be devoted to exploring these issues.

Possible Methodological Reasons for Non-significant Results

The reliabilities of the team diversity and anti-discrimination scales were quite low (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .33$ and $.36$, respectively). This was surprising given that, thematically, the items in the scales were closely related. It would have been preferable to use previously established scales, but none existed that measured the attitudes of interest in an organizational setting. Given the time constraints, it was not possible to determine if the scales were sufficiently valid and reliable before data collection began.

The content analysis that was performed on the probe of participants' understanding of the organization's diversity policy revealed that participants who rated an Arab candidate felt the organization was more willing to consider a diverse group of candidates than those who rated a White candidate. Furthermore, even though the manipulation was successful, there was no effect of framing condition on participants' beliefs about how diverse the organization was. Taken together, these findings suggest that regardless of whether the organization had no diversity policy or explicitly supported multiculturalism or colour blindness, participants inferred that the organization supported diversity because of the wide range of employee/candidate ethnicities present in the selection tasks. When the study was designed, it was not anticipated that the ethnicities of employees/candidates would affect participants' impressions of the organization. However, the results outlined above indicate that they did. Belief that the organization supported diversity, regardless of its stated policy, may have affected the selection decisions that participants made during the study.

Another possible issue is that the sample was drawn from first year undergraduate students. It is likely that most of them had little or no experience working in a multicultural organizational setting. Furthermore, very few participants would have had actual hiring experience in an organization. Therefore, the mundane realism of the study was likely very low.

Possible Theoretical Reasons for Non-significant Results

The fact that none of the hypotheses bore out was quite surprising given that previous research has shown that exposure to multicultural and colour blind ideologies can affect attitudes towards discrimination. For example, Richeson and Nussbaum (2004) found that reading about a multicultural approach to inter-ethnic relations resulted in more positive implicit (Implicit

Association Test) and explicit (thermometer ratings) attitudes towards a racial minority compared with reading about a colour blind approach.

It has been understood for many years that behaviours do not always align with attitudes. A famous study from the 1930's found that out of 128 hotels and restaurants, 92% indicated that they would not accept people of Chinese descent into their establishments, yet only one restaurant refused service when actually visited by Chinese patrons (LaPiere, 1934). The theory of planned behaviour suggests that, in addition to attitudes, behaviours are also determined in part by subjective norms, which are perceptions of social normative pressures (Ajzen, 1991). Even though some participants may have held prejudiced attitudes, they may not have acted on them due to perceived social pressures and the substantial implications of decisions made in a selection context. This may help to explain the discrepancy between the effect of diversity ideologies on attitudes in previous studies, and their lack of effect on selection decisions in the current study.

Possible Contextual Reasons for Non-significant Results

It should be noted that previous studies that have been done on multiculturalism and colour blindness were conducted in the United States. At the federal level, the US has no clearly established laws regarding diversity. Meanwhile in Canada, the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1988) was passed with the aim of preserving and enhancing multiculturalism. The Multiculturalism Policy Index, which monitors the evolution of multicultural policies in realms such as employment equity, school curricula and the media, found that policies supporting immigrant groups and historic national minorities were strong in Canada, while only moderate in the United States (Multiculturalism Policy Index). It has also been shown that Canadians are more positive towards immigrants than Americans (Transatlantic Trends, 2010).

Group threat theory has been used to explain the anti-immigration views that people hold (Quillian, 1995). This theory posits that scarce resources (e.g., jobs) will lead to a fundamental conflict between dominant and subordinate groups over their distribution. Only 32% of Canadians believe that immigrants take jobs away, while 56% of Americans believe the same (Transatlantic Trends, 2010), indicating that Americans believe immigrants are more of a threat than Canadians do. Taken together, all of this may suggest that Canadians are more open to multiculturalism and more willing to select minority job candidates than Americans. Therefore, the diversity ideologies presented in the current study may have had less of an effect on participants than those presented in studies conducted in the United States.

Another potential issue may be related to the sample that was used. A study using data from the US General Social Survey found that lack of a college education, perceived threat to the English language, and political conservatism were all related to less favourable views of legal immigrants (Chandler & Tsai, 2001). The current study's sample was drawn from university students, in a country that has an official policy of bilingualism (Constitution Act, 1982), and is more politically liberal than the United States (Lipset, 1990). Again, this suggests that, even before participating, individuals in the current study may have already been more supportive of multiculturalism than participants in studies conducted in the United States.

Finally, given the research question that was being addressed, the current study was required to be quite exploratory in nature. While previous studies explored the effect of multiculturalism and colour blindness on attitudes, this study attempted to determine their effects on decisions that individuals make. The study also introduced new selection tasks that were necessary to measure diversity in selection decisions, and new scales to measure attitudes towards diverse teams, anti-discrimination and accommodation in the workplace. Given that

many components of the study were novel and untested, it is perhaps unsurprising that the results did not support the hypotheses.

