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THE EVOLUTION OF PREJUDICE THROUGH INTERGROUP CONTACT

by

MINHTRI TRUONG, B.A.

**A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of**

Master of Arts

Department of Psychology

**Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
August 20
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ISBN 0-315-79789-4

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submitted by Minhtri Truong, B.A.
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Thesis Supervisor

Chairman, Department of Psychology

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August, 1992

Abstract

It was proposed that the evolution of symbolic racism may distinguish it from old-fashioned racism in terms of how each type of prejudice is transformed through the experience of intergroup contact. The nature of the pre-existing prejudice was believed to constitute an important moderator of the effects of various dimensions of the intergroup contact situation. In particular, the typicality and valence of the behaviour displayed by members of an outgroup in that situation may differentially affect the prejudicial attitudes of symbolic and old-fashioned racists. It was expected that old-fashioned racists, who make clear delineation between ingroup and outgroup, would change the qualitative nature of their attitudes into symbolic racism following exposure to disconfirmatory stereotype information through positive contact with an atypical outgroup member. Symbolic racist attitudes, on the other hand, are based on notions that ingroup and outgroup equality already exists so that outgroup differences are based on their not taking advantage of the opportunities available to them in the same way ingroup members would. Thus, their attitudes were expected to evolve into non-racist ones only following positive contact with a typical outgroup member, since this form of contact should underline that the outgroup is indeed distinct from the ingroup but that this intergroup difference can be positive. English Canadian undergraduates ($N = 100$) preclassified as old-fashioned racists or symbolic racists evaluated scenarios, presented as newspaper articles, involving the behaviour of French Canadian characters. These scenarios represented the manipulations of contact. Subjects were randomly assigned to one of 4 conditions of positive or negative contact with French Canadians whose behaviour was also either typical or atypical of that group stereotype.

The effects of these contact manipulations on change in prejudice to French Canadians were assessed in a series of analyses of variance using traditional general measures of social distance, self-reported attitude and symbolic racism. Moreover, to examine qualitative changes in prejudice, evaluative and generalization ratings of subjects' stereotypic beliefs, symbolic beliefs and affect toward French Canadians were obtained. Results failed to support the hypotheses regarding the differential effects of contact on old-fashioned and symbolic racism as reflected by the component measures of belief and affect and other scales. However a reclassification of subjects on the basis of their self-reported attitudes and symbolic racism scores following contact suggested more positive attitude change among the symbolic racists than the old-fashioned racists. These findings were discussed in relation to the nature of disconfirmatory information presented, the effects of prior contact on perceived group typicality, and the role of group representativeness.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to my advisor, Dr. Kim Matheson, for her invaluable guidance and support throughout this project, and for a very enriching and enjoyable learning experience.

I would also like to express special thanks to my family, in particular my parents, for having been with me all along.

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Introduction

Race relations in the United States went through unprecedented changes during the sixties as a result of the civil rights movement. Many forms of institutionalized racism were eliminated and overall treatment of the disadvantaged black population has since evolved in the desired progressive direction. Today, although inequalities along racial lines still persist, they appear to have been considerably reduced (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986).

With improved black-white relations, one logically expects overt antiblack prejudice to diminish or at least become less acceptable. Researchers have in fact obtained evidence to support this view. McConahay and Hough (1976), for example, found that belief in the innate inferiority of blacks received little endorsement among white respondents. Other indicators of what McConahay (1986) calls "old-fashioned racism", such as opposition to interracial social contacts, were found to be equally unpopular.

However, the optimism generated by these kinds of findings soon gave way to concerns about the true nature of the transformations in racist attitudes. Questions were raised regarding the claim that America was well on its course toward social integration and equality. Much of the skepticism expressed could be traced back to a fundamental paradox described by Myrdal (1944) between America's commitment to egalitarian values and its white people's individualistic way of life that promotes prejudice and discrimination. An individualistic society emphasizes individual achievement through personal effort and ability and needs a certain degree of inequality to provide incentives for its members to attempt upward mobility as well as reward them for their eventual successes. Such emphasis on individualism in principle guarantees that opportunity and success are equally accessible to all those who deserve them regardless of their social background. In practice, however,

individual inequality coincides and becomes associated with group inequality as minority groups do not possess the adequate training and resources for taking advantage of the opportunities presumably available to them. Blacks for example are still largely overrepresented among the school drop-outs, unemployed and law offenders, and underrepresented among those holding high-income and important positions (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). Thus, to the extent that the notions of fairness and equal rights for all groups are fostered and become prevalent in society's value system, there results a value duality or conflict (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Kluegel & Smith, 1986). This conflict revolves around the question of how to define and situate the individual in terms of his or her social affiliations while ensuring his or her personal freedom. In other words, two of the defining characteristics of American society, namely freedom for the individual and social equality, are at odds with one another, and until these values are made to be compatible, genuine and lasting racial equality and harmony may not be achieved.

The problem outlined was first conceptualized and studied in the United States and may therefore seem unique to American society. However, it can exist in any social system that values freedom and equality and where majority and minority groups attempt to redefine relations between them. Thus, the processes involved in black-white relations in the United States, in particular the norms and strategies of social mobility and change, may be equally relevant to other intergroup situations such as French-English Canadians relations or male-female relations. Of course, societies differ in the forces and factors that have shaped them, and any extrapolation of American concepts to, for example, a Canadian social context, also needs to be made with consideration for such differences.

Social redefinitions often represent major challenges to those who undertake them. They require not only that former tangible arrangements be altered but also that former mentalities that have crystallized around those arrangements be transformed. The present study explored one approach for bringing about such changes in intergroup attitudes. In particular, many such attempts involve social programs that bring members of minority groups into contact with those of the majority group. Thus, the role of intergroup contact and the nature of that contact in the transformation of societal prejudices was examined.

The Concept of Symbolic Racism

A main concern among critics and social researchers in the post-civil-rights era is that racial prejudice has simply changed forms rather than disappeared. Traditional prejudice, which has been labelled "old-fashioned racism", consists of the belief that blacks are inherently inferior to whites. Critics have argued that such prejudice is simply being replaced by new types of prejudice. In other words, whites are still believed to oppose racial equality although the motives for such opposition, as well as the expression of it, no longer fit traditional notions and measures of racism. This evolution of racial prejudice has represented a subject of great debate among social scientists. In particular, one line of investigation involves the notion of "symbolic" or "modern" racism as a means of describing the type of racial prejudice found in the post-civil-rights era. The main researchers associated with this notion or concept (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay, Hardee & Batts, 1981; McConahay & Hough, 1976) propose that symbolic racism refers to a blend of racial affect and traditional individualistic American values. It is believed to manifest itself in political preferences and voting patterns, namely in the form of opposition to integration policies such as busing, housing desegregation and affirmative

action. How such a form of racism may have come about may be a function of some recent social developments and policies in the United States.

With its origins in the civil-rights period, symbolic racism can be argued to address an issue broader than racial intolerance. This issue involves an intolerance of group differences, and the difficulty in reconciling equality on the one hand and difference and diversity on the other. Since the civil-rights period, American society has been forced to confront the possibility that difference between groups should not necessarily entail a status inequality, nor should it be used to justify such inequality. In trying to come to terms with and accept this possibility, North American society has been going through a process of social questioning, and a transformation appears to be underway. In particular, equality for disadvantaged minority groups, such as blacks, and the means for achieving this equality became major social concerns. Therefore, desegregation programs, for example, were implemented and were intended to first eliminate discriminatory barriers, and second, to promote intergroup contact. It was initially expected that a feedback loop could be set in motion between coexistence and egalitarian contact with the reduction of interracial prejudice and hostility.

However, in a highly individualistic society, the elimination of institutional barriers resulted in a situation where black-white contact was viewed in interpersonal or color-blind terms and equality was taken to mean equality of opportunity based on individual merit and ability. Meritocratic standards and expectations were applied to blacks and whites alike with little consideration for the extent to which past institutional racism had created disadvantaged conditions for blacks. This situation left blacks in a difficult position, not only because they did not possess the necessary skills expected of

them to compete with whites, but also because their shortcomings were blamed on themselves (Pettigrew, 1979; Jones, 1986).

The move toward equality was therefore limited. Although it was inspired by universal justice principles and genuine moral concerns and implemented under the pressure of minority demands, the white majority had the final say in deciding its course. Change was allowed to take place only within the constraints of the white majority's value system. Yet whatever change had been achieved was sufficient cause for concern among whites that the black minority group might already be gaining too much.

Symbolic racism seems to have evolved as a reaction to these attempts to eliminate discrimination. Symbolic racism essentially consists of three main distinguishing features as documented by the literature. These pertain to 1) the role of values in symbolic racism, 2) the manifestations of such prejudice, and 3) the abstract nature of its expression.

Role of Values. Unlike old-fashioned racism, which is composed of beliefs in trait-based racial stereotypes (e.g., blacks are not as smart as whites, blacks are lazy, superstitious), symbolic racism consists of beliefs that blacks, through their collective demands, are violating cherished American values of individualism and self-reliance. In other words, because blacks are inherently equal to whites, it is expected that blacks should be left to compete with whites on an equal footing and not be assisted by special government policies and programs (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay, Hardee & Batts, 1981). The increased level of black-white interaction and contact due to desegregation programs has led to the disconfirmation of many of whites' negative beliefs about blacks' traits and individual characteristics. By the same token however, the fact that blacks as a group still require government help is understood by whites as an indication that blacks' idea of achieving

success is fundamentally different. It is taken to reflect a type of socialization that is unacceptable to whites and that, in a meritocratic society, will only perpetuate a group's disadvantaged position. The result is a value-based prejudice or symbolic racism.

The value component apparently denotes an essential motive for this type of racism which distinguishes it from old-fashioned racism. Although McConahay (1986) pointed out that both types of racism are based on abstract notions transmitted through socialization, symbolic racism seems to represent responses to perceived moral threats as evident in the perception that the outgroup violates basic ingroup values. Old-fashioned racism, on the other hand, encompasses threats directed at more tangible interests such as employment opportunity and personal safety. Moreover, symbolic racism, being value-based, concerns judgements regarding general life styles and aspirations of specific groups. Old-fashioned racism, on the other hand, is based on stereotypes regarding day-to-day behaviour and observable traits.

The notion of a value-based prejudice has in fact been the focus of a number of researchers' perspectives. For example, Zanna, Haddock and Isses (1990) proposed that symbolic beliefs, or beliefs that an outgroup facilitates or blocks the attainment of cherished values, constitute one component of prejudicial attitudes along with stereotypic beliefs (beliefs about a group's characteristics) and affect (feelings about a target group.) They further suggested that some situational factors, such as competition and cooperation and other contact conditions, could have different effects on these components. Moreover, they believed that the more prominent the symbolic component is in shaping the attitude toward a group, the more this attitude fulfills a value-expressive function, and affirms some fundamental aspects of the ingroup's identity .

Along the same lines, Kristiansen (1990) established that perceived value differences are tied to intergroup attitudes, because they function to convey and express attitudes held by members of one social group regarding members of another, rather than to express acceptance or rejection at the interpersonal level, that is between individuals as individuals (Taylor and Moghaddam, 1987.) The importance and relevance of values as they are related to intergroup attitudes and behaviour were also highlighted by Schwartz and Struch (1989). According to these researchers, value stereotypes, unlike trait stereotypes, are more relevant for guiding behaviour across situations, more commonly used to form impressions of others, and more reflective of the degree of perceived similarity or dissimilarity between groups, because they presumably occupy a higher level of abstraction in the mental representations of groups. Moreover, value stereotypes as beliefs about the abstract and moral goals that people aspire to achieve through observable behaviour (rather than the immediate motives of that behaviour) might allow for more interpretation and inference on the perceiver's part as to what constitutes confirming and disconfirming evidence of these stereotypes than would trait stereotypes.

Manifestations. McConahay (1986) along with Katz, Wackenhut and Hass (1986), proposed a second distinguishing aspect to symbolic racism, namely its manifestations. Symbolic racism, as a conflict between egalitarian and individualistic ideals, is believed to manifest itself in ambivalent feelings and behaviours in interracial interactions. This ambivalence usually translates itself into positive behaviour in contexts where social responsibility norms are clearly defined and salient, and negative behaviour in racially ambiguous conditions where prejudiced motives do not constitute the only possible explanation for behaviour. No prejudiced behaviour therefore would be

observed from symbolic racists if they were, for example, asked to help black accident victims. In contrast, these same individuals would vote against the implementation of affirmative action because their unwillingness to help blacks in this case could be justified in terms of a concern for adequate job performance. This view in many ways resembles Gaertner and Dovidio's (1986) concept of aversive racism. However, aversive racism differs from symbolic racism in that it manifests itself in day-to-day and interpersonal interaction settings, while symbolic racism is prevalent in more general political attitudes and preferences (Katz et al., 1986). Symbolic racism therefore may manifest itself most negatively in decision-making behaviour that would potentially grant minorities more power in the system, such as in voting and hiring decisions, .

It is important to note that because racial attitudes reflecting symbolic racism are substantially influenced by socialized non-racial norms and values, these attitudes are usually not consciously recognized as racially relevant. In other words, symbolic racists neither know nor believe they are being racist by holding attitudes that have a number of implications other than racial ones. In fact, their own definition of racism would be what has been referred to as old-fashioned racism (McConahay, 1986). As a result, unlike old-fashioned racists who would express a blatant negative attitude toward a minority outgroup, symbolic racists would express or report a positive evaluation of such a group. Symbolic racists' positive reported attitude, according to McConahay (1986), should not be taken as an effort on their part to disguise their prejudice, because it actually reflects these individuals' egalitarian beliefs which constitute the positive part of the mentioned paradox.

Abstract Nature. A third proposed characteristic of symbolic racism, touched on earlier, that distinguishes it from old-fashioned racism is its abstract nature or its unrelatedness to self-interest factors. McConahay (1982) and Sears et al. (1979, 1980) pointed out, for example, that whites whose private lives are most affected by busing are not necessarily its strongest opponents. This aspect of the concept underscores its particular approach to explaining whites' opposition to integration: This opposition is thought to result more from general racist attitudes than from whites' concerns about the specific effects of integration programs on their private lives. The term "symbolic", then, refers to the abstract justice principles and negative affect in which the new racism is rooted. This new racism has also been considered to be symbolic in a related but slightly different sense as suggested by McConahay (1986), namely that post-civil-rights policies such as busing and affirmative action may act as symbols of blacks' collective gains and demands that trigger whites' predisposed negative responses.

A Proposed Reconceptualization

In spite of a number of developments and apparent successes, attempts to study symbolic racism have been plagued by conceptual and methodological problems. In part, this stems from the conceptual definition of symbolic racism which often requires reference to old-fashioned prejudice. Although the process of defining any concept usually entails specifying what it is not, this makes it difficult to assess how symbolic racism fits in the larger picture of prejudice while at the same time being distinct and therefore a necessary construct for understanding intergroup attitudes.

In particular, symbolic racism is primarily criticized for its assumption that old-fashioned racism has disappeared and that racial prejudice has evolved into a different form that needs to be explained differently.

