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An Australian experience of modern racism:
The nature, expression and measurement of racial
prejudice, discrimination and stereotypes.

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BA, Graduate Diploma of Applied Psychology (UC)

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Lastly, I would like to thank the participants who participated in my studies, and the kind assistance of the teachers at the ACT Secondary Colleges that took part in my research studies.

Jenny
Abstract

This thesis aimed to investigate the changing nature, expression and measurement of contemporary racist attitudes, discriminatory behaviours and racial stereotypes in an Australian context. The first principal aim of this thesis was to further establish the psychometric properties of the Symbolic Racism Extended Scale (Fraser & Islam, 1997b). Study 1 revealed good psychometric properties for the Symbolic Racism Extended Scale as a measure of symbolic (modern) racist attitudes in Australian populations. The study also found support for incorporating modern racism items within a 'social issues' questionnaire format to reduce reactivity concerns associated with self-report measures.

The second principal aim of this thesis (Studies 2 and 3) was to explore the nature, prevalence and potential sources of contemporary racist attitudes, and associated discriminatory behaviours, in an Australian context. Study 2 detected a sizeable proportion of modern racist attitudes in both the University and ACT Secondary College student samples. The nature of modern racist attitudes in the population samples maintained clear consistencies with key tenets of contemporary theories of racial prejudice. Overall, the study provided further empirical evidence of the nature, tenets and potential socio-demographic sources of modern racist attitudes in Australian populations.

Study 3 explored modern racists' discriminatory behaviours in conditions of low racial salience. In an employment-hiring task, high and low prejudiced participants (university undergraduates) revealed significantly different employment hiring preferences for an Aboriginal applicant. In providing Australian empirical evidence of modern racists' discriminatory behaviours, the study also discussed methodological implications for future Australian research investigating the discriminatory behaviours of modern racists.

The third principal aim of this thesis was to provide further analysis of the measurement of contemporary racist attitudes, specifically to examine concerns pertaining to the measurement of racial attitudes through implicit techniques. Implicit free-response measurement of Australian racial stereotypes in Study 4 revealed that high and low prejudiced participants (as measured by the SR-E) were equally knowledgable of the cultural stereotypes of Aboriginals, Asians and immigrants. Cultural knowledge of the implicit stereotypes was found to be predominantly independent of prejudicial beliefs, lending support to concerns (Devine, 1989; Devine & Elliot, 1995) that implicit measures of racial prejudice may actually be measuring an individual’s cultural knowledge of the primed racial group, rather than his or her prejudicial beliefs.

The fourth principal aim of this thesis was to investigate the content of Australian racial stereotypes. Study 4 revealed the implicit content of the cultural stereotypes of Aborigines, Asians and immigrants to be predominantly negative in nature. In response to the predominantly negative content of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype, Study 5 investigated whether the recategorising of ingroup boundaries and disconfirming information, relating to Aboriginal Australians, observed in the recent Sydney Olympic Games would result in changes to the content of the cultural stereotype. The study found significant decreases and increases in the negative and positive traits respectively reported as being part of the cultural stereotype of Aborigines, two weeks following the Sydney Olympic Games.

Together, the five studies contributed to empirical research on the changing nature, expression and measurement of contemporary racist attitudes, discriminatory behaviours and racial stereotypes in Australian populations. A number of theoretical and practical implications of the present findings for Australian prejudice research are
addressed and discussed. Furthermore, a number of practical recommendations for future research are identified to further investigate the modern nature of racist attitudes in Australian populations.
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Chapter 1
Introduction and Overview

“Defeated intellectually, prejudice lingers emotionally” (Allport, 1954, p.328).

Overview of the thesis

Racism in Australia is a current and serious social reality. Despite egalitarian forces and concerted social and political policies to achieve the goals of racial tolerance over the past few decades, racial prejudice and discrimination remain prominent social forces in Australia. Race relations and racism are preeminent topics of debate and discussion in Australia. Some people may express concern over the current climate and nature of race relations and racism, while others may argue that racism and discrimination are things of the past, with ‘reverse’ racism a manifestation and predicament of current race relations. The rise of, and support for, Pauline Hanson’s One Nation political party have largely ignited the current resurgence in the ‘race debate’. Support for Ms Hanson’s contentious racial policies, which unfavourably target Aborigines, Asians and immigrants, raise concerns that racial prejudice continues to be a significant social force in contemporary Australian society.

This thesis addresses the contemporary nature of racial prejudice in Australia. While recognising the complex social phenomenon of racial prejudice and the wide range of theories explaining the cognitive, affective and conative components of racially prejudiced attitudes, the focus of this thesis will be directed at contemporary theories of racial prejudice. Specifically, this thesis will focus on the changing nature, expression and measurement of contemporary racist attitudes in Australia.

Contemporary theories of racial prejudice developed in the United States (namely modern and aversive racism) maintain that a qualitative shift in racist attitudes has occurred over the past few decades, changing the nature and expression of racial prejudice (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986b; McConahay, 1983, 1986). In light of the significant political and social changes in race relations, racist attitudes have
shifted from overtly negative and blatant forms to more subtle, covert and indirect forms of racial prejudice. Contemporary theories maintain that despite feelings of negative affect towards and beliefs about minority racial groups, individuals holding contemporary racist attitudes possess a desire to maintain a non-prejudiced self-image. This desire is a result of commitment to egalitarian beliefs and the current social and political climate that regards racial prejudice and discrimination as undesirable traits and behaviours. In relation to discriminatory behaviours against minority groups, a non-prejudiced self-image is maintained by embracing plausible and non-racial explanations for behaviours that might be attributed as discriminatory or racist (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986b, 1991; McConahay, 1986).

The extensive body of theoretical and empirical research into contemporary forms of racial prejudice has been developed and conducted mainly in the United States. In comparison, limited research has been conducted into the nature and expression of contemporary racist attitudes in Australian populations. In light of the debilitating and malevolent consequences for the victims of racism and the social and cultural repercussions for Australian society, the nature, expression and measurement of contemporary racial prejudice are essential areas of psychological research.

This chapter will subsequently provide conceptual definitions of prejudice, discrimination, race and racism. Discussion in this chapter will also provide a historical account of the changing nature and expression of racist attitudes in the United States and Australia. Following this account, the research aims of this thesis and an overview of the chapters to follow will be presented.

**Conceptual definitions of prejudice, discrimination, race and racism**

In defining the attitude of prejudice, Allport (1954) summed up the cognitive, affective and conative components of a prejudiced attitude as an “apathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It is directed to a group as a whole or an individual because he (sic) is a member of that group” (p. 9). Furthermore, prejudice has recently been defined as “holding a derogatory attitude or
belief, the expression of negative affect or the display of hostile or discriminatory behaviour towards members in that group" (Manstead & Hewstone, 1995, p.450). Elements of both definitions will be referred to, and applied in this thesis, capturing the cognitive, affective and conative components of prejudiced attitudes.

Whereas prejudice can be defined an attitude, discrimination has a behavioural outcome, which has been defined by Jones (1972) as “those outcomes associated with social categories. It is seen as following from the prior negative judgments characteristic of prejudice” (cited in Jones, 1985, p. 280). Three different levels of discrimination, in relation to race, are identified; individual (harmful effect of one individual of one race upon a member of another race), institutional (policies of the dominant race are implemented to have a harmful effect on minority racial groups) and structural (institutions implementing policies of a harmful nature to minority racial groups) (Pincus, 1996).

The focus of this thesis in relation to prejudice and discrimination is based on race. It is often taken for granted that almost everyone knows the meaning of the term race. However, when asked to provide a definition of what race is, it becomes evident that the term is not clear-cut or definite (Operario & Fiske, 1998). People may define race by physical and biological differences between groups, geography (‘Pacific Islander’ race), ethnicity (‘Italian’ race) or by cultural and religious practices (‘Jewish’ race). There appears to be no clear consensus for defining race or a simple race-defining factor (Operario & Fiske).

Social psychologists (e.g., Eberhardt & Randall, 1997; Operario & Fiske, 1998) have proposed that societal processes and schemas have a legitimate basis in defining race. A person’s definition of race and the compositions of racial groups are dependent upon one’s experience with racial outgroup members, racial identity and cultural context (Operario & Fiske). In addition, Operario and Fiske have argued that “race undergoes constant evolution and reinvention”, meaning racial categories are not fixed or stable entities (p.38). For example, racial categories can change due to social and political interests. Prior to World War Two, Japanese Americans were
considered ‘honorary whites’, and therefore allowed to use ‘white only’ facilities and accommodations (for example, white only restrooms and water fountains). However, this racial categorisation changed dramatically with the onset of World War Two (Operario & Fiske). Therefore, the meaning of race and compositions of racial categories are not universal, fixed and definite in nature, with social processes and schemas being important factors in defining race and racial categories.

The conceptual use of the term racism, being the “culminative effects of individuals, institutions, and cultures that result in the oppression of ethnic minorities”, has had a relatively short life span (Taylor, 1984, cited in Katz & Taylor, 1988, p.6). The conceptual use of racism emerged into popularity in the late 1960s from its use in a report on Civil Disorder in the United States (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986b). The use of the term racism is unequivocal in its meaning. Whereas, context or reference points are important for terms such as discrimination (for example, people may positively or negatively discriminate), there can be no disputing the adverse and negative nature of the term racism (Katz & Taylor). As Katz and Taylor maintain the “the use of racism as an adjective leaves no doubt about its valence” (p.7).

The history of race relations and the changing nature and expression of racial attitudes

“I still have a dream this morning that one day every Negro in this country, every colored person in the world will be judged on the content of his character and not on the color of his skin” (Martin Luther King, Jr., 1968, p. 258).

Personal, social and political pressure to eradicate racism during the last few decades has seen significant inroads into achieving the goals of racial equality. However, despite these egalitarian forces to achieve racial tolerance, racial prejudice and discrimination remain significant forces in society. Contemporary theories of racial prejudice maintain that a qualitative shift in the nature of racist attitudes has occurred over the past few decades, changing the nature and expression of
contemporary racial prejudice. The qualitative shift in the nature and expression of contemporary racist attitudes, from overtly negative and blatant forms to more subtle and indirect forms of racial prejudice, can be clearly illustrated in the history of race relations in the United States and Australia.

The history of race relations and the changing nature of racial attitudes in the United States

A prominent example of the changing nature and expression of racist attitudes is with race relations in the United States. The United States was a nation founded on the proposition that all men (sic) are created equal. However, prior to the Civil Rights Act in 1964, white and African Americans were explicitly not equal under the constitution. Discrimination against African Americans was entirely legal, and in some States discrimination and limitations on freedom (for example, using different drinking fountains and public toilets) were customary and accepted (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998). Racial segregation in the arenas of education, housing and public accommodation was a matter of law and foremost public concern, resulting in African Americans experiencing inferior social and economic status (Schuman, Steeth & Bobo, 1985).

A new social and political climate began to emerge after the Second World War. The actions of Nazi Germany in the war gave racism and intergroup hatred a bad name (McConahay, 1986). Furthermore, the civil rights movement began to gain momentum, challenging the economic barriers, discrimination and segregation experienced by African Americans. The civil rights movement culminated in the Civil Rights Act in 1964 and moves towards anti-discrimination laws and affirmative action, such as desegregation of schools (Litwack, 1991). Under the Civil Rights legislation, discrimination based on a person’s race became illegal (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998).

The significant legal, political and social changes in race relations could not have been accomplished without massive pressure for congressional action and public
support for racial equality. This egalitarian trend in racial attitudes has been reflected in numerous opinion polls. Over the past three decades, research and opinion polls of white Americans have shown a steady decline in racist attitudes and negative stereotyping towards African Americans (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986a; McConahay, 1986). For example, results of National Open Research Centre surveys revealed the percentage of white Americans stating that blacks were inferior to whites declined from 31% in 1963 to 15% in 1978 (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986a). In addition, the percentage of white Americans stating that they would not vote for a well-qualified black candidate for President declined from 54% in 1954, 16% in 1984 to 10% in 1994 (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986a).

Assessment of racial stereotypes through Katz and Braly’s (1933) adjective checklist procedure has seen considerable decreases in the frequency of negative traits selected for the description of African Americans from 1933 to 1988. As indicated in Table 1 white Americans’ stereotypes are progressively becoming less negative, with consistent decreases over time in the selection of ‘stupid’, ‘physically dirty’ and ‘lazy’ to describe African Americans. In addition, the frequency of positive traits, for example ‘ambitious’ and ‘loyal to family’, selected to describe African Americans have recently shown marked increases.

In light of the political and social achievements for racial equality attained in the United States, could the conclusion be drawn that American society had moved from explicitly and legally enforced racial discrimination to a more egalitarian and racially tolerant society in the space of a few decades? Furthermore, did the consistent decline in negative racial stereotypes and racist attitudes towards African Americans, give optimism to future goals of eventually eradicating racial prejudice in American society? The Rodney King trial and the O.J. Simpson murder trial are just two examples that illustrate racist attitudes are still alive and well in the United States and that racial conflict continues to divide the nation.
Table 1
Changes in Racial Stereotypes across Time: Percentage of Subjects Selecting Traits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trait</th>
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<th>1951</th>
<th>1969</th>
<th>1982</th>
<th>1988</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Superstitious</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lazy</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ignorant</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ostentatious</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stupid</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physically dirty</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenly</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unreliable</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambitious</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loyal to family</td>
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<td>13</td>
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The Rodney King beating by five white police officers in 1991 illustrated evidence of institutionalised discrimination in the Los Angeles police department. The acquittal of the police officers in 1992, precipitating the LA riots, demonstrated institutionalised racism was also apparent in the criminal justice system (Pincus, 1996). The dominant role of race in the 1995 O.J. Simpson murder trial divided the nation and underscored ongoing racial tension in the United States. The trial again demonstrated instances of institutionalised racism in the LA Police Department (CNN (on-line), 1995). A Gallop poll taken after the ‘not guilty’ verdict was handed down found 62% of white Americans disagreed with the verdict and expressed sentiment that the ‘race card’ had been played to gain unfair advantage (Nier, Mottola & Gaertner, 2000). A subsequent Gallop poll revealed that 77% of white Americans and 53% of African Americans believed the result had been harmful to race relations in the United States (Nier, Mottola & Gaertner, 2000).

These two recent examples illustrate that racist attitudes, racial tension and division still exists in contemporary American society. It can be argued that social and
political changes in race relations have resulted in a “qualitative shift” in racial attitudes rather than a “quantitative change in the degree” of racism (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986a, p. 2). The egalitarian trend reported in the opinion polls and assessment of racial stereotypes is argued to be the end result of the changing nature and expression of racial attitudes. Racist attitudes have shifted from overtly negative and blatant forms to more subtle, covert and complex forms of prejudice.

The history of race relations and the changing nature of racial attitudes in Australia

Parallels can be made between the United States and the changing climate of race relations and racial attitudes in Australia. Aboriginal and white Australian relations have been characterised by a complex history of conflict and disunity, with Aborigines experiencing substantial social, economic and cultural dislocation and discrimination (Augoustinos, Ahrens & Innes, 1994). By 1911, all Australian states and territory had adopted ‘protectionist’ policies, giving the Protection Board comprehensive powers to control Indigenous people, for example entry and exit from Aboriginal reserves, their right to marry and employment (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 2000). The experience of racial discrimination and segregation for Aborigines was present in all political, legal, social and economic arenas in Australian society.

A prominent example of the social and cultural dislocation experienced by Aborigines is through the forced removal of Indigenous children from their parents (now termed the “stolen children” generation). This forcible removal of Indigenous children from their parents was practised since the first days of European settlement to ‘inoculate’ European values into the children and as a source of cheap labour (HREOC, 2000). However, the removal of children was stepped up in the 1930s, to advance a new government policy of assimilation. The assimilation policy was designed to ‘breed out’ the pure Aboriginal race, by forcibly removing Aboriginal children from their families, and over time, the mixed descent population would merge with the Australian population (Griffiths, 1995).
The consequences of forcible removal for Aboriginal children included emotional distress, neglect, and in some cases physical and emotional abuse. These consequences were coupled with the social and cultural dislocation from families and Aboriginal communities (HREOC, 2000). Although the precise number of children separated from their families is difficult to estimate due to children’s race not being recorded or the records not surviving, national estimates of the number of children removed over the period of 1910 to 1970 are between one in three and one in ten Aboriginal children (HREOC).