Implications of Diversity Initiatives for Organizations

The content analysis demonstrated that simply considering an Arab job candidate led participants to view the organization as more currently diverse, and more willing to consider a diverse group of employees/candidates and for selection and promotion. This may have implications for how organizations promote their diversity initiatives. It has been suggested that an individual's attitude towards a concept or ideology can be affected by social cues in the environment (Levy et al., 2005). For example, it has been shown that the level of minority representation in an organization can interact with the organization's diversity policy to affect African Americans' trust in the setting (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). The current study indicates that majority group members also respond to similar cues.

Because of their ubiquity, people may be normalized to seeing diversity statements in job advertisements, and ignore them. If organizations want to attract both majority and minority group members who value diversity, they should go beyond simple diversity statements and truly highlight their diversity in their recruitment materials. Many public sector organizations already do this, perhaps in an effort to facilitate compliance with the Employment Equity Act (1995). However, employment equity legislation only applies to industries that are federally regulated. Private sector organizations could also adopt these recruitment techniques to increase the diversity of their candidate pools.

It is interesting to note that there was no effect of framing condition on participants' approval or disapproval of the organization's diversity approach, or on their beliefs that the organization treats people fairly, and respects employees. Previous research (conducted in the

United States) indicates that majority group members endorse the general notion of colour blindness over multiculturalism (Wolsko et al., 2006). Specifically in the workplace, lower support among White Americans for multicultural initiatives compared to colour blindness has also been found (Plaut et al., 2011). The current findings suggest that attitudes towards multiculturalism may be changing, or that they simply differ between Canada and the United States. Regardless, this indicates that organizations need not fear a backlash from majority group employees when introducing a multicultural diversity program.

The content analysis also revealed that participants in the control condition who rated an Arab candidate felt the organization was more discriminatory compared to those in the multicultural and colour blind conditions who rated an Arab candidate, and compared to those in the control condition who rated a White candidate. It is important to remember that the candidate's structured interview results indicated a mediocre evaluation. Across all candidates, participants in the control condition also felt the organization was more discriminatory than those in the multicultural condition. Taken together, these results indicate that when an organization does not have a diversity program in place and gives mediocre evaluations to minorities, people view the organization as being discriminatory. Having a multicultural diversity policy in place seems to insulate against this effect.

Future Directions

In any future study of multiculturalism and colour blindness in Canadian organizations, several issues should be considered. First, any scale that measures the effect of multiculturalism and colour blindness on attitudes towards diversity needs to be properly validated before use. Particular attention should be paid to the wording of items to ensure that there will be sufficient variance in responses.

Even though participants had a sufficient understanding of the organization's approach to diversity, it may not have been made clear enough to them that their decisions should be made with the organization's values in mind. In addition to the manipulation check used to determine whether participants understood the organization's approach, a second check should be used to gauge how closely participants felt they followed the particular ideology in making their decisions.

If participants are to make selection decisions at the aggregate level (e.g., similar to the team selection task in the current study), care should be taken to ensure that participants do not infer anything about the organization's level of support for diversity from the ethnic make-up of the candidates/employees. One possible solution may be to simply include more majority group members so that the amount minority group representation is not as salient.

Future studies should also avoid using undergraduate students as participants. Because of the established link between level of education and openness to immigrants, it would be more suitable to use a sample with a wider range of demographic characteristics. Also, due to the fact that, in general, Canada is more open to multiculturalism than the United States, it would be preferable to draw a sample from an area of Canada where support for multiculturalism is not as strong. For example, attitudes towards multiculturalism are not as positive in Quebec compared to other regions in Canada (Berry & Kalin, 1995), so a diversity initiative might have more of an impact there.

Given the diversity in the Canadian population, the issues of bias that are still present in selection and promotion decisions clearly need to be addressed. Unfortunately, the current study could not directly demonstrate that multicultural initiatives can reduce discrimination and increase diversity in organizations. However, it is difficult to argue that a multicultural ideology

does not belong in the workplace. As an approach to intergroup relations, integration is generally preferred to and more successful than assimilation (Berry, 1997). Multiculturalism provides the opportunity to celebrate the diversity of backgrounds individuals bring to organizations, and allows them to express their identity in the manner that they choose. Any intervention that leads to greater inclusion and participation for Canadian minorities, and increases the recognition of disadvantaged groups is worth pursuing.

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Table 1.

Demographic Information for Team Selection Task Candidates

Qualification	Gender	Ethnicity	Name
Well qualified	Male	White	Gavin Wilson
	Female	White	Charlotte Thompson
Ambiguously qualified	Male	White	Clark Taylor
	Male	White	Gordon Williams
	Female	White	Danielle Walker
	Male	Chinese	Han Cheng
	Male	Arab Muslim	Hashim Sadiq
	Female	South Asian	Lakshmi Patel
	Female	South Asian	Lakshmi Patel
Poorly qualified	Male	White	Patrick Young
	Male	White	Larry Mason
	Female	White	Dorothy Cooper

Table 2.

