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# Two Forms of Racism and Their Related Outcomes: The Bad and the Ugly

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## Abstract

Two experiments investigated the related outcomes of two forms of racism among college students (413 in the first and 374 in the second experiment) enrolled in a program leading to careers in law enforcement such as police officers. The two forms of racism were the overt, traditional type whereby visible minorities are denigrated on the basis of innate characteristics, and the subtle type called neoracism, which incorporates egalitarian values and negative beliefs in the blame of visible minorities for undeserved gains and overall social problems. The design of the experiments allowed for a reality check in that they pertained to racial issues relevant to training and work in law enforcement. Experiment 1 showed, as hypothesized, that although both forms of racism are linked, only neoracism is associated with covert attitudes (i.e., unfavourable reactions to employment equity), and traditional racism is related to overt discriminatory behavioural intentions. Experiment 2 investigated the impact of priming a negative reaction to a visible minority on the pattern of these links. Under such conditions the observed links strongly suggest that respondents regress to old norms as neoracism is then associated with both covert negative attitudes and overt discriminatory behavioural intentions. The theoretical and practical implications of these findings are discussed.

## Résumé

Deux expériences ont examiné les résultats connexes de deux formes de racisme chez des étudiants du niveau collégial (413 dans la première expérience et 374 dans la seconde) inscrits dans des programmes menant à des carrières rattachées au maintien de l'ordre, par exemple, les forces policières. Les deux formes de racisme étudiées étaient, d'une part, le racisme traditionnel, ouvert, qui vise les membres de minorités visibles et est fondé sur des caractéristiques innées, et, d'autre part, un type de racisme subtil, appelé néoracisme, qui incorpore des valeurs égalitaires et des croyances négatives qui blâment les membres des minorités visibles de jouir d'avantages

qu'ils ne méritent pas ou les tiennent responsables de l'ensemble des problèmes sociaux. La conception des expériences amenait les participants à être confrontés à la réalité et à reconnaître les problèmes raciaux rencontrés lors de la formation et du travail dans la sphère du maintien de l'ordre. Conformément à nos hypothèses, la première expérience a démontré que, même si les deux formes de racisme sont reliées, seul le néoracisme est associé à des attitudes dissimulées (c.-à-d., réactions défavorables à l'équité en matière d'emploi) et le racisme traditionnel est associé à des intentions comportementales discriminatoires ouvertes. La deuxième expérience porte sur les effets du déclenchement d'une réaction négative à l'endroit d'une minorité visible sur les liens entre les variables. Dans de telles conditions, les liens observés suggèrent la présence d'une régression vers d'anciennes normes, car le néoracisme est alors relié à des attitudes dissimulées et à des intentions comportementales discriminatoires ouvertes. Les questions à incidence théorique et pratique issues de ces résultats sont abordées.

Welcoming numerous waves of immigrants is part of the history of North American countries. In the last decades, however, important differences were observed in immigration trends in these and many other Western countries (Bean, Cushing, Haynes, & Van Hook, 1997; Quillian, 1995). The face of immigration has changed with the rising number of visible minorities, a generic term used to describe all non-white immigrants (e.g., Blacks, Asians, Latino-Americans, Arabs). For example, although the presence of visible minorities in Canada was reported as early as 1628 (Walker, 1980), it is only recently that an abrupt surge in their number occurred (Statistics Canada, 1993a, 1993b). Visible minorities accounted for half of the immigrants entering Canada in the early nineties (Mercer, 1995), and it is estimated that

their number should continue to increase to make up 20% of the adult population by 2016 (Kelly, 1995; Statistics Canada, 1995).

There is some indication that prevailing beliefs in Western societies are not propitious to visible minorities. For example, studies suggest that comfort ratings and attitudes vis-à-vis visible minorities are more negative than toward Europeans (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Esses & Gardner, 1996; Lapinski, Peltola, Shaw, & Yang, 1997). Yet, the expression of negative views of visible minorities has changed in recent years. According to opinion polls (Gallup, 1994; Les Associés de recherche Ekos Inc., 1992, 1994; Tuch, Sigelman, & MacDonald, 1999) and recent studies conducted in many countries, subtle prejudicial beliefs have supplanted the older more blatant form of racist views (Ekehammar, Akrami, & Araya, 2000; Kleinpenning & Hagendoorn, 1993; Leach, Peng, & Volckens, 2000; Pedersen & Walker, 1997; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Sawires & Peacock, 2000; Sonn, Bishop, & Humphries, 2000; Tougas, Beaton, Joly, & St-Pierre, 1998; Walker, 2001). This change from overt to covert racist views is consistent with prevailing social norms: Openly denigrating visible minorities is not only incongruent with strongly advocated values of equality in our societies, in some cases it is illegal.

One could ask whether this change in the expression of racist beliefs is good or bad for visible minorities. In this paper, we address this question in two ways. First, we carry out a direct test of the distinction between the two forms of prejudice and their associated attitudes and behaviours. To date, research has not fully investigated the hypothesis according to which of these two forms of prejudicial views are related to different attitudes and behaviours. Second, we investigate the circumstances in which regression to old attitudes and behaviours could occur. This issue is raised in light of prior studies investigating responses to the negative actions of a visible minority.

Our investigation on racism was prompted by studies pertaining to both African Americans (McConahay, 1982, 1986) and visible minorities in different countries (Ekehammar et al., 2000; Kleinpenning & Hagendoorn, 1993; Pederson & Walker, 1997; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Sawires & Peacock, 2000; Sonn et al., 2000; Tougas et al., 1998; Walker, 2001). These studies confirmed the presence of both kinds of prejudice. The first kind, which is endorsed by a minority of people, refers to more traditional, overt or blatant prejudicial views. Two distinct beliefs are subsumed under this form of racism: one's group superiority and the other's innate inferiority (Kleinpenning & Hagendoorn).