Sniderman and Tetlock (1986), for example, pointed out that the concept could represent nothing more than more socially acceptable expression of traditional prejudice by means of value justification. Indeed, not only did Sniderman and Tetlock (1986) suggest that symbolic racism could not be distinguished from old-fashioned racism, but as well that it could not be distinguished from nonprejudice. Namely, they believed that symbolic racism might facilitate the tendency to label people as racists, since there seems to be no clear limit to the kind of non-racial evidence in political preferences that is considered to be support for this theory or concept. For example, opposition to desegregation measures might just reflect disagreement about the means or how to best achieve it. Yet, such opposition could easily be labelled as an antiblack attitude, or symbolic racism. Thus, based on Sniderman and Tetlock's (1986) criticism, it appears necessary to clarify the distinct meaning and implications of the construct of symbolic racism, both conceptually and operationally.

Moreover, the fact that the main feature of symbolic racism consists of conflicting prejudiced and nonprejudiced feelings, such as antiblack affect, belief in individual merit and commitment to egalitarian values, gives rise to confusion as to how these elements are interrelated. It is therefore necessary not only to situate the concept within the post-civil-rights evolution of values and norms and to view it as an ambivalent response to a social dilemma, but also to extend these conceptualizations to include an understanding of the processes underlying the relationship between these elements.

In the present study, symbolic racism is construed as representing a step in the evolution of prejudice which involves qualitative changes in attitudinal processes and components. The perspective adopted is based on the notion that socialized values (e.g., individualism, self-reliance) are at the

origin of symbolic racism (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay, 1986), and that these values facilitate and motivate value-based attributions for persisting racial inequalities (Jones, 1986). It was therefore argued that this attribution process, believed to be linked to intergroup biases (Kristiansen, 1990; Tajfel, 1969), is only possible after some contact experience, and helps the majority group members make sense of this experience. Consistent with Pettigrew's (1979) ultimate attribution error, if the experience is positive, it is attributed to the individual minority group member's unique personality. Thus, positive attributes and behaviours are taken to reflect non-generalizable characteristics of individual minority group members. However, they may also serve to provide evidence that minority members are good and are similar to members of the ingroup. Therefore, if social inequalities remain, they can most ubiquitously be attributed to group differences in values. Furthermore, the violation of outgroup trait stereotypes may motivate value attributions in order to maintain one's own belief in the inherent effectiveness of the status quo to simultaneously allow equality and individual freedom.

Also in line with Pettigrew (1979), a negative contact experience would be expected to be explained in terms of group characteristics. However, whereas Pettigrew did not delineate the nature of these group characteristics, it was proposed in the present study that it may be necessary to distinguish between group traits and group values. On the basis of this distinction, it was suggested that a negative contact experience would be explained in terms of negative group traits and values. As a result, negative trait and value stereotypes regarding blacks are also confirmed in the contact process and feed back into the socialization process, thereby discouraging further black-white contact. Therefore, ultimately, in line with McConahay's (1986) view that old-fashioned racism has a social distance component, this type of

prejudice may differ from symbolic racism in that it represents opposition or resistance to interpersonal contact with blacks, over and above opposition to intergroup contact. Symbolic racists, unlike old-fashioned racists, are not opposed to friendship or other close relationships with individual blacks.

In short, it was proposed that the differences between old-fashioned racism and symbolic racism could be verified by focusing on differences in contact experiences, which in turn could provide evidence for the uniquely intergroup and non-interpersonal nature of symbolic racism. In particular, positive contact was hypothesized to result in the evolution of old-fashioned into symbolic racism, characterized by a positive perception of outgroup members and an openness to interpersonal contact, but a continued belief that social inequities are attributable to group differences in values and motivations.

If positive contact merely results in changing the form of prejudice, the next issue is to define the conditions under which prejudice will evolve into nonprejudice, that is conditions under which intergroup inequities are viewed as maintained by the social structure rather than characteristics within the outgroup. The interpersonal-intergroup distinction in combination with an attributional perspective may present some insight into contact as a means for eliminating racism. Traditional studies involving contact between groups have stressed the blurring of group boundaries and the facilitation of interpersonal liking and acceptance between members of the groups concerned (Brewer & Miller, 1984). The initial set of conditions put forward by theorists for positive and beneficial contact experiences include equal status of the participants, the salience of attributes that disconfirm prevailing stereotypes about each group, the presence of a joint goal that

requires cooperation for success, and a high potential for acquaintance to help the participants see one another as individuals (Amir, 1976; Cook, 1978).

In contrast, more recent investigations (Wilder, 1984b ; Hewstone & Brown, 1986) have emphasized the maintenance of group boundaries in contact settings. In line with the concern with ingroup biases, Hewstone and Brown pointed out that positive attitude change at the interpersonal level might not necessarily generalize to the intergroup level, as has been documented in previous research (Weber & Crocker, 1983; Wilder, 1984b). According to these researchers, if contact was to help overcome intergroup bias, it had to be approached in intergroup rather than interpersonal terms. In their view, generalization would only take place if group membership was kept salient. Generalization of positive attitudes toward an outgroup then would require a pleasant or successful contact experience with typical members of that outgroup.

The proposed view in this study conceptualized symbolic racism as resulting from unsuccessful integration and intergroup contact which has for the most part been attempted using an interpersonal orientation, under the specified ideal conditions (Amir, 1976). Such contact has proven to be unsatisfactory or unpleasant to the majority group members due to the minority group members' deficiencies, and although these deficiencies have structural causes, this fact is usually ignored by the majority. As a result, the negative intergroup attitudes are maintained, or at best, although some common negative trait stereotypes may be challenged through interaction and observation, negative value stereotypes or symbolic beliefs, which are more nebulous, still persist.

Thus, it might be that a contact approach which emphasizes group boundaries would not only facilitate generalization but may also produce

changes in symbolic beliefs about outgroup members, and thereby foster an acceptance of differences in group membership. More practical considerations might also reveal that in most interracial and interethnic contact situations, a strictly interpersonal or colour-blind approach, although conceivable, is very difficult to adopt, since obvious indicators of group membership such as skin colour and accent cannot be easily ignored or concealed. In other words, there exist obvious features or characteristics that make individuals representative of their respective groups. It would therefore be more realistic in any study of contact to recognize the presence of potential differences between groups, and to examine their role in changing the nature of intergroup attitudes.

Wilder (1984b) proposed that individuals in a contact setting could be representative or unrepresentative of their group in addition to being typical or atypical. The distinction between representativeness and typicality of the individuals involved, although not easy to make, constitutes an important aspect to understanding the dynamics of intergroup contact. Wilder (1984b) suggested that the individual's representativeness of the group involves background characteristics whereas typicality describes on-going behaviour. Thus, individuals would be representative to the extent that they possess characteristics which can be innate or acquired in the past and are considered as part of a particular group's experience and identity, such as the group's dominant religion or language (e.g., a French Canadian is representative to the extent that he or she speaks French and is Roman Catholic.) Representativeness then can activate a set of expectations on the part of the perceiver regarding a target person's behaviour.

The extent to which an individual is typical in turn could be understood as the extent to which the observed target behaviour can be considered an

expression of the group of interest. In other words, the degree of typicality of the behaviour indicates the extent to which the target person fits the set of expectations activated by the information regarding representativeness. If group representativeness is emphasized and kept constant, high typicality will likely provide confirmation for the given expectations or stereotypes, whereas low typicality or atypicality may lead to some revision of those expectations. On the other hand, revision is less likely to take place with atypicality if representativeness is low, since observed atypical behaviour will be regarded as isolated or exceptional to the individual.

For example, a French Canadian is more likely to disconfirm a stereotype about French Canadians by behaving in an atypical manner, if he or she speaks with a Quebec accent and is white than if he or she has a European accent or is black. Likewise, commercial messages often make use of the combination of high representativeness and atypical behaviour to promote the adoption of new products: people with characteristics representative of a demographic group such as teenagers or businessmen on these messages are shown engaging in the initially new and atypical behaviour of drinking a specific brand of coffee or driving a particular car. The intended effect of these messages is to revise the potential consumers' self-stereotypes by suggesting the adoption of the product of interest. It is therefore important to first activate these stereotypes by presenting highly representative members of the groups targetted.

Representativeness and typicality can be said to constitute two related roles played by perceived group characteristics in the process of stereotype maintenance or change, namely the roles of stereotype activation and confirmation or disconfirmation. Moreover, it appears that a contact situation will be perceived in intergroup rather than interpersonal terms if

representativeness is high, and behaviour disconfirming of the prevailing trait or value stereotypes would then be more easily attributed to group membership. In other words, by adopting an intergroup contact framework and providing stereotype disconfirming information, conditions could be created where the described attribution errors among old-fashioned and symbolic racists would be corrected, leading to nonprejudice.

The Present Study

A main goal in intergroup contact is to provide an opportunity for the individuals involved to acquire information about one another. In examining the effects of such contact on prejudicial attitudes, for methodological reasons, the contact situation had to be kept simple and its elements kept controllable. Such a situation, however, also had to be generalizable to other intergroup contact settings. It was believed that indirect vicarious contact rather than face-to-face contact could achieve these objectives.

The term contact in fact refers to both direct face-to-face interaction as well as more vicarious experiences. There is evidence, for example, that media exposure as a contact variable may be effective in influencing intergroup attitudes. For example, Berry (1979) reported media contact as an important variable in predicting Natives' attitudes toward assimilation and integration. Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) also noted that black representation in television programming and advertising and the roles they play relative to whites are associated with trends toward racial equality. Moreover, Wilder and Shapiro (1984) provided evidence that the mere presence of certain outgroup cues are sufficient to elicit many intergroup processes. Thus, insofar as contact provides an opportunity for the individuals involved to acquire information about one another, vicarious contact should be effective as long as it achieves

a reasonable level of involvement and identification with the participants on the part of those experiencing it.

In the present study, generalizability and identification required that the groups depicted in contact be relevant to the Canadian social context. Distinctions among groups in Canada are made more along ethnic lines rather than racial lines as in the United States. Instead of whites, the majority group was therefore represented by English Canadians. French Canadians were selected to be the target minority group because it represents one of the most important ethnic and cultural minorities in Canada with a long history of interaction with English Canadians. As a result, French Canadians were also most likely to elicit a wide range of prejudicial and nonprejudicial attitudes from English Canadians.

As previously suggested, within any intergroup contact setting, it was believed that responses to contact with members of an outgroup and the effect on intergroup attitudes may be moderated by a number of factors. Of primary importance is the kind of behaviour involved in the contact setting which provides the basis for any interpretation and evaluation of the outgroup. Moreover, the existing attitudes of the individuals involved regarding the respective outgroup may determine to a large extent how that interpretation or evaluation is done.

With respect to the behaviour in contact settings, Wilder (1984b) delineated four common possible kinds of behaviour which were viewed as relevant to changing old-fashioned and symbolic racism. They can be obtained by combining the valence of a behaviour, that is whether the behaviour is positive or negative, and its typicality, namely the extent to which the behaviour is perceived as consistent with a stereotype of the

outgroup or not. The behaviour by the outgroup member was therefore either positive or negative and typical or atypical of the outgroup stereotypes.

With respect to the second factor, the pre-existing prejudicial attitude, the differential effects of contact on old-fashioned and symbolic racism were examined. Consistent with theoretical definitions, old-fashioned racists were defined as expressing a negative attitude toward the target group. Therefore, if a person was willing to express blatant negative attitude to the outgroup, they could only be defined as an old-fashioned racist. Symbolic racists on the other hand were defined as expressing a positive attitude but also scoring high on symbolic racism scales used in past research.

Symbolic racism scales for the most part assess whites' attitudes to issues relevant to blacks including: 1) attitudes toward blacks' economic gains and toward the amount of attention they are receiving from the government and the media; 2) attitudes toward busing, affirmative action and similar programs as means to achieve desegregation; 3) perceptions of continued discrimination against blacks; and 4) the degree of understanding of blacks' anger with respect to their social position (McConahay, 1986). These items have been worded to minimize the scales' reactivity and facilitate the expression of racist attitudes while providing alternative non-racial motives for doing so. In this study, different operational approaches were integrated and applied to measure different aspects of the concepts of prejudice involved. Some measures of values were added, given the centrality of values to the conceptual definition of symbolic racism, and the group labels were changed from blacks to French Canadians.

While it may be possible to assess changes in the extent of prejudice by examining English Canadians' self-reported attitudes on attitude and symbolic racism scales before and following contact, this would not provide insight into

the qualitative nature of those changes. Alternatively, Zanna et al.'s (1990) approach to measuring prejudice allows for an assessment in changes in prejudicial attitudes along a number of components, namely stereotypic beliefs, symbolic beliefs, and affect. These components could be used to assess the qualitative evolution of old-fashioned into symbolic racists following contact, and the process of change that results in nonprejudice. In particular, this measure elicits respondents' beliefs about the traits and values of an outgroup and the feelings the respondents have. Truong and Matheson (1992) found that using this measure, old-fashioned racists expressed more negative affect to French Canadians and more negative stereotypic beliefs than did symbolic racists, although these two prejudice groups did not differ in terms of the symbolic beliefs they expressed, which were more negative than those expressed by a nonprejudiced group. Thus, if contact changes the underlying components of old-fashioned racists, the stereotypic beliefs and affect they express regarding French Canadians should be more positive. If the nature of their prejudice has simply evolved into symbolic racism, they should continue to express negative symbolic beliefs. However, if contact changes either old-fashioned racists or symbolic racists into nonracists, they will express positive symbolic beliefs as well as positive stereotypic beliefs and affect.

Formulating Hypotheses

The present study investigated the distinction between symbolic and old-fashioned prejudice as it was reflected in the differential responses of members of a majority group to a contact experience with a minority group. The contact context was chosen to be an intergroup rather than interpersonal approach. It was believed that only with the intergroup approach would there be significant generalization of attitudes and attitude change. Adopting an intergroup approach implied portraying target minority group members as

representative of their group. The nature of the attitude change resulting from the contact was expected to be a function of the interaction between two sets of determining factors, namely the behaviour of a minority group member in terms of valence and typicality and the existing attitudes of the perceivers from a majority group (see Figure 1).

Insert Figure 1 about here

It was hypothesized that in a contact setting, majority group members would explain the contact experience by making attributions either to the minority group members' traits or their values. Old-fashioned racists were expected to be predisposed by their existing attitude to reject minority members on the basis of their observable characteristics such as physical features, accent, and so on. To these majority members, such trait stereotypes would be highly relevant in any evaluation of that group. Old-fashioned racists would also be likely to oppose interpersonal contact with minority members because such contact involved being exposed to the disliked characteristics and would therefore express a need for more social distance with minority group members. These individuals' self-reported attitude toward the target minority group would then be negative and were expected to maintain a negative attitude with respect to the minority group following contact, unless the behaviour by the outgroup member(s) was atypical and positive. Typical or negative behaviour would not evoke change as such behaviour would be perceived as confirmatory evidence for the existing stereotypes, thus reinforcing beliefs in the racial status quo based on inherent characteristics. Atypical and positive behaviour on the part of the outgroup members, however, should act to disconfirm the prevailing negative beliefs

regarding the outgroup's inherent characteristics that are used to justify intergroup inequalities. The predicted change would be reflected in subsequent positive affect and stereotypic beliefs. Symbolic beliefs, however, were expected to remain negative, because they are derived from a persisting understanding that the minority's apparent difference in socialization practice was responsible for group's overall disadvantaged position. The resulting attitude then would evolve into one of symbolic racism.