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations for Outcome Variables in Control Condition

	Mean	SD	Hiring rec.	Salary rec.	# Ethnic selected	# Females selected	Accom. scale
Hiring rec.	13.09	3.51	.87				
Salary rec.	50,068.57	5,736.04	.36*	-			
# Ethnic selected	1.51	.66	.17	-.01	-		
# Females selected	1.06	.68	.19	.10	-.13	-	
Accom. scale	5.71	.83	-.05	.23	-.23	-.10	.51

Note. N = 35, *p < .05, Cronbach's α 's are bolded and presented on the diagonal

Table 3.

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations for Outcome Variables in Colour Blind Condition

	Mean	SD	Hiring rec.	Salary rec.	# Ethnic selected	# Females selected	Accom. scale
Hiring rec.	13.70	3.02	.75				
Salary rec.	54,432.43	6,761.99	.33*	-			
# Ethnic selected	1.49	.69	-.24	.20	-		
# Females selected	.81	.62	-.12	-.14	.16	-	
Accom. scale	5.62	.93	-.21	-.19	.38*	.04	.64

Note. N = 37, *p < .05, Cronbach's α 's are bolded and presented on the diagonal

Table 4.

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations for Outcome Variables in Multicultural Condition

	Mean	SD	Hiring rec.	Salary rec.	# Ethnic selected	# Females selected	Accom. scale
Hiring rec.	13.47	3.17	.81				
Salary rec.	52,417.65	6,778.78	.01	-			
# Ethnic selected	1.53	.83	-.25	-.15	-		
# Females selected	.94	.74	-.20	-.05	.20	-	
Accom. scale	5.56	1.30	.27	.30	-.37*	-.19	.86

Note. N = 34, *p < .05, Cronbach's α 's are bolded and presented on the diagonal

Table 5.

Individual Selection Task ANOVA Results

Dependent Variable	Source	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	η^2
Hiring recommendation	Overall Model	5, 100	.54	.75	.026
	Framing Condition	2, 100	.23	.79	.005
	Applicant Ethnicity Condition	1, 100	1.76	.19	.017
	Interaction	2, 100	.16	.86	.003
Salary recommendation	Overall Model	5, 100	1.77	.13	.081
	Framing Condition	2, 100	2.71	.07	.051
	Applicant Ethnicity Condition	1, 100	.83	.37	.008
	Interaction	2, 100	.92	.40	.018

Note. N = 106

Table 6.

Accommodation Scale Analysis

	<i>F(df, 98)</i>	Significance	η^2
Overall model (<i>df</i> = 7)	4.33	.000	.236
Suspicion (<i>df</i> = 1)	7.52	.007	.071
Task order (<i>df</i> = 1)	8.31	.005	.078
Framing condition (<i>df</i> = 2)	.55	.577	.011
Applicant ethnicity condition (<i>df</i> = 1)	5.16	.025	.050
Framing x Applicant ethnicity (<i>df</i> = 2)	5.88	.004	.107

Note. N = 106

Table 7.

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations for Content Analysis Codes

	M	SD	Treats people fairly	Respects employees	Treats everyone equally	Promotes diversity	Considers diverse group of candidate	Currently diverse	Accommodates differences	Gives employees equal opportunity	Uses merit based selection	Anti-discriminatory policy	Suspicious of discrimination	Approval of organization approach	Disapproval of organization approach	Approach was unknown	Organization should be more colour blind
Treats people fairly	.96	1.55	-														
Respects employees	.55	1.20	-.10	-													
Treats everyone equally	.92	1.48	-.14	-.04	-												
Promotes diversity	.44	1.13	-.09	.27**	.23*	-											
Considers diverse group of candidates	.50	1.15	.03	.03	.03	.24*	-										
Currently diverse	.18	.67	-.07	-.11	-.07	-.08	.22*	-									
Accommodate differences	.96	1.56	.01	.47**	.00	.26**	.00	-.14	-								
Gives employees equal opportunity	.75	1.13	.00	.05	.25**	.05	.07	-.04	.14	-							
Uses merit based selection	.71	1.41	.10	-.15	-.13	-.18	-.02	-.08	-.20*	-.02	-						
Anti-discriminatory policy	1.21	1.58	.05	-.10	.03	.05	.34**	.12	-.15	-.11	.06	-					
Suspicious of discrimination	.18	.76	-.06	-.11	-.04	-.09	.19*	.23*	-.14	-.08	-.12	.01	-				
Approval of organization's approach	.30	.90	.20*	.01	-.15	-.13	-.01	-.05	-.12	-.06	.08	-.09	-.08	-			
Disapproval of organization's approach	.24	.76	-.14	-.05	-.06	-.12	-.13	-.09	-.10	-.08	-.04	-.12	.22*	-.11	-		
Approach was unknown	.39	1.03	.00	-.16	-.23*	-.15	-.12	.30**	-.18	-.25**	-.09	-.17	.01	-.11	-.09	-	
Organization should be more colour blind	.18	.72	-.06	-.11	-.08	-.10	-.04	-.05	-.15	.02	-.09	.00	.11	-.08	.28**	-.06	-

Note. N = 114, *p < .05, **p < .01

Table 8.