The racial climate in Australia began to change in the late 1950s, with growing public support for racial equality. The culmination of political and social movements and Aboriginal lobbying to achieve racial equality was the 1967 Aboriginal Rights Referendum. Ninety percent of the electorate supported the referendum, which saw significant changes to the constitution, primarily granting Aborigines citizenship, equality under the law and the right to vote (Peterson & Sanders, 1998). Assimilation was replaced with a policy of self-determination and management of Aboriginal affairs was integrated at a Commonwealth level. This change in policy saw Aboriginal participation for the first time in making policies and decisions that were directly related to their futures (Griffiths, 1995).

The last 30 years have seen continued social and political achievements in race relations with moves towards reconciliation between white and Aboriginal Australians and the granting of traditional land rights (for example, Native Title Act of 1993). Numerous symbolic events supporting reconciliation between white and Aboriginal Australians have been held in Australia. Recent examples include the people’s walk for reconciliation held in May 2000, which saw over 150,000 people in Sydney and tens of thousands in other cities around Australia, walking together in a show of support for reconciliation (“More than 150000 walk”, May 2000). Another recent symbolic event was National Sorry Day which was held to acknowledge and apologise for past wrongs towards the “stolen generation” and a commitment to overcome racism in Australia (National Sorry Day Committee (on-line), 2000).
However, in the current climate of egalitarian policies and moves towards reconciliation, the rise of former Independent MP Pauline Hanson in 1996 and support for her political party *One Nation*, has arguably revealed evidence of racial prejudice remaining as a prominent social force in Australian society. Although Ms Hanson denies being racist, many of her policies are unfavourably targeted at Aborigines, Asians, immigrants and multiculturalism. In the 1998 Federal election *One Nation* obtained 8.5 % of the primary vote\(^1\) in the House of Representatives (Australian Electoral Commission (on-line), 1998). Although recent Federal polls have witnessed a drop in the intention to vote for *One Nation*, this may represent a reflection of voter dissatisfaction towards the alleged corruption, mismanagement, power struggle for leadership and defection within the party’s organisation, rather than a drop in support for *One Nation*’s doctrine and policies (“Defections, raids and probes”, January 2000; The Roy Morgan Research Centre (on-line), 2000; “Two-way struggle”, September 2000). However, despite *One Nation*’s internal political problems, the recent state elections in Queensland and Western Australia (February, 2001) resulted in *One Nation* obtaining 10 % of the primary vote in each state (“Court blames *One Nation*”, February 2001; “Hanson to PM”, February 2001).\(^2\)

Recent social and political events have illustrated continued tension and division in race relations in Australia. Debate and controversy has surrounded Prime Minister Howard’s refusal to unconditionally apologise for past governments’ inherently racist assimilation policies of forcibly removing Aboriginal children from their families. Contrary to the support and sentiment expressed during National Sorry Day, the Federal Government’s Aboriginal Affairs Minister, Senator Herron has stated in a government submission that the separations were “essentially lawful and benign in intent” (“Decimation of Aboriginal families”, April 2000, p.5). In addition,

\(^1\) 8.5% of primary votes equates to 936,621 votes for *One Nation*.
\(^2\) As a postscript note, the 2001 Federal election (November 11\(^{st}\)) witnessed an overall decrease in *One Nation*’s primary votes. *One Nation* obtained 4.3% of the primary vote in the House of Representatives, which equates to 429,749 votes (ABC, 2001). It is argued, as in the text of this chapter, the decrease in primary votes obtained in the 2001 Federal election may be due to voter dissatisfaction towards the internal political problems of *One Nation*.
debate has focused on the use of the word “generation” in the stolen children generation. In a government submission it was stated “there was never a ‘generation’ of stolen children”, as the Federal Government contends only 1 in 10 Aboriginal children were forcibly taken, therefore not constituting a generation (“Decimation of Aboriginal families”, April 2000, p. 5). The debate over an unconditional apology for the stolen children generation has also divided the nation, with a recent AC Neilsen poll revealing 43% were in favour and 53% were against a Federal Government apology (“Surge in support”, November 2000).3

On an international front, race relations in Australia have been recently criticised by the United Nations. Criticism from the United Nations Commission on the Elimination on Racial Discrimination maintained “the Howard Government continues to display utter contempt for Aboriginal people by issuing its own document for reconciliation which removes any mention of an apology, along with references to self determination” (“Aborigines blame PM in report”, June 2000, p. 3). In addition, the United Nations Committee has criticised the Federal Government for the adverse status of Aboriginal health in Australia. The Federal Government has angrily rejected the criticism from the United Nations Committee, threatening to withdraw from the United Nations Treaty system (“Human rights under threat”, April 2000).

Although the past three decades have witnessed concerted social and political pressure to achieve the goals of racial equality and tolerance, the current political and racial climate has illustrated racial tension and division continues to prevail in contemporary Australian society. Social and political policies have revealed key features of subtle and indirect forms of contemporary racial prejudice and changes in the nature and expression of racist attitudes in Australian society.

3 The AC Nielsen poll involved phoning 2066 respondents. Figures may not add up to 100% due to rounding.
Aims and outline of thesis

This thesis aims to produce a theoretical and empirical account of contemporary forms of racial prejudice in an Australian context. By understanding the nature and expression of contemporary racial prejudice in Australia, we can become better equipped to develop techniques and avenues to achieve a reduction in prejudiced attitudes. In investigating the qualitative shift in the nature and expression of racist attitudes, this thesis encompasses four principal research aims. In summation, the four principal aims of this thesis are (a) to further establish the psychometric properties of an explicit Australian scale of racial prejudice (Symbolic Racism Extended Scale, Fraser & Islam, 1997b) (b) to investigate the nature, prevalence and potential sources of modern racist attitudes and associated discriminatory behaviours (c) to examine concerns pertaining to the measurement of racial attitudes through implicit techniques and (d) to analyse the implicit and explicit content of Australian racial stereotypes, and to investigate the circumstances under which the content of racial stereotypes may be undermined and changed.

The subsequent two chapters of this thesis aim to provide a theoretical basis for the principal research aims previously outlined. Chapter 2 provides a thorough review of the contemporary theories of racial prejudice developed to account for the qualitative shift in the nature and expression of racist attitudes. The implications of contemporary theories of racial prejudice for Australian research are discussed, in addition to illustrating prominent examples of contemporary racial prejudice prevailing in Australian society. The findings of Australian prejudice research into the prevalence, nature and potential sources of contemporary racial prejudice are reported and discussed. The measurement of contemporary racial prejudice is addressed in Chapter 3. In response to the changing nature and expression of contemporary racial prejudice, this chapter provides an account of the development of new scales and measurement techniques designed to accurately detect the subtle and indirect expression of contemporary racism. The focus of analysis is directed towards explicit (self-report measures) and implicit (priming paradigms of racial stereotypes)
techniques employed in the measurement of contemporary racist attitudes. Subsequent discussion in this chapter addresses the content of racial stereotypes and models of stereotype change proposed to undermine and change the content of racial stereotypes. At the end of the theoretical chapters, and prior to the empirical chapters, the research aims of this thesis will be discussed in detail.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 report the empirical studies undertaken in relation to the principal research aims of this thesis. Study 1 (Chapter 4) sought to further establish the psychometric properties of the Symbolic Racism Extended Scale (Fraser & Islam, 1997b) as a measure of modern racist attitudes in Australian populations. Study 2 and Study 3 (Chapter 5) report empirical studies investigating the prevalence, nature and potential sources of modern racist attitudes, and associated discriminatory behaviours, in an Australian context. The final empirical chapter (6) reports the findings of Study 4 and Study 5 investigating the implicit measurement and content of Australian racial stereotypes. Study 4 examines the distinction between stereotypes and personal beliefs, in relation to concerns raised towards the use of implicit techniques in the measurement of racial attitudes. In addition, the experiment provides an account of the implicit content of Australian racial stereotypes. Subsequently, Study 5 investigates the circumstances under which the content of racial stereotypes may be undermined and changed. The final chapter (7) provides a theoretical and empirical review of this thesis and addresses the theoretical and practical implications of the empirical findings in relation to the research aims.
Chapter 2

Contemporary theories of racial prejudice

"Because modern racism is more subtle than the traditional kind, it does not mean it is less insidious and less debilitating to its victim" (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1991, p.147).

Overview of contemporary theories of racial prejudice

Contemporary theories of racial prejudice have been developed to comprehend and explain the changing nature and expression of racial prejudice in the final quarter of the twentieth Century and beginning of the twenty-first Century. The principal theories of contemporary racial prejudice are McConahay’s (1983, 1986; McConahay & Hough, 1976; see also Kinders & Sears, 1981) theory of modern racism and Gaertner and Dovidio's (1986b) theory of aversive racism. The extensive body of research into contemporary racial prejudice has been conducted primarily in the United States, so theories of racial prejudice have been developed in the context of race relations between white and African Americans. Research into contemporary racial prejudice has also been conducted in a number of European countries. This research also identifies the emergence and prevalence, over the past few decades, of a more subtle and covert form of racial prejudice (Flecha, 1999; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995).

Contemporary theories of racial prejudice maintain old-fashioned forms of racism still exist in the United States. From a summation of polls and surveys, Dovidio and Gaertner (1998) maintained that approximately 10 to 15 % of white Americans still hold old-fashioned racist attitudes. The blatant and overtly negative nature of old-fashioned racist attitudes supports tenets such as racial segregation, open discrimination, opposition to equal opportunity programs and sentiments such as African Americans being less intelligent and inferior to white Americans (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; McConahay, 1986). While old-fashioned racist attitudes still remain a
concerning element of American society, contemporary theories of racial prejudice maintain that the overwhelming shift in racial attitudes is towards more subtle, covert and indirect forms of racial prejudice.

**Modern Racism**

Modern Racism, also termed Symbolic Racism⁴, arises from a combination of negative affect towards African Americans and traditional moral values embodied in the Protestant work ethic (McConahay, 1986; Sears, 1988). The Protestant work ethic embodies traditional moral values such as individualism, discipline, obedience and self-reliance (Sears). Modern racists manifest negative affect towards African Americans through the belief that they do not embrace these traditional moral values. Additionally, negative affect may also arise from decades of institutionalised racism and discrimination against African Americans. A survey revealed over two-thirds of the current American population were alive when it was customary and legal in some States to require African Americans to eat at different restaurants, sit up the back of the bus and use different public toilets and drinking fountains (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986a). Thus, modern racists may experience negative affect towards African Americans through racial and political socialisation.

However, modern racists are also committed to the symbolic principles of the American Creed, which embraces the ideals of egalitarianism, justice, freedom and fairness (Monteith, 1996). Commitment to these ideals fosters belief in the notion of racial equality. Thus, modern racists simultaneously hold two diametrically opposing value and belief orientations. On one hand, modern racists are committed to the symbolic principles of the American Creed, which values racial equality. On the other hand, modern racists experience negative affect towards African Americans through the Protestant work ethic and racial and political socialisation. These conflicting

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⁴ McConahay changed the term Symbolic Racism to Modern Racism to emphasise the contemporary nature of the beliefs and tenets of racial prejudice. Kinders and Sears (1981) continue to use the term Symbolic Racism as they maintain there is some advantage in continuing with a term that has been fairly widely used.
beliefs and values create feelings of ambivalence in modern racists’ attitudes and
reactions towards African Americans.

The outcome of the conflicting orientations and feelings of ambivalence is a
desire to maintain a non-prejudiced self-image, despite feelings of negative affect
towards African Americans (Monteith, 1996). The desire to maintain a non-prejudiced
self-image is also strengthened by the current social and racial climate that regards
racial prejudice and discrimination as an undesirable attitude and behaviour
respectively (McConahay, 1986). McConahay sums up the current public conception
of racism with the notion that “nice people can’t be racists and racists can’t be nice
people” (McConahay, 1986, p. 123). Subtle and covert expressions of racist attitudes
and behaviours are maintained to protect the modern racist from self or other-
generated attributions of racial prejudice.

One way of expressing subtle and covert racist attitudes is in situations where
there exists plausible, non-prejudiced explanations for an attitude or behaviour that
may be considered racist (McConahay, 1986). For example, modern racists may
express their intention to vote for a white political candidate running against an
African American candidate, on the basis of preferred political ideologies instead of
feelings of negative affect towards the African American. Another common way in
which prejudice may be expressed indirectly is by opposing affirmative action
policies on non-racial grounds (for example opposing busing of students to establish
desegregated schools on the basis of economic cost), rather than supporting policies of
direct discrimination. The development of negative racial attitudes that can be
justified with non-prejudiced explanations is embodied in the following principal
tenets of modern racist attitudes:

“(1) Discrimination is a thing of the past because blacks now have the freedom to compete in
the marketplace and to enjoy those things they can afford. (2) Blacks are pushing too hard, too fast and
in places where they are not wanted. (3) Their tactics and demands are unfair. (4) Therefore, recent
gains are undeserved and the prestige granting institutions of society are giving blacks more attention
and the concomitant status than they deserve”. (McConahay, 1986, p. 93).
Modern racists would justify these beliefs as non-racist because they constitute empirical facts (McConahay, 1986). Modern racists would argue that discrimination is a thing of the past because of the establishment of anti-discrimination laws and government policies that support racial equality. In the same vein, it would be argued that African American demands for affirmative policies (such as racial quotas) are unfair because status and employment are being gained without being earned through hard work. Thus, modern racists are able to justify their attitudes, which may be considered racist, with non-prejudiced explanations and contended empirical facts.

This subtle and indirect expression of racial prejudice is markedly distinct from the overt and blatant expression of old-fashioned racism (first half of the century). The belief orientations of old-fashioned racists are also markedly distinct from modern racists. Old fashioned racists explicitly support segregationist policies, resistance to equality and hold the belief that African Americans are inferior to white Americans on moral and intellectual grounds (McConahay, Hardee & Batts, 1981). In contrast, modern racists hold egalitarian beliefs that support the principle of equal rights. However in their push for equal rights, modern racists believe African Americans are generally getting above themselves in ways that are unfair to white Americans. Furthermore, old-fashioned racists openly and blatantly express racist attitudes, whereas modern racists justify their attitudes with non-prejudiced explanations and contended empirical facts to maintain a non-prejudiced self-image. Thus, modern racism is argued to represent a distinct form of racial prejudice and a qualitative shift in racial attitudes towards more subtle and indirect forms of racial prejudice.

**Aversive Racism**

The work of Gaertner and Dovidio (1986b, 1991, 1998) identifies another form of contemporary racial prejudice termed aversive racism. Aversive racism exists in people who aren’t simply trying to be acceptably politically correct despite their prejudices, but who genuinely and sincerely believe themselves to be non-prejudiced
and non-discriminating. Aversive racism arises from an assimilation of egalitarian values with cognitive mechanisms (stereotypes) and negative feelings and beliefs about African Americans stemming from racial and political socialisation (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1991).

Aversive racists acknowledge and verbally support egalitarian values and policies, such as affirmative action and political and social policies designed to promote racial equality. In addition, aversive racists sympathise with the past injustices of racial discrimination and try to remedy the consequences and outcomes of racism (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986b). However, underlying the non-prejudiced self-image, aversive racists unavoidably hold negative feelings towards, and beliefs about, African Americans. Gaertner and Dovidio (1986b) submit that these negative feelings are not hostility or hate, but more in the range of uneasiness, discomfort, possibly faint disgust and apprehension.

Sources of negative affect experienced by aversive racists may develop from cognitive mechanisms such as stereotypes (traditional cultural stereotypes of African Americans as being lazy and ignorant), affective connotations of ‘black’ being bad and ‘white’ being good, and favourable beliefs and attributions to members of the ingroup, in contrast to members of outgroups (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986b).

Social Identity Theory suggests that prejudice is an outcome of a complex system of social relationships, namely social categorisation and ingroup favouritism (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). People inherently perceive and categorise themselves and others into respective social groups and memberships. Race, being a highly salient feature, is easily categorised which in turn can lead to affective and evaluative bias in preference of the ingroup and bias against the outgroup (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998).

Negative affect may also develop from the historically racist culture of the United States. Decades of legally enforced discrimination and segregation prior to the 1960s still has important underlying influences on current racial attitudes and beliefs. Thus, akin with modern racism, conflicting values of egalitarianism and underlying
negative affect leads to feelings of ambivalence in aversive racists’ experiences and reactions towards African Americans.