Symbolic racists, on the other hand, were expected to be predisposed by their existing attitude to reject minority members only on the basis of group-based abstract characteristics, namely values, whose existence could be, as mentioned, inferred from the minority's disadvantaged social condition as well as certain negative behavioural outcomes. To these majority members, the values associated with the minority group in question would be most relevant in any evaluation of that group. These majority members would not be opposed to interpersonal contact with minority members because they would consider aversive traits to be individual rather than group-based. They would therefore show a low need for social distance as well as a positive self-reported attitude toward the minority group. However they would at the same time express prejudice on items measuring symbolic racism. In terms of the prejudice components, symbolic racists are characterized by positive affect and stereotypic beliefs and negative symbolic beliefs and were hypothesized to change their attitude, that is, to show positive symbolic beliefs only when they encountered typical and positive behaviour. Typicality in this case would underline the group-based character of the positive behaviour encountered and thereby disconfirm the prevailing negative value stereotypes. In a social environment where one is expected to conform to the majority's individualistic norms, typicality serves to redraw and requalify the group

boundaries. This should lead to the realization on the part of symbolic racists that the abstract negative group-based characteristics are to be blamed on the social structure and that the minority group could be positively different, and may have different needs from the majority group that are not met by the existing social structure.

In sum, symbolic racism is believed to evolve from old-fashioned racism through exposure to disconfirming information about the nature of target group's traits and inherent characteristics. However, because the target group's social status stays the same, the majority's belief in individualism leads to the justification of that group's status on the basis of negative value differences. The process of generalization of received information about a group and the inferences made regarding the group's values on the basis of that information was therefore expected to be instrumental in producing a nonracist attitude from a symbolic racist one. As values are usually expressed through behaviour, behaviour typical of the outgroup was necessary to convey information about that group's values. The information needed to be positive to produce positive evaluations. If the information was negative, not only would the perceiver's negative symbolic beliefs about the target group not change, but his or her positive stereotypic beliefs and affect may be questioned; the resulting attitude may revert back to an old-fashioned racist attitude.

Method

Design

To test the above hypotheses, a 2(racist attitude) x 2(typicality of contact behaviour) x 2(valence of contact behaviour) between-subject design was used. The first factor was the subjects' pre-existing attitude toward the target minority group. Subjects were selected on the basis of measures which

indicated they fit one of the two categories outlined, namely old-fashioned racist and symbolic racist. It had been determined in a pilot study that the target group would be French Canadians (see Appendix A). This group was selected because it elicited the most attitudinal variability in the potential subject population, namely Introductory Psychology students. The second and third factors reflected the nature of the behaviour depicted by the French Canadian outgroup member in the contact situations. In particular, the second factor was the typicality or atypicality of the behaviour as it was displayed by the member of the target minority group. The third factor consisted of the valence of the behaviour in question, namely how positive or negative it was.

Subjects

Subjects were 100 Introductory Psychology students (61 males and 39 females) who reported in mass testing that they were of English Canadian background. There were 12-14 subjects in each of the 8 conditions. They had been pretested in mass testing for their attitudes toward French Canadians and classified as old-fashioned racists or symbolic racists using the symbolic racism scale and the attitude thermometer¹. The old-fashioned racist category consisted of people who scored less than or equal to 50 on an attitude thermometer which ranged from 0 (extremely unfavourable to 100 (extremely favourable). In other words they were those who reported a blatant negative attitude toward the target group. The median for the mass testing sample ($n = 1018$) they were selected from was 70, but the cut-off point for old-fashioned racists was chosen to be 50 to obtain the more extreme cases. The symbolic racist category consisted of those who scored higher than or equal to 60 on the attitude thermometer and higher than or equal to the mass testing median of .44 on the symbolic racism scale which ranged from -4 (nonracist) to +4 (racist). These subjects therefore reported a favourable attitude toward

French Canadians but at the same time expressed a high degree of symbolic racism toward that group. As there were not enough symbolic racist subjects available for the study using attitude thermometer scores higher than or equal to the median of 70, the criterion had to be lowered to 60.

Subjects who were classified as either old-fashioned racists or symbolic racists were contacted by telephone and invited to participate in the study, which was described as a "Newsreporting Study" carried out jointly by the Psychology Department and the School of Journalism (see Appendix C for phone script). They were told that this study would involve reading and assessing the quality of a number of newsreports taken from Canadian newspapers. They were further told that because of the nature of the study, it was important that their first language was English. All subjects received experimental credits or money (\$7) for their participation.

Procedure

Upon arriving at the experiment, subjects were provided with a one-page description of the study. This description (see Appendix D) informed the subjects that the main focus of this newsreporting study was the assessment of differences in style and content of newspapers published in small towns in comparison to cities across Canada. It further said that the articles subjects were about to read had been matched for length, topic, and where appropriate, had been translated into English from another language. They were then told what their task would involve. After reading this description, subjects signed an informed consent form.

The main part of the study involved presenting subjects with a series of scenarios, which were set up as newspaper articles. Two of these articles were fillers and three of these articles represented the contact situations describing the behaviour of French Canadian characters. The fillers were actual articles

which had been allegedly taken from newspapers in a randomly selected region of Canada, but which in fact were all from Ontario newspapers. These articles described characters, with English names, involved in activities relevant to or typical of urban or rural people (see Appendix E). The urban or rural nature of these activities constituted the theme subjects had to answer questions about. The fillers were intended to reinforce the subjects' belief in the journalistic nature of the study.

The newsreports portraying the contact scenarios contained the experimental manipulations of typicality and valence (see Appendix F for scenarios). The effectiveness of these manipulations in terms of the representativeness of the main characters and the valence and typicality of their behaviour had been assessed in a pilot study (see Appendix G for pilot study). The scenarios depicted individuals or groups who possessed representative background characteristics of French Canadians (e.g., Catholic, from Trois-Rivieres), who cooperated with English Canadians to achieve some common objective. Conditions of equal status and common goals were incorporated to make them comparable to previous contact studies and to fulfill the necessary criteria for most effective contact. These scenarios were presented as short articles supposedly taken from a newspaper in Quebec. The focus of the scenarios was on the French Canadian individual involved and his particular behaviours. (It was deemed preferable to keep the French Canadian's sex constant, and males are also believed to be more representative of a given ethnic group than females.) All three experimental scenarios a subject read depicted the same type of behaviour in terms of typicality and valence².

After reading each scenario, (including the fillers), subjects were asked to fill out a questionnaire that had two parts: The first asked about the

subjects' perception of the journalistic or newsreporting quality of the article³, and the second assessed the impression subjects had of the target person in the contact situation. The first part served to enhance the cover story, whereas the second provided a manipulation check of the scenario (see Appendix H). The target character was consistently referred to as a "French Canadian" on the manipulation check questions. This group label was written in by hand in specific blanks on the questionnaire to give the impression that the same questionnaire was being used in the study for articles dealing with a wide range of possible groups.

In all, subjects read five articles divided into two sets. They were told that there were a number of questions following each article as well as a number of scales to be filled out after each set of articles. After the first set, which was always the filler set, a social desirability scale was given to subjects (see Appendix I) to assess whether symbolic racist subjects were more likely than old-fashioned racists to express socially acceptable responses. After the second set, attitudes to French Canadians were measured using Zanna et al.'s component measures of stereotypic and symbolic beliefs and affect as well as the attitude thermometer and symbolic racism and social distance scales. It was explained in writing on the first page of these measures that because the last articles happened to be dealing with French Canadian characters, subjects' attitudes toward French Canadians needed to be assessed and controlled for as it might affect their assessment of the articles. Upon completion of these measures, subjects were given a written debriefing which told them about the actual nature of the study (see Appendix K). It was discussed in the debriefing that, depending on the conditions the subjects had been in, their attitudes toward French Canadians may have been positively or negatively affected. Such a change, they were told, in particular a negative

one, should serve to illustrate to them how people's attitudes toward social groups could be influenced by very subtle cues in the environment acting in combination with other factors. As a result, it was hoped that subjects would acquire a better understanding of prejudice.

Measures

Manipulation check. Subjects' perceptions and understanding of the situation described in the scenario they read were assessed (see Appendix H). Using 9-point scales (from 1 (not at all) to 9 (extremely)), subjects rated the degree of typicality and the valence of the behaviour in each scenario, as well as the representativeness of the target. To assess the perceived typicality of the behaviour, subjects were asked to rate the extent to which they thought the French Canadian character's behaviour was "consistent with their own expectations" and with "English Canadians' expectations". A typicality index was calculated from the mean response on these two questions ($r = .56$) such that high scores reflected high perceived typicality. To assess perceived valence, subjects were asked to indicate how "likeable" they thought the target was, how "successful" the target character's actions would be, and "how appropriate or desirable" the target character's behaviour was. An index for valence was then computed by obtaining the mean on these three questions ($\text{Alpha} = .85$) such that high scores reflected more positively perceived behaviour. To assess perceived representativeness, subjects rated the extent to which the article provided a "realistic description of French Canadians", the extent to which the target "shared a unique past with other French Canadians", the extent to which the target "shared similar background characteristics with other French Canadians", the extent to which "the situation described represented a common occurrence", and the extent to which the subjects were "personally aware of such a situation occurring". A

representativeness score was initially calculated by obtaining the mean on all five questions such that a higher score indicated high perceived representativeness. However, to improve reliability, the two questions dealing with "a realistic description of French Canadians" and "unique past" had to be dropped for the final scale ($\alpha = .69$). The extent to which the contact situation involved equal status and common goals and the degree of identification with the majority group were also assessed.

Component measures of prejudice. The main measures of prejudicial attitudes toward French Canadians were those adopted from Zanna, Haddock and Esses (1990) that assess the three components of intergroup attitudes, namely stereotypic beliefs, symbolic beliefs and affect (see Appendix J). With respect to the stereotypic component, subjects were asked to generate a list of characteristics they believed described typical French Canadians. They were then asked to evaluate each characteristic, using a 5-point scale from -2 (extremely negative) to +2 (extremely positive). Finally, they were asked to indicate the percentage of typical group members that possess each characteristic. Symbolic beliefs and affect were assessed in a similar manner. For symbolic beliefs, subjects were asked to list the values, customs, or traditions they believed are facilitated or blocked by typical French Canadians. For affect, subjects were asked to list the feelings or emotions they experience when they see, meet or think about typical French Canadians.

To compute scores for each of these three components, Zanna et al. multiplied the evaluative ratings by the percentages. However, as these composite scores represented interactions between evaluations and percentages, their use in any statistical analyses requires that they be examined only after the variance explained by the main effects of each of the evaluative ratings and percentages had been removed. Therefore, for the sake

of parsimony, and the fact that the composite was highly correlated with the evaluations but not the percentages, evaluative scores and the percentage scores were calculated and were used for all further analyses. Thus, for each of the three prejudice components, respondents' mean evaluative ratings were calculated, such that higher scores reflected more positive evaluations. Mean percentages were also calculated, such that high percentages indicated that the characteristics were generalized to a greater number of members of the target group.

General Measures of Prejudice

The following measures were given to all potential subjects during mass testing. The symbolic racism scale and the attitude thermometer were used to pre-select old-fashioned racist and symbolic racist subjects for the present study. All measures were completed a second time by subjects in the study after they had received the contact manipulations.

Symbolic racism. To measure symbolic racism, subjects indicated the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with nine statements on a scale ranging from -4 (strongly disagree) to +4 (strongly agree). The first two statements, dealing with perceptions of the treatment of the target group, were items adopted from McConahay (1986), including "French Canadians are getting more government and media attention than they deserve" and "Discrimination against French Canadians is a thing of the past." The next two statements assessed perceptions of socialization and value differences. Specifically, subjects were asked "whether they thought that French Canadians' socialization experience deserves to be looked into", and "whether the goals and concerns of French Canadians are understandable". Both of these statements were newly created for this study. Another aspect of symbolic racism toward a group is opposition to preferential treatment action

to assist that group. Given the low reliability of the symbolic racism items as obtained in a pilot study, five statements about preferential treatment were therefore also included in the symbolic racism scale. These items, adopted from Kluegel and Smith (1986), included "Preferential treatment is needed to help French Canadians," "Preferential treatment for French Canadians is reverse discrimination against English Canadians," "French Canadians do not need preferential treatment to succeed; if able, they can do it on an individual basis," "During the last 10-20 years, the chances for French Canadians to get ahead have improved greatly," and "French Canadians and other minorities no longer face unfair employment conditions. In fact, they are favoured in many training and job programs." A symbolic racism score was calculated by obtaining the mean rating on all nine statements, such that high scores indicated a symbolic racist attitude ($\text{Alpha} = .67$).

Attitude thermometer. An attitude thermometer was used to assess subjects' general self-reported attitude toward French Canadians. The thermometer consists of a scale from 0 to 100. A rating of 0 would indicate an extremely unfavourable attitude, while a rating of 100 would indicate an extremely favourable attitude. A rating of 50 would mean an attitude that is neither favourable nor unfavourable (see Appendix J).

Social distance scale. The social distance scale was based on Byrnes and Kiger's (1988) social scale (see Appendix J). Subjects rated how they would feel about having a French Canadian in a number of social positions using a scale ranging from 1 (not at all comfortable) to 9 (very comfortable). These social positions included neighbour, roommate, spiritual counselor, close friend, employer, personal physician and co-worker. A final score of social distance was derived by taking the mean of the ratings obtained on all seven social

positions or items ($\text{Alpha} = .93$), such that high scores reflected less need for social distance.

Old-fashioned racism or trait-based prejudice measure. Embedded in the symbolic racism scale were three items assessing perceptions of innate differences between English and French Canadians (see Appendix J). They were adopted from Sears, Huddy and Schaffer's (1986) Equality Value Scale for assessing perceptions of black-white differences. These items included: "English Canadians are just better cut out than French Canadians for important positions in society", "We should give up on the goal of equality since English and French Canadians are so different to begin with", and "English Canadians are better at running things than French Canadians and should be allowed to do so". A mean rating score was calculated from responses on these three items, and a higher score indicated more old-fashioned or trait-based prejudice ($\text{Alpha} = .77$).

Results

Manipulation Check

To assess the effectiveness of the contact manipulations, 2(typicality of target behaviour: typical vs. atypical) X 2(valence of target behaviour: positive vs. negative) analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were performed on subjects' perceptions of the typicality and valence of the target characters in the scenarios. With perceived typicality as the dependent variable, subjects in the typical condition ($M = 5.57$) did not significantly differ from those in the atypical condition ($M = 5.89$), $F(1,96) = 2.03$, ns. Thus, despite achieving a difference between these two conditions in the pilot study, mean ratings suggest that subjects in this study did not perceive the typical and atypical conditions differently. In addition, the main effect for valence and the interaction between typicality and valence were not significant, $F_s < 1$.

With perceived valence as the dependent variable, subjects in the positive condition ($M = 5.04$) perceived the portrayed behaviour to be significantly more positive than those in the negative condition ($M = 4.17$), $F(1,96) = 14.33$, $p < .001$. Thus the valence manipulation seemed to produce the desired effect. The main effect for typicality and the interaction between typicality and valence were not significant, $F_s < 1$.

To ensure that none of the characters in the scenarios was viewed as more representative of French Canadians (as a function of their behaviour), a 2(typicality of behaviour) X 2(valence of behaviour) ANOVA on perceived representativeness of the characters was conducted. This analysis yielded no significant main or interaction effects, $F_s < 1$. The means for perceived representativeness across the four conditions ranged from 5.35 to 5.53, suggesting that the French Canadians in the scenarios were seen as moderately representative; (i.e., 5 was the midpoint on the 1 to 9 scale, with 9 being highly representative.)