Inter-rater Reliability Statistics for Content Analysis Codes

Code	Percent overall agreement	Free-marginal kappa	Inter-rater Correlation
Organization is fair/treats people fairly	0.83	0.79	.91**
Organization respects employees	0.86	0.82	.68**
Organization treats everyone equally/the same	0.66	0.57	.67**
Organization promotes diversity	0.61	0.51	.82**
Organization considers a diverse group of candidates/employees	0.75	0.69	.70**
Organization is currently diverse	0.78	0.73	.50**
Organization treats people differently/accommodates or respects differences	0.83	0.79	.81**
Organization gives employees an equal opportunity to succeed	0.42	0.28	.78**
Organization uses merit based selection	0.85	0.81	.89**
Organization has anti-discriminatory/non-racist policy	0.57	0.46	.84**
Suspicion that organization is discriminatory	0.92	0.90	.95**
Approval of organization's approach	0.93	0.91	.90**
Disapproval of organization's approach/approach was unfair	0.89	0.87	.78**
Organization's approach was unknown or unclear/no mention of race or ethnicity was made	0.87	0.84	.81**
Personal suggestion for organization to be more colour blind	0.95	0.93	.93**

Note. ** $p < .01$

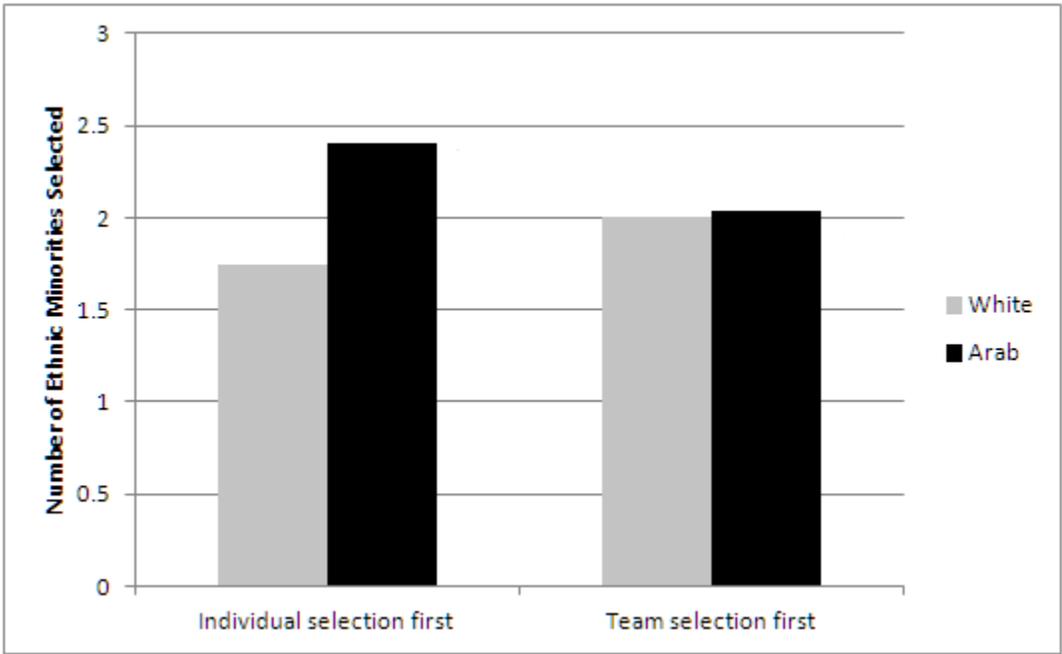


Figure 1. Interaction between task order and applicant ethnicity condition for total number of minorities selected.