We argue in this paper that recent research find-

ings regarding traditional racism can easily be misconstrued. The fact that fewer people openly denigrate visible minorities does not necessarily mean that this type of prejudice is dead and buried or cannot resurface in some circumstances. Changes in race relationships caused by the introduction of new societal norms and the promotion of egalitarian values are recent. Survey data (Gallup, 1994; Les Associés de recherche Ekos Inc., 1992, 1994; Tuch et al., 1999) indicate that differences between the host group and visible minorities are still considered as innate and immutable. Moreover, residual blatant beliefs might still be found in others who are in the process of becoming more egalitarian. Changes in such deep-rooted beliefs do not entail immediate and complete elimination of old prejudicial views or behaviours (Devine & Monteith, 1993; Devine, Monteith, Zuwerink, & Elliot, 1991; Rogers & Prentice-Dunn, 1981).

The second type of prejudice, which is more prevalent in Western countries, is covert and insidious in the sense that it is subtly expressed. Different conceptualizations of covert racism have been offered (Monteith, 1996) and these were variously named ambivalent (Katz & Hass, 1988), aversive (Dovidio, 2001; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986), symbolic (Henry & Sears, 2002; Sears, 1988), subtle (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995), new (Barker, 1984; Hopkins, Reicher, & Levine, 1997) or modern racism (McConahay, 1982, 1983, 1986). In accounting for this type of racism, we refer to McConahay's (1982, 1983, 1986) seminal work on modern racism. By his definition, modern racism incorporates conflicting views such as residual anti-minority group feelings, and egalitarian values in the perception that minorities demand and benefit from illegitimate changes in the racial hierarchy. For example, through the implementation of affirmative action programs in the United States (known as Employment Equity Plans in Canada), visible minorities have made some important gains in the domain of employment and work-related mobility. These changes can be perceived by some as unwarranted and in direct violation of basic social values, such as equality of opportunity and the merit principle. This perception plays an important role in the elaboration of socially acceptable justifications of one's discriminatory views of visible minorities (McConahay, 1983). Being "socially acceptable" can lead some to assume that their views, even the most negative ones, are prejudice free (Pérez, Mugny, Llavata, & Fierres, 1993).

Although McConahay's approach aptly captures the reality of African Americans, additional elements must be considered to account for the subtle form of

prejudice against visible minority immigrants. For example, opinion polls suggest that this form of racism against visible minority immigrants involves justifications such as threats to economic prosperity, employment, and way of life (Les Associés de recherche Ekos, Inc., 1992, 1994). Moreover, this form of discrimination may call rights to citizenship into question (Pettigrew, 1989; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). Accordingly, visible minority immigrants can be perceived as “forever foreigners.” This label can apply to anyone who is obviously not a member of the majority groups and may never be perceived as one. In the eyes of some, separating “us” from “them” is a matter of skin colour and physical traits. Therefore, we propose an instantiation of modern racism by adding to the original definition (McConahay, 1986) concerns raised by the arrival of visible minorities. We use the term neoracism to refer to this particular case of modern racism, which includes both an ambivalence between egalitarian values and negative views of visible minorities (McConahay, 1986), as well as a cultural insecurity deriving from fears of losing one’s values, customs, national identity, employment, and social benefits. We now turn to the consequences of both traditional and contemporary forms of racism.

McConahay and his collaborators (1982; McConahay & Hough, 1976; see also Sears, 1988) have proposed that both forms of racism are linked, but they account for different types of attitudes and behaviours. The rationale for assessing the link between traditional and subtle forms of racism rests on the assumption that the introduction of new social norms has led to changes in the expression of prejudicial beliefs, from the overt to the covert form. Both forms would then be linked to a negative view of visible minorities, and traditional beliefs would play an important role in the emergence of subtle prejudice. It is as if covert beliefs feed on traditional prejudicial views. Empirical support for a strong positive relationship between both forms of racism has been provided (Dunbar, 1995; McConahay, 1986; Pérez et al., 1993; Sawires & Peacock, 2000).

On the issue of ensuing attitudes and behaviours, McConahay and his colleagues posited that while overt racism is associated with assertions and acts that blatantly denigrate minorities, covert prejudice is linked to responses symbolically expressing an opposition to minority group aspirations such as affirmative action. Only part of this hypothesis, however, has been evaluated empirically. It has been found that covert racism is a better predictor of attitudes toward bussing and affirmative action than overt racism (Jacobson, 1985; McConahay, 1982;

Sawires & Peacock, 2000; Sidanius, Devereux, & Pratto, 1992). Because no measure of blatant attitudes or behaviours was included in these studies, the link between the two types of racism and blatant attitudes and behaviours remains to be attested. The two experiments presented in this article address this issue by evaluating the relationship between both types of racism and their respective outcomes. The investigation of these relationships under different experimental conditions provides direct tests of the distinction between these two forms of racism.

#### Overview of the Experiments

As designed, the experiments allow for a “reality check.” They both were conducted among college students enrolled in a program leading to careers in law enforcement such as police officer. Through their training, students enrolled in this program were made aware of the importance of racial issues in their future line of work. Preventing racial discrimination and inequitable applications of police procedures are key concerns in the training of future law enforcement personnel. Research data provide justifications for these concerns. Indeed, the police culture has been found to be ethnocentric (Wortley & Homel, 1995) and racist (Cashmore & McLaughlin, 1991; Deljo, 2000; Ericson, 1982). Moreover, conflicts between police forces and minorities occur frequently (Deljo; Perrott & Taylor, 1994). These incidents have often been attributed to the prejudicial views and behaviours of police officers.