With respect to the other basic criteria necessary for the success of contact, 2(typicality of behaviour) X 2(valence of behaviour) ANOVAs indicated no significant differences between conditions in terms of perceived equal status between English and French Canadians in the scenarios ($M = 5.80$), perceived common goals between English and French Canadians ($M = 6.86$), and the degree of the subjects' identification with the English Canadians in the scenarios ($M = 5.63$), $F_s < 1$. Again, given these means were at or above the midpoint on the 9-point rating scales, these results suggest that the necessary contact criteria were moderately satisfied across all conditions in this study.

Overall Pre-post Assessment of Prejudice Change

General prejudice change as a result of contact was first assessed on the basis of changes in participants' scores on the prejudice measures used for

preselection which were also completed following contact. These measures included the symbolic racism scale and the attitude thermometer which were used to categorize subjects into prejudice groups, as well as the scales of social distance and trait-based prejudice.

Changes in symbolic racism and attitude thermometer scores. To assess the effects of the contact manipulations on the measures of prejudice that were used to preselect subjects, separate 2(prejudice group: old-fashioned vs. symbolic racist) X 2(typicality) X 2(valence) X 2(pre vs. post contact scores (within-subjects)) mixed-measures ANOVAs were performed on subjects' symbolic racism scores and self-reported attitude on the attitude thermometer. In terms of symbolic racism, a significant main effect for pre-post scores was found, $F(1,92) = 12.28$, $p < .01$, indicating a significant overall decrease in symbolic racism in the scores following contact ($M = .21$) compared to the pre-contact scores ($M = .56$). As no significant interaction effect was found, the change in symbolic racism could not be attributed to any particular contact manipulations. In terms of self-reported attitude, the only significant effect was the interaction between prejudice group and pre-post measurement times, $F(1,91) = 31.94$, $p < .001$. Simple effects analyses indicate that the old-fashioned racists became more favourable towards French Canadians ($M(\text{pre}) = 35.42$ vs. $M(\text{post}) = 43.81$), $t(47) = -2.82$, $p < .001$, whereas the symbolic racists became less favourable ($M(\text{pre}) = 84.50$ vs. $M(\text{post}) = 69.25$), $t(50) = 5.37$, $p < .05$. These results also suggest that self-reported attitude was not significantly affected by the contact manipulations.

Because this analysis did not consider that these two measures were used in combination to preclassify subjects, change in prejudice was also assessed by examining which prejudice group subjects fell into following contact, using the original mass-testing classification criteria. Subjects (all of whom

were originally old-fashioned or symbolic racists) were reclassified into three categories, namely old-fashioned racist, symbolic racist and nonracist, on the basis of their post-contact symbolic racism scores and their self-reported attitudes on the attitude thermometer. As was done for preselection, subjects were classified as old-fashioned racists if their attitude thermometer scores were less than the original sample median of 50. Subjects with attitude thermometer scores greater than or equal to 60 and symbolic racism scores greater than or equal to the sample median of .44 were classified as symbolic racists. Those with attitude thermometer scores greater than or equal to 60 and symbolic racism scores less than .44 were considered non-racists⁵.

Tables 1 and 2 show the classification results for pre-contact old-fashioned racist and symbolic racist subjects respectively, divided into the contact conditions they were assigned to. In each cell, the number of observed expected (based on hypotheses) cases is given. The general pattern indicates that no particular condition of contact was more effective in producing non-prejudicial attitudes among old-fashioned racist subjects, $\chi^2(6, n = 44) = 2.65$, ns, or symbolic racists, $\chi^2(6, n = 46) = 5.03$, ns. However, the result of all contact manipulations combined indicates that the majority of symbolic racist subjects became nonprejudiced ($n = 26$), $\chi^2(2, n = 97) = 66.40$, $p < .01$, although they were as likely to become old-fashioned racists, as they were to remain symbolic racists. In contrast, among the old-fashioned racists, more than half of the sample remained old-fashioned racists ($n = 30$). However, a significant number became nonracists as well ($n = 12$), $\chi^2(2, n = 92) = 18.14$, $p < .01$.

Insert Table 1 and Table 2 about here

Social distance and trait-based prejudice. Four-way mixed measures ANOVAs involving the same independent variables of prejudice group, typicality and valence of contact and pre-post time of measurement were performed on social distance and the trait-based prejudice score. These analyses were intended to explore any effects the contact manipulations might have had on trait-related prejudice which were not captured by the more blatant self-reported attitudes.

In terms of social distance, a main effect for pre-post scores was found, $F(1,92) = 14.07, p < .001$. This effect indicated that subjects reported feeling more comfortable before than after the study with respect to French Canadians ($M(\text{pre}) = 7.33$ vs. $M(\text{post}) = 6.79$). No other main or interaction effects were obtained, indicating that no change in social distance resulted from the experimental manipulations. In terms of trait-based prejudice, no significant main or interaction effects were found.

Effects of Contact on the Components of Prejudice

The more specific changes in prejudice due to contact may be more subtle than what could be captured by overall prejudice scores. Such change may therefore be captured by examining the nature of respondents' prejudice as expressed by their stereotypic beliefs, symbolic beliefs and affect, that is the components of prejudicial attitudes. To assess the effects of the contact manipulations on subjects' prejudice toward French Canadians, 2(prejudice group: old-fashioned vs. symbolic racist) X 2(typicality of behaviour) X 2(valence of behaviour) between-subjects multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVAs) were performed on the three prejudice components. The first MANOVA examined the evaluative ratings on the three components of stereotypic beliefs, symbolic beliefs and affect, while the second MANOVA involved the percentage scores on the same three components.

Evaluative ratings of prejudice components. A main effect for prejudice group was found, Pillais = .11; $F(3,69) = 2.85$, $p < .05$. Univariate results showed that, consistent with expectations, the old-fashioned racist group ($M = -.52$) expressed significantly more negative stereotypic beliefs of French Canadians than did the symbolic racist group ($M = .11$), $F(1,71) = 8.37$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .10$. The two groups did not significantly differ on symbolic beliefs, $F < 1$, nor affect, $F(1,71) = 1.16$, ns.

There were no other significant main effects, nor significant two- or three-way interactions. In particular, the expected three-way interaction between prejudice group, typicality and valence on the evaluative ratings failed to reach significance, Pillais = .05, $F(3,69) = 1.22$, ns (see means in Table 3.)

Insert Table 3 about here

Percentages of French Canadians having characteristics. The MANOVA performed on the percentages of target group members for which the stereotypic beliefs, symbolic beliefs and affect applied, indicated that the three-way interaction between prejudice group, typicality and valence was significant, Pillais = .11, $F(3,65) = 2.77$, $p < .05$. Univariate analyses for each of the three dependent variables showed that this interaction significantly affected only the percentages associated with symbolic beliefs, $F(1,67) = 4.89$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .07$. To follow up this interaction, a 2(typicality of behavior) X 2(valence of behaviour) ANOVA was performed for each of the symbolic and old-fashioned racist groups on symbolic belief percentages. With the symbolic racist group, no significant main or interaction effects were found, $F_s < 1$. With the old-fashioned racist group, a marginal interaction between typicality

and valence was found, $F(1,36) = 3.20, p < .085$ (see Figure 2). Contrary to expectations, post-hoc Student-Newman-Keuls paired comparisons suggest that old-fashioned racist subjects who were exposed to typical-positive behaviour tended to generalize their symbolic beliefs to a higher percentage of French Canadians ($M = 77.03\%$) than old-fashioned racist subjects exposed to typical but negative behaviour ($M = 58.05\%$). However, this difference was not statistically significant, $F(3,36) = 1.25, ns$. Likewise, with respect to atypical behaviour, the difference between the positive and negative conditions was not significant, $F < 16$.

Insert Figure 2 about here

Comparison of post-Contact Prejudice with no-Contact Prejudice

As the experimental manipulations did not seem to produce the expected patterns of general change in the subjects' prejudice, to further explore the validity of nature of the reported beliefs and affect following contact, the reclassified prejudice groups in this study were compared with old-fashioned racist, symbolic racist and nonracist groups examined in an earlier survey on attitudes to French Canadians (Truong & Matheson, 1992). Respondents in this previous survey did not receive any of the contact manipulations, but their attitudes to French Canadians were assessed on the prejudice component measures of stereotypic beliefs, symbolic beliefs, and affect⁷.

Evaluative ratings. A 2(type of sample: post-contact vs. no-contact) X 3(prejudiced group: old-fashioned vs. symbolic vs. nonprejudiced) MANOVA performed on the evaluative ratings of stereotypic beliefs, symbolic beliefs and affect yielded a significant main effect for type of sample, Pillais = .11; $F(3,118) = 5.03, p < .005$. The associated univariate effects indicated that the

post-contact sample's evaluative ratings differed significantly from those obtained in the no-contact sample on all the three components of stereotypic beliefs, $F(1,120) = 11.68, p < .005, \eta^2 = .08$, symbolic beliefs, $F(1,120) = 6.02, p < .05, \eta^2 = .05$, and affect, $F(1,120) = 4.24, p < .05, \eta^2 = .03$. Ratings on stereotypic beliefs, symbolic beliefs and affect from the post-contact sample suggested that they evaluated French Canadians more negatively (M 's = $-.19, -.50, -.28$) than did the no-contact sample on the same respective components (M 's = $.56, .006, .21$). No significant interaction between type of sample and prejudice group was found, Pillais = $.04, F < 1^8$.

Percentages. A two-way (type of sample) X (prejudice group) MANOVA was performed to compare the prejudice categories from the two samples, with the percentages obtained on stereotypic beliefs, symbolic beliefs and affect as the dependent variables. No significant differences were found.

In summary, the pre-post assessment of prejudice change indicated that the contact had minimal differential effects. Overall, subjects' post-contact symbolic racism scores were lower but their need for social distance was increased. In terms of subjects' attitude thermometer scores, the old-fashioned racists reported a more favourable post-contact attitude whereas the contrary occurred with the symbolic racists. The classification results on the other hand showed less overall positive change among the old-fashioned racists than the symbolic racists following contact. In terms of the prejudice components of stereotypic beliefs, symbolic beliefs and affect, the expected differential effects of contact did not produce significant change on the evaluative ratings, although a three-way interaction was found on the percentage ratings associated with symbolic beliefs. Follow-up analysis showed marginally higher percentage ratings for symbolic beliefs among the old-fashioned racists when the contact behaviour was typical-positive rather

than typical-negative. Finally, a comparison on the prejudice components between this study's post-contact sample and a no-contact sample indicated more negative post-contact beliefs and affect.

Discussion

The present study attempted to distinguish between symbolic and old-fashioned prejudice on the basis of the responses of members of a majority group (English Canadians) to contact with members of a minority group (French Canadians). It was expected that the contact situation would differentially affect the prejudicial attitudes of old-fashioned and symbolic racists. In particular, it was hypothesized that the old-fashioned racists' attitude toward the target group would be most positively modified if the behaviour encountered was atypical and positive. This positive change would occur on the measures of interpersonal acceptance and self-reported attitude as well as in terms of the prejudice components of stereotypic beliefs and affect. As the resulting attitude was hypothesized to be symbolic racism, no positive change was expected in terms of symbolic prejudice or symbolic beliefs. On the other hand, the symbolic racists were hypothesized to become nonracist if they encountered typical and positive behaviour. This change would be reflected in a decrease in their symbolic prejudice and in their symbolic belief component becoming positive.

The results in this study failed to support the hypotheses. Neither the old-fashioned racists nor the symbolic racists showed any expected significant change in their prejudicial attitudes as a result of being exposed to the different conditions of contact. This pattern of findings was obtained both in terms of the general pre-post attitude measures of trait-based interpersonal acceptance and symbolic racism and on the component measures of subjects' stereotypic beliefs, symbolic beliefs and affect. However, there were some

indications that the contact situations may have produced an overall negative change in prejudicial attitudes.

Changes on General Prejudice Measures following Contact

The findings regarding post-contact changes on the measures of social distance, self-reported attitude and symbolic racism were inconclusive in terms of the hypothesized effects. Social distance was thought to be trait-based, and it was expected that old-fashioned racists would express a need for more social distance when encountering typical or negative behaviour, in other words confirmatory evidence for their stereotypes. They would only feel more comfortable or show more acceptance toward the target group when the contact takes place with an individual behaving positively and not in agreement with prevailing stereotypes. In this condition, they were expected to become symbolic racists, who accept target group members on an individual basis while rejecting them on the more abstract group basis. The only change observed was an overall increase in the need for social distance or more rejection of French Canadians on an interpersonal basis among all the subjects. This change could be attributed to some general negative effect of being exposed to information about French Canadians.

The same general negative outcome of the contact manipulations was also manifested among the symbolic racists who, contrary to expectations and despite their higher social desirability scores than the old-fashioned racists, reported more unfavourable attitudes toward French Canadians. In contrast, two other results did not fit the negative trend, namely a more positive self-reported attitude among old-fashioned racists as well as lower symbolic racism scores in the whole sample. It is possible that these variations in prejudicial attitudes may have been due in part to a regression toward the population mean.

In addition, the above results suggest that the effects of contact in this study, if any, were general and undifferentiated. The classification results (Table 1 and 2) in fact seem to confirm the nature of these undifferentiated effects. They indicate that the majority of the preselected old-fashioned racists (30 out of a total of 44) remained unchanged in their attitude toward French Canadians, whereas a higher proportion of the preselected symbolic racists became nonracists (26 out of 46, compared to 12 out of 44 for the old-fashioned racists.) Moreover, the smallest reclassified group after contact was of symbolic racists, suggesting that specific contact conditions may have been missing, that would have produced symbolic racist attitudes.

Generally speaking, evidence supporting the hypotheses was mixed: Inconsistent with the proposed idea of old-fashioned racism evolving into symbolic racism through contact, there were fewer symbolic racists obtained from the old-fashioned racist group than expected following contact. On the other hand, the high number of symbolic racists becoming nonracists was consistent with predictions.

Prejudice Components

Although no significant results were obtained in terms of the evaluative ratings, the differential effect of contact factors on the two prejudice groups were found on the percentages associated with the component of symbolic beliefs. Nevertheless, this result provided no conclusive support for the hypotheses. The percentages associated with each prejudice component constitute the extent to which the stereotypical or symbolic beliefs, or feelings and emotions were generalized to the rest of the target group. These percentages were expected to be affected by the interaction between the perceiver's pre-existing prejudice, the degree of typicality and the valence of the behaviour from the target group member.

Specifically, old-fashioned racists were expected to generalize their beliefs and affect least if the behaviour observed was atypical and positive. In all other conditions of contact, their prevailing stereotypes were either confirmed by typical behaviour or negative behaviour. These stereotypes were expected to be disconfirmed by atypical-positive behaviour, resulting in less generalized stereotypic beliefs and affect but not symbolic beliefs. Symbolic beliefs therefore would become salient as the only remaining group-related explanations of encountered behaviour.

Follow-up analyses indicated that, contrary to expectations, greater generalization of symbolic beliefs to the target group was taking place within the typical-positive condition. What this finding may suggest is that positive rather than negative confirmatory information about a target may be more easily incorporated among old-fashioned racists, and that such information seems to be more readily applied to the domain of the target group's values. In terms of the hypothesized effect, one plausible explanation for this result would be that typical-positive rather than typical-negative behaviour was perceived as more disconfirming of trait stereotypes, thus leading to more generalization to the outgroup's values. In other words, the typical-positive condition may have had the disconfirmatory effect hypothesized of the atypical-positive condition, and thus, behaviour typicality may facilitate value generalization more than atypicality. It should further be pointed out that although the incoming information may be positive, it cannot be assumed to produce changes which are positive in nature, as the percentage ratings deal with the generalization process rather than evaluation.