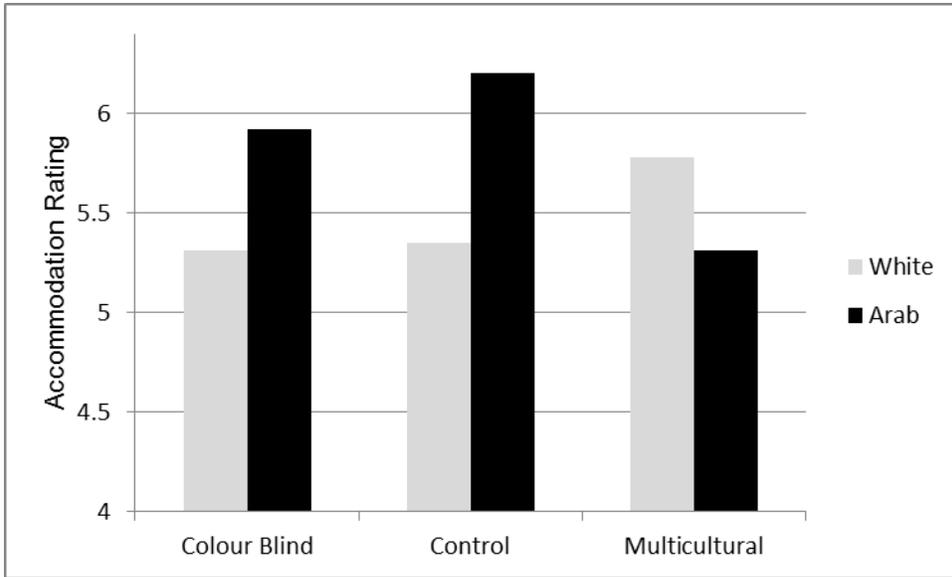


Figure 2. Interaction between framing condition and applicant ethnicity condition for accommodation rating.

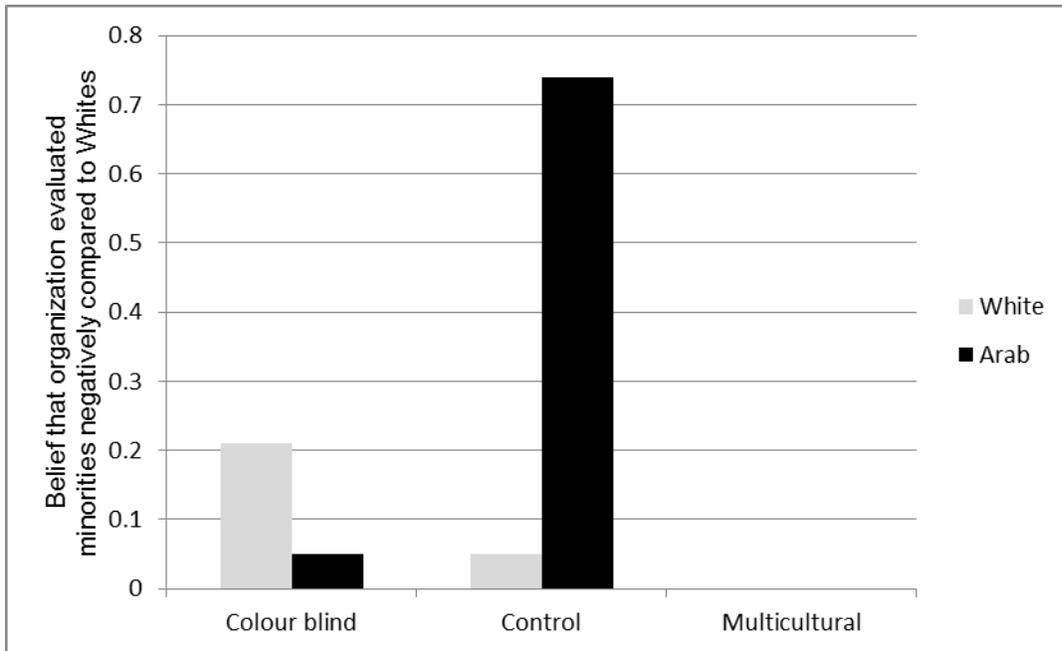


Figure 3. Interaction between framing condition and applicant ethnicity condition for belief that organization evaluated minorities more negatively compared to Whites.

Appendix A

Study Information and Instructions for Colour Blind Condition

Study Information and Instructions

In this study, you will be playing the role of a hiring manager for the local Toronto branch of a large government organization. It will be your job to make hiring and team selection decisions based on the information provided to you. This study consists of three tasks. In one task, you will evaluate a job candidate who is applying for a supervisor position in the organization. In another task, you will select a group of employees to form a team to address a specific issue the organization is facing. You will also complete a questionnaire about your attitudes towards employee issues in organizations. Once you have completed each task, please put your paperwork in the envelope provided.

The purpose of this study is to determine the factors people pay attention to when making hiring and selection decisions. In particular, we are interested in determining the effect that seeing information that job candidates post on social media sites, such as Facebook, has on the hiring decisions that managers make. Traditionally, employers would assess job candidates on the basis of their resume, their interview performance, and their letters of reference. However, over the last several years, people have made more and more information about themselves available on social media sites that organizations can access. It is unclear what kind of effect, positive or negative, this information has on the hiring and promotion decisions that managers make. Thus, in our study we will compare the evaluations made by assessors who can access printouts of candidates' Facebook pages with those made by assessors who cannot access candidates' Facebook pages.