The primary purpose of the first experiment was to test a predictive model that we derived from the literature on prejudice. This model predicts a positive relationship between traditional and neoracism. Moreover, the model posits a positive relationship between traditional racism and intentions of overt racist behaviours. The behavioural intentions focus on avoidance of contacts, whether social or personal, with visible minorities. Exclusion of visible minorities from social and personal networks is about rejection of close encounters with members of this group and, as such, is considered the highest ranking form of discrimination (Myrdal, 1968). Finally, a negative relationship between neoracism and support of employment equity is predicted. This will allow an examination of the consequences of neoracism not only in terms of general political beliefs, but also in terms of respondents’ views regarding their educational and anticipated work situations. Indeed, at the time of the experiment, respondents were informed that a nearby police academy had purposely increased its target enrolment of visible minorities. This decision was made to ensure that major police forces, having

already implemented employment equity programs to increase the representation of visible minorities, be in a position to reach their target enrolment.

In the second experiment, we examined the effect of different contextual priming conditions on the pattern of relationships in the model developed in the first experiment. The stories also permitted a test of reality as they were targeting situations in which law enforcement officers could/would intervene. Respondents' attitudes were primed by a short story in which a visible minority member was involved either in a benevolent action (saving a young child who had fallen into a pond) or a reprehensible action (stealing a pregnant woman's purse). This experiment was intended as a test of the link invariance among the key variables of the model. The approach was inspired by the body of research investigating the impact of the action of a single minority member on attitudes toward the entire group and regression to overt expression of racism.

#### Experiment 1 Method

##### *Participants*

This experiment was conducted among second and third year college students enrolled in a Law Enforcement program. During regular class time, they voluntarily filled out a questionnaire designed to evaluate their reactions toward visible minorities. A total of 413 White students (148 women, 253 men, and 12 who did not specify their gender) participated in this experiment. Their age varied from 16 to 32 years ( $M = 20$  years).

##### *Measures*

The questions used in this experiment are grouped below according to the variable they measured. All answers were recorded on 7-point scales where "1" indicated not at all and "7," absolutely. The last section of the questionnaire gathered socio-demographic information such as age and nationality of participants.

Two racism scales were developed. The rationale and method used for the selection and the development of items are presented below along with the scale items, an estimate of internal consistency (i.e., Cronbach alpha coefficient), and an estimate of test-retest reliability (i.e., product-moment correlation coefficient involving two measures taken on the same items and with the same respondents) when available. The test-retest reliability coefficients were established with a sample of undergraduate students enrolled in an Introductory Psychology class; the time interval between the two measures was approxi-

mately one month.

*Neoracism scale.* The items were developed on the basis of the definition of neoracism presented above. To assess the ambivalence between negative views of visible minorities and perception that their demands and recent gains are illegitimate, three items were adapted from existing scales (Jacobson, 1985; McConahay, 1986; Tougas et al., 1998), and one was created: "Visible minorities will make more progress by being patient and not pushing too hard for change" (patient); "Over the past few years, visible minorities have obtained more from the Government than they deserve" (gain); "Due to social pressures, managers frequently must hire under qualified people from visible minorities" (hire); "It is difficult to comment on visible minorities without being referred to as a racist" (racist). The remaining items were written to reflect cultural insecurity in terms of loss of values, customs, national identity, employment, and social benefits: "Culturally speaking, Canada has been enriched by the arrival of visible minorities" (culture); "Visible minorities have values that do not conform with Canada's culture" (value); "Visible minorities coming to Canada should change their values and customs to conform with those of individuals of Canadian ancestry" (conform); "The identity of people of Canadian ancestry has been enriched by the arrival of visible minorities" (id); "Upon arrival in Canada, visible minorities really try to integrate" (arrive); "Visible minorities try their best to adapt to the Canadian way of life" (adapt); "If members of visible minorities are unhappy with their situation, they should return to their own country" (return); "Economically speaking, Canada has benefited from the arrival of visible minorities" (economy); "High unemployment has nothing to do with the presence of visible minorities" (employ)<sup>1</sup>. The internal consistency coefficient was deemed to be satisfactory (Cronbach alpha = .84). The test/retest reliability estimate on the neoracism scale was in the acceptable range ( $r = .86, p < .001$ ). This test was conducted on a separate sample of participants recruited in Introduction to Psychology classes ( $n = 119$ ).

*Traditional racism scale.* Three members of the community (one visible minority, one person who worked in the police forces for many years, and one who worked on integration projects) were met separately and asked, on the basis of their experience, to indicate the domains in which visible minorities are believed to be inferior to Whites. This is congruent with the definition proposed above (Kleinpenning &

<sup>1</sup> Responses to these questions were reverse coded.

Hagendoorn, 1993), and the domains identified were: skills, work motivation, parenting, and law-abidingness. The items developed were: "Visible minorities have the required abilities to succeed in our system" (success); "Generally speaking, members of visible minorities do not have the required qualifications to occupy positions of responsibility" (skills); "Generally speaking, visible minorities don't like to work" (work); "Members of visible minorities simply don't know how to be parents" (parent); "Generally speaking, visible minorities are not respectful of other people's property" (respect); "It is difficult to teach visible minorities to be respectful of other people's property" (teach); "Drugs are 'a way of life' for visible minorities" (drug). The coefficient for internal consistency reached .81. The test/retest reliability estimate for this scale ( $n = 148$ ) was lower than that of the neoracism scale, but remains in the acceptable range ( $r = .68, p < .001$ ). As in the case of the neoracism scale, this test was conducted on a separate sample of Introduction to Psychology students.