With respect to symbolic racists, their attitudes were suggested to have positively evolved from old-fashioned racism through disconfirming positive contact, and further exposure to behaviour expressing the outgroup's positive

values would be instrumental in making their attitudes nonracist. In other words, positive typicality was expected to ensure that the prevailing negative value stereotypes regarding the outgroup would be disconfirmed. The present results in terms of percentages for symbolic racists however did not support the idea that generalization to the target group was taking place more in conditions stressing typicality.

Some Proposed Explanations

One explanation for the overall inconclusive pattern of results could be that the manipulations were not effective or were not having the intended effects. Analyses of the manipulation check suggest that the latter possibility was likely. In fact, although the manipulations involving valence were found to be correctly perceived by subjects, those involving typicality were not. Typical behaviour was not perceived to be more consistent with prevailing stereotypes of French Canadians than atypical behaviour. Failure of the subjects to differentiate between the scenarios on the typical-atypical dimension may have been due to the fact that representativeness was kept constant across conditions. Information intended to denote representativeness may have been taken as information indicating typicality. In written scenarios, representativeness may not be as easily distinguished from typicality as in real-life interactions. Whereas the former involves the target person's characteristics, observed or mentioned, the latter involves the target person's behaviour, also observed or mentioned, but which has to be more ongoing in nature and which expresses certain inferred or existing attributes. This particular aspect of behaviour may have been missed or not well conveyed in the short written scenarios used in this study.

An alternative explanation as to why typicality was not perceived according to expectations is the possibility that perceptions of typicality

depend on the degree of contact or familiarity with the target group prior to the experiment. Subjects in both the old-fashioned and symbolic racist groups in the present study may have reached a fairly high level of familiarity with French Canadians such that their processing and integration of information about that outgroup was not so much guided by the nature of the incoming information as by their general attitudes. In other words, they can process incongruent as well as congruent information about a group in the same way to preserve their initial attitudes and beliefs about that group (Lord, Desforages & Ramsey, 1991). This suggests that subjects may have been less sensitive to contact. Although the described type of processing information is theoretically more characteristic of symbolic racists who come into more contact with target outgroup members, old-fashioned racist subjects in the present study may also have been highly familiar with French Canadians, although still to a relatively lesser extent than the symbolic racist subjects. In particular, it could be expected that most English Canadians experience a significant amount of vicarious contact with French Canadians through exposure to the national mass media.

Lord et al. (1991) made a distinction between experts versus non-experts in category discrimination. They further suggested that, as a result of more exposure to and experience with a category, experts tend to give more category-based affective responses to typical as well as atypical category members than non-experts. In other words, experts' responses are more likely to be in evaluative, "like-dislike" terms, and these responses are directed to typical and atypical category members. It may have been the case that all subjects in the present study were "experts" about French Canadians, considering that they were more successful at distinguishing positive versus negative behaviour than typical versus atypical one.

What the present study lacked was a measure of previous contact with French Canadians to control for this variable among subjects. The comparisons between the sample in this study with a separate survey sample which did not receive the contact manipulations (Truong & Matheson, 1992) were helpful in addressing this issue. However, this sample of survey respondents, in spite of its similarities to the mass testing sample on the mentioned prejudice measures, could not be considered a control group properly speaking as it was not matched with the present study's subjects on all variables other than the contact manipulations. Such variables would include the experimental context, the cover story provided, etc..

The comparison between samples suggests that the undifferentiated effects of contact in the present study may have produced an overall increase in prejudice among subjects, especially in terms of stereotypic beliefs. This particular finding appears to coincide with the negative change in social distance, suggesting that producing positive attitude change would require changing the nature of a group's trait-based or stereotypic beliefs about the outgroup. Such a conclusion fits with ideas proposed by previous researchers investigating the contact hypothesis such as Brewer and Miller (1984) and Hewstone and Brown (1986). The contact hypothesis in fact represents an attempt to deal with racism at a time when prejudice or racism meant blatant negative attitude toward an outgroup, in other words, old-fashioned racism. The resulting paradigms of contact research therefore were limited by this conceptual perspective. Symbolic racism as a concept was only proposed following the application to real-life intergroup settings of diverse theories generated by contact research, but it was proposed as an outcome variable (Brewer & Miller, 1984). The concept was not incorporated into the initial contact paradigms the way old-fashioned racism was, that is as a process or

independent variable. One of the present study's objectives, which could be adopted by future research, was to take that extra step by investigating the effect of further contact on existing symbolic racist attitude.

In this sense, the present study provided tentative evidence that the old-fashioned racists and symbolic racists respond differently to the overall experience of intergroup contact. Most of the old-fashioned racists remained unchanged in their prejudice through what appeared to be a maintenance of their stereotypic beliefs regarding the outgroup. The symbolic racists on the other hand seemed to evolve into nonracists more easily. In other words, pre-existing prejudicial attitudes seem to play an important role in determining the outcome of any contact with members of outgroups. The differential effects of such prejudicial predispositions may even be more powerful in direct contact settings, as they manifest themselves in the perceiver's behavioural strategies to actively seek stereotype-confirming or disconfirming information (Skrypnek & Snyder, 1982.) What remains to be determined with respect to the evolution of prejudice through contact however, is the proposed qualitative change from old-fashioned racism to symbolic racism, which could probably be better investigated given certain methodological improvements.

Methodological improvements in future research could involve more realistic and direct contact manipulations as well as better control for the level and the nature of previous contact with outgroup members. In particular, these improvements would help answer whether failure to perceive typicality as observed in this study is more due to subjects' predispositions or to weaknesses in the manipulations. Moreover, the target's representativeness could be made an independent variable in terms of varying degrees as well as in the differing stereotypes (e.g., ingroup vs. outgroup stereotypes) that a

target can activate. In combination with factors such as typicality and valence and the perceiver's group membership, representativeness might affect the level of value perception and value salience in behaviour. Of particular interest are situations where ingroup or outgroup representativeness is high, yet the target behaviour is disconfirmatory of the group stereotypes activated. In this study, it was proposed that symbolic beliefs become salient when representative French Canadians as outgroup members behave in disconfirmatory manners. Similarly, high ingroup representativeness combined with behaviour disconfirmatory of the ingroup stereotypes can lead to the perception of subgroups which can often be perceived in terms of value differences from the "mainstream" ingroup. Investigation of the role of perceived representativeness in attribution processes within a contact framework should therefore be pursued.

With effective contact manipulations, certain psychological effects of types of brief intergroup encounter could be assessed that would act cumulatively to produce the evolution of prejudicial attitudes from old-fashioned racism to non-racism via symbolic racism. Studying these effects would eventually provide evidence for the interrelationships among attitudinal variables proposed earlier, namely the tie linking symbolic beliefs or value stereotypes to intergroup processes, and the relationship among stereotypic beliefs, self-reported attitude, social distance and interpersonal processes as well as self-interest factors. One conceptual benefit of exploring these patterns of relationship will be a better distinction between notions of prejudice.

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Footnotes

¹This method of combining the attitude thermometer and symbolic racism scores to classify subjects as symbolic racists was adopted to avoid the confusion in past research on symbolic racism which did not take into account self-reported attitude to qualitatively differentiate between old-fashioned and symbolic racism.

²There were initially five types of scenarios corresponding to the 2 (typical vs. atypical behaviour) x 2(positive vs. negative behaviour) design plus a "positive-atypical and unrepresentative" interpersonal condition. Following the pilot study of the manipulations, this latter condition was dropped, because it could not be recognized by subjects as distinct from the "positive-atypical-representative" intergroup condition.

³These questions asked subjects about the extent to which they thought the article was informative, interesting, personally relevant, interesting to an average Canadian reader, appropriate in its style to the kind of event covered, and relevant to local readers' concerns. Subjects responded using 9-point scales, ranging from 1(not at all) to 9(extremely). Subjects also had to assess whether the content of the article appeared typical of a small town or of a city newspaper and had to find details in the article to back up their point.

For the filler articles, the manipulation check questions referred to the target as being of urban or rural background, and the target group was therefore either "urban people" for some subjects or "rural people" for others.

⁴To ensure that the perceptions of the scenarios were not affected by prejudicial attitude, three-way ANOVAs with typicality, valence as well as prejudice group (old-fashioned racist vs. symbolic racists) as independent variables were also performed on perceived typicality and valence of the

target behaviour. No significant main effect for prejudice group and no interaction effects involving prejudice group were found.

⁵In terms of social desirability, the symbolic racists were found to be significantly higher than the old-fashioned racists, $F(1,92) = 5.56, p < .05$. This result underscored the need to go beyond self-reported attitude by combining both the attitude thermometer and the symbolic racism scale in order to qualitatively differentiate the prejudice groups.

⁶To examine whether the contact manipulations affected only those subjects who correctly perceived them in terms of the typicality and the valence of the contact behaviour depicted in the scenarios they read, analyses were conducted with subjects who incorrectly perceived typicality and valence removed from the sample. These analyses included $2(\text{prejudice group}) \times 2(\text{typicality of contact behaviour}) \times 2(\text{valence of contact behaviour}) \times 2(\text{pre vs. post contact scores (within-subjects)})$ mixed-measures ANOVAs on symbolic racism, self-reported attitude, social distance and trait-based prejudice as well as three-way MANOVAs on the prejudice component evaluative ratings and percentage scores. The results of all the analyses however remained the same. This would suggest that indeed the manipulations of the contact scenarios did not significantly affect the prejudicial attitudes of the study participants.

⁷For the purpose of this comparison, the classification criteria from the survey were adopted. In other words, old-fashioned racists were defined as respondents with attitude thermometer scores less than the survey sample median of 70. Respondents with attitude thermometer scores greater than or equal to 70 but with symbolic racism scores also greater than or equal to the survey sample median of .44 were classified as symbolic racists. Nonracists were respondents with attitude thermometer scores greater than or equal to 70 and symbolic racism scores less than .44.

⁸To examine the qualitative differences between the three post-contact prejudice groups, their evaluative ratings on stereotypic beliefs, symbolic beliefs, and affect were compared in a 3 (prejudice group-between-subjects) X 3 (prejudice component-within-subjects) mixed-measures analysis of variance (ANOVA).

A significant group by prejudice component interaction was found, $F(4,152) = 4.26, p < .005$. Simple effects analyses comparing the ratings of the three prejudice groups on each of the prejudice components showed that in terms of stereotypic beliefs and affect, the results were consistent with the pattern obtained in the survey. Specifically, the symbolic racists and nonracists together, $F(1,76) = 2.50, ns$, were significantly more positive than the old-fashioned racists in their stereotypic beliefs, $F(1,76) = 39.10, p < .001$. Moreover, the old-fashioned racists reported more negative affect $F(1,76) = 18.45, p < .001$) than the symbolic racists and nonracists, who did not differ $F(1,76) = 1.71, ns$. However, the nonracists group did not show more positive symbolic beliefs than the two prejudiced groups, $F < 1$, who, as expected, did not differ, $F < 1$. Thus, the pattern of results was consistent with the expected differences between the three groups as obtained from the survey except for the lack of difference between the nonracist and the two prejudiced groups in terms of symbolic beliefs.

Table 1

Number of predetermined old-fashioned racist subjects reclassified as old-fashioned racists, symbolic racists and nonprejudiced by experimental conditions

	Reclassified categories		
	Old-fashioned racist	Symbolic racist	Nonprejudiced
Conditions			
Typical			
Pos.	8 / 12	1 / 0	3 / 0
Neg.	7 / 12	0 / 0	4 / 0
Atypical			
Pos.	7 / 0	1 / 12	2 / 0
Neg.	8 / 12	0 / 0	3 / 0
<hr/>			
Total observed	30	2	12
expected	36	12	0
<hr/>			

Note. Each cell contains the number of observed / the number of expected cases.

Table 2

Number of predetermined symbolic racist subjects reclassified as old-fashioned racists, symbolic racists and nonprejudiced by experimental conditions

	Reclassified categories		
	Old-fashioned racist	Symbolic racist	Nonprejudiced
Conditions			
Typical			
Pos.	2 / 0	3 / 0	6 / 13
Neg.	2 / 13	4 / 0	7 / 0
Atypical			
Pos.	5 / 0	1 / 13	6 / 0
Neg.	2 / 0	1 / 13	7 / 0
<hr/>			
Total observed	11	9	26
expected	13	26	13

Note. Each cell contains the number of observed / the number of expected cases.

Table 3

Evaluative ratings obtained on the three prejudice components by prejudice groups and contact conditions

Behaviour				
	Typical		Atypical	
	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
Old-fashioned racists				
Beliefs:				
stereotypic	-.81	-.43	-.50	-.33
symbolic	-.78	-.91	-.37	-.33
Affect	-.36	-.31	-.31	-.62
Symbolic racists				
Beliefs:				
stereotypic	.24	-.03	.30	-.07
symbolic	-.08	-.73	-.73	-.16
Affect	.01	-.14	-.52	.15

Note. Evaluative ratings were obtained on a scale from -2 to +2.

Figure 1

Study design and hypothesized effects

	Behaviour			
	Typical		Atypical	
	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
Old-fashioned racists				
Beliefs				
stereotypic	-	-	+	-
symbolic	-	-	-	-
Affect	-	-	+	-
Symbolic racists				
Beliefs				
stereotypic	+	-	+	+
symbolic	+	-	-	-
Affect	+	-	+	+

Figure 2. Typicality by valence of contact interaction on the percentages associated with symbolic beliefs among the old-fashioned racists

APPENDICES

Appendix A

The pilot study to select a target group

The purpose of this pilot study was to investigate the level of prejudice among Carleton undergraduates with respect to a number of social groups. The aim was to find one social group toward which some of the respondents would report traditional old-fashioned prejudice, others would report modern "symbolic" prejudice, and others no prejudice. This group would be used as the target in the main study. The groups towards which prejudice was assessed were Native Canadians landed immigrants, homosexuals, French Canadians, Black Canadians, Jewish Canadians, senior citizens, muslim Canadians and physically disabled people.

The notion of old-fashioned racism or prejudice consists of feelings of disliking and rejection in day-to-day contact and corresponds to a desire to maintain social distance with respect to members of particular groups (Byrnes & Kiger, 1988). Symbolic racism or prejudice on the other hand refers to exclusion or discrimination on the basis of perceived value differences between one's ingroup and an outgroup. This perception is triggered by the outgroup collectively taking steps to challenge the intergroup status quo. Unlike old-fashioned racism, symbolic racism does not manifest itself through interpersonal disliking, i.e. a negative attitude to the group, but is expressed as opposition to outgroups' demands or government measures such as preferential treatment that allow outgroups more or less equal participation in the socio-economic structure.

To assess both kinds of prejudice, a questionnaire was developed that included measures of social distance to assess old-fashioned prejudice (Byrnes & Kiger, 1988), symbolic racism measures (McConahay, 1986), and a measure of respondents' overall attitude toward each group. A measure of how much

contact respondents had with each target group was included to assess the possible effect of familiarity on attitudes and on the two types of prejudice. Finally, in view of portraying the selected target group in the main study, some measures of recognizability were also developed and included.