On the first page in the envelope you will find information about the public service of Canada. As you will be playing the role of a hiring manager in the public service, it is important that you read through this information carefully.

The public service of Canada

The function of the public service of Canada is to support the country by implementing the rules, laws, and functions of the Canadian government.

The public service functions through over 200 departments, agencies, commissions, crown corporations, and other national organizations. We have staff in over 1,600 locations across Canada and 150 foreign countries. We are the nation's largest single employer.

Careers in the Canadian public service

Never stop learning

Expand skills and knowledge through continuous learning. The public service offers excellent learning and development opportunities for those who want to continue with their education, learn new skills or build a professional career. New employees can start building their skills the first day on the job!

Be part of a community

Canada's public service faces new challenges every day in a complex environment of a globalized economic landscape, fast-paced communications and information technologies, and new emerging issues. The public service needs employees' ideas and experience to remain relevant and effective in the 21st century.

Our Values

We will work to earn the respect and trust of all Canadians, and we take responsibility for our actions. Building and maintaining trusted relationships with our employees, partners, and the people we serve is fundamental to our reputation and our success. Our Code of Conduct explains the behaviour that is expected of employees at all levels of the government. Operating in an ethical manner is not just a matter of good practice; it is the right thing to do. Therefore, we pledge to act with integrity in all we do.

Treating Our Employees Fairly

We are committed to the principle of equality and providing a work environment free of discrimination and harassment for all employees. Differences between people are immaterial to the evaluations and promotion decisions we make. All of our hiring and promotion decisions are based on ability, experience and qualifications without regard to race, religion, nationality, gender, disability or sexual orientation. We encourage our employees to take pride in their individual accomplishments. It doesn't matter who you are, we treat everyone the same and help you to learn our way of doing things. This philosophy holds true for everyone, majority and minority group members alike. What's important is that we are all equal. We encourage our employees to focus on things we share, rather than what divides us. We believe that such a fair atmosphere makes for a more unified and collaborative work environment.

Appendix B

Task 1: Individual Selection (Arab Candidate Version)

Task 1 - Job Candidate Rating

Instructions

The organization currently needs to hire a supervisor for the operations department. As the hiring manager, it is your responsibility to evaluate job candidates who apply for this position.

On the following page, you will find a description of the supervisor job, including the skills and experience that are necessary to be successful. Please read this description carefully. After that you will find background information for a candidate, the results of his interview evaluation and his resume. Read through this information and then answer the questions on the following page to indicate how qualified you feel the candidate is for the job. You may look at the job description while you make your ratings of the candidate.

Job description

Job Title: Supervisor, Operations

City/Province: Toronto, Ontario

Employment Type: Permanent

Working Hours: 40/week

Job Closing Date: 4/15/2012

We are currently seeking a Supervisor to oversee processing operations within the Toronto branch of our organization.

The successful candidate will:

- Supervise the daily operation of a 15-member team to ensure efficient operations in accordance with regulations and procedures
- Set daily priorities for team members to ensure that deadlines and service commitments are met
- Supervise, coach, provide guidance and leadership to employees, promote a respectful environment in the workplace, and create learning opportunities for staff
- Complete human resources tasks such as staffing, performance management, attendance management, and resolve staff issues including taking disciplinary action if required
- Authorize the use of overtime as required
- Recommend improvements to optimize efficiency and implement changes
- Conduct daily observations of employee productivity, and work to improve performance
- Promote good relations with union representatives and the general public

Job Requirements

EDUCATION

- Bachelor's degree from a recognized university

WORK EXPERIENCE

- At least 3 years of experience working in a supervisory role

ADDITIONAL SKILLS

- In-depth knowledge of Microsoft Office and SAP business management software

ASSETS

- Work experience in a unionized environment

Applicant Background Information

Name: Akbar Khalid

Gender: Male

Date of Birth: June 16th, 1976

Country of Citizenship: Canada

Country of Birth: United Arab Emirates

Evaluation Summary for Mr. Khalid's Interview

Interview Question Used to Assess Teamwork:

"Tell me about a time when you had to work with a group in order to complete an important task"

Rating Scale Used by Interviewer

Behavioural Examples

5 (Outstanding)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Demonstrates an ability to communicate effectively• Supports and encourages team members
3 (Acceptable)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Typically gives feedback in a respectful manner• Sometimes shares ideas with other team members
1 (Poor)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Works separately from other team members• Shows a lack of respect for team decisions

Mr. Khalid's score on teamwork question: 1 2 (3) 4 5

Interview Question to Assess Decision-Making:

"Tell me about a time when you had to make a decision at work"

Rating Scale Used by Interviewer

Behavioural Examples

5 (Outstanding)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Strong grasp of the complexity of the issue• Able to make and support a difficult decision
3 (Acceptable)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Generally understands pros, cons, and risks of a decision• Makes a decision, but does not stand by it
1 (Poor)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Tries to avoid making a decision• Lacks accountability for any decision that is made