One of the outcomes of ambivalence is a strong desire for aversive racists to maintain their non-prejudiced and non-discriminatory self-image. Aversive racists guard vigilantly against any behaviour or transgression that could be attributed as prejudiced by themselves or others (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986b). Aversive racists often assert ‘colour’ blindness to race, as it follows if they do not see race they cannot be labelled as racist (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998). In interracial interactions, aversive racists tend to overemphasise how egalitarian and non-prejudiced they believe themselves to be. Prejudice is expressed in ways that protect and preserve a non-prejudiced self-image (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986b). Aversive racism emerges as a subtle and indirect form of contemporary racial prejudice for people who genuinely believe themselves to be non-prejudiced, however, possess underlying negative feelings towards, and beliefs about, minority racial group members.

Common ground between the theories of modern and aversive racism

Despite differences in the type of people theories of modern and aversive racism represent, sources of negative affect and the degree of consciousness pertaining to feelings of negative affect, theories of contemporary racial prejudice maintain substantial common ground. Each theory distinguishes and accentuates various factors that contribute to the nature and expression of contemporary racial prejudice. The theories of modern and aversive racism maintain a qualitative shift in racist attitudes to more subtle, covert and indirect forms of racial prejudice. However, an important point which each theory explicitly endorses is that although modern and aversive racism are subtle and indirect forms of racial prejudice, they still remain malevolent and harmful forms of racism. As Gaertner and Dovidio (1991) argue “Because modern racism is more subtle than the traditional kind, it does not mean it is less insidious and less debilitating to its victim” (p.147).

An important commonality to note in the contemporary theories of racial
prejudice is the important interplay between power (ability or authority to control others) and racial prejudice. Affective and cognitive (i.e., ingroup-outgroup paradigm) sources of racial prejudice cannot fully explain why some racial groups endure oppression and discrimination and other racial groups do not (Operario & Fiske, 1998). The role of power in relation to race relations “supplements the cognitive and affective biases common to all individuals conferring on those who hold power a disproportionate ability to exercise their biases” (Operario & Fiske, p.34).

Furthermore, power allows dominant racial groups to act on and gain advantages (i.e., group resources) from racial prejudice and discrimination (Operario & Fiske). Therefore, the interplay of racial prejudice and power are central to the basis of racism and maintain an important relationship with contemporary theories of racial prejudice.

Common ground for the theories of modern and aversive racism is the development of racial ambivalence through conflicting value and belief orientations. As discussed earlier, one of the outcomes of racial ambivalence is the desire to maintain a non-prejudiced self-image, despite conscious or unconscious feelings of negative affect towards minority racial group members. A non-prejudiced image is maintained by embracing plausible, non-racial explanations for behaviours that may be attributed as discriminatory or racist (McConahay, 1986). However, in situations where there exists low racial salience, high ambiguity and no clear guides for social comparisons and norms, discriminatory behaviours appear (McConahay, 1983). Therefore, unlike the uniform and distinct pattern of discrimination displayed by old-fashioned racists, modern and aversive racists sometimes express discriminatory behaviours in interracial situations (low racial salience, low social comparisons, plausible non-racial explanations for behaviours) and sometimes do not discriminate (high racial salience, high social comparisons) (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998).

**Discriminatory behaviours of modern and aversive racists**

The ambivalent nature of contemporary racists’ discriminatory behaviours has been demonstrated in a number of empirical studies (see Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986a,
McConahay, 1986 for reviews of empirical studies). Research conducted by Gaertner, Dovidio and Johnson (1982) found situational ambiguity (for example, one or more non-racial explanations to justify a racist behaviour) resulted in aversive racists engaging in less helping behaviour to an African American victim, under conditions where more than one person could go to their assistance. In conditions where the aversive racist was the only person available to assist, helping behaviour increased. Thus, when given the non-racial attribution that other people would help, aversive racists could justify their unhelping behaviour towards the African American.

McConahay’s (1983) research confirmed that situations of low racial salience and low social comparisons resulted in modern racists expressing racially discriminating behaviours. Using a population sample of university students, modern racist and non-prejudiced participants viewed three equally average resumes of graduating students (no basis for distinguishing between them on their grades and work experience). A passport photo accompanied each resume, two being of white males and one African American male. Participants were asked to play the role of personnel director and evaluate the applicants portrayed in the resumes, particularly whether they would hire the applicants. The order in which the resumes were presented to participants was manipulated. Some participants viewed the African American applicant first and others viewed the African American applicant last. McConahay argued that presenting the African American applicant last, would make the comparison between race highly salient and an obvious basis for distinguishing between the applicants. To maintain their non-prejudiced self-image, McConahay argued that modern racists would overcompensate and be more likely to hire the African American applicant in comparison with the white applicants. On the other hand, presenting the African American applicant first would make race far less salient, resulting in modern racists’ spontaneous response to be discriminatory. For low prejudiced participants, the race of the applicant should not affect the hiring decisions.

The experiment supported McConahay’s predictions; modern racists expressed less willingness to hire the African American in the low salience condition and
expressed greater preference for hiring the African American in the high salience condition. In addition, the race of the applicant did not affect the hiring decision of the non-prejudiced participants.

A recent experiment conducted by Brief, Dietz, Cohen, Reizenstein, Pugh and Vaslow (2000) also investigated contemporary discriminatory behaviours in an employment-hiring situation. Brief et al. predicted that giving high prejudiced participants a business justification to exclude the employment of African Americans would create a plausible, non-racist basis to act on their negative racial attitudes, and thus discriminate against hiring well-qualified African American employees. Undergraduate students were asked to assess the quality of ten job applicants for an organisation, comprising of qualified African American and white American applicants. Half the participants were randomly assigned to the business justification group, which involved reading a memoranda from the CEO of the organisation, stressing the importance and advantages of their current white homogeneous workplace, prior to the selection of applicants. As predicted high prejudiced participants who were provided with a business related justification discriminated against the African American applicants, in comparison to low prejudiced participants. However, in the absence of a business justification, high prejudiced participants did not discriminate against the African American applicants. This experiment provided further evidence of the existence of modern racists' discriminatory behaviour under conditions that provide non-racial justifications and explanations for their discriminatory behaviours.

Thus, contemporary racist behaviours appear to be expressed in subtle and indirect ways to maintain non-prejudiced self-images. Due to vigilant attempts to guard against any behaviours that may be attributed as prejudiced, modern racists' discriminatory behaviours come through in situations and contexts where there is low racial salience, no clear guidelines for social comparison and situational ambiguity which creates a non-racial explanation to justify a racist behaviour.
Limitations of contemporary theories of racial prejudice

In applying the models of aversive and modern racism to the social realities of interracial relations, prejudice researchers (Sniderman, Piazza, Tetlock & Kendrick, 1991; Sniderman & Tetlock, 1986) have identified an important issue to keep in mind when generalising empirical findings of contemporary racial prejudice. It has been argued that theories of contemporary racial prejudice encourage the tendency for people to be labelled racist, when the sources of their attitudes and behaviours are clearly not. For example, an individual who is opposed to the busing of students to establish desegregated schools in America, may have a genuine source of opposition other than racial prejudice, for example the inconvenience to students. The models of modern and aversive racism have been established from generalised patterns of attitudes and behaviours from years of empirical research (for reviews of the research see, Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986, 1991; McConahay, 1986). However, it is important to keep in mind exceptions to the rules, when researching the expression of contemporary racist attitudes and behaviours.

Criticism of the modern racism framework has been directed at the theory failing to capture the complexity and multidimensional view of racial attitudes, through concentrating on policy related issues (Bobo, 1988; Weigel & Howes, 1985). In addition, critics have argued that the conceptual and empirical differences between modern and old-fashioned racism have been exaggerated (Sniderman & Tetlock, 1986; Weigel & Howes). In other words, it is argued that old-fashioned racism has not been supplanted with a new and distinctly different form of contemporary racism. Sniderman and Tetlock contend that just because racism is being expressed in a more indirect and symbolic manner does not mean that it is new; “there is not a ‘new’ prejudice every time a new pejorative expression wins currency” (p.140).

In defence of the above criticism of the modern racism framework, Monteith and Spicer’s (2000) research on white American racial attitudes (using open-ended essays to measure attitudes) found participants did not express negative racial attitudes towards African Americans in ways that were consistent with the tenets of
old-fashioned racism. Negative themes in the essays were consistent with the tenets of modern racism (for example, belief that discrimination is a thing of the past and resentment towards African Americans receiving more gains then they deserve). The use of these negative themes was significantly correlated with participants' modern racism scores. In addition, only a few themes were reflected in the essays to form the content of negative racial attitudes, contrary to the multidimensional attitude approach to white racial attitudes. Therefore, the salient content of white American racial attitudes did not extend beyond the tenets of modern racism theory.

Some research has reported strong correlations between scores on modern and old-fashioned racism scales, which raise questions as to the 'distinct' nature of the two forms of racism (e.g., McConahay, 1982, Pedersen & Walker, 1997; Sniderman & Tetlock, 1986). However, factor analytic studies (e.g., McConahay, 1986; Pedersen & Walker) have revealed that modern and old-fashioned racism scales measure two separate constructs. Therefore, these research studies suggest that the constructs of modern and old-fashioned racism are “separable, but not independent, constructs” (Pedersen & Walker, p.565).

While the empirical and conceptual debates continue, the potential limitations in the frameworks of contemporary theories are important to note when researching the modern nature of racial prejudice.

**Contemporary racial prejudice in an Australian context**

“Along with millions of Australians, I am fed up to the back teeth with inequalities that are being promoted by the government ..under the assumption that Aborigines are the most disadvantaged people in Australia” (Pauline Hanson, 1996, p.3860).

“Reconciliation is the struggle for the hearts and minds of people - all 19 million. The ‘rights’ within this struggle include... the right not to have a taxi drive straight past you if you are an Indigenous person at the head of the queue; the right when two school leavers front up for a job
interview with similar references for the Aboriginal youngster to truly have the same chance of getting the job as the white youngster. These things cannot be legislated" (Sir Gustav Nossal, 2000, p.3).

In light of the significant theoretical and empirical work having been, and continuing to be, conducted in the United States, it is important to address the implications of contemporary theories of racial prejudice for Australia. While there exist parallels between the changing climate of race relations and nature of racist attitudes in the United States and Australia, there prevail a number of fundamental differences which may create limitations in applying contemporary theories of racism to an Australian context. For example, the theory of modern racism argues that one of the sources of racial ambivalence to be traditional American values and creeds. There has only been a limited amount of prejudice research conducted into the nature and expression of contemporary racial prejudice in Australia, despite the current political and social climate of race relations. Keeping in mind the potential for inherent differences between Australia and the United States, key features of contemporary racial prejudice appear to exist in Australian society.

A prominent example of contemporary racism tenets in Australia is arguably the rise of former Independent MP Pauline Hanson and support for her political party One Nation. Ms Hanson gained political office in the 1996 Federal election, with a swing of more than 23%, in the traditional safe Labor seat of Oxley, Queensland ("PC or no PC", March 1996). Her election campaign was politically and socially controversial, with Ms Hanson openly expressing sentiments to the Courier Mail newspaper that she was fighting for the white community over unfair concessions given to Aborigines and that Aborigines were primarily responsible for racism in Australia, “I will be fighting for the white community...anyone apart from the Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders” (“PC or no PC”, March 1996, p. 4). The significant voting swing indicated community support for her views on race relations in Australia. In addition, support for Ms Hanson’s views was also revealed in a Herald AGB - McNair poll following her maiden speech to Federal parliament. Over half the
respondents (55%) agreed with Ms Hanson’s belief that Aborigines were being treated over-generously by the Federal Government (“Nation divided over Hanson’s agenda”, November 1996).5

Key features of modern racism tenets and attitudes are prevalent in the following excerpts from Ms Hanson’s maiden speech to Federal parliament in September 1996:

“We now have a situation where a type of reverse racism is applied to mainstreamustralians by those who promote political correctness and those who control the various taxpayers funded ‘industries’ that flourish in our society servicing Aborigines, multiculturalists and a host of other minority groups”.

“Present governments are encouraging separatism in Australia by providing opportunities, land, moneys and facilities available only to Aboriginals. Along with millions of Australians, I am fed up to the back teeth with inequalities that are being promoted by the government and paid for by the taxpayer under the assumption that Aborigines are the most disadvantaged people in Australia”.

“I believe we are in danger of being swamped by Asians... They have their own culture and religion, forms ghettos and do not assimilate... A truly multicultural country can never be strong or united” (Hanson, 1996, p. 3860-3863).

Key features of Ms Hanson’s speech that are consistent with modern racism tenets are denial of discrimination, resentment over special concessions and treatment for Aborigines, minority groups threatening Australian culture and traditions and ‘reverse racism’ undermining the principle of equality for all due to Aborigines demanding more rights than other Australians. Ms Hanson and many of her supporters deny these attitudes as being racist because they are seen to constitute empirical facts. Ms Hanson argues her policies are developed with the best social, cultural and

5 The Herald AGB McNair poll involved phoning 2060 people on November 1 -3. Questions related to topics raised by Ms Hanson in her maiden speech to Federal parliament in September 1996.
Many political and social commentators have suggested the strong support for the views of Ms Hanson and her political party One Nation indicates concerning levels of racism and reduced racial tolerance in Australian society (Fraser & Islam, 1997a). However, keeping in mind the cautions of Sniderman and Tetlock (1986), it is plausible that support for Ms Hanson may stem from other sources such as dissatisfaction towards the two major political parties or support for Ms Hanson's forthright manner. It is important to establish whether support for One Nation is representative of contemporary racist attitudes (Fraser & Islam, 1997b).

To establish the relationship, Fraser and Islam (1997b) analysed the association between modern racism\(^6\) and support for Pauline Hanson. The research revealed Ms Hanson supporters strongly endorsed almost all the modern racism items, such as resentment towards special concessions and programs for Aborigines and beliefs that immigrants should assimilate with Australian values and culture. Fraser and Islam's research also revealed Ms Hanson supporters scored significantly higher on the modern racism items in comparison with non-supporters. The strong and consistent support for modern racism items by supporters of Ms Hanson reflects a belief that these attitudes are socially acceptable and reasonable attitudes to hold and express. Fraser and Islam (1997b) submit that “while one could claim to hold these views individually on non-racist grounds, it is the consistent and extreme endorsement across all such (modern racism) items by Hanson supporters that indicates an attitude of little tolerance for other races” (p.12).\(^7\)

**Prevalence, nature and sources of contemporary racial attitudes**

Only a limited number of studies have been conducted into the prevalence,

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\(^6\) As measured by Fraser and Islam’s (1997b) Symbolic Racism Extended Scale. This scale will be discussed in Chapter 3.

\(^7\) For further discussion see also Fraser and Islam (2000). This article was published after the completion of the empirical studies conducted in this thesis. The measure of modern racism employed in the empirical studies is an abridged version of Fraser and Islam’s (1997b) Symbolic Racism Extended Scale. Therefore, discussion in this chapter is directed towards Fraser and Islam’s (1997b) empirical study
nature and sources of contemporary racial prejudice in an Australian context. The prevalence of modern racism in Australia was investigated by Augoustinos, Ahrens and Innes (1994) using a population sample of 165 university students. Augoustinos et al. found the university sample displayed relatively low levels of modern racism.\(^8\) The research also found that females displayed significantly less racial prejudice in comparison with males.

Walker (1994) using a population sample of participants from the Perth metropolitan area, revealed a sizeable prevalence of negative racial attitudes (30%) towards Aborigines in the sample.\(^9\) In concord with Augoustinos et al.'s (1994) research, Walker found that males were significantly more negative in their racial attitudes towards Aborigines. A significant negative relationship was found between age and racial attitudes, indicating younger participants reported more positive racial attitudes. Political party affiliation measures revealed negative racial attitudes were significantly higher in National and Liberal Party supporters in comparison to Greens party supporters.

A subsequent study by Pedersen and Walker (1997) using participants from the Perth metropolitan area revealed a substantially higher prevalence of modern racist attitudes.\(^10\) The study revealed over half the respondents (57.9%) scored above the modern racist midpoint. The prevalence of modern racist attitudes were found to be significantly higher in comparison to old-fashioned racist attitudes (21.2%), supporting a qualitative shift in the nature and expression of racist attitudes in Australian populations. In analysing the sociodemographic predictors of modern racist attitudes were measured using an adapted version (to an Australian context) of McConahay, Hardee and Batt (1981) Modern Racism Scale (MRS). The scale used to measure modern racist attitudes is important in interpreting the prevalence of attitudes. Measurement of contemporary racist attitudes will be discussed in the following chapter (3).