Method

A 15-minute questionnaire, entitled "Group Perception Study", was distributed to students in an introductory social psychology class ($n=56$) and at random in a student lounge ($n=30$). The respondents were fully informed as to the purpose of this study before they agreed to participate. All respondents were debriefed in writing. At the end, any questions the respondents had were answered and they were provided in writing with the names of the people they could contact to discuss possible questions and ethical concerns about the study.

The questionnaire consisted of several scales (see Appendix B). Respondents first completed a social distance scale based on Byrnes and Kiger's (1988) social scale. They were to rate, using a scale ranging from -4 (very uncomfortable) to 4 (very comfortable), how they would feel about having a member of each of the groups in a number of social positions. These social positions included neighbour, roommate, spiritual counselor, close friend, employer, personal physician and co-worker. A final score of social distance was derived by taking the mean of the ratings obtained on all seven social positions or items, such that high scores indicated comfortable feelings about having minorities in the described social positions. Interitem reliabilities were calculated for each target group and the associated Cronbach's alphas ranged from .82 to .95.

Four statements assessing symbolic or modern racism were then presented in relation to each of the groups. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with each on a scale from -4 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree). The first two statements, dealing with perception of the treatment of each group, were items taken from McConahay (1986). They read: "Members of this group are getting more government and media attention than they deserve" and "Discrimination against members of this group is a thing of the past". The remaining two statements were made up to assess perceptions of socialization and value differences between the respondents and the minority groups. A symbolic racism score was obtained by calculating the mean from all ratings on the scale after recoding the ratings on the first two statements or items, so that a high score indicated nonprejudiced attitude and a low score indicated prejudiced attitude. Cronbach's alphas for this four-item scale ranged from .38 to .60 across the nine groups.

As another measure to assess symbolic racism, respondents were next presented with a hiring scenario and were asked to respond to seven reactions to the scenario. Namely, they were asked to imagine that a member of each target group was hired instead of them. The reactions they then rated dealt with how much preferential treatment was perceived in the scenario and in general with respect to each group. It was thought that the more preferential treatment respondents attributed to the minority member's success, the more symbolic racist they were. The scale used was a 9-point scale in which '1' meant the respondent would not be likely at all to have a given reaction and '9' meant the respondent would be very likely to have the reaction described. For example, given the reaction "I would think the successful candidate is as qualified as me, but his/her group may receive some preferential treatment",

a rating of 1 indicated that the respondent did not believe he or she would have such a reaction, and a rating of 9 indicated that the respondent believed he or she would very likely have such a reaction. The items of this scale appeared to involve two dimensions. One dimension assessed perceptions of preferential treatment as it was specifically related to the scenario. The second dimension assessed perceptions of preferential treatment in general, which seemed to be most analogous to measures of symbolic racism. After recoding some items, a score was obtained from each of the two preferential treatment subscale by taking the mean of the ratings. Cronbach's alphas, calculated separately for items assessing reactions to preferential treatment in general and in relation to the scenario presented, ranged from .66 to .75 for the nine groups.

Respondents then answered the questions on the degree of contact, recognizability and overall attitude. The first question asked (using a scale from 1 to 9) about the degree of contact or interaction the respondents had with each group. The next three questions assessed the recognizability of each group in terms of physical appearance, behaviour and use of language. Ratings were also on a scale from 1 (not at all recognizable) to 9 (easily recognizable). Finally, respondents' overall attitude with respect to each group was measured using a scale from -4 (extremely unfavourable) to +4 (extremely favourable).

Results and Discussion

Based on several respondents' comments, it became apparent that the rating scale used to assess social distance was problematic. Namely, it was unclear how the neutral point was interpreted in terms of respondents' feelings of comfort or discomfort with a particular group. Therefore, respondents' self-reported attitude toward each group was used as the indicator

of old-fashioned prejudice rather than the scale of social distance. This decision was not unreasonable given that a major conceptual distinction between old-fashioned and symbolic racism is that the former is reflected in expressed negative attitudes whereas the latter is not. Thus the criteria for classifying respondents into the three categories of "old-fashioned racists", "symbolic racists", and "nonracists" with respect to each target group were as follows: Respondents who reported attitudes toward a group as less than or equal to 0 (on a scale from -4 to +4) were considered "old-fashioned racists", i.e. this indicated a negative attitude toward the group. Respondents with ratings of zero on attitude were included in this category, since the distributions for all target groups were negatively skewed. For the symbolic prejudice category, two criteria had to be met: Reported attitude to a group had to be greater than 0 as it was thought that symbolic racists usually report positive or favourable attitudes toward minorities. Moreover, the score on the symbolic racism also had to be less than 1 on a scale from -4 (prejudiced) to +4 (nonprejudiced). The obtained distribution of scores on this scale was also negatively skewed, therefore the chosen cutoff point was 1. Nonracists were respondents with attitudes greater than 0 and a symbolic racism score greater than or equal to 1.

In choosing a group that elicited variability in the responses, the percentages of respondents classified in the three prejudice categories were compared for each target group (see Table A-1). It was important that the distribution across the three categories be relatively balanced. It appeared that the group French Canadians most approximated the desired pattern of variability with 28.6% in the old-fashioned category, 35% in the symbolic category, and 36.4% in the nonprejudiced one.

Insert Table A-1 about here

Given the low interitem reliabilities on McConahay's scale, the extent to which the same pattern of results would be obtained on the preferential treatment scale was quite important. The findings with respect to attributions of preferential treatment for French Canadians did correspond to and confirmed the result yielded by the symbolic racism measure. In spite of their positive self-reported overall attitude, significant percentages of the respondents did not approve of preferential treatment for many of the target groups. Specifically toward French Canadians, the respondents indicated most opposition to general preferential treatment for French Canadians compared to other groups and were also most likely to think that preferential treatment was involved in the scenario when French Canadians were the target group (see Table A-2).

Insert Table A-2 about here

The measure of contact indicated that reported contact with French Canadians was highest, i.e. 6.90 on a scale from 1 (very little contact) to 9 (a great deal of contact). This meant that the respondents were most familiar with this target group and were probably also most confident of their responses about it. Finally, measures of recognizability showed that French Canadians was perceived as a distinct minority group.

Table A-1

Percentages of respondents classified in each prejudice category for each target group

Groups	Old-fashioned	Symbolic	No prejudice
Native Canadians	24.0	73.1	62.9
Immigrants	40.0	15.6	44.4
Homosexuals	63.1	4.8	32.2
French Canadians	28.6	35.0	36.4
Black Canadians	18.0	17.6	64.4
Jewish Canadians	31.0	29.7	39.3
Senior Citizens	16.5	11.42	51.0
Muslim Canadians	40.0	20.0	40.0
Physically disabled people	23.8	3.6	72.4

Table A-2

Percentages of respondents reporting positive attitudes who were opposed to preferential treatment in general for each group and who thought preferential treatment was involved in the scenario.

Groups	Preferential treatment	
	General	Scenario
Native Canadians	41.6	18.6
Immigrants	40.0	14.0
Homosexuals	21.0	3.6
French Canadians	49.7	20.3
Black Canadians	48.6	16.2
Jewish Canadians	47.3	8.1
Senior Citizens	35.5	13.2
Muslim Canadians	34.2	10.0
Physically disabled people	25.3	25.0

Note. The percentages represent the respondents who gave ratings greater than 5 on a scale from 1 (pro preferential treatment) to 9 (anti preferential treatment) or 1 (no attribution to preferential treatment in the scenario) to 9 (strong attribution to preferential treatment in the scenario).

Appendix B

Pilot questionnaire

1) Using the scale below, please rate how comfortable or uncomfortable you would feel to have a member of these groups in the following social positions . Fill in the blanks with your ratings.

	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	
	Very UNcomfortable				Neutral			Very comfortable		

		Native Canadian		Landed immigrant		Having a Homosexual		French Canadian		Black Canadian
AS										
A neighbour	_____			_____			_____		_____	_____
My roommate	_____			_____			_____		_____	_____
My spiritual counselor	_____			_____			_____		_____	_____
A close friend	_____			_____			_____		_____	_____
My employer	_____			_____			_____		_____	_____
My personal physician	_____			_____			_____		_____	_____
My co-worker	_____			_____			_____		_____	_____

		Jewish Canadian		Senior citizen		Having a Muslim Canadian		Physically disabled person
AS								
A neighbour	_____			_____			_____	_____
My roommate	_____			_____			_____	_____
My spiritual counselor	_____			_____			_____	_____
A close friend	_____			_____			_____	_____
My employer	_____			_____			_____	_____
My personal physician	_____			_____			_____	_____
My co-worker	_____			_____			_____	_____

3) Following is a scenario we would like you to picture yourself in. You have applied for a high-paying white collar position at a company that is committed to the principle of employment equity and does not discriminate on the basis of sex, race, gender, ethnic background, sexual orientation and so on. After getting through the initial interviews, your application is rejected. Please consider the scale from 1 to 9 below. Rate how likely you would have the following reactions if you later find out that the successful candidate for this position is a member of the groups listed. Fill in the blanks with your ratings.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Not at all Very likely
likely

The successful candidate is a

Native
Canadian

Landed
immigrant

Homosexual

French
Canadian

Black
Canadian

Reactions

I would think the
successful candidate:

Is probably better
qualified than me.

Is as qualified
as me, but his/her
group may receive
some preferential
treatment.

Is less qualified
than me, but his/her
group may receive
some preferential
treatment.

I would feel:

Preferential
treatment is needed
to help his/her group.

Preferential
treatment is not the right
way to help his/her group.

His/her group should not
be helped, i.e., if able,
they can do it on their
own.

It is a case of reverse
discrimination.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
 Not at all Very likely
 likely

The successful candidate is a

Jewish
Canadian

Senior
citizen

Muslim
Canadian

Physically
disabled
person

Reactions

**I would think the
successful candidate:**

Is probably better
qualified than me.

Is as qualified
as me, but his/her
group may receive
some preferential
treatment.

Is less qualified
than me, but his/her
group may receive
some preferential
treatment.

I would feel:

Preferential
treatment is needed
to help his/her group. _____

Preferential
treatment is not the right
way to help his/her group. _____

His/her group should not
be helped, i.e., if able,
they can do it on
their own.

It is a case of reverse
discrimination.

[illegible]

- ☐ Landed immigrants
- ☐ Black Canadians
- ☐ Senior citizens
- ☐ Homosexuals
- ☐ Jewish Canadians
- ☐ Native Canadians
- ☐ Physically disabled people
- ☐ Muslim Canadians
- ☐ French Canadians

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all recognizable								Easily recognizable

- _____ Landed immigrants
- _____ Black Canadians
- _____ Senior citizens
- _____ Homosexuals
- _____ Jewish Canadians
- _____ Native Canadians
- _____ Physically disabled people
- _____ Muslim Canadians
- _____ French Canadians

6) How recognizable are these groups in terms of behaviour? In other words, are there any behaviours that make each of the groups distinct from other groups, and clearly make them different even if they have the same physical appearance as other Canadians? Fill in the blanks with your ratings.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all recognizable								Easily recognizable
____ Landed immigrants								
____ Black Canadians								
____ Senior citizens								
____ Homosexuals								
____ Jewish Canadians								
____ Native Canadians								
____ Physically disabled people								
____ Muslim Canadians								
____ French Canadians								

7) How recognizable are these groups in terms of the language they use? In other words, if you were talking to a member of each of these groups over the phone, would their way of speaking make them easily recognizable? Fill in the blanks with your ratings.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all recognizable								Easily recognizable
____ Landed immigrants								
____ Black Canadians								
____ Senior citizens								
____ Homosexuals								
____ Jewish Canadians								
____ Native Canadians								
____ Physically disabled people								
____ Muslim Canadians								
____ French Canadians								

8) Please rate your own attitude with respect to each group in terms of how favourable or unfavourable you feel toward them. Fill in the blanks with your ratings.

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4
Extremely unfavourable				Neutral				Extremely favourable

____ landed immigrants

Black Canadians

____ Senior citizens

_____ Homosexuals

_____ Jewish Canadians

 Native Canadians

_____ **Physically disabled people**

 Muslim Canadians

_____ **French Canadians**

9) -Do you consider yourself to be a member of any minority group in Canada? YES / NO

-If yes, which group? _____

-Your mother tongue is _____

- Sex _____

- Age _____

-Year in University _____

Appendix C

Phone script

Hi, my name is _____. I am calling on behalf of the Psych dept at Carleton University. We are currently conducting an experiment called "the newsreporting study" and what this involves is to evaluate the quality of some newspaper articles. We are interested in finding out how the style, the content and other aspects of a newspaper article affect a reader's liking of the newspaper. We are doing this project jointly with the School of Journalism.

Are you interested in being in the study?

There is one condition for being in the study which is that your mother tongue has to be English. Is English your first language? If yes, continue. If no, say " Because of the requirements of the study, I am afraid you don't quite qualify to be a subject. Thank you."

The study takes about 50 minutes of your time. Your participation allows you to fulfill one credit of the experimental participation credits you need for your intro psych course. Alternatively, if you would prefer, we will pay you \$7.00 for your participation

Appendix D

One-page description of the study given to subjects

Newsreporting study

This study attempts to investigate people's opinion concerning the quality of different types of newspaper articles. It is believed that certain aspects of newspaper reporting such as the style and length of the report, can play an important role in influencing the readers' overall impression of a newspaper and their continuing interest in reading it. It is also known that different kinds of newspapers appeal to different segments of the population. This is obviously due in part to the types of events the newspapers cover (whether they are local, national or international), but more importantly, the nature of the coverage and reporting of a newspaper usually targets particular types of readers.

This study focuses on one distinction that can be made among newspapers, namely whether the newspapers are published in small towns or cities. Previous research in Canada has suggested that this distinction may be related to important differences in the quality of reporting. However, further work is required to investigate the nature of the relationship among variables such as the size of the town, geographical location, the newspaper's style of report and its readers' interests.

We would like you to read and evaluate the following newspaper articles one by one. These articles have been matched for length and topic covered. You can therefore expect to find the articles that you read to cover more or less the same theme.

Each set given to subjects has been randomly chosen from a variety of Canadian newspapers from different regions, such as "The Whig Standard" in Kingston, "Le Journal de Quebec" in Quebec City, "La Presse" in Montreal, "The Daily Province" in Vancouver, "The Record News" in Smiths Falls, and "The Perth Courier" in Perth. Each subject however are given articles of newspapers from two regions or provinces only. Articles published in languages other than English have been translated into English for this study. For methodological purposes, the identity of the newspaper and its place of publication as well as the title of the article are not disclosed.

Appendix E

Filler articles

A former champion bodybuilder has been fined \$2,200 after pleading guilty to possessing large quantities of cocaine and steroids.

Vern Andrew Felker, 29, pleaded not guilty to two counts of possession of a narcotic. He was originally charged with possession for the purpose of trafficking, but Crown prosecutor Monica Bast recently allowed him to plead the lesser charge of simple possession of a narcotic. Similar charges against Felker's wife, Janet Kim, were withdrawn by the Crown.

Felker, who works as a carpenter framer, is an amateur bodybuilder who has competed in the Canadian championship and placed first in the provincial championship a few years ago.

The Ontario Ministry of Agriculture and Food (OMAF) and the Ontario Public Farmers' Markets Association (OPFMA) jointly announced Nov. 8 the secondment of Mr. Robert T. Chorney as Interim Executive Director of the Markets' Association.