*Reactions toward employment equity programs.* Three questions assessed participants' reactions toward employment equity programs. These questions were adapted from previous studies dealing with employment equity for women (Tougas, Brown, Beaton, & Joly, 1995; Tougas, Brown, Beaton, & St-Pierre, 1999): "If there are no employment equity programs for minorities, they will continue to be treated unfairly" (unfair); "After years of discrimination, it is only fair to set up special programs to make sure visible minorities are given fair and equitable treatment" (fair); "All in all, do you favour the implementation of employment equity programs for visible minorities?" (program). As in previous studies, the Cronbach alpha estimate of the three-item scale was acceptable at .84.

*Overt racist behaviours.* The three members of the community who were involved in the design of the traditional racism scale were also asked to describe overt racist behaviours they had witnessed in the past. From their descriptions, we were able to generate items representing different levels of exclusion of visible minorities. The situations identified ranged from public to personal (intimate) encounters, for both the person and his/her children, even those to be. Two of the three members of the community consulted stressed the importance of evaluating behaviours concerning children even among young people. In their experience, overt racist tendencies manifest themselves through parenthood (planned or real). The selected items are: "I would not vote for a candi-

date who was a member of a visible minority" (vote); "I would not eat in a restaurant operated by a visible minority" (eat); "I quicken my pace when I see a person of a visible minority crossing the street toward me" (street); "When a visible minority sits beside me on the bus, I change seats" (bus); "I would not attend a party if visible minorities were invited" (party); "I would not invite members of visible minorities to my home" (home); "I would not be romantically involved with someone who has had intimate relations with visible minorities" (relate); "I would remove my child from a class taught by a teacher of a visible minority" (class); "I would refuse to have my child treated by a doctor of a visible minority" (treat); "I would not put my children in the care of a babysitter of a visible minority" (care); "I would not allow my children to play with children of visible minorities" (play); "I would not allow my child to become romantically involved with a person of a visible minority" (romance). The Cronbach alpha estimate for this scale was .87.

#### *Analysis of Data*

Data were analysed in two steps. First, the assumptions of normality, sample size, and linearity were evaluated. Second, the proposed model was tested with the structural equation modeling procedure available through the EQS statistical package for Windows (Bentler & Wu, 1995, version 5.5). With this procedure, the relationship between the observed variables and the theoretical constructs, as well as the relationship between the theoretical constructs were tested and specified. Model estimation was based on the covariance matrix including all data. According to Byrne (1994), it is important to equalize the measurement weighting across indicators, and to ensure that models are parsimonious. She recommends that the number of observed variables for each indicator variable vary between three and seven. Scale items of the neoracism and overt behaviour scales were thus grouped on the basis of item-total correlation provided by the reliability test. Combined items are clearly identified in Figure 1.

#### *Results and Discussion*

Preliminary analyses were conducted to determine whether women and men differed in their responses to items included in the experiment. No significant differences were detected between the two groups, and participants were pooled to form one sample group. Analyses also revealed in some cases high values of skewness and kurtosis, and 12 cases were multivariate outliers (with high values on Mahalanobis distances). The problem of normality