\(^8\) Modern racist attitudes were measured using an adapted version (to an Australian context) of McConahay, Hardee and Batt (1981) Modern Racism Scale (MRS). The scale used to measure modern racist attitudes is important in interpreting the prevalence of attitudes. Measurement of contemporary racist attitudes will be discussed in the following chapter (3).

\(^9\) Racial attitudes were measured using the Attitudes to Aborigines Scale (Walker, 1994). Higher scores indicate a more positive attitude.

\(^10\) Modern racist attitudes were measured using an adapted version of the MRS.
attitudes, the study found lower levels of formal education and being males were related to modern racism. Furthermore, a significant relationship was found between modern racist attitudes and affiliation with a conservative political position. However, the study revealed no further evidence of age as a demographic predictor of modern racist attitudes.

A recent study by Pedersen, Griffiths, Contos, Bishop and Walker (2000) using a city (Perth, Western Australia) and country (Kalgoorlie, Western Australia) population sample, revealed more than one half of overall respondents scored above the modern racism midpoint. However, Kalgoorlie respondents scored significantly higher on modern racist attitudes in comparison to Perth respondents (69.2 and 51.9% respectively), indicating that regional differences may operate (for example, more salient Aboriginal population in Kalgoorlie) in the prevalence of prejudiced attitudes. Overall, gender was not found to be predictive of modern racist attitudes.

The study investigated the relationship between the prevalence of false beliefs held in relation to Aborigines and modern racism. Participants were asked to express their agreement or disagreement towards three commonly held beliefs about Aborigines that have been proven to be untrue; “Aborigines are more likely to drink alcohol than non-Aborigines”, “Aborigines only have to pay a few payments under a hire-purchase agreement for a car, and the government will meet the remaining costs” and “Being Aboriginal entitles you to more social security benefits” (p.111). The study analysed the percentage of agreement with the unfounded beliefs. A sizeable 65.4% of respondents believed that Aborigines receive more social security benefits (15.4% didn’t know), 43.5% believed Aborigines consume more alcohol (23.2% didn’t know) and 34% of respondents endorsed the false belief with respect to car

\[\text{11} \text{ Sociodemographic variables had significant bivariate correlations with modern racism.} \]
\[\text{12} \text{ Modern racist attitudes were measured using an adapted version of the MRS.} \]
repayments (42.2% didn’t know). Therefore, a considerable proportion of respondents did not know or scored incorrectly on the statements relating to false beliefs about Aboriginal people.

False beliefs held in relation to Aboriginal Australians were found to be significantly related to modern racist attitudes. This finding suggests that false beliefs may lead to modern racist attitudes, or as the authors suggest, a bi-directional relationship exists between false beliefs and modern racist attitudes. It may be the case that misinformed feelings (false beliefs) lead to the development of negative affect (modern racism) towards a racial group, or that negative racial affect may lead to a person being more willing to believe false statements made about a racial group.

The content of racial attitudes was investigated by Larsen (1981) in a Townsville population sample. Negative racial attitudes towards Aborigines were based on the perception that Aborigines were norm violators by refusing to work and conform to white standards of behaviour. Negative racial attitudes also revealed resentment over Aborigines receiving benefits and gains that they did not deserve or earn. These negative attitudes are consistent with key tenets of modern racism theory.

Modern racist attitudes have also been analysed through patterns of arguments and discourse in discussions of race and racism by non-Indigenous Australians. Through discourse analysis, Augoustinos, Tuffin and Sale (1999) analysed the content of two discussion groups debating the nature of race and racism in Australia. Results revealed key themes of denial of discrimination, failure of Aborigines to adapt and sub-cultures threatening Australian identity in the racial talk of the discussion groups. Augoustinos et al. maintained racial ambivalence was a pervasive feature of the discussion groups, through the use of mitigation and non-racial explanations to justify a negative racial attitude. Thus, the study revealed features of modern racist attitudes in the discussion groups through the endorsement of modern racist beliefs, and racial
ambivalence through the justification of negative racial attitudes with a conceivable non-racial explanation.

The above-discussed research conducted into contemporary forms of racial prejudice illustrates the prevalence of negative racial attitudes, tenets of modern racism and sources of contemporary racist attitudes in Australian populations. The concerning social reality of racial prejudice in Australia supports the need for further empirical work into the nature, prevalence and potential sources of contemporary racism in an Australian context.

The experience of racism and discrimination

An area of discussion that can be overlooked in relation to theories of racial prejudice is the experience of racism and discrimination; in other words, the adverse affective and conative consequences for individuals and racial groups who are subjected to racism and discrimination. Key tenets of modern racist attitudes; discrimination being a thing of the past, resentment over special conditions and treatment and ‘reverse racism’; need to be discussed in relation to the current experience of race relations, racial prejudice and discrimination towards minority racial groups in Australia.

Aboriginal Australians currently remain physically, economically and socially disadvantaged in comparison to white Australians. The Health and Welfare of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People report released by the Australian Bureau of Statistics in 1999 revealed one-half of all Indigenous males and one in four Indigenous females will not live to see their 50th birthday. The report stated that “life expectancy at birth was estimated to be 56.9 years for Indigenous males and 61.7 years for Indigenous females, compared with all-Australian estimates of 75.2 years for males and 81.1 years for females” (ABS, 1999, p.4). Furthermore, a recent report
commissioned by *Save the Children* organisation reported the infant mortality rate of Aboriginal children was 3.5 times higher than that of white Australians ("Australia cited for misery", November 2000).

On an economic front, the *Health and Welfare* report revealed (at the time of publication) the unemployment rate was significantly higher for Indigenous adults (23%) than for non-Indigenous adults (9%). The median weekly income was significantly lower for Indigenous males ($189) and females ($190) in comparison to non-Indigenous Australians ($415 and $224 for males and females respectively). Indigenous Australians are more likely than other Australians to live in improvised dwellings, with almost a third of all households living in improvised dwellings being Indigenous Australian households. Correctional service figures from the *Health and Welfare* report revealed the imprisonment rate for Indigenous adults were over 14 times higher than for non-Indigenous adults.

From an affective viewpoint, Aboriginal families impacted by the stolen children generation continue to experience emotional consequences of the forced separations. The consequences of being institutionalised, denied contact with their Aboriginal families, denigration of their Aboriginality and in some cases being traumatised and abused have resulted in psychological and emotional damage for the separated children. The *Bringing them home* report into the stolen children generation reported the psychological and emotional consequences of the forced separations which included anti-social behaviours, substance abuse, depression and self harm. This impact may not end with the Aboriginal communities, families and children involved in the forced separations. The emotional and psychological effects of separation may result in difficulties in parenting the next generation (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 2000).

Following Ms Hanson’s 1996 maiden speech to parliament, attacks on Asian...
Australians have more than doubled according to a survey by the largest Chinese language daily newspaper *Sing Tao*. The survey revealed that verbal, written and physical abuse towards Asian Australians had all significantly increased in light of the adverse racial sentiments expressed in the maiden speech ("Hanson blamed for rising violence", November, 1996). Furthermore, a study conducted by Mak and Nesdale (in press) investigated the relationship between perceived racial discrimination and level of psychological distress among ethnic Chinese immigrants in metropolitan areas, following Ms Hanson’s maiden speech to Federal parliament. Mak and Nesdale’s study revealed the perception of racial discrimination led to increased psychological distress. This study illustrates the significant adverse effect of racial discrimination on the psychological well being of Chinese migrants in Australia.

Nesdale and Todd’s (1993) study on the experience of discrimination for International university students studying in Australia revealed a considerable 73% of students reported experiencing racial prejudice and discrimination while studying at Australian universities. Additionally, Kee and Hsieh (1997) (cited in Nesdale, in press) reported 42% of international students experienced racial discrimination at the university they were attending. These studies report a concerning prevalence of discrimination experienced by International students and the prevalence of racial prejudice and discrimination in Australian educational institutions.

What has happened in the past continues to have consequences today. Compared with other Australians, Aboriginal Australians continue to experience poorer health, limited employment opportunities and greater imprisonment. In contrast to Ms Hanson’s belief that Aborigines are assumed to be the most disadvantaged people in Australia, by all objective measures, Aborigines are undoubtedly the most socially, physically and economically disadvantaged people in

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13 The survey involved 1100 respondents
Australia. The modern racism belief expressing resentment towards Aborigines for special concessions they receive suggests individuals holding these beliefs do not or do not wish to understand or empathise with the history of race relations and the objective measures that clearly illustrate the disadvantages experienced by Aboriginal Australians. It could be further argued that this is evidence of the use of contended empirical facts to disguise negative affect towards and beliefs about Aboriginal Australians.

It has been just over three decades since the 1967 Aboriginal Rights referendum, which brought with it equality under the law for Aborigines and the illegality of discrimination based on a person's race. However, the establishment of anti-discrimination laws does not equate with the modern racism tenet of discrimination being a thing of the past. The establishment of these laws does not reverse the consequences of the adverse history of race relations and discriminatory policies in Australia. In contrast to modern racist beliefs, discrimination is not a thing of the past. Discrimination remains a pervasive barrier for minority racial groups in all arenas of contemporary Australian society, from trying to rent a house, finding a job or doing the simple things that most Australians take for granted. As Sir Gustav Nossal (2000) maintains “these things cannot be legislated”, racial prejudice and subtle forms of discrimination persist despite anti-discrimination and equality laws (p.3). The tenets of modern racism stand in contrast with the experience of racial prejudice and discrimination in Australia. The psychological, emotive and physical consequences for the victims of racial prejudice emphasise the current and serious social reality of racism in contemporary Australia.
Chapter 3
Measurement of Contemporary Racial Prejudice

The measurement of racial prejudice is necessary to establish baselines of attitudes in order to determine areas of concern, and in turn, necessity for change. In addition, baselines of racial prejudice allow the relationship between social change and attitude change to be observed (Larsen, 1978). In light of the contemporary nature of racial prejudice, the quandary for measurement is how to accurately detect and measure the subtle and indirect expression of contemporary racist attitudes. Difficulties in measurement may arise from individuals being unconsciously aware of their racial prejudices or a reluctance to reveal their negative affect towards minority racial groups due to a desire to maintain a non-prejudiced self-image (Fazio, Jackson, Dunton & Williams, 1995).

Traditional items and scales used to measure old-fashioned racism have great surface validity due to the high face validity of the racism items. For example, a person expressing strong agreement with traditional items such as “Black people are generally not as smart as whites” and “It is a bad idea for blacks and whites to marry each other” would be unambiguously likely to be racially prejudiced and discriminatory in their behaviours towards African Americans (McConahay, 1986, p.108). The emergence of contemporary forms of racial prejudice create reactivity, social desirability and validity problems for the traditional items. The high face validity of racism items results in modern and aversive racists explicitly rejecting the items to protect their non-prejudiced self-image. The reactivity of traditional racism items creates the potential for faking by producing socially desirable answers to the items. Furthermore, McConahay (1986) recounted several reviews of research in the 1970s and 1980s, which maintained prejudice researchers were encountering outright hostility from participants answering the traditional racism items. One review reported that researcher assistants became so embarrassed from the continual rebuffs from participants who refused to answer the traditional racism items that they ‘forgot’ to
include them in their interview schedule. The reactivity of the traditional items limits the reliability and validity of the racism scales and possibly accounts for the decline in racist attitudes reported in opinion polls over the past few decades.

Development of scales to measure contemporary racial prejudice

New scales and measurement techniques needed to be developed to accurately detect and measure contemporary forms of racial prejudice. In response to this need, McConahay, Hardee and Batts (1981) developed the Modern Racism Scale (MRS) to create a valid and non-reactive measure of modern racism. The items in the MRS are argued to be non-reactive because they allow modern racists to express negative affect towards African Americans without apprehension that their responses might be labelled racist. McConahay (1986) argues that this was achieved by creating items for which there were conceivable, non-prejudiced explanations for endorsing the items. The items on the MRS reflect sources of ambivalence and the tenets of modern racist attitudes, for example, a belief that discrimination is a thing of the past (“discrimination against blacks is no longer a problem in the United States”) and resentment towards special concessions and undeserved gains (“over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve”) (McConahay et al., 1981, p.568).

Research employing the MRS has established the scale as a non-reactive, reliable and valid measure of modern racism (e.g., McConahay & Hough, 1976; McConahay et al.,1981; McConahay, 1983,1986). In terms of the scale’s internal consistency, McConahay (1983) reported the Cronbach alphas of the MRS ranging between .86 and .91 during a series of experiments measuring modern racist attitudes.

An example of research establishing the MRS as a non-reactive measure was conducted by McConahay et al. (1981). The study found participants scored lower on a traditional racism scale when administered by an African American researcher in comparison with a white researcher. However, the race of the experimenter had no effect on the scores obtained on the MRS. This study emphasises the reactivity and
potential for faking associated with the traditional racism items and the non-reactive nature of the MRS as a measure of modern racist attitudes.

Empirical research providing evidence for the construct validity of the MRS as a measure of racial prejudice was established by McConahay’s (1983) study investigating the relationship between modern racist attitudes and subsequent discriminatory behaviours. In an employment-hiring task that created conditions of low racial salience, modern racists expressed discriminatory behaviours against hiring African American employees in comparison to low prejudiced participants. Therefore, high scores on the MRS predicted discriminatory behaviours towards African Americans in accordance with the theoretical framework of modern racism.

The MRS continues to be a widely used measure of modern racist attitudes, providing continued support for the MRS’ psychometric properties as a measure of modern racist attitudes (e.g., Beal, O’Neil, Ong & Ruscher, 2000; Brief et al., 2000; Lambert, Cronen, Chasteen & Likel, 1996; Monteith & Spicer, 2000; Schnake & Ruscher, 1998).

However the MRS has not been without its critics. Concern has been directed towards items on the MRS measuring conservative attitudes rather than negative racial attitudes towards African Americans (Fazio et al., 1995; Sniderman & Tetlock, 1986). Research conducted by Fazio et al. established a significant relationship between measures of conservatism and scores on the MRS, indicating conservative attitudes were related to modern racist attitudes. Fazio et al. argued that this relationship provided evidence of the potential for a person to score highly on the MRS as a result of holding a conservative attitude, as opposed to holding negative racial beliefs about African Americans.

In defence of the conservatism criticism, Monteith and Spicer’s (2000) research has provided recent evidence supporting the MRS as a measure of racial attitudes. Open-ended essays assessing white Americans’ racial attitudes revealed negative racial attitudes reported by participants were consistent with the tenets of modern racism. The study found MRS scores were significantly correlated with
measures of general dislike (interaction and affective reactions) towards African Americans, establishing evidence of convergent validity for the MRS as a measure of negative racial attitudes. In response to criticisms directed at MRS items measuring conservative attitudes, Monteith and Spicer maintain that “an occasional conservative person who harbours no ill feeling towards Blacks may score high on the MRS, but that would appear to be the exception rather than the rule” (p. 148).

A second criticism directed at the MRS relates to research showing unobtrusive and indirect measures of racist attitudes do not correlate with scores on the MRS. Measurement of racial attitudes using priming paradigms of racial stereotypes (unobtrusive measure of participants’ racial attitudes) revealed unobtrusive scores did not correlate with participants’ MRS scores. In other words, participants identified as being racially prejudiced on the unobtrusive measure did not necessarily score high on the MRS (Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson & Gaertner, 1996; Fazio et al., 1995). Fazio et al. has argued the disparity between the two measures illustrates the reactivity of the MRS as a measure of modern racist attitudes. However, possible sources of disparity between the two measures will be discussed later in the assessment of the validity of priming paradigm techniques as measures of contemporary racial prejudice. The discussion will present research that maintains instead of measuring a person’s prejudicial beliefs, priming paradigms may actually be measuring a person’s knowledge of the primed racial group’s cultural stereotype (Devine, 1989).