Mr. Khalid's score on decision-making question: 1 2 3 (4) 5

Interview Question Used to Assess Organizational Skills:

"Tell me about a time when you had to manage multiple tasks at once"

Rating Scale Used by Interviewer

Behavioural Examples

5 (Outstanding)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Creates a plan to manage the workload and follows it• Maintains discipline and prioritizes tasks
3 (Acceptable)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Completes all of the tasks, but undergoes stress in doing so• Haphazard in the way that he/she approaches the tasks
1 (Poor)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Does not develop a plan to manage the workload• Unable to successfully complete all the required tasks

Mr. Khalid's score on organizational skills question: 1 2 (3) 4 5

AKBAR KHALID - RESUME

Career Goal

To obtain a challenging and rewarding supervisory role in the public service.

Relevant Skills

- Two years of experience supervising a team in a fast-paced environment
- Excellent written and verbal communication skills
- Experience dealing with varied clients and staff
- Knowledge of the basic principles and procedures of filing and record keeping
- Familiar with the Microsoft Office software suite

Employment History

Mar 2010 – present **SYLAR INFORMATION SYSTEMS** as Customer Service Team Leader

200 Bay Street, Toronto, Ontario, L6H 5N9

- Supervised a team of 8 customer service representatives
- Ensured that the department ran efficiently, while maintaining a high level of service quality for our clients
- Managed the human resources functions for the team

Apr 2005 – Jan 2010 **CENTRE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT** as Analyst

4201 Steeles Avenue East, Toronto, Ontario, M4A 7W2

- Analyzed data for various indicators of the economy in Southern Ontario
- Prepared reports for presentation to government and business stakeholders

Education

Sept 1995 – Apr 1999 **UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO**

27 King's College Circle, Toronto, ON, M5S 1A1

- Bachelor of Arts (Economics major)

1. Different participants assessed different candidates so please write the name of the job candidate you read about in the space provided below:

Please indicate your agreement with the following statements. Don't spend too long on each question: go with your gut response.

2. This is a good applicant.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

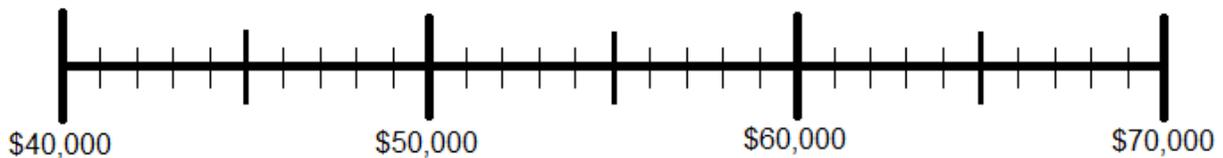
3. I would recommend hiring this applicant for the supervisor position.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

4. It is unlikely that this applicant will succeed in the role.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

5. If you were to hire this applicant, please use an "X" to indicate your recommended starting salary on the scale below:



Appendix C

Task 2: Team Selection

Task 2 - Team Selection

Workplace Health and Safety Project

Over the last few months, several workplace incidents have occurred that have put the health and safety of our employees at risk. Two accidents have occurred resulting in injury to some of our employees. There has also been an incident involving unauthorized access to our building by a third party. The organization is very concerned about these events and is keen to see that they are not repeated.

Therefore we would like to assemble a Workplace Health and Safety team comprised of current employees with intimate knowledge of our day-to-day operations. This team will investigate the causes of the recent incidents, and write a report outlining recommendations on how to best improve safety. The team will present this report to the executive board and other government officials, and take the lead on implementing the recommended changes. This is an important and high profile assignment, and could help further the careers of the individuals involved with it. Employees selected for the team will be excused from their regular duties while working on this project.

Instructions

As hiring manager for the organization, it is your responsibility to select a 5-member team who you think would be most successful at completing the health and safety project. You will be given evaluations for 11 employees who currently work in the organization. Based on these evaluations, you will first create a shortlist of 8 employees who you think are best suited for the project team. Then, you must choose the final 5-member team from the shortlist you created.

Employee Evaluations from Immediate Supervisor

Employee Name: Clark Taylor

Clark has proven to be very good at effectively communicating to people both internal and external to our organization. Also, he has often shown a readiness to pitch in and help his co-workers when needed. One issue I have noticed is that Clark lacks the ability to see the big picture. Clark cannot analyze the available information and make a recommendation.

Employee Name: Gordon Williams

During our department meetings, I have noticed that Gordon has usually been quite effective at examining the available data. I have also noticed that he continually supports the decisions that are made. One area where Gordon needs to improve is using his time effectively. Gordon needs to do a better job of organizing the various tasks he is involved in.