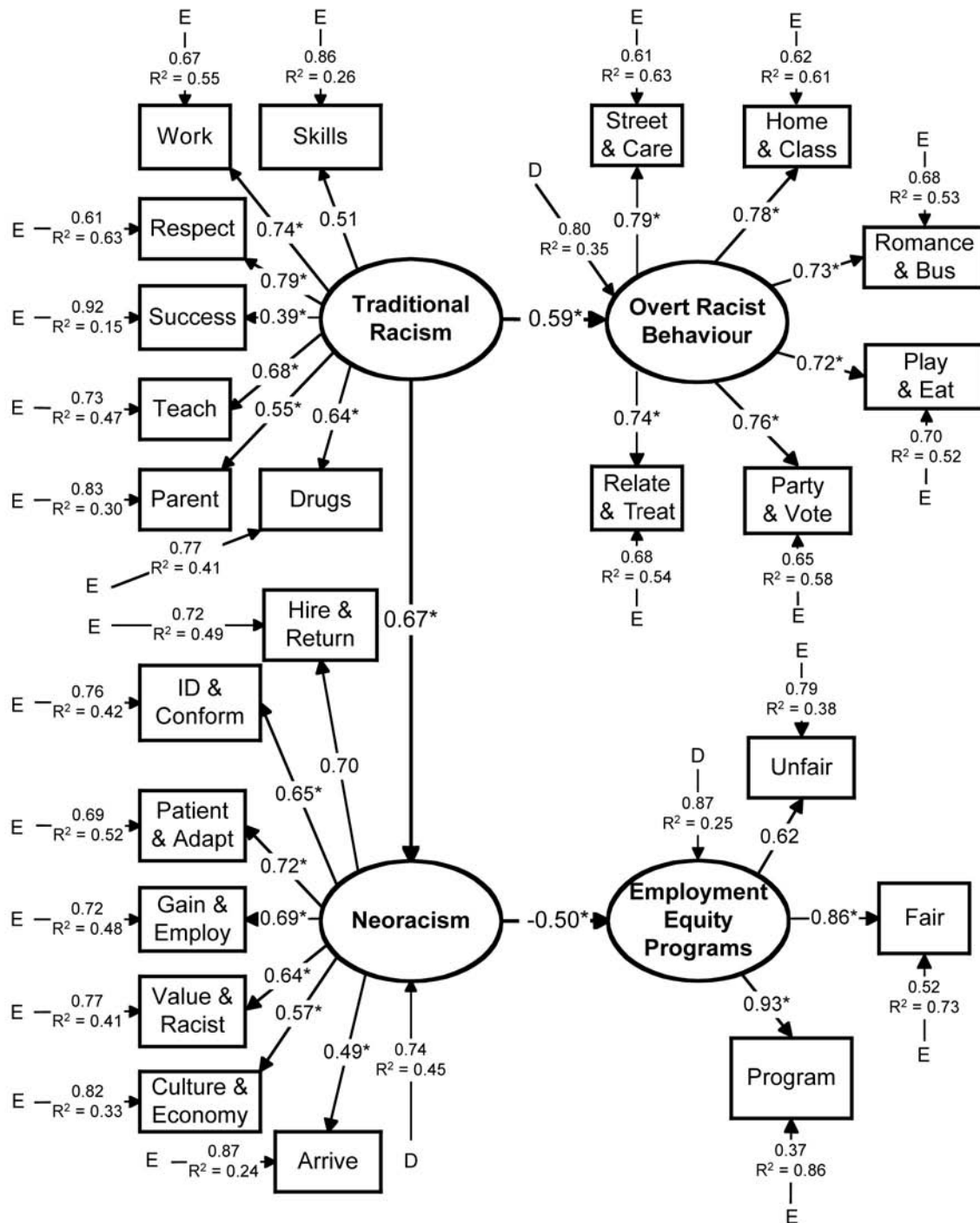


Figure 1. Final model of the links between Traditional Racism, Neoracism, Reactions to Employment Equity Programs, and Overt Racist Behaviour. D = disturbance values; E = residuals; \*  $p < .05$ .

was corrected by using the robust method of maximum likelihood extraction based on the covariance matrix. Also, analyses were conducted with and without the outliers, and the same results were obtained. Consequently, all cases were included in the analyses.

In the final step, the structural equation analysis was performed. Following the recommendations of many analysts (Bollen & Long, 1993; Hoyle & Panter, 1995), the adequacy of the model was assessed by examining several fit indices. In all, three were used. The first, the Satorra-Bentler chi-square ( $S-B\chi^2$ ), is appropriate for this experiment because it is an adjustment of the chi-square for non-normal data (Bentler, 1994). The second, the robust comparative fit index (CFI), is used to compare both the evaluated and the independence models. This index can range from 0 to 1, and those over .90 are considered indicative of a good fit (Bentler). Values below .10 on the third index, the standardized root square residual mean (SRMR), indicate a reasonable difference between variance and covariance matrices of the evaluated and the independence model (Kline, 1998; Sörbom & Jöreskog, 1982). Moreover, EQS provides a Lagrange multiplier test and a Wald test, used to locate the source of misspecifications, and to add or delete some estimated parameters. For identification purposes, one observed variable for each latent construct was fixed to unity.

Results obtained from the equation modelling procedure for the initial model confirmed the hypothesized structure of the links between the latent constructs. Indeed, goodness-of-fit indices revealed that the model represents a good fit to the observed data ( $S-B\chi^2(227) = 386.17, p < 0.01$ ; CFI = .95; SRMR = .057). According to the model reproduced in Figure 1, although both forms of racism are linked, they are associated with different attitudinal and behavioural outcomes. According to predictions, neoracism is associated with attitudes toward employment equity, and traditional racism to overt racist behavioural intentions.

Results of this experiment confirm the hypothesis that both forms of prejudicial views regarding visible minorities are closely related. This finding is consistent with the view that traditional racism is important in the development of neoracism in that both include negative views of visible minorities. Although these two forms of racism are linked, they differ in that traditional racism is based on beliefs of innate differences between races, and neoracism is based on the beliefs that changes in racial relations in society are unjustified and unfair. Differences between these two forms of racism are supported by

the exclusive relationship between traditional racism and overt behavioural intentions, and the link between neoracism and symbolic opposition to the aspirations of visible minorities expressed via attitudes toward employment equity.

#### Experiment 2

In the second experiment, the pattern of results observed in the first experiment was re-evaluated by manipulating the context in which the measures are taken. There is evidence that the negative behaviour of one minority group member has a significant impact on the reactions of the majority to all visible minorities. For example, a study conducted by Henderson-King (1999) has shown that second-hand information about the negative actions of a Black person led to individual-to-group generalization. Moreover, it was found that negative experiences, whether direct (Lewicki, 1985; Rosenfield, Greenberg, Folger, & Borys, 1975) or indirect (Henderson-King; Henderson-King & Nisbett, 1996), result in avoidance or minimized contacts with minorities. In other words, the wrongdoings of a single individual can bring about overt racist behaviours toward the group on the part of the majority. Does this mean that when people are confronted with the negative behaviour of a visible minority individual, they tend to regress to old repertoires of behaviours and, in these circumstances, even neoracism would lead to the adoption of overt racist behaviours?