In assessing the reactivity of the MRS, Fazio et al. (1995) replicated McConahay’s (1981) study examining the effect of MRS scores when administered by an African American researcher. In contrast to McConahay’s findings, Fazio et al. found that participants who scored highly on the MRS presented in a mass study, supplied less prejudiced responses in subsequent individual testing that was administered by an African American researcher. An explanation proposed by Fazio et al. for the differences between the two experiments was argued to be the construction age of the MRS. The widely used MRS is 20 years old, which creates the potential for
the scale items to have become outdated and irrelevant in relation to current racial climate and issues in the United States. McConahay forecasted this sentiment in the scale’s construction in 1981, concluding the MRS to be “a non reactive measure in this period of history” (p.577). Therefore, the MRS items may have become reactive due to the items becoming outdated or items not reflecting the current nature of race relations. This argument illustrates the importance of developing current and relevant modern racism scales to reflect contemporary race relations in the field of prejudice research.

**Australian scales to measure contemporary racial prejudice**

A limitation for Australian research into contemporary racial prejudice is a deficiency of scales to measure contemporary racial prejudice in an Australian context. A paucity of published scales measuring racial attitudes towards Aborigines and minority racial groups exists in the Australian prejudice literature. Older scales measuring racial attitudes in Australian populations include Beswick and Hills’ (1969) Australian Ethnocentrism Scale and Larsen’s (1981) Attitudes towards Aborigines Scale (LAAS). The nature of items in these scales reflects traditional, old-fashioned racism items, presenting face valid and direct items to measure racist attitudes.

In order to develop a contemporary measure of racial attitudes, Walker (1994) adapted and reworked items from existing Australian scales (previously discussed) to form the Attitudes towards Aborigines Scale (AAbS). However, the adapted items selected to form the AAbS still reflected face valid elements of traditional racism items. For example, AAbS items include “I don’t like Aborigines” and “I wouldn’t like any member of my family to marry an Aborigine” (p. 140). The face valid and direct nature of these items poses potential reactivity concerns for measuring modern racist attitudes in an Australian context. Although the scale was developed as a contemporary measure of racial attitudes, recent studies have referred to the AAbS as a scale more suited to measuring old-fashioned racist attitudes (Fraser & Islam, 2000; Pedersen & Walker, 1997).
In light of the deficiency of scales to measure contemporary racial prejudice, previous prejudice research in Australia (for example, Augoustinos et al., 1994; Pedersen et al., 2000; Pedersen & Walker, 1997) has been conducted using adapted versions of McConahay et al.’s (1981) Modern Racism Scale. The adapted MRS replaces the word ‘black’ with ‘Aborigines’ and may alter the wording of MRS items, for example modifying “Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights” to “Aborigines are getting too demanding in their push for land rights” (Augoustinos et al., p. 127).  

However, due to the MRS being developed in the context of race relations in the United States, items may not adapt or translate well to an Australian context, for example a MRS item on school desegregation. In addition, adapted MRS items may not address issues specific to the current racial climate in Australia. As a result, the accuracy in detecting modern racist attitudes in Australian populations using adapted MRS items may be reduced. Furthermore, adapted versions of the MRS incorporate the reactivity concerns directed at the MRS, in relation to the scale’s construction twenty years ago. Therefore, when interpreting research reporting the prevalence of contemporary racial attitudes, as previously discussed in Chapter 2, it is important to keep in mind these potential limitations in the use of traditional items and adapted versions of the MRS in measuring contemporary racial attitudes in Australian populations.

An important advancement in the measurement of contemporary racial prejudice in Australia is the recent development of the Symbolic Racism Extended Scale (SR-E) by Fraser and Islam (1997b). The SR-E was developed to establish a scale of symbolic (modern) racism that reflected modern racism principles in the

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14 Studies employing the adapted version of the MRS have reported Cronbach alphas ranging from 0.83 to 0.86 (Augoustinos et al., 1994; Pedersen et al., 2000; Pedersen & Walker, 1997).
15 Fraser and Islam (2000) have recently published a shortened version of the SR-E. The Australian Symbolic Racism Scale (ASRS) contains 9 of the SR-E (1997) scale items, and has reported good reliability measures (Cronbach alphas of 0.85 and 0.89). The ASRS was published following the completion of the empirical studies conducted in this thesis. The empirical studies in this thesis employed an abridged SR-E (1997) scale to measure modern racist attitudes, therefore the focus of discussion in this chapter will be directed towards the SR-E.
context of current racial issues and racial climate in Australia. The SR-E was designed to measure modern racist attitudes towards Aborigines, Asians and migrants in an Australian context. The items reflect current examples of modern racist beliefs such as resentment towards special concessions for Aborigines, opposition to Aboriginal land rights and the perceived negative cultural and economic impact of migrants in Australia (Fraser & Islam, 1997b).

Fraser and Islam (1997a, 1997b) have reported good reliability measures for the SR-E scale (Cronbach alphas of 0.85 and 0.90 respectively)\(^{16}\) and as previously discussed, established evidence of construct validity through research that revealed Pauline Hanson supporters scored significantly higher on the SR-E in comparison to non-supporters (Fraser & Islam, 1997b). The SR-E is an important advancement for Australian prejudice research in developing a current measure of modern racist attitudes, designed specifically for Australian populations. The SR-E scale is arguably more suited, than adapted scales, to detecting modern racist attitudes in Australian populations through items that specifically address the racial climate and racial issues in Australia.\(^{17}\)

Alternative techniques in the measurement of contemporary racial attitudes

Self-report questionnaires as measures of racial prejudice are not without their limitations. Even with the development of subtle self-report questionnaires to measure contemporary racial attitudes, there still exists susceptibility to self-report vulnerabilities, for example faking and social desirability bias. Due to the socially unacceptable nature of racist attitudes, respondents to self-reported measures may identify and respond accordingly with socially acceptable responses to racism items to maintain a non-prejudiced self image (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; Guglielmi, 1999). Self-report measures of racial prejudice can only reveal the respondent’s explicit and

\(^{16}\) Fraser and Islam’s (1997a) and (1997b) research was conducted using population samples of University students and general population (McMillian electorate, Victoria) respectively.

\(^{17}\) The SR-E scale is discussed in further detail in the following chapter (4).
controlled response to the racism items; that is what they say their attitudes are. Other measurement techniques have been developed to overcome the limitations of self-report measures of racial attitudes.

One technique developed to overcome selective distortion and faking concerns of self-report measures is Sigall and Page’s (1971) bogus pipeline technique. This technique involves convincing participants that an apparatus to which they are connected is measuring their physiological signs which detects whether they are telling the truth (‘lie detector’). Participants then complete a traditional measure of racial prejudice. Sigall and Page found there existed huge discrepancies between participants’ self-reports of prejudice before the ‘lie detector’ apparatus and after they were connected to the apparatus. However, this technique requires elaborate deception to convince the participant that the apparatus can actually measure whether they are telling the truth concerning their racial attitudes (Fazio et al. 1995). Furthermore, concern has been directed towards the ethical issues of this technique in relation to the significant deception used in order to measure participants’ racial attitudes (Aguinis & Handelsman, 1997).

Another technique proposed as a non-reactive measure of affect towards racial groups is psychophysiological indexes. Guglielmi (1999) has argued that psychophysiological indexes such as peripheral skin temperature (increases associated with fear and disgust) and heart rate (increases associated with anger and fear) in interracial scenarios and contact situations creates non-reactive measures of participants’ affect towards racial groups. However, other researchers have argued that there is not enough psychophysiological evidence to support the conviction that emotional states (for example, fear, anger, happiness) have unique autonomic signatures (Cacioppo, Klein, Berntson & Hatfield, 1993; LeDoux, 1993).

Development of implicit and indirect techniques to measure contemporary racial attitudes

Prejudice research has focused primarily on explicit measures of racial
stereotypes and attitudes that operate in the conscious realm, for example self-report measures and stereotype adjective checklists. In response to potential limitations of explicit measures of contemporary racial attitudes, the current trend of prejudice research has been directed towards indirect measures of racial stereotypes and attitudes (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Fazio et al., 1995; Kawakami, Dion & Dovidio, 1998; Kawakami & Dovidio, 2001; Kawakami, Dovidio, Moll, Hermsen & Russin, 2000; Locke, MacLeod & Walker, 1994). This research has shown that racial stereotyping occurs largely at the implicit and unconscious level. Furthermore, this research has shown that mere exposure to a racial category, through a racial member, photograph, category label or stereotypical trait, is sufficient for stereotyping to occur, often without awareness or intention (Kawakami et al., 1998; Kawakami & Dovidio).

Greenwald and Banaji (1995) define implicit stereotypes to be “introspectively unidentified (or inaccurately identified) traces of past experiences that mediate attributions of qualities to members of a social category” (p. 15). A focal technique in the indirect measurement of racial attitudes is through priming paradigms of racial stereotypes. The technique of priming involves automatically activating associated evaluations from participants’ memory after the presentation of target prime; for example objects, faces or words (Fazio et al., 1995). Associated evaluations (for example, positive and negative adjectives) are presented immediately after the prime, for participants to respond to as quickly as possible. Response facilitation to the associated evaluation is the focus of the obtrusive attitudinal measurement (Dunton & Fazio, 1997).

In a simplistic example, a spider is presented as a prime, immediately followed by evaluative adjectives such as ‘disgusting’ (negative) and ‘pleasant’ (positive). Increased facilitation of response towards the negative adjective (‘disgusting’) would be indicative of a more negative attitude towards spiders, as the prime has activated negative evaluations at the automatic level, facilitating the response to the negative adjective.
The important role cognitive processes, in particular stereotypes, play in prejudiced attitudes, underlies the applicability of this technique to prejudice research. A dominant approach in the study of prejudice and stereotypes, the social cognitive approach, views stereotypes as "cognitive structures that contain the perceiver's knowledge, beliefs, and expectancies about some human group" (Hamilton & Trolier, 1986, p.133). Stereotypes are maintained to be mental representations of social groups, linking a set of perceived traits and behavioural characteristics to respective social groups (Hamilton & Sherman, 1994; Manstead & Hewstone, 1995). People categorise and form stereotypes to simplify, inform and conserve limited cognitive resources in processing information in a complex social world (Devine & Monteith, 1999).

The activation of stereotypes can occur automatically in the presence of a stereotyped group, activating associated traits, characteristics and knowledge. Once a social category has been activated it can often play a subsequent role in guiding perceptions, evaluations, judgments and behaviours (Hamilton & Sherman, 1994; Hamilton & Trolier, 1986). The relationship between stereotypes and prejudice can be traced back to the definition of prejudice proposed by Allport (1954) as "apathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization" (p.9). The formation and content of racial stereotypes can develop from factors such as social and political socialisation and cognitive processes of ingroup favouritism and outgroup discrimination (Devine, 1989). Race, being a highly salient characteristic, is easily categorised, resulting in the activation of racial schemas (traits, characteristics, and knowledge) in the presence of racial groups.

In relation to prejudice attitudinal measurement, priming techniques activate racial stereotypes from participants' automatic processing level to assess associated personal evaluations of the target racial group. Research examining the validity of priming techniques as an unobtrusive measure of racial attitudes was conducted by Fazio et al. (1995). High resolution colour photographs of Black and White faces, served as primes in the experiment. Immediately after each photograph was primed to
participants on a computer screen, a positive (for example, attractive, likeable, wonderful) or negative (for example, annoying, disgusting, offensive) target adjective was presented. On each trial, participants were asked to indicate the connotation of the target adjective as quickly as possible. Throughout the experiment, participants were not aware that their racial attitude was being measured. It is maintained that quicker facilitation in response to positive adjectives is indicative of a positive personal attitude towards the primed racial group, and conversely quicker facilitation in response to negative adjectives is indicative of a negative personal attitude.

The findings of this experiment revealed some measures of validity for the unobtrusive measurement technique. Firstly, there existed different patterns of response facilitation to the primes between Black and White participants. White participants expressed more negativity in their automatic responses to the Black faces, whereas Black participants displayed the opposite pattern, expressing more negativity towards White faces. Variability in the facilitation responses of White participants was argued to be evidence of differing levels of prejudiced attitudes in the sample. Secondly, participants who had expressed more negativity towards the Black primes were found to be more unfriendly in a subsequent interracial behavioural situation. An African American experimenter, blind to participants’ attitudes, rated the quality of interaction with each participant. Participants with higher negativity towards the Black primes, as measured by the unobtrusive measure, were rated to be more unfriendly towards the African American experimenter. Thus, the unobtrusive measure of racial prejudice was predictive of subsequent behaviour in an interracial situation. As previously discussed, the experiment found unobtrusive measures of racial prejudice did not correlate with self-reported measures of racial prejudice on the MRS.

Research conducted by Dovidio and Gaertner (1998) is another example of prejudice attitudinal research being conducted using unobtrusive measures. A sketch of a White or Black face was primed to participants on a computer screen. The letter ‘P’ appeared immediately after the priming, where the sketch had been primed. The
letter 'P' stood for person, and participants had to next decide whether the subsequent word that was displayed (positive or negative adjective) could ever describe a person. Response times, in which participants responded to the subsequent adjectives, were measured. Dovidio and Gaertner found that White participants had more negative associations in relation to Black faces and more positive associations in relation to the White faces. Consistent with Fazio et al.'s (1995) research, Dovidio and Gaertner argued that White participants were expressing underlying negative feelings about Blacks in response to the primes. In addition, unobtrusive measures of racial attitudes were only weakly correlated with participants' self-reported measures (scores on the MRS) of racial prejudice.

The advantages of unobtrusive measures of racial prejudice lie with overcoming the limitations of self-report measures of racial prejudice. As Fazio et al. (1995) maintains this technique “represents a potentially bona fide, not bogus, pipeline” (p. 1014). However, validity concerns have been directed towards unobtrusive techniques as attitudinal measures, in relation to what it is they are actually measuring. Devine (1989) has argued that unobtrusive measures of racial prejudice may actually be measuring a person’s knowledge of the cultural stereotype rather than a person’s own prejudicial beliefs. In Devine’s dissociation model, it is maintained that “although one may have knowledge of a stereotype, his or her personal beliefs may not be congruent with the stereotype” (p.5). In other words, stereotypes and personal beliefs are “conceptually distinct cognitive structures” (p.5). While it has been argued that stereotypes are cognitive schemas of categorised group memberships, personal beliefs need to be accepted by individuals as being true (Devine).

Regardless of personal beliefs, people are consensually aware of the social stereotypes of major racial groups in our society (Devine, 1989). Racial stereotypes are well established as cognitive schemas through exposure to information relating to racial groups through years of socialisation. Through the process of social learning, the perceived psychological attributions, traits and characteristics of racial groups in
our society are learnt and shape the development and maintenance of racial schemas (Hamilton & Trolier, 1986). Devine has argued there is good evidence that stereotypes are well established as cognitive schemas in children's minds, long before the development of cognitive capabilities allowing them to question and evaluate the content of these stereotypes. As Lipmann (1922) contends "we are told about the world before we see it. We imagine most things before we experience them" (p. 89). Therefore, it could be argued that personal beliefs are a newer cognitive structure, with stereotypes having a longer history of activation and association in a person's interaction with the social world.

Devine's (1989) dissociation model posits two key processes, automatic and controlled, in the activation of stereotypes. Due to factors primarily relating to cognitive development and socialisation, people maintain well developed and frequently activated cognitive schemas of racial stereotypes. When appropriate cues are present (i.e. racial member), racial stereotypes are automatically (unintentionally and effortlessly) activated from memory (Devine & Monteith, 1999). However, Devine argues that there exists a controlled component to stereotyping, following the automatic activation of racial stereotypes. People who hold personal beliefs and values that are not consistent with automatically activated stereotypes can experience conflict due to the disparity, whereas, people who hold similar personal beliefs with the activated stereotypes experience no such conflict.

For example, in response to a negative racial stereotype being activated, low prejudiced people are motivated to inhibit or control (through correction, suppression, replacement with egalitarian response) the activated racial stereotype and replace the subsequent response or behaviour with one that is consistent with their personal beliefs. On the other hand, high prejudiced people experience no conflict between personal beliefs and the activated stereotype. Thus, they are not motivated to control the influence of the activated racial stereotype on subsequent behaviours and responses (Devine, 1989).

Therefore, it is maintained that stereotypes are automatically activated,
whereas personal beliefs require conscious and effortful processing. In relation to unobtrusive measures of racial prejudice, it follows that these techniques could actually be measuring a person’s knowledge of the cultural stereotype (automatic process) rather than their personal prejudicial belief (controlled process).