The position was created following the founding of the Association earlier this year. In conjunction with Mr. Chorney's appointment, the ministry has provided a non-statutory grant of \$20,000 to help the association get started.

Originally from Toronto, Mr. Chorney has worked since 1987 as a Market Development Specialist for OMAF and has helped start some 35 farmers' markets throughout Ontario. The markets help promote Ontario Agriculture since each features freshly-picked, locally-grown produce. And municipalities across the province are using markets as vital economic development tools.

Robin Sherwood knows what it's like to fight city hall. After all, that's how Smiths Falls' longest-serving councillor got his start in municipal politics.

While unsuccessful in his first bid for elected office in 1962, Mr. Sherwood led the polls the following year. This was the beginning of a long and rewarding political career for Mr. Sherwood, which was brought to an end with his defeat in the Nov. 12 election.

Having held the seat on council for 25 of the last 28 years, Mr. Sherwood, 75, is the longest-serving member in the town's history. Including incumbent Laurence Lee, he has been in office during the terms of six mayors.

Appointments

Scenarios

Scenario 1

Typical-positive

The Toronto-based company Teleglobe Canada Inc. just made public its decision to appoint Serge Labonte to the position of President for its unit in Quebec. Serge Labonte was selected from a group of candidates for this position who were primarily recruited from the Toronto area. Upon hearing the news of his appointment, Mr. Labonte was visibly surprised and excited and said it is a good reason to have a celebration party.

Mr. Labonte's appointment is believed to reflect the company's commitment to improve its service capability across Canada by employing experienced and knowledgeable people of the highest calibre. Mr. Labonte, originally from rural Trois-Rivieres, Quebec, a catholic and father of three, is known by his colleagues for his efficient but warm, emotional and personalized management style. Although he received little formal education, Mr. Labonte has achieved success by being hard-working and aggressive on the job. Having spent most of his career in Quebec, Serge Labonte has made useful friends in that province's business and industry sectors. According to President and chief executive officer of Teleglobe Canada Inc., Douglas Smith, the last point constitutes a definite plus for the company as a whole.

Typical-negative

The Toronto-based company Teleglobe Canada Inc. just made public its decision to appoint Serge Labonte to the position of President for its unit in Quebec. Serge Labonte was selected from a group of candidates for this position who were primarily recruited from the Toronto area. Upon hearing the news of his appointment, Mr. Labonte was visibly surprised and excited and said it is a good reason to have a celebration party.

Mr. Labonte's appointment is believed to reflect the company's commitment to improve its service capability across Canada by employing experienced and knowledgeable people of the highest calibre. Mr. Labonte, originally from rural Trois-Rivieres, Quebec, a catholic and father of three, is known by his colleagues for his efficient but warm, emotional and personalized management style. Although he received little formal education,

Mr. Labonte has achieved success by being extremely aggressive with his competitors. Some concerns were raised about Mr. Labonte's chain smoking habit which he refused to comment on but which clearly violates federal laws regarding smoking in public buildings. President and chief executive officer of Teleglobe Canada Inc., Douglas Smith, is aware of those concerns but has apparently decided to take a chance.

Atypical-positive

The Toronto-based company Teleglobe Canada Inc. just made public its decision to appoint Serge Labonte to the position of President for its unit in Quebec. Serge Labonte was selected from a group of candidates for this position who were primarily recruited from the Toronto area. Upon learning the news of his appointment, Mr. Labonte calmly commented that it was a pleasant surprise.

Mr. Labonte's appointment is believed to reflect the company's commitment to improve service capability across Canada by employing experienced and knowledgeable people of the highest calibre. Mr. Labonte, originally from Trois-Rivieres, Quebec, a catholic and father of three, is known by his colleagues for his efficient management style which can be described as direct, rational and scientific. Having spent most of his career in the business and industry sectors, Serge Labonte has come to know many useful associates across Canada. According to President and chief executive officer of Teleglobe Canada Inc., Douglas Smith, the last point constitutes a definite plus for the company.

Atypical-negative

The Toronto-based company Teleglobe Canada Inc. just made public its decision to appoint Serge Labonte to the position of President for its unit in Quebec. Serge Labonte was selected from a group of candidates for this position who were primarily recruited from the Toronto area. Upon learning the news of his appointment, Mr. Labonte calmly commented that it was a pleasant surprise.

Mr. Labonte's appointment is believed to reflect the company's commitment to improve its service capability across Canada by employing experienced and knowledgeable people of the highest calibre. Mr. Labonte, originally from Trois-Rivieres, Quebec, a catholic and father of three, is

known by his colleagues for his efficient management style which can be described as direct, rational and scientific. Having spent most of his career in the business and industry sectors, Serge Labonte has established connections with many interesting associates across Canada. Some concerns were raised about Mr. Labonte's possible involvement in some recent fraud scandals in Quebec. President and chief executive officer of Teleglobe Canada Inc., Douglas Smith, is aware of those concerns but has apparently decided to take a chance.

Atypical-positive-unrepresentative

The Toronto-based company Teleglobe Canada Inc. just made public its decision to appoint Serge Labonte to the position of President for its unit in Quebec. Upon learning the news of his appointment, Mr. Labonte calmly commented that it was a pleasant surprise.

Mr. Labonte's appointment is believed to reflect the company's commitment to improve service capability across Canada by employing experienced and knowledgeable people of the highest calibre. Originally from Montreal, Mr. Labonte is a McGill graduate with a background in engineering and management as well as industrial relations. He is known by his colleagues for his efficient management style which can be described as direct, rational and scientific. Having spent most of his career in the business and industry sectors, Serge Labonte has established connections with many useful associates across Canada. According to President and chief executive officer of Teleglobe Canada Inc., Douglas Smith, the last point constitutes a definite plus for the company.

Scenario 2

Typical-positive

The Canadian men's volleyball team has just acquired a new member and captain, Pierre Charbonneau, to replace Robert Peterson who recently decided to resign from the captain position (while still staying on the team). This makes it the second time only that the national volleyball team has a captain from Quebec. In the past, Charbonneau has led Quebec's team to two national championships and also performed very well at the last Francophone games. Besides his athletic skills, Charbonneau's colorful leadership style usually constitutes a major contribution to any team he is a part of. According

to his former teammates at the University of Quebec in Trois-Riviere where he used to study, because of his friendly and expressive personality, Pierre can bring his team members closer together as well as provide inspiration for them in competition. He often tells his teammates to play for fun because that's the best way to win and because he believes in having fun. Former national team captain Peterson believes his adaptation and acceptance into the team should be easy given Charbonneau's character, and looks forward to seeing this new player in action.

Typical-negative

The Canadian men's volleyball team has just acquired a new member and captain, Pierre Charbonneau, to replace Robert Peterson who recently decided to resign from the captain position (while still staying on the team). In the past, Charbonneau has led Quebec's team to two national championships and also performed very well at the last Francophone Games. Besides his athletic skills, Charbonneau's colorful leadership style usually constitutes a major contribution to any team he is a part of. According to his former teammates at the University of Quebec in Trois-Riviere where he used to study, because of his friendly and expressive personality, Pierre can motivate his team members well in competition. He often tells his teammates to play for fun because that's the best way to win and because he believes in having fun.

On the other hand, Pierre could occasionally be too emotionally involved in a game and sometimes gets angry with the referee as a result, which gets him and his team into trouble. Rumors were also circulating about Pierre's past positive steroid testings, but they were not confirmed. Former national team captain Peterson, while expressing his concern on these points, said he is waiting to seeing this new player in action.

Atypical-positive

The Canadian men's volleyball team has just acquired a new member and captain, Pierre Charbonneau, to replace Robert Peterson who recently decided to resign from the captain position (while still staying on the team). This makes it the second time only that the national volleyball team has a captain from Quebec. In the past, Charbonneau has led Quebec's team to two national championships and also performed very well at the last Francophone

Games. Besides his athletic skills, Charbonneau's cool and decisive leadership style usually constitutes a major contribution to any team he is a part of. According to his former teammates at University of Quebec in Trois-Rivieres where he used to study, because of his practical and rational thinking, Pierre can lead his team members in competition and make sure they follow through with the game plan. Former national team captain Peterson believes his adaptation and acceptance into the team should be easy, and looks forward to seeing this new player in action.

Atypical-negative

The Canadian men's volleyball team has just acquired a new member and captain, Pierre Charbonneau, to replace Robert Peterson who recently decided to resign from the captain position (while still staying on the team). This makes it the second time only that the national volleyball team has a captain from Quebec. In the past, Charbonneau has led Quebec's team to two national championships and also performed very well at the last Francophone Games. Besides his athletic skills, Charbonneau's cool and decisive leadership style usually constitutes a major contribution to any team he is a part of. According to his former teammates at University of Quebec in Trois-Rivieres where he used to study, because of his practical and rational thinking, Pierre can lead his team members in competition and make sure they follow through with the game plan. However, he could occasionally be involved in a game to the point of being overly critical of mistakes and exerting unnecessary pressure on the team to follow the game plan. Former national team captain Peterson, while expressing his concern on this last point, said he is waiting to seeing this new player in action.

Atypical-positive-unrepresentative

The Canadian men's volleyball team has just acquired a new member and captain, Pierre Charbonneau, to replace Robert Peterson who recently decided to resign from the captain position (while still staying on the team). In the past, Charbonneau has led Quebec's team to two national championships and also performed very well at the last Commonwealth Games. Besides his considerable height (6'2") and athletic skills, Charbonneau's cool and decisive leadership style usually constitutes a major contribution to any team he is a part of. According to his former teammates at

Concordia University (Montreal) where he used to study, because of his practical and rational thinking, Pierre can lead his team members in competition and make sure they follow through with the game plan. Former national team captain Peterson believes his adaptation and acceptance into the team should be easy, and looks forward to seeing this new player in action.

Scenario 3

Typical-positive

The four major universities in Montreal have recently announced their intention to form an alliance that will fight government cutbacks in funding to their institutions. The alliance comprises of representatives from two anglophone universities, McGill and Concordia, and two francophone universities, University of Montreal and University of Quebec in Montreal. The alliance is headed by University of Montreal's dean of arts and sciences Jean-Guy Duceppe. The choice of Duceppe surprised many who were expecting to see McGill 's representative filling this position.

Jean-Guy Duceppe had taught French Canadian studies for many years before becoming dean and has published widely on different aspects of Quebec's culture and society. Duceppe is a popular figure at University of Montreal not only for his work; his many friends also describe him as humorous, and "always available for comments".

Duceppe has accepted to be head of this alliance because he is angered by what he calls " the government's shameful irresponsibility that has led to the present crisis in education in the province". He made this remark earlier today in an interview on a local French-speaking network, "Television Quatre Saisons".

Duceppe believes the quality of education and research in both anglophone and francophone universities is suffering due to lack of funding, and accessibility to post-secondary education is now limited due to tuition increase.

Typical-negative

The four major universities in Montreal have recently announced their intention to form an alliance that will fight government cutbacks in funding to their institutions. The alliance comprises of representatives from two anglophone universities, McGill and Concordia, and two francophone

universities, University of Montreal and University of Quebec in Montreal. The alliance is headed by University of Montreal's dean of arts and sciences Jean-Guy Duceppe.

Jean-Guy Duceppe had taught French Canadian studies for many years before becoming dean and has published widely on different aspects of Quebec's culture and society. He has accepted to be head of this alliance because he is angered by "what he calls " the government's shameful irresponsibility that has led to the present crisis in education in the province". He made this remark earlier today in an interview on a local French-speaking network, "Television Quatre Saisons".

The choice of Duceppe to head the alliance has been difficult and required two rounds of votes. The anglophone representatives have in fact expressed their concern that Duceppe might be interested in getting a larger share of funding for francophone universities. These representatives pointed out that Duceppe was and still is a supporter for "French only" sign laws in Quebec.

Atypical-positive

The four major universities in Montreal have recently announced their intention to form an alliance that will fight government cutbacks in funding to their institutions. The alliance comprises of representatives from two anglophone universities, McGill and Concordia, and two francophone universities, University of Montreal and University of Quebec in Montreal. The alliance is headed by University of Montreal's dean of arts and sciences Jean-Guy Duceppe. The choice of Duceppe surprised many who were expecting to see McGill 's representative filling this position.

Jean-Guy Duceppe had taught French Canadian studies for many years before becoming dean and has published widely on different aspects of Quebec's culture and society. He has accepted to be head of this alliance because he believes the quality of education and research in both anglophone and francophone universities is suffering due to lack of funding, and accessibility to post-secondary education is now limited due to tuition increase. "All academics are directly affected by this situation and should therefore attempt to change it " said Duceppe in an interview today.

Atypical-negative

The four major universities in Montreal have recently announced their intention to form an alliance that will fight government cutbacks in funding to their institutions. The alliance comprises of representatives from two anglophone universities, McGill and Concordia, and two francophone universities, University of Montreal and University of Quebec in Montreal. The alliance is headed by University of Montreal's dean of arts and sciences Jean-Guy Duceppe.

Jean-Guy Duceppe had taught French Canadian studies for many years before becoming dean and has published widely on different aspects of Quebec's culture and society. He has accepted to be head of this alliance because he believes that something should be done about the situation in education in the province.

The choice of Duceppe through two rounds of votes remains controversial. Some members of the alliance have in fact expressed their concern about Duceppe's inadequate qualifications for this position and his uncompromising personality which might make the alliance less effective in achieving its goals. Duceppe could not be reached for comment on this issue.

Atypical-positive-unrepresentative

The four major universities in Montreal have recently announced their intention to form an alliance that will fight government cutbacks in funding to their institutions. The alliance comprises of representatives from two anglophone universities, McGill and Concordia, and two francophone universities, University of Montreal and University of Quebec in Montreal. The alliance is headed by University of Montreal's dean of sciences Denis Roberts.

Denis Roberts had taught biology for many years before becoming dean and is mainly known for his extensive work on South American reptiles. Roberts was also popular for his lectures which many students found enjoyable and enriching. He has accepted to be head of this alliance because he believes the quality of education and research in both anglophone and francophone universities is suffering due to lack of funding, and accessibility to post-secondary education is now limited due to tuition increase. "All academics are directly affected by this situation and should therefore attempt to change it " said Roberts in an interview today.

Appendix G

Pilot study of the manipulations

The purpose of this pilot study was to assess the effectiveness of the experimental manipulations to be used in the main study. These manipulations consisted of presenting five contact situations between French and English Canadians. The situations differed in how the target French Canadian character involved was portrayed. In line with the intergroup contact model from Wilder (1984b), the typicality (typical vs. atypical) as well as the valence (positive vs. negative) of the target person's behaviour was varied. Typicality was defined as behaviour that is consistent with the perceiver's stereotype of French Canadians.

In addition to typicality and valence, the target person was to be consistently portrayed as representative of his/her group in order to maintain the intergroup (rather than interpersonal) nature of the contact (Wilder, 1984b). In other words, the target character's background characteristics were described as similar to other French Canadians'. Representativeness differs from typicality in that the former deals with group characteristics one possesses whereas the latter involves behaviour. In a fifth condition, the target person's behaviour was not only atypical and positive but the person was also described in terms that were unrepresentative of French Canadians. If the manipulations in the scenarios were effective, it was expected that these scenarios should be distinguishable and recognizable as depicting particular conditions.