Extant data on prejudice reduction suggest that, under certain circumstances, neoracism can trigger reactions associated with traditional racism. Recall that neoracist beliefs and related attitudes and behaviours recently emerged as a result of important social changes in race relations. Overt prejudicial views and behaviours have been supplanted by more covert ones. Reduction of deep-rooted beliefs such as racist beliefs is difficult, and, as Devine and her collaborators have pointed out, may involve backward steps leading to overt prejudiced responses both in thought and behavioural domains (Devine & Monteith, 1993; Devine et al., 1991). The anticipated relation between the reprehensible behaviour of a minority group member and regression to old norms of responses is supported by a study conducted by Rogers and Prentice-Dunn (1981). In accounting for regression to traditional patterns of racist behaviours, this study also stresses the importance of negative emotional arousal. In a situation in which Whites were made angry by the overheard insulting remarks of a minority group member, observed behaviours were consistent with overt traditional patterns of discrimination (Rogers & Prentice-Dunn). In a neutral situation

where participants' mood was not affected, the observed behaviours were consistent with prevailing social norms. The study conducted by Rogers and his colleague suggests that anger triggered by the negative behaviour of a visible minority group member can lead to overt responses, one of which is regression to behaviours associated with traditional racist beliefs, even when individuals adopt socially accepted norms. This association could not, however, be confirmed as participants' prejudicial beliefs were not assessed in prior studies.

Henderson-King and Nisbett (1996) also evaluated reactions to positive actions of a minority group member that showed that positive actions by a member of a stigmatized group have little influence on people's perceptions of the larger group. Witnessing the positive action of a minority group member also had no significant impact on behaviours of White participants. In fact, reactions were not different from those observed in a neutral situation. These results were attributed to the fact that because positive actions are not typical of negatively stereotyped individuals, they could be overlooked, seen as unrepresentative of the group or even viewed with suspicion (Henderson-King & Nisbett; Rothbart & Park, 1986). Even if the effects of a positive action on the part of a single minority group member on the links between prejudicial views and behaviours have not yet been researched, results of previous studies lead us to expect a pattern of relationships similar to the one found in the first experiment.

In view of the preceding, it was hypothesized that in a negative situation triggering anger, the pattern of relationships between traditional racism, neoracism, reactions to employment equity, and overt racist behavioural intentions would differ from the one predicted and confirmed in Experiment 1. Both traditional and neoracism would then be associated with racist behavioural intentions. In the case of a highly commendable action by a minority group member, a replication of the links predicted and obtained in Experiment 1 was expected.

#### *Method*

##### *Participants*

This experiment was conducted one year after the first one. To ensure that participants in this experiment were different from those in Experiment 1, only first- and second-year students enrolled in the same Law Enforcement program as in the first experiment were asked to participate. Again, they were met by an experimenter during regular class hours to fill out a questionnaire designed to evaluate their reactions to visible minorities. A total of 323 students, 146

women, 174 men, and 3 who did not specify their gender, participated in this experiment. Their age varied from 16 to 46 years ( $M = 19.45$  years).

##### *Measures*

The questionnaire used in the second experiment included three parts: a) a priming scenario, b) a manipulation check, and c) the scales used in Experiment 1. Two versions of the priming scenario were developed. In the first version, called "negative situation," participants ( $n = 187$ ) read a scenario in which a male Black teenager tries to steal the purse of a pregnant woman. During his arrest, the teenager spits and swears at the police officer. In the second version, called "positive situation," the scenario presents a 3-year-old White boy falling in a lake on a chilly afternoon of September. A male Black teenager witnessing the scene jumps into the cold water and saves the child. In all, 136 participants were presented this scenario.

The two versions of the questionnaire were distributed randomly to participants. Each version contained the same items used in Experiment 1, with the exception of the manipulation check measures described below. The Cronbach alpha estimates for the scales were, respectively, .85 for the neoracism scale, .83 for the traditional racism scale, .85 for the reactions toward employment equity programs, and .84 for the overt racist behaviours scale.

*Manipulation check.* Following the negative scenario, participants were asked to rate on a 7-point scale to what point the behaviour of the Black teenager was serious. In the case of the positive scenario, they were asked to evaluate how courageous was the behaviour of the Black teenager. Participants were also asked to evaluate their emotional state. Impressions of one's state were evaluated on a 7-point scale with the following bipolar adjectives: good-bad; happy-irritated; peaceful-angry; quiet-aggressive; calm-furious. A composite score was obtained by combining and averaging the five responses (Cronbach alpha = .95).

##### *Results*

Responses to the manipulation check questions show that 91% of respondents given the negative scenario believed the behaviour of the Black teenager was quite serious, and 96.3% of those in the positive condition estimated that his action was courageous. A t-test on the mood ratings revealed a significant difference between the two conditions on participants' impressions,  $t(321) = 24.22$ ,  $p < .001$  ( $M = 1.84$  in the "positive" condition;  $M = 4.85$  in the "negative"



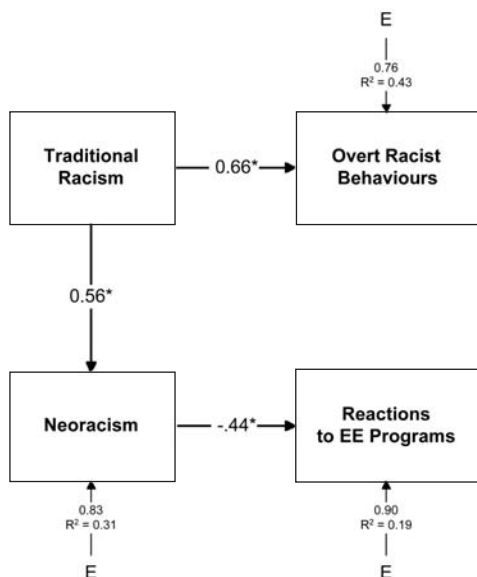


Figure 2. Related outcomes of two forms of racism in the positive condition. E = residuals; \*  $p < .05$ .