To support her model of automatic and controlled processes in stereotype activation, Devine (1989) asked participants to list all the traits and characteristics of the African American racial stereotype that they could think of, whether they believed it to be true or not. High and low prejudiced participants (as classified by the MRS) did not differ in their knowledge of the racial stereotype of African Americans, therefore knowledge of the stereotype was independent of prejudicial beliefs. Devine’s research found the cultural stereotype of African Americans reported by participants to be clear, consistent and highly negative in content.

In a further study, participants were primed with either 80 percent or 20 percent of words (remainder made up of neutral words) relating to the racial stereotype of African Americans; for example labels of the social category (Blacks, niggers, Negroes) or stereotypical associations (poor, lazy). In an ostensibly unrelated experimental session, participants read through a description of a person’s behaviour and were asked to rate the behaviour. In the description, the person’s race was not mentioned and the behaviour was ambiguously described. Participants who were primed with 80 percent of stimulus words, judged the person’s behaviour to be more hostile, than those participants who were primed with only 20 percent. Devine argued that the trait ‘hostile’ was consistent with racial stereotypes of African Americans. There existed no differences between high and low prejudiced participants in the description of the person’s behaviours for either condition. However, concern has been directed towards this experiment in the use of both stereotype and category primes (Kawakami et al., 1998; Locke & Walker, 1999). The negative orientation of the majority of stereotypical primes (for example, unemployed and poor) may have directly cued semantic priming towards the trait ‘hostile’.

Finally, in a free-response task Devine (1989) asked participants to list their
thoughts pertaining to African Americans that were consistent with their own personal beliefs. In this study, a significant difference in negative traits and terminology were reported by high prejudiced participants in comparison to low prejudiced participants.

A further study conducted by Devine and Elliot (1995) comparing knowledge of African Americans’ cultural stereotypes and personal beliefs provided further evidence to support the conceptual distinction between stereotypes and personal beliefs. No significant differences were found between high and low prejudiced participants’ knowledge of the cultural stereotype for African Americans. However, assessment of participants’ personal beliefs in relation to the traits and characteristics of African Americans revealed significant differences between high and low prejudiced participants. High prejudiced participants reported significantly more negative traits and characteristics in comparison to low prejudiced participants. To illustrate the above distinction, the percentage of high and low prejudiced participants reporting “lazy” as part of the cultural stereotype for African Americans was 78 and 82% respectively. However, in the assessment of personal beliefs, high and low prejudiced participants reported they personally believed African Americans to be “lazy” as 72 and 6% respectively. Therefore, research has provided evidence that high and low prejudiced people are equally knowledgeable of cultural stereotypes and the activation of these stereotypes occurs automatically and unintentionally in high and low prejudiced people. Differences between high and low prejudiced people emerge in their endorsement and acceptance (personal beliefs) of the stereotypes as being true.

Support for Devine’s (1989) dissociation model in an Australian context was established by research conducted by Augoustinos et al. (1994). The study employed an explicit free-response measure of participants’ knowledge of the cultural stereotype of Aboriginal Australians. Consistent with Devine’s research, the study revealed few significant differences between high and low prejudiced participants and their knowledge of the cultural stereotype of Aboriginal Australians. Furthermore, low prejudiced participants were found to be more knowledgeable of the cultural stereotypes.
stereotype of Aborigines in comparison to high prejudiced participants. Augoustinos et al. found the explicit content of the cultural stereotype of Aborigines to be predominantly negative in nature.

The advantages of unobtrusive measures of racial prejudice, in overcoming self-report biases and vulnerabilities through implicitly measuring attitudes, lends this technique to be an important advancement for prejudice research. However, it is essential to establish the validity of this technique as to whether it is actually measuring a person’s prejudicial beliefs or a person’s knowledge of the cultural stereotype. Research needs to further establish the psychometric properties of unobtrusive measures to ensure the accuracy of this technique in measuring racially prejudiced attitudes for subsequent prejudice research.

Measurement of the content of racial stereotypes

Measuring and analysing the content of racial stereotypes is another important area of prejudice research. American and Australian research (Augoustinos et al., 1994; Devine, 1989; Devine & Monteith, 1995; Fazio et al., 1995) has illustrated the predominantly negative content of the racial stereotypes of African Americans and Australian Aborigines. Measurement of racial stereotype content is important in light of the subsequent role the activation of stereotypes can play in guiding and influencing perceptions and behaviours towards the stereotyped racial group members (Hamilton & Sherman, 1994; Hamilton & Trolier, 1986).

Furthermore, research has maintained low prejudiced individuals engage in controlled processes to inhibit the activated content of racial stereotypes. These controlled processes require sufficient cognitive ability and motivation (Devine & Monteith, 1999). However, the implication for low prejudiced individuals in situations where motivation (for example, lack of time) or cognitive resources (for example, drinking at a party) are reduced or limited, the automatic activation of racial stereotypes may lead to a discrepant prejudiced response or discriminatory behaviour.
Thus, it is important to analyse the nature and content of racial stereotypes being activated given the subsequent role of racial stereotype activation.

The question of how we can change, modify or undermine stereotypes remains a real dilemma for psychological research. The mechanisms that maintain stereotypes, in turn, make stereotype change or modification a difficult process to achieve (Hamilton & Sherman, 1994). From a cognitive perspective, research has shown that stereotypes can influence a person’s information processing by attending to and recalling information that is stereotype-consistent and filtering out stereotype-inconsistent information (see Devine, Hamilton & Ostrom, 1994; Hamilton & Sherman and Hamilton & Trolier, 1986 for reviews of the literature). This mechanism makes stereotype change difficult as stereotype-inconsistent information is often filtered out, for example, filtering out positive traits and characteristics displayed by a member of a racial group to be consistent with a predominantly negative racial stereotype. Thus, the position and content of the stereotype is maintained.

Furthermore, research demonstrating the cognitive processes of ingroup favouritism and outgroup discrimination, even under conditions of minimal group categorisations, suggests the negative content of racial stereotypes is formed and maintained by this process, making stereotype change difficult (Devine et al., 1994; Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel, Billig, Bundy & Flament, 1971). From a sociocultural perspective, the process of social learning in the formation and maintenance of social stereotypes, can result in a person’s social environment being a significant obstacle in achieving changes to stereotypes of social groups in society (Hamilton & Sherman, 1994).

As illustrated with the above examples of sociocultural and cognitive mechanisms involved in the formation and maintenance of stereotypes, changes to the
nature and content of stereotypes can be a challenging process. However, theories and models have been developed that outline the circumstances in which stereotypes may be undermined and changed. Subsequent discussion in this chapter will focus on the cognitive and common ingroup identity models of stereotype change.

Three main cognitive models of stereotype change have been proposed. The bookkeeping model developed by Rothbart (1981) maintains changes to stereotypes can be achieved gradually, through progressively encountering and processing increasing amounts of stereotype disconfirming information. The processing of information pertaining to confirming or disconfirming stereotypical information leads to a slight strengthening or weakening respectively of the stereotype of a social group. Rothbart and Park (1986) assert that traits and characteristics of a social group that are not clearly evident and observable are less susceptible to stereotype change. Thus, gradually presenting observable disconfirming traits and characteristics over a period of time may serve to weaken the existing stereotype of a particular social group, with the eventual aim of implementing stereotype change.

A second model of stereotype change proposed by Rothbart (1981), the conversion model, maintains stereotype change in response to a dramatic or significant disconfirming instance or experience. Thus, stereotype conversion or change can occur suddenly, in contrast to the bookkeeping model’s gradual change in response to disconfirming information (Hamilton & Sherman, 1994).

A third model of stereotype change predicts disconfirming information results in changes to the cognitive representations of the stereotyped group (Johnston & Hewstone, 1992). The subtyping model (Brewer, Dull & Lui, 1981; Taylor, 1981) views stereotypes as hierarchical structures. In response to disconfirming information discriminations within groups are made leading to the development of subgroups, which are considered exceptions to the superordinate stereotype (Hamilton &
Sherman, 1994; Johnston & Hewstone). The formation of the subgroups results in the original stereotype remaining largely uninfluenced. The subtyping model has been argued to be more of a model reflecting stereotype maintenance rather than one of stereotype change (Johnston & Hewstone).

Empirical studies testing the validity of the above-mentioned cognitive models of stereotype change, while not entirely consistent, have found evidence to support all three models (see, Hewstone, Johnstone & Aird, 1992; Johnston & Hewstone, 1992; Weber & Crocker, 1983).

Another approach proposed to achieve changes to stereotypes relates to intergroup perceptions of the ingroup and outgroups, namely the common ingroup identity model (Gaertner, Dovidio & Bachman, 1997). Researchers have argued that intergroup bias may be reduced through changing categorisations of different groups into one group or broadening the inclusiveness of the ingroup (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman & Rust, 1993; Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman & Anastasio, 1994). Previous priming paradigm experiments (Fazio et al, 1995; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998) have demonstrated that positive evaluations are more significantly associated with the ingroup stereotype. It is argued that recategorisation of ingroup boundaries may be achieved by drawing attention to common traits, characteristics, identities or memberships shared between groups (for example, students of the same university).

Gaertner et al.'s (1993) research provided evidence to support this conviction by demonstrating evaluations of outgroups significantly improved when outgroup members were shown to share common memberships, characteristics and goals. In other words the ingroup became more inclusive, incorporating outgroup members into the ingroup. Dovidio and Gaertner (1998) maintain this model of stereotype change does not require individuals to give up their cultural or racial identity to become more
inclusive with the ingroup. Moreover, it is possible to have two racial groups relating to a superordinate group membership through common goals or identities, for example African Americans. In research conducted by Gaertner et al., (1994) to illustrate this position, high school students who identified themselves as Korean Americans reported more positive intergroup attitudes in comparison to students who identified themselves as Koreans.

Thus, it is important to establish the nature, content and extent of racial stereotypes in Australian society. The important role cognitive processes, in particular stereotypes, play in prejudiced attitudes, underlies the importance of measuring and analysing the content of racial stereotypes. Furthermore, in light of the influential role the activation of stereotypes can have on subsequent responses and behaviours, further research needs to be directed towards avenues in which racial stereotypes can be modified, undermined or changed.

Contemporary racial prejudice in an Australian context: Research aims of the thesis

In providing a theoretical and empirical account of contemporary racial prejudice in an Australian context, the subsequent empirical chapters will address four principal research aims, namely: (a) to further establish the psychometric properties of an explicit Australian scale of racial prejudice (Symbolic Racism Extended Scale, Fraser & Islam, 1997b) (b) to investigate the nature, prevalence and potential sources of modern racist attitudes and associated discriminatory behaviours (c) to examine concerns pertaining to the measurement of racial attitudes through implicit techniques and (d) to analyse the implicit and explicit content of Australian racial stereotypes, and to investigate the circumstances under which the content of racial stereotypes may be undermined and changed.

The first principal aim of this thesis (Study 1) pertains to the measurement of contemporary racist attitudes in Australian populations. In light of the qualitative shift
in the expression of racist attitudes, the challenge for contemporary racial prejudice research is to devise scales and techniques that accurately and reliably detect contemporary racist attitudes. A limitation for Australian prejudice research has been the paucity of published Australian scales to measure contemporary racial attitudes. The recent development of Fraser and Islam’s (1997b) Symbolic Racism Extended Scale (SR-E) represents an important advancement for Australian prejudice research in establishing a current and relevant modern racism scale for Australian populations. This thesis aims to further establish the psychometric properties of the SR-E as a measure of modern racist attitudes in an Australian context.

The second principal aim of this thesis (Study 2 and Study 3) is to explore the nature, prevalence and potential sources of contemporary racist attitudes, and associated discriminatory behaviours, in an Australian context. The extensive body of theoretical and empirical research into contemporary racial prejudice has been primarily developed, and mainly conducted, in the United States. In comparison, only a limited number of studies have been conducted into nature of contemporary racist attitudes in an Australian context. It is important to establish the nature and tenets of contemporary racist attitudes existing in Australian populations and to assess the applicability of contemporary theories of racial prejudice for Australian prejudice research. The prevalence of contemporary racist attitudes is investigated in the University of Canberra and ACT Secondary College student populations. Measurement of the prevalence of contemporary racist attitudes is important for establishing baseline measures of the extent of racial prejudice in Australian populations, and in turn, determine necessity for change.

In addition to baseline measures of contemporary racism, this thesis explores demographic and political factors as potential sources of contemporary racist attitudes. Specifically, the factors of age, gender and political affiliation will be explored as potential sources of contemporary racist attitudes.

Unlike the uniform and overt pattern of discrimination displayed by old-fashioned racists, the patterns of contemporary discrimination are more difficult to
identify. Contemporary theories of modern racism maintain discriminatory behaviours are expressed under conditions of low racial salience, low social comparisons and in situations where there exists plausible non-racial explanations for a behaviour that may be considered racist (McConahay, 1986). To the author’s knowledge, the discriminatory behaviours of modern racists in an employment context have yet to be investigated in Australia. This thesis aims to present Australian empirical evidence of modern racists’ behavioural outcomes in conditions of low racial salience in an employment-hiring task.

The third principal aim of this thesis (Study 4) provides further analysis of the measurement of contemporary racist attitudes, specifically the measurement of racist attitudes through unobtrusive and implicit techniques. Implicit techniques, namely priming paradigms of racial stereotypes, have been developed to overcome the limitations of prejudice self-report measures (for example, reactivity concerns and social desirability bias). Currently, only limited psychometric properties have been reported for the use of implicit techniques in the measurement of racial attitudes. In response, validity concerns have been raised in relation to whether implicit techniques could actually be measuring an individual’s cultural knowledge of the primed racial group, rather than an individual’s prejudicial beliefs. This thesis aims to provide further evidence of the former concern through investigating the differences in cultural knowledge of implicit stereotypes between high and low prejudiced participants, as determined by the SR-E. In turn, this thesis aims to establish whether cultural knowledge of racial stereotypes are independent of prejudicial beliefs, providing further evidence of a cognitive distinction between stereotypes and personal beliefs.

The fourth principal aim of this thesis (Study 4) was to investigate the content of Australian racial stereotypes. American research has established the predominantly negative content of the African American racial stereotype. This research has illustrated when appropriate racial cues are present, predominantly negative traits and characteristics are activated from memory (Fazio et al., 1995). This thesis aims to
analyse the implicit content of the Aboriginal, Asian and immigrant cultural stereotypes. Furthermore, this thesis aims to investigate the circumstances under which the content of racial stereotypes may be undermined or changed (Study 5). This thesis investigates whether the recategorising of ingroup boundaries and disconfirming stereotypical information relating to Aboriginal Australians, observed in the recent Sydney Olympic Games, will result in changes to the content of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype.

The subsequent chapters of this thesis will report the empirical studies undertaken in relation to the research aims of this thesis.
Chapter 4

Study 1: The Psychometric Properties of the Symbolic Racism Extended Scale

Overview of Study 1

Study 1 was designed to further establish the psychometric properties of Fraser and Islam’s (1997b) Symbolic Racism Extended Scale (SR-E) as a measure of modern racist attitudes in an Australian context. It is important to establish the psychometric properties of the SR-E in relation to the scale’s subsequent application in empirically testing the prevalence, nature, sources and associated behavioural outcomes of modern racist attitudes. The SR-E was developed to establish a current scale of modern racist attitudes, which reflected the tenets of modern racism in the context of racial issues in Australia, for example resentment towards special concessions for Aboriginals and the perceived negative impact of migrant cultures (Fraser & Islam).

The SR-E was designed within the modern racism framework, by developing items which allowed modern racists to express negative affect towards Aborigines, Asians and migrants without apprehension that their responses may be labelled racist. In concord with the MRS, this was achieved by creating items in which there existed conceivable, non-prejudiced explanations for endorsing the items, reflecting the ambivalence of modern racist attitudes (McConahay et al., 1981).

The development of the SR-E represents an important advancement for Australian prejudice research in addressing the deficiency of published Australian prejudice scales and in relation to the potential limitations of adapting American racism scales to an Australia context. To briefly recap, previous research on racial prejudice in Australia has been conducted using measures such as reworked traditional racism items (for example, Walker, 1994) or adapted versions of the MRS (for example, Augoustinos et al., 1994; Pedersen et al., 2000; Pedersen & Walker, 1997). However, conducting Australian prejudice research with adapted versions of the MRS can be problematic as items on the MRS may not adapt or translate well to an
Australian context, and importantly, items may not address issues specific to the current racial climate in Australia. Furthermore, research (for example, Fazio et al., 1995) has maintained that MRS items have become reactive due to the scale’s construction over twenty years ago. This illustrates the importance of developing and establishing current and relevant scales for measuring contemporary racist attitudes.