The development of the scenarios initially involved writing three brief fictitious accounts of French Canadian individuals engaging in an activity jointly with English Canadians. The three accounts described the behaviour of French Canadians holding key positions in a company, or being on a sports

team, or being on a committee, each of which also consisted of English Canadians. The French Canadian characters were all depicted to be males as according to Eagly and Kite (1987), men from different ethnic groups and nationalities tend to be perceived as more representative members of such groups than their female counterparts. The manipulations of typicality and valence were then incorporated into each scenario based on English Canadians' positive and negative stereotypes of French Canadians derived from Gardner, Wonnacott and Taylor (1968), Lalonde and Gardner (1989) as well as Truong and Matheson (1992). The positive stereotypes of French Canadians chosen for the scenarios consisted of being emotionally expressive, friendly, fun-loving, hard-working, and having a sense of humour. The negative stereotypes included being aggressive, ill-tempered, drug- or substance-dependent, and having a pro-Quebec bias at the expense of English Canadians. On the basis of undergraduate respondents' informal feedback on manipulation check questions (Appendix H) and other open-ended questions, the manipulations were fine tuned and the scenarios made more realistic. Included in this fine tuning was a decision that only one French Canadian character should be portrayed in each scenario as that seemed to have more impact on the perceived typicality and valence than a number of French Canadians per scenario. Moreover, it became apparent that filler articles were necessary to lead subjects to believe in the journalistic purpose of the study. The final pilot study was conducted to assess whether the scenarios could be accurately classified into each of the five contact situations.

Method

Participants

13 undergraduate students from an Introductory Psychology class signed up to participate in the study for experimental credit or money (\$5). The study were referred to on the posted sign-up sheet as a "news reporting study", the purpose of which was to assess how readers evaluate different types of newspaper articles.

Materials

Three prototype scenarios depicting contact between English and French Canadians were developed. Five versions that corresponded to the five experimental conditions were created out of each of the scenario prototypes. Thus, there were 15 different scenarios.

Procedure

Upon arrival, subjects were informed that the study involved evaluating some articles taken from different Canadian newspapers. Specifically, the subjects were told that these articles, which happened to be about French Canadians, had been modified by the experimenter to create five versions from each. Their task then consisted of classifying the versions according to a set of conditions. They were then given a sheet with the conditions described as follows:

"We would like you to classify these articles according to these 5 categories:

1) The French Canadian individual is portrayed in positive terms and behaves or acts in a manner that fits English Canadians' stereotypes of French Canadians.

- 2) The French Canadian individual is portrayed in negative terms and behaves or acts in a manner that fits English Canadians' stereotypes of French Canadians.
- 3) The French Canadian individual is portrayed in positive terms and behaves or acts in a manner that does not fit English Canadians' stereotypes of French Canadians.
- 4) The French Canadian individual is portrayed in negative terms and behaves or acts in a manner that does not fit English Canadians' stereotypes of French Canadians.
- 5) The French Canadian individual is portrayed in positive terms and behaves or acts in a manner that does not fit English Canadians' stereotypes of French Canadians. Moreover, the French Canadian individual possesses background characteristics or past experiences unlike those of other French Canadians in general."

Subjects were given the versions of one scenario set at a time. All subjects received the three scenario sets. The order of presentation of the scenarios was randomized. They were also told that within each scenario set, there had to be one version per category. The sorting consisted of writing on each version the number corresponding to the selected category. Upon completion of the task, subjects were orally debriefed about the actual nature and purpose of the study.

Results and Discussion

The number of correctly classified and misclassified versions of the three scenarios was obtained for each subject. Tables G-1 and G-2 show the classification (observed / expected) in terms of typicality and valence respectively for the conditions of contact with a representative French Canadian target person. There was a significantly higher number of correctly

classified scenarios than missclassified ones, both on the basis of typicality, $\chi^2(1, N = 156) = 29.7, p < .001$, and valence, $\chi^2(1, N = 156) = 62.0, p < .001$. The high number of correctly classified scenarios suggest that the manipulations contained in these scenarios were effective in conveying the contact behaviour.

With respect to the "unrepresentative-positive-atypical" scenario, which was included to represent an interpersonal rather than intergroup contact, the representativeness manipulation was not successful. In fact, fewer than half (14 / 39) of this type of scenario were correctly classified. Moreover, 12 cases were missclassified as "representative-positive-atypical". It appeared that subjects could not make a clear distinction between an unrepresentative versus an atypical target person. Because the "unrepresentative" condition was theoretically not central to the main study and for methodological parsimony, it was decided to drop this condition from the study design.

Table G-1

Classification of versions on the basis of typicality

	Scenario type	
	Typical	Atypical
<u>Classified as</u>		
Typical	52 / 78	19 / 0
Atypical	16 / 0	48 / 78

Note. Each cell contains the number of observed over the number of expected cases.

Table G-2

Classification of versions on the basis of valence

	Scenario type	
	Positive	Negative
<u>Classified as</u>		
Positive	61 / 78	15 / 0
Negative	7 / 0	52 / 78

Note. Each cell contains the number of observed over the number of expected cases.

Questionnaire on newsreporting quality and manipulation check

1. How informative do you think the article is?

2. How interesting do you think the article is?

3. To what extent did you find the article involving or personally relevant?

4. To what extent do you think an average Canadian reader might find the report interesting?

5. To what extent do you find the style of the report appropriate to the kind of event being covered?

6. To what extent do you think this kind of article addresses the concerns of local readers?

7. To what extent do you find the details in the article typical of what you would read in a small town newspaper?

[illegible]

8. Please indicate any details that makes it typical or not typical of a small town newspaper.

9. To what extent do you find the details in the article typical of what you would read in a city newspaper?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all								Extremely

10. Please indicate any details that makes it typical or not typical of a city newspaper.

[illegible]

a) Rate the extent to which the behaviour of the person/group in the article is consistent with your expectations, considering his/her/their _____ background.

b) Rate the extent to which you think the behaviour of the person/group in the article is consistent with the expectations of _____, considering his/her/their _____ background.

b) Rate how surprised you are by the behaviour or actions of the person/group in the article, considering his/her/their cultural and ethnic background..

c) Please evaluate the behaviour or actions of the person/group in the article in terms of how desirable or appropriate it is within the setting described.

6. The individual or group in the situation described has past experiences that are unique to

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

_____. Equal status means having the same degree of importance and/or influence.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all								A great deal

8. Please indicate the extent to which you perceive the situation to involve goals or objectives common to both _____ and _____.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Not at all A great deal

9. To what extent do you identify with the _____ involved in the situation?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Not at all A great deal

Appendix I

Social desirability scale

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Read each item and decide whether the statement is **true (T)** or **false (F)** as it pertains to you personally.

- _____ 1. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.
- _____ 2. I like to gossip at times.
- _____ 3. I always try to practice what I preach.
- _____ 4. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.
- _____ 5. I never resent being asked to return a favor.
- _____ 6. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.
- _____ 7. I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.
- _____ 8. At times I have really insisted on having things my own way.
- _____ 9. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.
- _____ 10. There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things.

Appendix J

Prejudice measures and scales

Component measure of beliefs and affect

Stereotypic beliefs

Please provide a description of typical French Canadians. Your description should consist of a list of characteristics or, if necessary, short phrases which you think are often used to describe typical members of this group. We are interested in finding out what stereotypes are commonly held with respect to French Canadians. Provide as many characteristics or short phrases as you think are necessary to convey an adequate impression of the group. Thank you.

TYPICAL FRENCH CANADIANS ARE:

Please go back over the list of characteristics and rate how positive or negative you think each one is. If you think a characteristic is very positive, mark +2 beside it. If you think a characteristic is neutral, mark a zero beside it. If you think a characteristic is very negative, mark -2 beside it. Refer to the scale below.

-2	-1	0	+1	+2
Extremely Negative	Somewhat Negative	Neutral	Somewhat Positive	Extremely Positive

Please go back over the list once again and look at the characteristics that you have provided for this group. Decide the percentage of typical group members who possess each characteristic (0 to 100%). Write a percentage next to each separate characteristic.

Symbolic beliefs

Please indicate the values (e.g. freedom, a world at peace, a world of beauty), customs, and traditions (e.g. the Canadian work ethic, respect for law and order, multiculturalism) whose attainment is either facilitated or blocked by typical French Canadians. Provide as many values, customs, or traditions as you feel are necessary to convey your impression of French Canadians. Please be honest. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential.

TYPICAL FRENCH CANADIANS FACILITATE OR BLOCK THE ATTAINMENT OF:

Please go back over the list of values, customs, or traditions that you have provided. Decide for each statement whether its attainment is facilitated or blocked by French Canadians. If you think the attainment of the value, custom, or tradition is almost always facilitated by French Canadians, mark +2 beside it. If you think the value, custom, or tradition is neither facilitated nor blocked by French Canadians, mark a zero beside it. If you think the attainment of the value, custom, or tradition is almost always blocked by French Canadians, mark -2 beside it. Refer to the scale below.

-2	-1	0	+1	+2
Almost always blocked	Generally blocked	Neither facilitated nor blocked	Generally facilitated	Almost always facilitated

Please go back over the list once again and look at the values, customs, or traditions that you have provided for this group. For those values, customs, or traditions whose attainment is facilitated, decide the percentage of typical French Canadians who facilitate its attainment (0 to 100%). For those values, customs, or traditions whose attainment is blocked, decide the percentage of typical French Canadians who block its attainment (0 to 100%). For those statements marked with a "0", decide the percentage of French Canadians who neither facilitate nor block their attainment (0 to 100%). Write a percentage next to each separate statement.

Affect

Please provide a list of the feelings or emotions that you experience (e.g. proud, angry, disgusted, happy) when you see, meet or think about typical French Canadians. Provide as many feelings or emotions as you believe are necessary to accurately convey your impression of each group and to describe them adequately. Please be honest. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential.

TYPICAL FRENCH CANADIANS MAKE ME FEEL:

Please go back over the list of feelings or emotions you have provided. Decide for each feeling or emotion whether it is favourable, unfavourable, or neutral, as you have experienced it in reference to French Canadians. If the emotion is very positive, mark a +2 beside it. If the emotion is neutral, mark a zero beside it. If the emotion is very negative, mark a -2 beside it. Give your immediate impression. Don't spend too much time on any one emotion. Refer to the scale below.

-2	-1	0	+1	+2
Very Negative	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Very Positive

Please go back over the list once again and look at the emotions or feelings that you have provided. Decide the percentage of typical French Canadians who make you feel this way (0 to 100%). Write a percentage next to each separate emotion.

Attitude thermometer

Please provide a number between 0 and 100 to indicate how you feel about

French Canadians _____

Positive	100	Extremely favourable
	—	
	90	Very favourable
	—	
	80	Quite favourable
	—	
	70	Fairly favourable
	—	
	60	Slightly favourable
	—	
	50	Neither favourable nor unfavourable
	—	
	40	Slightly unfavourable
	—	
	30	Fairly unfavourable
	—	
	20	Quite unfavourable
	—	
	10	Very unfavourable
	—	
Negative	0	Extremely unfavourable

Social distance scale

Using the scale below, please rate how comfortable you would feel to have a French Canadian in the following social positions . Fill in the blanks with your ratings.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Not at all								Very
	comfortable								comfortable
				AS					
A neighbour				_____					
My roommate				_____					
My spiritual counselor				_____					
A close friend				_____					
My employer				_____					
My personal physician				_____					
My co-worker				_____					

Symbolic racism scale

Please indicate the extent to which you would personally agree or disagree with the following statements concerning French Canadians using the scale below. Fill in the blanks with your ratings.

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4
Strongly				Neutral				Strongly
Disagree								Agree

- _____ 1) French Canadians are getting more government and media attention than they deserve.
- _____ 2) Discrimination against French Canadians is a thing of the past.
- _____ 3) French Canadians' socialization experience deserves to be looked into.
- _____ 4) The goals and concerns of French Canadians are understandable.
- _____ 5) English Canadians are just better cut out than French Canadians for important positions in society.
- _____ 6) Preferential treatment is needed to help French Canadians gain equal access to opportunity.
- _____ 7) During the last 10-20 years, the chances for French Canadians to get ahead have improved greatly.
- _____ 8) Preferential treatment for French Canadians is reverse discrimination against English Canadians.
- _____ 9) We should give up on the goal of equality since English and French Canadians are so different to begin with.
- _____ 10) French Canadians and other minorities no longer face unfair employment conditions. In fact, they are favoured in many training and job programs.
- _____ 11) French Canadians do not need preferential treatment; if able, they can do it on an individual basis.
- _____ 12) English Canadians are better at running things than French Canadians and should be allowed to do so.

Appendix K

Debriefing

The purpose of the study is to assess attitudes of majority group members (e.g. English Canadians) toward minority group members (e.g. French Canadians) and to see how they are affected by the experience of contact. The newspaper articles you read in this experiment were actually scenarios presenting situations of contact between English and French Canadians who cooperate to achieve a certain goal. Previous studies suggested that cooperation can lead to improved relations between social groups because it provides the opportunity for members of these groups to come into contact with one another. However, conditions of contact vary in their effectiveness. For example, past research has shown that for the contact to change attitudes, participants in the contact situation must have common goals and be perceived to be of equal status. In this study, we are trying to find which dimensions of the contact situation are most important.

The focus of the scenarios you read was on a French Canadian individual or group who was portrayed as either behaving positively or negatively, and behaving in a manner that may be regarded as stereotypical or not stereotypical of French Canadians. Generally speaking, it is believed and predicted that the most favourable attitude toward French Canadians or any other similar minority group would be obtained if the minority group member is perceived as behaving in a positive way. The extent to which the stereotypicality of the behaviour affects people's attitudes is not certain, and we believe may operate differently depending on what people already believe and feel about the minority group.

The questions that you answered after each scenario were designed to make you believe in the journalistic purpose of the study as well as to see how you perceived the contact scenarios.

The questionnaire that you completed last represents the attitude measures. Depending on the condition you were assigned to, you may not have completed this questionnaire. This questionnaire may have looked partly familiar to you. This is because you already completed parts of it in the mass-testing of your class. This way we were able to get a sense of your beliefs and feelings before you read the scenarios in our study. We then asked you to complete these measures in this study to see if the contact scenarios you read

changed your attitude to French Canadians, for better or for worse. You should know that it is possible that your feelings about French Canadians may have become more negative as a result of the scenarios you read. Indeed, for experimental reasons, we do hope to alter somewhat people's attitudes. However, we want to make it clear that we do not want to advocate anti-French sentiment. In fact, the researchers involved in this study believe in the equality of all people, and we are motivated in our research by a desire to enhance the equality and understanding of all disadvantaged social groups.

The scenarios used in the study were wholly fictitious, and were designed to deal with general stereotype beliefs, both positive and negative, without trying to assess or lend validity to those beliefs. If your attitudes did change in this study, you should recognize that clearly people's attitudes toward social groups can be sensitive to very subtle environmental cues, that may be entirely false. Your interpretation of these cues may be very tied to your preconceptions and the situation in which they take shape, and hence are often inappropriately generalized to the rest of the minority group members. Indeed, it is believed that many factors come into play to shape one's attitude toward a group and we are investigating only a few of these.

We did not tell you the true purpose of the study from the beginning because we were concerned that knowledge of this might lead you to perceive and interpret the contact scenarios in ways that you normally would not have. Previous research also indicates that such knowledge might also affect and invalidate your responses on the questionnaires. For this reason, we ask you not to discuss the study with anyone else. If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please feel free to ask the experimenter. Thank you.

PLEASE RETURN THIS TO THE EXPERIMENTER

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