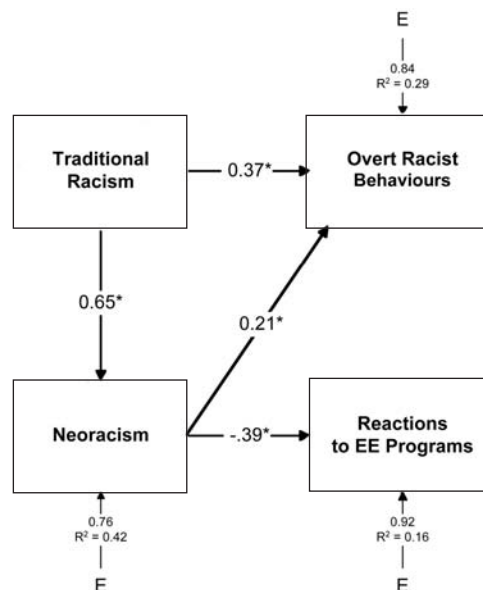


Figure 3. Related outcomes of two forms of racism in the negative condition. E = residuals; \*  $p < .05$ .

condition), with the higher mean indicating a more negative mood.

To evaluate the two hypothesized models, one for the negative condition and the other for the positive one, a path analytic procedure available through EQS statistical package (Version 5.5) for Windows (Bentler & Wu, 1995) was used. As a result, each model contained four variables, which were obtained by including all items used to measure traditional racism, neoracism, employment equity, and overt racist behaviours. To overcome the problems of normality, the robust method was used to perform path analysis.

The goodness-of-fit indices indicate that the hypothesized model for the “positive situation” version fit the data well ( $S-B\chi^2(3) = 12.80, p < 0.01$ ; CFI = .93; SRMR = .07). As illustrated in Figure 2, all parameters relevant to the positive scenario are statistically significant ( $p < .05$ ), and thus essential to the model. In line with the hypotheses, traditional racism is linked to overt racist behaviours and to neoracism. Only neoracism is linked to reactions to employment equity programs. This pattern of results replicates the pattern observed in Experiment 1 with an independent sample of respondents and thereby provides evidence that the empirical model is robust and stable. To attest this similarity formally, a test of invariance was conducted. The purpose of the structural invariance procedure is to evaluate the equivalence of the causal paths across models (Byrne, 1994). The model in the first experiment was transformed in a path analysis and compared to the one obtained in

the positive condition. Consequently, equality constraints were imposed for all paths in both models. Results confirmed our conclusion ( $\chi^2(9) = 31.52, p = 0.001$ ; CFI = .95; SRMR = .06) that all paths in both models are equivalent.

The goodness-of-fit indices for the negative scenario indicated that the hypothesized model fit the data well ( $S-B\chi^2(2) = 0.44, p = 0.81$ ; CFI = 1.00; SRMR = .01). As illustrated in Figure 3, all parameters associated with this scenario are statistically significant ( $p < .05$ ), and thus essential to the model. As expected, in the negative situation, traditional racism is linked to overt racist behaviours and to neoracism. Moreover, under this condition neoracism is linked to overt racist behaviours and to reactions to employment equity programs.

#### Test of Alternative Models

We conducted further analyses to provide a more stringent test of the hypothesized links in both the positive and the negative conditions. In the positive condition, a model including a link between neoracism and overt racist behaviours was tested. This model was rejected as the added link was nonsignificant (0.18). In the case of the negative condition, a model without the link between neoracism and overt racist behaviours was tested. Although fit indices were good ( $S-B\chi^2(2) = 6.47, p = 0.09$ ; CFI = .98; SRMR = .05), results of the Lagrange Multiplier required the inclusion of an extra link associating neoracism and overt racist behaviours to achieve an optimal fit.

### Discussion

The main goal of this paper was to provide a better understanding of the consequences of racism against visible minorities. To achieve this goal, two experiments were conducted among Law Enforcement students who are concerned with this issue. Indeed, employment equity programs were introduced in police forces and in training programs for future law enforcement personnel. These programs were intended to render police forces more representative of the population they serve by increasing the proportion of minorities in their ranks. Even though efforts have been made to improve the situation, race relations are still a matter of concern for police authorities (Beauchesne, 2001; Normandeau, 1995; Perrott & Taylor, 1994) and the teaching personnel of law enforcement programs. Relations between the police and minorities are often tense (Perrott & Taylor) and have received extensive media attention.

The present experiments dealt with unanswered questions concerning the relationship between traditional and new forms of racism. At the initial stage of these experiments, scales to measure two forms of racism were developed. These scales were found to meet sound criteria of internal consistency and stability over time. It was also shown that, although both types of racism are closely linked, they are clearly distinct.

The first experiment confirmed the significant and exclusive relationship between traditional racism and intentions of overt racist behaviours, and between neoracism and reactions to employment equity programs. This pattern of results supports the argument offered by many analysts (McConahay, 1982; McConahay & Hough, 1976; see also Sears, 1988) that traditional and neoracism are associated with different attitudes and behaviours. The results of the second experiment allow us to qualify the selective relationship between these variables. The pattern observed in Experiment 1 was only obtained when participants were presented a positive scenario and were in a relatively positive emotional state. In contrast, this pattern of relationships changed when participants reported being angry after reading a story depicting the negative behaviour of a single minority group member (i.e., a Black teenager). In this case, responses suggest a regression to previous norms. Indeed, in these circumstances, neoracism was linked to intentions of overt racist behaviours. It seems that hearing about the negative behaviour of a single member of a visible minority has consequences at the group level; overt racist behavioural intentions, in this case their exclusion from social and personal net-

works, are directed at the group to which the deviant member belongs. This result is consistent with studies indicating that negative emotional arousal triggered by the observation of one Black behaving badly enhances the occurrence of discriminatory behaviours (Rogers & Prentice-Dunn, 1981), such as the avoidance of encounters with other Black individuals (Henderson-King & Nisbett, 1996).