Fraser and Islam’s (1997a, 1997b) research has reported good psychometric properties for the SR-E scale as a measure of modern racist attitudes (as discussed in Chapter 3). Thus, research conducted using the SR-E has already yielded promising psychometric measures.

Limitations of prejudice self-report measures have been directed towards reactivity concerns. Even with the development of subtle and indirect self-report measures of modern racism, there still exists susceptibility to self-report vulnerabilities such as faking and social desirability bias. Australian prejudice research measuring contemporary racist attitudes (for example, Augoustinos et al., 1994; Fraser & Islam, 1997a, 1997b, 2000; Pedersen et al., 2000) has been conducted through presenting modern racism scales singularly or combined with other racism scales or racial items (for example, traditional racism items or attitudes to topical racial issues). Although research in which modern racism scales were presented in this manner did not specifically state the nature or purpose of the scales, the potential for respondents to identify the nature of the attitude being measured from the scale’s content is reasoned to be high. Identifying the nature and purpose of modern racism scales may increase social desirability and faking vulnerabilities of self-report measures, facilitated by the socially unacceptable nature of racist attitudes in society.

The present study maintains that combining modern racism items with other non-racial items will provide a context in which self-report vulnerabilities can be addressed. By incorporating modern racism items with filler social items (not related to race) in a questionnaire format, the purpose and nature of measurement is more adequately concealed, in turn, creating a context in which social desirability and
reactivity concerns may be reduced. Such efforts to address reactivity concerns of self-report measures of modern racism lend weight to creating reliable measures of modern racist attitudes.

**Aims and predictions**

The study aimed to empirically test the psychometric properties of the SR-E in University of Canberra and ACT Secondary College student populations, to further establish the psychometric properties of the SR-E as a measure of modern racist attitudes in an Australian context. It was expected that the SR-E would produce a unifactorial measure of modern racist attitudes (exploratory analysis) and, in accordance with Fraser and Islam’s (1997a, 1997b) research, that it would maintain good internal consistency between the scale items.

The second aim of the study was directed at creating a context in which the SR-E scale could be presented to address the reactivity concerns raised in relation to prejudice self-report measures. Through presenting the SR-E items within a ‘Social Issues’ questionnaire format, the study predicted free-response identification of the true purpose and nature of measurement by participants would be low. The study also predicted that a significantly high test-retest reliability coefficient (temporal stability) would be found between two administrations of the SR-E (in the context of the “Social Issues” questionnaire) over a three-week period. It is maintained that if participants are answering the questionnaire naturally, and the scale is not a reactive measure (i.e. participants had not worked out the nature of the questionnaire by the second testing), SR-E scores at the original testing and three weeks later should be highly and significantly correlated.

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18 An additional measure of the construct validity of the SR-E will be reported in the following chapter (5) in relation to theory consistent behavioural outcomes of modern racist attitudes (as measured by the SR-E).
Method

Participants

University student sample

Two hundred and fifty one first year Psychology undergraduates (163 females and 88 males) from the University of Canberra participated in the study for course credit. The mean age of the participants was 23.13 years (SD = 7.22) ranging from 17 to 56 years. All participation was anonymous and voluntary with approval given by the University of Canberra’s Committee for Ethics in Human Research.

From this sample, a total of 45 participants participated in the test-retest component of the study (24 females and 21 males; mean age was 23.04 years, SD = 7.75).

ACT Secondary College sample

Four ACT Secondary Colleges\(^{19}\) participated in the experiment. Two hundred and forty four participants (177 females and 67 males) studying Psychology units volunteered to participate in the experiment, which was conducted during class time. The mean age of the participants was 16.61 years (SD = 0.734) ranging from 16 to 21 years. All participation was anonymous and voluntary with approval given by the University of Canberra’s Committee for Ethics in Human Research and the ACT Department of Education and Community Services.

Stimulus materials

Symbolic Racism Extended Scale. The Symbolic Racism Extended Scale (SR-E) was used as a measure of modern racist attitudes. Fraser and Islam’s (1997b) 13 item SR-E Scale was developed in Australia and designed to reflect modern racism

\(^{19}\) Equivalent of year 11 and 12 in other Australian states. The average number of student enrolments in each Secondary College participating in the experiment was approximately 800 students.
towards Aborigines, Asians and migrants in an Australian context. The items were designed to reflect current examples of modern racist beliefs such as resentment towards special programs and concessions for Aborigines and the perceived negative cultural and economic impact of migrants in Australia. From the 13 SR-E scale items, 10 items reflecting each of the racial themes and issues were selected to form an abridged modern racism scale.

The following 10 items formed the abridged SR-E scale:

Money given directly to Aboriginal groups for housing and health programs is often wasted because they cannot properly manage it.

Australian culture would be weakened if the percentage of the population from an Asian background became much higher than at present.

There is too much emphasis in Australia on multiculturalism.

Housing loans and welfare assistance are being given to Aboriginal people on much better terms than other Australians.

Aboriginal people have much more influence upon the mining and pastoral industries than they ought to have.

New migrants to Australia receive benefits which other Australians have to work for.

Providing welfare for Aboriginal groups stops them developing any self-reliance.

It is just a matter of some people not trying hard enough. If Aboriginal people would only try harder they could be as well off as other Australians.

Too much money is being spent on welfare payments and housing for Aboriginals.

New migrants from other cultures should be willing to adapt to the mainstream cultural values of Australia.

The reason behind selecting 10 items from the SR-E scale was to ensure scale items were not repetitive in their content in measuring modern racist attitudes, which could potentially increase reactivity towards the nature of the scale. In addition, with the intent of combining SR-E items with filler social items in a questionnaire format to address reactivity concerns, the length of the subsequent questionnaire for participants...
to complete was taken into consideration. The following two SR-E items were not included in the abridged scale for these reasons:

Native title should be extinguished where it would hold up major mining projects which would produce major benefits to the Australian economy.

It would be reasonable for newly arrived immigrants to have to wait two years to receive social welfare benefits or unemployment benefits.

An additional SR-E item was not included in the abridged SR-E scale due to the item being phrased in the ‘first-person’ tense:

I favour laws that permit Aboriginal persons to rent or purchase housing even when the person offering the property for sale or rent does not wish to rent or sell it to Aboriginal people.

It is maintained that the phrasing of this item would not match the overall context and structure of the questionnaire, with all filler items and SR-E items being phrased as attitude statements.²⁰

Student’s Opinions on Current Social Issues (Appendix A). The questionnaire was designed as a non-reactive and non-face valid measure of modern racist attitudes towards Aborigines, Asians and migrants. This was achieved by randomly placing the 10 SR-E scale items along with 32 filler social items within a questionnaire format. The filler items encompassed four current and topical social issues of sex education, environment, the Republic and beauty image. Responses to all items were requested on a 6-point Likert type scale on the following scoring and response format:

²⁰ Following the completion of the present study, Fraser and Islam (2000) published a 9 item Australian Symbolic Racism Scale. The scale contained 9 items from the SR-E (1997) scale. The 10 item abridged SR-E scale in the present study is based on items contained in the SR-E (1997) scale. The Australian Symbolic Racism Scale contains 7 of the items used in current 10 item abridged SR-E scale. The 10 item abridged SR-E scale included only one item on native title and migrant benefits to ensure items were not repetitive in content. Fraser and Islam (2000) selected the alternative native title and migrant benefit items for use in their 9-item SR-E scale. Two items in the current 10 item abridged SR-E scale; "Housing loans and welfare assistance are being given to Aboriginal people" and "New migrant receive benefits" were employed in Fraser and Islam’s (2000) study as measures of race-related relational orientation. In Fraser and Islam’s (2000) study the items measured the degree to which respondents believed other racial groups were receiving benefits and concessions on better terms than other Australians.
1 - Strongly Disagree
2 - Disagree
3 - Moderately Disagree
4 - Moderately Agree
5 - Agree
6 - Strongly Agree

Scores on the abridged SR-E can range from 10 to 60, with higher scores on the SR-E representing modern racist attitudes. Scores were calculated by summing responses to the 10 items.

Demographic Information (Appendix A). Additional questions on the questionnaire asked participants' to provide their gender, age in years and political affiliation. Participants were also asked to provide free - response answers on whether they knew or could guess what the questionnaire was measuring.

Procedure:

University student sample

Participants were tested at prearranged times for an experiment on student's opinions on current social issues. Before commencing the study on social issues, participants were given an informed consent form to sign (Appendix B) and the confidentiality of responses was emphasised by the researcher. Participants were given the ‘Student’s Opinions on Current Social Issues’ questionnaire to complete in a partitioned room, out of sight of the researcher. On completion, participants placed the questionnaire in a sealed envelope.

For participants who completed the test-retest component of the study, a second administration of the ‘Student’s Opinions on Current Social Issues’ questionnaire was conducted following a three-week period. At the original testing, participants were informed they would be completing additional questionnaires during the second experimental session. It was reasoned that the three-week time frame
would be a sufficient period for recall of original responses to be an unlikely factor in participants' subsequent re-test responses. At the original testing, participants were asked to make up a participant code for themselves, which consisted of three letters and three numbers, so the subsequent re-test questionnaire could be linked with the original questionnaire. Administration of the questionnaire followed the same procedure as the first experimental session. However, before administering the questionnaire, Rotter's (1966) Internal-External Locus of Control Scale (I-E scale) was completed by participants as a distracting task to the second administration of the 'social issues' questionnaire\(^{21}\) (Appendix C).

At the conclusion of the study, participants were fully and unambiguously debriefed as to the nature and objectives of the study and thanked for their participation.

**ACT Secondary College student sample**

The study followed the same experimental procedure as described for the University student sample. However, participants were tested in classroom settings of approximately twenty students. Participants did not interact with other students during the completion of the study. Before commencing the study, participants were required to submit an informed consent form signed by themselves and a parent or guardian to participate in the study (Appendix D). The confidential and anonymous nature of responses was emphasised by the researcher. At the conclusion of the study, participants were fully and unambiguously debriefed as to the nature, objectives and theory of the study and thanked for their participation.

\(^{21}\) An exploratory analysis was conducted between external locus of control and modern racism scores. No significant result was found and further analysis of this relationship was not reported in this thesis.
Results

A total of three cases (one in the University and two in the Secondary College samples) were excluded from the study due to the high number of incomplete answers. Item means, standard deviations and item-total correlations of the SR-E items in the University and Secondary College student samples are presented in Table 2. 22

The item-means for the SR-E scale in the University and Secondary College student samples were 3.10 (ranging from 2.56 to 3.52) and 3.20 (ranging from 2.59 to 3.50) respectively. Only moderate variations were found in the endorsement of SR-E items, with most item means falling just under the modern racism midpoint. In both populations, item-total correlations were strong and significant, providing evidence of internal consistency between items on the SR-E scale.

Item intercorrelations and reliability analysis

Intercorrelations between SR-E items in the University and Secondary College student samples are presented in Table 3. In both samples, intercorrelations between the items revealed the SR-E scale items to be relatively homogenous, with moderate to strong, highly significant intercorrelations between the items.

The reliability analysis of the SR-E was conducted using Cronbach’s alpha. The alphas for the SR-E for the University and Secondary College student samples were .89 and .90 respectively, with no item in the scale detracting from the obtained alphas. The obtained alphas indicated strong internal consistency between the items measuring racial prejudice towards Aborigines, Asians and migrants.

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22 Item-means are discussed in further detail (in terms of prevalence) in the next chapter (5).
Table 2
University and Secondary College students' SR-E item-means, standard deviations and item-total correlations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>University sample</th>
<th>Secondary College sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrants should adapt to mainstream cultural values</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>1.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing loans and welfare assistance</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>1.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money given directly to Aborigines</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td>1.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providing welfare stops self reliance</td>
<td>3.21</td>
<td>1.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New migrants to Australia receive benefits</td>
<td>3.16</td>
<td>1.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too much money spent on welfare/housing for Aboriginals</td>
<td>3.12</td>
<td>1.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian culture would be weakened</td>
<td>3.06</td>
<td>1.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aborigines not trying hard enough</td>
<td>2.79</td>
<td>1.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is too much emphasis on multiculturalism</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>1.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginals influence on mining and pastoral</td>
<td>2.56</td>
<td>1.17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Scores on each item range from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree).
Note: * Correlation is significant at p < .001.
Note: Presentation of item-means based on the descending order of means from the University sample.
Table 3
Intercorrelations among items of SR-E Scale: University and Secondary College student samples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Money given To Aborigines.</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.401*</td>
<td>.403*</td>
<td>.505*</td>
<td>.499*</td>
<td>.401*</td>
<td>.514*</td>
<td>.594*</td>
<td>.646*</td>
<td>.291*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Aust. culture would be weakened.</td>
<td>.368*</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.542*</td>
<td>.469*</td>
<td>.454*</td>
<td>.510*</td>
<td>.453*</td>
<td>.480*</td>
<td>.480*</td>
<td>.418*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Too much emphasis on multiculturalism</td>
<td>.349*</td>
<td>.503*</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.433*</td>
<td>.466*</td>
<td>.458*</td>
<td>.389*</td>
<td>.394*</td>
<td>.477*</td>
<td>.439*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Housing loans and Welfare assistance</td>
<td>.444*</td>
<td>.390*</td>
<td>.308*</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.515*</td>
<td>.422*</td>
<td>.454*</td>
<td>.599*</td>
<td>.621*</td>
<td>.338*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. More influence on mining and pastoral</td>
<td>.359*</td>
<td>.404*</td>
<td>.416*</td>
<td>.426*</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.358*</td>
<td>.441*</td>
<td>.632*</td>
<td>.654*</td>
<td>.296*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. New migrants to Australia receive benefits.</td>
<td>.347*</td>
<td>.434*</td>
<td>.352*</td>
<td>.390*</td>
<td>.370*</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.467*</td>
<td>.392*</td>
<td>.461*</td>
<td>.469*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Providing welfare stops self-reliance</td>
<td>.446*</td>
<td>.379*</td>
<td>.408*</td>
<td>.449*</td>
<td>.557*</td>
<td>.349*</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.581*</td>
<td>.610*</td>
<td>.367*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Not trying hard enough.</td>
<td>.490*</td>
<td>.405*</td>
<td>.468*</td>
<td>.415*</td>
<td>.608*</td>
<td>.452*</td>
<td>.629*</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.581*</td>
<td>.417*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Too much money spent on welfare and housing for Aborigines</td>
<td>.561*</td>
<td>.465*</td>
<td>.528*</td>
<td>.600*</td>
<td>.621*</td>
<td>.497*</td>
<td>.635*</td>
<td>.702*</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>.351*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Migrants should adapt mainstream cultural values.</td>
<td>.366*</td>
<td>.507*</td>
<td>.431*</td>
<td>.371*</td>
<td>.392*</td>
<td>.402*</td>
<td>.289*</td>
<td>.406*</td>
<td>.351*</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: * Correlation is significant at p < .001.
Note: University SR-E intercorrelations bottom left triangle. Secondary College SR-E intercorrelations top right triangle.
Factor analyses of the SR-E

SR-E items and the corresponding factor loadings for the University and Secondary College student samples are presented in Table 4.

Table 4

Factor loadings for SR-E items: University and Secondary College student samples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>University Component 1</th>
<th>Secondary College Component 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Too much money spent on welfare/housing for Aboriginals</td>
<td>.879</td>
<td>.842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not trying hard enough</td>
<td>.777</td>
<td>.811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal influence on mining and pastoral reliance</td>
<td>.698</td>
<td>.745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providing welfare for Aboriginal groups; sell reliance</td>
<td>.697</td>
<td>.742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian culture would be weakened</td>
<td>.624</td>
<td>.732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing loan and welfare assistance</td>
<td>.622</td>
<td>.731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is too much emphasis on multiculturalism</td>
<td>.616</td>
<td>.712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money given directly to Aborigines</td>
<td>.614</td>
<td>.679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrants should adapt to mainstream cultural values</td>
<td>.593</td>
<td>.668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New migrants to Australia receive benefits</td>
<td>.584</td>
<td>.581</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Extraction Method: Principal Component
Note: Presentation of factor loadings based on the descending order of loadings from the University sample.