Employee Name: Gavin Wilson

Gavin has always shown an impressive ability to generate creative and effective solutions for issues that have arisen. He has also displayed a great deal of tact when dealing with clients and other employees. Furthermore, Gavin seems to be able to juggle multiple challenging tasks with ease. Overall, I would rate Gavin as an outstanding employee and a definite asset to the public service.

Employee Name: Dorothy Cooper

Dorothy adequately performs the tasks related to her job. However, she often does not know how to respond when an unexpected issue arises. I have noticed that Dorothy's writing skills are weak, and she has trouble communicating ideas in her reports. I would rate Dorothy below average compared to her coworkers.

Employee Name: Anjali Patel

Anjali has often shown an ability to write in a clear and effective manner. I have also known Anjali to always be thoughtful and respectful to co-workers. However, I have noticed that Anjali has trouble getting her point across during meetings, and needs to improve in this area.

Employee Name: Hashim Sadiq

Hashim has displayed excellent verbal communication skills during our department meetings and in presentations to other groups in the organization. He is also friendly and willing to help his co-workers.

However, I have noticed that when an irregularity occurs, Hashim is not able to analyze the information and find the cause. This is something Hashim needs to work on.

Employee Name: Charlotte Thompson

Charlotte has on many occasions displayed a great ability to solve difficult problems. She has excellent interpersonal skills, and is able to build a rapport with others very quickly. Charlotte has also shown a remarkable ability to manage several complex projects simultaneously. I have nothing negative to say about the work that Charlotte has done for this organization.

Employee Name: Patrick Young

Patrick completes his work in an efficient manner. However, he often needs me to tell him what to do when problems arise, as he is unable to handle them alone. Part of his job is to communicate what we are doing with other areas in the organization, but Patrick's written communication skills are poor. On the whole, Patrick's performance is unsatisfactory.

Employee Name: Danielle Walker

Danielle has consistently shown an ability to write effectively and concisely in several reports that she has written for this department. She is also a team player, and works well with colleagues. However, Danielle's ability to communicate verbally leaves something to be desired. Danielle has performed poorly when giving presentations and needs to work on this particular skill.

Employee Name: Han Cheng

Han is often quite good at analyzing the large amount of information available. He also shows a great deal of confidence and stands by his choices. One area that Han needs to improve is his time management. Han needs to learn what issues must be addressed immediately and what can wait until later.

Employee Name: Larry Mason

For the most part, Larry completes the work required by his job. He does not seem to have the ability to deal with unforeseen problems. He becomes confused and does not know what to do. I have also noticed that Larry has trouble communicating effectively in his writing. Overall, I am disappointed with Larry's performance.

1. Please list the **eight** employees who deserve to be on the shortlist for the project:

2. Of the eight employees you listed above, please identify the **five** employees who are most qualified to be on the final Workplace Health and Safety team by listing them below:

Appendix D

Task 3: Attitudes Survey

Task 3 - Workplace Attitudes Survey

Please refer to the rating scale below and indicate how strongly you agree with the following 15 statements by circling the appropriate response. Don't spend too long on each question: go with your gut response.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

1. Teams will make better decisions if their members bring different perspectives to the table.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. A group composed of diverse individuals will be more creative than a group composed of similar individuals.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. It is important for individuals to share the same personal values when they come together as a team.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4. Diversity is important to the effectiveness of a team.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5. The more similar individuals are, the less conflict there will be in a group.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. In organizations, employees won't always have an equal chance to succeed.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. In the workplace, people should **not** be treated unfairly based on group membership (e.g. ethnicity, gender, age).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

8. Sometimes in the workplace, it is unavoidable that some groups will be disadvantaged.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. Everyone in the workplace should be evaluated fairly and without prejudice.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. Employees in organizations should be compensated equally for doing the same work.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. Organizations should be willing to make accommodations for members who are facing discrimination.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

12. It is only fair that the same rules be applied to all groups of people, regardless of the circumstances of those groups.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

13. In the workplace we should respect the ethnic heritage of others.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

14. Organizations need to make the effort to consider the circumstances of less privileged groups in their day to day operations.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

15. Workplace policies can't always consider the various needs that minority groups might have.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Appendix E

Supplementary Manipulation Check Analysis

Among participants in the colour blind condition, 70% passed the manipulation check, meaning that they scored the organization's approach to diversity at ≤ 0 . Among those in the multicultural condition, 69% passed the manipulation check (scored the organization at ≥ 0). . For the control condition, all participants were included because it is unclear what would constitute passing the manipulation check. Having received no information about the organization's approach to diversity, some participants may give a 0 rating (don't know), while others may rely on their own beliefs about what public sector organizations do, and give scores that leans more towards colour blindness or multiculturalism. Exploratory analyses were done using only those participants who passed the manipulation check. The results did not differ from the ones obtained when all participants were included. Therefore, to maximize power, all participants from these two conditions were included in the analyses.