We introduced this paper by asking whether the observed change in the expression of racist beliefs was good or bad for visible minorities. The answers suggested by the present research can be interpreted as both negative and positive. According to Experiment 2, it seems as though reading about one minority group member with a bad attitude is enough to bring a change for the worse in the pattern of attitudes and behaviours toward all minorities. These results are troubling. In the case of those who mostly deal with minorities with a bad attitude (e.g., police officers), situations triggering negative feelings occur frequently (Tremblay, 1997). Such a context is conducive to regressions to old norms of conduct – in this case, overt racist behavioural intentions. Moreover, on account of previous studies (Henderson-King, 1999; Henderson-King & Nisbett, 1996; Rogers & Prentice-Dunn, 1981), it is believed that results obtained in Experiment 2 can be generalized to other groups of citizens. Indeed, it has shown that being the direct target of the aggressive behaviour of a minority group member or just hearing about it produce the same results. Even if one has had no negative direct experience with minorities, it is easy through the media to view, hear or read about minorities who have committed crimes. In this case, reversion to old norms is to be expected.

On the positive side, this experiment suggests that reversion to overt racist behavioural intentions on the part of future law enforcement personnel is situational and transient. Moreover, there is some indication that such a reversion might have some positive effects such as prejudice reduction. For example, it has been shown that feelings of guilt and self-criticism expressed by low-prejudice persons when violating their personal standards facilitate their prejudice reduction efforts (Devine & Monteith, 1993). Some prejudice reduction can thus be expected among those scoring low on neoracism who are made aware of their transgression of egalitarian norms. This, for example, could be achieved through debriefing after difficult police interventions with minorities. Ad campaigns directed at the general public could also draw on studies conducted by Devine and her colleagues to trigger prejudice reduction among those who, at times, could be tempted to

act like racists even though they do not endorse overt prejudicial views.

Studies investigating the effect of attention to one's unpleasant mood on the treatment of others also shed light on the mechanism that modulates the mood and behavioural reactions triggered by the blameworthy action of one minority group member. Indeed, it has been shown that the impact of negative mood is quite different when individuals are made aware of their negative mood, and when social norms clearly define what is acceptable in terms of attitudes and behaviours. In such cases, individuals in a negative mood show strong compliance to social norms (Berkowitz & Troccoli, 1990). These studies suggest, for example, that awareness training and strong organizational norms, in terms of treatment of minorities in law enforcement, could cancel the effects of anger experienced after difficult interactions with troubled minority youths. It should be noted that focusing only on organizational norms could have aversive effects such as backlash (Plant & Devine, 2001).

#### Conclusion

The present research shows that both blatant and covert forms of racism are important in understanding attitudes toward persons with distinct physical characteristics who have immigrated to Canada. Similar conclusions have been drawn with samples from different countries, suggesting that intolerance vis-à-vis those who are different from the majority group in the host country is pervasive. As Western countries continue to accept visible minority immigrants, more knowledge about the implications of both blatant and covert types of racism will be needed if some form of interracial harmony is to be reached and maintained.

Of much concern is the question of whether regression to old norms of behaviours is short or long lived among those who hold stronger prejudicial views. Studies conducted by Devine and her colleague (Devine & Monteith, 1993) suggest that reversion to stronger prejudicial norms of behaviour among highly prejudiced individuals is associated with anger directed toward minorities. This is a particularly important issue because media coverage of crimes often refer to the race of perpetrators. Person-to-group generalization and their consequences, such as regression to overt racist behaviours, can be viewed as obstacles to harmonious relations between the races in society.

As the face of immigration becomes more and more diversified in Western countries, the issue of differences and similarities in the attitudes toward

immigrants of all ethnic backgrounds gains in importance. In a survey focusing on the beliefs of Europeans of different countries regarding five ethnic groups (i.e., Surinamers, Turks, West Indians, Asians, and Arabs), it was shown that whatever the groups targeted, both overt and covert racism were present and their effects significant in explaining attitudes (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). It is not known whether the effects of being confronted with the positive and negative actions of a minority group member are similar across groups. The scenarios presented in our second experiment only described the behaviours of a young Black person. The exact role of group-specific beliefs in the manifestation of prejudice under different circumstances has yet to be investigated.

In summary, the present research highlighted some of the implications of subtle and blatant forms of racism. Moreover, it suggests that outdated, and condemned prejudicial views are still alive as well as their behavioural counterparts. Finally, questions raised by the uncovered intolerance and anger directed at people with distinct physical characteristics were used to propose some yet unexplored avenues of research as it is believed that the factors that determine the expression of discrimination are numerous and their interaction possibly complex.

This research is part of a larger project supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (Grant No. 410-95-0786) to the first author. We wish to thank the anonymous reviewers and the editor for their very useful comments, as well as Stéphane Joly, Josée Déziel, Ginette Lachapelle, and Lorraine Tessier for their assistance at different stages of these studies.

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Received September 6, 2002

Revised April 21, 2003

Revised December 4, 2003

Accepted September 25, 2003