Exploratory factor analyses were conducted on the SR-E to ensure that items from the scale tapped into the same modern racist construct. The factor analysis in the University student sample was conducted on a 25:1 participant to item ratio, and satisfied the assumptions of Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity (1102.9, p = .0001) and Kasier Meyer-Olkin measure of Sampling Adequacy (0.915). The principal component method was used to extract factors. The scree plot suggested only one meaningful factor, which was supported with only one Eigenvalue greater
than one. Factor loadings were all high (the lowest was .584) and the factors explained 50.84% of the variance.

An exploratory factor analysis conducted in the ACT Secondary College student sample revealed equivalent findings for the SR-E scale. All assumptions of factor analysis were met; participant to item ratio of 24:1, Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity (1159.4, p = .0001) and Kasier Meyer-Oljin measure of Sampling Adequacy (.919). Factor loadings all on one factor were high (the lowest was .581), and the factors explained 52.94% of the variance.

Test-re-test reliability and reactivity measures of the SR-E scale

Two administrations of the SR-E to University participants over a three-week period produced a test-retest correlation coefficient of .904 (p = .0001) The highly significant and strong correlation between two SR-E administrations, revealed scores on the second testing were highly predictive from the original testing.

Participants’ free-response answers in identifying the nature of the attitudes measured by the ‘social issues’ questionnaire revealed only three respondents (two in the University and one in the Secondary College samples) correctly identified the nature of the questionnaire as measuring racial attitudes. The data of the three respondents who correctly identified the nature of the questionnaire were disregarded and not used in the empirical study. The percentage of participants who correctly identified the nature of the questionnaire equates to 0.61% of the total populations tested. A descriptive analysis of the common themes reported by participants in their free-response answers to identifying the nature of the attitude being measured, are presented in Figure 1.
Note: Free-responses to the question: “Do you know or can you guess what this questionnaire is measuring?”

Response Type 1: No.
Response Type 2: Student’s opinions on the 5 social issues.
Response Type 3: Student’s moral and political opinions.
Response Type 4: Student’s knowledge of social issues.
Response Type 5: Attitudes are related to political party affiliation.
Response Type 6: Relationship between attitudes on different social issues.
Response Type 7: Consistency in answering differently worded questions.
Response Type 8: Measurement of racial attitudes.

Figure 1
Percentage of common responses reported by participants in identifying the nature of the ‘social issues’ questionnaire
Discussion

The present study aimed to further establish the psychometric properties of the SR-E as a measure of modern racist attitudes in an Australian context. The SR-E was administered to two populations; University and Secondary College student populations. The psychometric data from the two population samples revealed good measures of reliability for the SR-E as a measure of modern racist attitudes. Consistent with Fraser and Islam’s (1997a,1997b) research, the study revealed high levels of internal consistency between the items measuring modern racist attitudes. In both samples, the SR-E was unifactorial, indicating SR-E items tapped into the same modern racist construct. The homogeneous nature of items on the SR-E provided evidence of the scale’s construct validity in measuring modern racist attitudes. The present research, in addition to Fraser and Islam’s research, has demonstrated good psychometric properties of the SR-E across a number of populations; University, Secondary College and general populations. Thus, the psychometric data of the current study provided additional evidence of the reliability of the SR-E in measuring Australian contemporary racial attitudes. Establishing reliable and valid instruments to measure contemporary racist attitudes are essential for prejudice research to further the understanding of the nature and behavioural outcomes (discrimination) of contemporary racist attitudes. Furthermore, reliable and valid instruments are essential to establish accurate baselines of racial attitudes, in order to determine the extent and prevalence of contemporary racist attitudes in Australia.

Supporting the study’s prediction, high test-retest reliability was found over two testings, indicating original scores on the SR-E to be highly predictive of subsequent SR-E scores three weeks later. In addition, this result revealed high temporal stability of modern racist attitudes over the experimental time frame. The highly predictive nature of original scores on the SR-E to scores measured three weeks later, provided evidence to support the ‘Student’s Opinions on
Current Social Issues’ questionnaire as a non-face valid context to measure modern racist attitudes. The consistency in participants’ responses suggests participants were answering the questionnaire naturalistically and had not detected the nature or purpose of the questionnaire by or during the second testing. This assertion is further supported by the negligible free-response identification percentage (0.61%) in detecting the nature of attitude being measured by the ‘social issues’ questionnaire. The present findings promote the use of filler items in a questionnaire format to adequately conceal modern racism scales, as a technique in addressing the potential limitations of self-report measures. The development and empirical application of such techniques to reduce the reactivity and social desirability concerns of self-report measures of modern racism, establishes additional foundations for the reliable measurement of contemporary racist attitudes.
Chapter 5

Study 2 and Study 3: The Nature, Prevalence and Sources of Modern Racist Attitudes, and associated Discriminatory Behaviours

Study 2 and Study 3 were designed to investigate the prevalence, sources, nature and associated discriminatory behaviours of contemporary racial prejudice in an Australian context. In response to theories of contemporary racial prejudice being predominantly developed and empirically tested in an American context, it is important to further establish evidence of the nature and tenets of modern racist attitudes prevailing in Australian populations. By understanding the nature of contemporary racial prejudice, we can become better equipped to develop techniques and avenues to achieve goals of reducing racially prejudiced attitudes. Study 2 aimed to establish the prevalence and nature of modern racist attitudes in University and ACT Secondary College student samples. Furthermore, Study 2 sought to explore demographic and political factors as potential sources of modern racist attitudes. In choosing student populations to investigate contemporary racial prejudice, it was reasoned that feelings of racial ambivalence would manifest in student environments. It was reasoned that the desire for students holding negative racial affect to maintain a non-prejudiced self-image would be intensified in a student environment. Study 3 sought to investigate the relationship between modern racist attitudes and subsequent discriminatory behaviours. In accordance with theoretical and empirical modern racism research, the study aimed to establish the existence and strength of modern racists’ discriminatory behaviours in conditions of low racial salience. In turn, the study aimed to present Australian empirical evidence of the conditions in which modern racists’ discriminatory behaviours exist.
Overview of Study 2

The principal aim of Study 2 was to investigate the nature, prevalence and potential sources of modern racial prejudice in an Australian context. Research analysing the nature of contemporary racial attitudes in Australia has revealed key features and tenets of modern racist attitudes. Through the analysis of One Nation's racial policies presented in this thesis, and in concord with Fraser and Islam's (1997b) research relating modern racist attitudes with One Nation supporters, the rise and support of One Nation has revealed key features of modern racist attitudes prevailing in Australian society. Key features consistent with modern racist tenets include: denial of discrimination, antagonism towards minority racial groups demands, resentment towards special concessions for Aborigines and 'reverse' racism undermining the principle of equality for all. These modern racism tenets were also found to be prevalent in research conducted by Larsen's (1981) and Augoustinos et al.'s (1999) analyses of the content of racial attitudes in Australian populations. The present experiment sought to provide further empirical research of the nature and tenets of modern racism endorsed by Australian populations. Furthermore, in light of the potential for inherent differences to exist between the United States and Australia, it is important to establish the applicability of contemporary theories of modern racism for Australian prejudice research.

Measurement of contemporary racist attitudes is important for establishing baseline measures of racial prejudice in Australia, and in turn, determine necessity for change. Only a limited number of empirical studies (for example, Augoustinos et al., 1994; Pedersen et al., 2000; Pedersen & Walker, 1997; Walker, 1994) have been conducted into the prevalence of contemporary racist attitudes in Australian populations. These Australian findings need to be interpreted in the context of the population being measured (i.e. University or general populations) and the instrument employed to measure racial attitudes. As discussed in the
previous chapter, contemporary racism research has been predominantly conducted using adapted versions of the MRS or reworked traditional items. This thesis has raised potential limitations in the use of traditional or adapted scales in the measurement of contemporary racist attitudes in Australia. In addressing this issue and furthering Australian baselines of contemporary racist attitudes, the present study sought to measure the prevalence of modern racist attitudes in University and ACT Secondary College student populations. To the author's knowledge, modern racist attitudes have yet to be measured in a Secondary College or an equivalent high school population. Attitudes were measured using the SR-E as a current Australian measure of contemporary racial attitudes.

Research exploring the potential sources of modern racist attitudes furthers the development of an integral theoretical framework of modern racism. Sources associated with modern racist attitudes reveal and identify related attributes, predispositions and characteristics of the construct. Previous Australian research (Augoustinos et al., 1994; Pedersen et al., 2000; Pedersen & Walker, 1997; Walker, 1994) has revealed a number of findings in relation to the sources of modern racist attitudes. Regarding demographic sources, research has revealed mixed results for gender and the prevalence of modern racist attitudes. However, research (Augoustinos et al., 1994, Pedersen & Walker, 1997; Walker, 1994) has revealed males to be significantly less racially tolerant than females.

In relation to age, Walker (1994) reported younger respondents expressed significantly less negative racial attitudes in comparison to older respondents. The negative relationship between modern racism and age is consistent with contemporary theories of racial prejudice maintaining political and racial socialisation as a source of negative affect towards minority racial groups. In other words, younger Australians have been brought up in a social and political environment in which racial prejudice and discrimination have been not only illegal, but also
socially unacceptable. Thus, the experience of political and racial socialisation as a source of negative affect has been significantly reduced for younger generations. However, subsequent research conducted by Pedersen and Walker (1997) found no relationship between respondents’ age and modern racist attitudes. The present study aimed to further investigate the relationship between age and modern racist attitudes.

A further potential source of modern racist attitudes explored by the present study was political affiliation. Walker’s (1994) research investigating political affiliation as a source of contemporary racial prejudice, found participants affiliated with conservative orientated parties (National and Liberal) reported more negative racial attitudes towards Aboriginal Australians in comparison to participants affiliated with less conservative orientated parties (Greens). Subsequent research by Pedersen and Walker (1997) found a significant relationship between modern racist attitudes and affiliation with a conservative political position. Study 2 aimed to provide further support of political party affiliation as a potential source of modern racist attitudes.

It is important to note however, that socio-demographic variables (for example, age, gender, political affiliation) are often not as strong predictors as socio-psychological variables (for example, belief orientations), with the former variable’s relationships with modern racism often being small (Pedersen et al., 2000; Pedersen & Walker, 1997). This study aimed to provide further research to assess the importance of socio-demographic variables in relation to modern racist attitudes.

Aims and Predictions

Study 2 aimed to investigate the prevalence and nature of modern racist attitudes in an Australian context. Therefore:
1. An exploratory analysis of the prevalence of modern racist attitudes was conducted in University and ACT Secondary College student populations to establish baseline attitudinal measures of the prevalence and extent of modern racist attitudes in Australian populations.

2. An exploratory analysis of the nature of modern racist attitudes was conducted to confirm the theoretical applicability of modern racism for Australian populations, and in turn, establish the tenets and beliefs of modern racism strongly endorsed by Australian populations.

In addition, the study aimed to explore demographic and political factors as potential sources of modern racist attitudes. Therefore:

3. An exploratory analysis was conducted to provide further empirical evidence of the prevalence of modern racist attitudes held by male and female participants.

4. In accordance with contemporary theories of racial prejudice maintaining racial socialisation as a source of negative affect towards minority racial groups, it is predicted that younger participants will express more positive racial attitudes in comparison to older participants. In addition, it is predicted that ACT Secondary College students will express relatively low levels of modern racist attitudes in comparison to the modern racism midpoint.

5. Modern racist attitudes are predicted to be significantly higher in participants affiliated with more conservative orientated political parties in comparison to participants affiliated with more liberal and socialist orientated parties.
Method

Participants

University student sample

The university students participating in the study were the same sample of participants as described in Study 1.

ACT Secondary College sample

The ACT Secondary College students participating in the study were the same sample of participants as described in Study 1.

Stimulus material

Symbolic Racism Extended Scale (Appendix A). The Symbolic Racism Extended Scale (SR-E) was used as a measure of modern racist attitudes. The SR-E scale items were concealed in the ‘Student’s Opinions on Current Social Issues’ questionnaire (as reported in Study 1).

Demographic Information (Appendix A). Additional questions on the questionnaire asked participant’s to provide their gender, age in years and political affiliation. Participants were also asked to provide free response answers on whether they knew or could guess what the questionnaire was measuring.

Procedure

The study followed the same procedure as that described for Study 1 for the University and ACT Secondary College student samples.
Results

Prevalence of modern racist attitudes

A total of three cases (one in the University and two in the Secondary College sample) were excluded from the study due to high numbers of incomplete answers. A modern racism score for each participant was obtained from the 10 item abridged SR-E scale, with a theoretical range of 10 (low prejudice) to 60 (high prejudice). In the University sample actual scores on the abridged SR-E ranged from 10 to 59. The mean modern racism score was 31 (SD = 9.62), revealing over one-third of participants scored above the modern racism midpoint. In the ACT Secondary College student sample actual scores on the SR-E ranged from 11 to 60. Comparable to the University sample, the mean modern racism score was 32 (SD = 10.11). Both populations revealed a sizeable prevalence of modern racist attitudes.

Nature of modern racist attitudes

The SR-E revealed key features of modern racist attitudes endorsed by the University and Secondary College student samples. A number of items on the SR-E received considerable endorsement by participants. The mean scores, standard deviations and percentage of participant agreement (item score of 4, 5 and 6) for each SR-E item in the University and Secondary College samples are listed in Table 5. The three most strongly endorsed SR-E items were the same for both samples, namely ‘New migrants should be willing to adapt’, ‘Housing loans and welfare assistance’ and ‘Money given directly to Aborigines’.
### Table 5
**University and Secondary College students’ item means and percentage of agreement with SR-E items**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>University sample</th>
<th>Secondary College sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Item-mean</td>
<td>% of agreement with item</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrants should adapt to mainstream cultural values</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>54.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing loans and welfare assistance</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>46.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money given directly to Aborigines</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td>46.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providing welfare stops self reliance</td>
<td>3.21</td>
<td>42.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New migrants to Australia receive benefits</td>
<td>3.16</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too much money spent on welfare/housing for Aboriginals</td>
<td>3.12</td>
<td>38.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian culture would be weakened</td>
<td>3.06</td>
<td>39.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aborigines not trying hard enough</td>
<td>2.79</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is too much emphasis on multiculturalism</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>26.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginals influence on mining and pastoral</td>
<td>2.56</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Scores on each item range from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree).

**Note:** Agreement with each item encompasses item scores of 4, 5 and 6.

**Note:** Presentation of item-means based on the descending order of means from the University sample.

### Potential sources of modern racist attitudes

Modern racism scores were analysed for differences in relation to gender, age and political affiliation. No significant differences were found between males and female’s modern racist attitudes in the University (Ms = 30.69 and 30.97 for males and females respectively, t (248) = .218, p = .827) and Secondary College student (Ms = 32.08 and 31.67 for males and
females respectively, \( t(240) = .279, p = .780 \) samples.

In the University sample, participant’s age was negatively correlated with modern racism scores \( (r(249) = -.140, p = .027) \), indicating younger participants were reporting higher modern racism attitudes in comparison to older participants. In response to the skewed age distribution towards younger participants in the University student sample (\( M = 23.13 \) years), age and modern racism were also analysed through age group sub-samples. Twenty percent of participant’s lowest and highest ages were selected to be analysed in relation to age and modern racist attitudes. Fifty participants formed each age group, with age ranges in the younger and older groups being 17 - 18 years and 30 - 56 years respectively. A significant difference \( (t(98) = 2.84, p = .006) \) was found between the mean modern racist scores in the younger (\( M = 34.20 \)) and older (\( M = 28.54 \)) age groups, revealing younger participants expressing significantly more negative racial attitudes in comparison to older participants.

A one-way ANOVA was conducted to analyse modern racism and political affiliation. Modern racism scores and political party affiliation in the University student population produced a significant effect \( (F(6, 243) = 3.87, p = .001) \). Post Hoc comparisons revealed Liberal supporters (\( M = 35.44 \)) scored significantly higher on the SR-E in comparison to Labor and Democrat supporters (\( Ms = 28.36 \) and 27.24 respectively). No significant effect was found between political affiliation and modern racism scores in the Secondary College population \( (F(5, 236) = 2.23, p = .502) \). Over one-half of Secondary College participants reported no affiliation with any political party in the study.
Discussion

Study 2 encompassed two aims in investigating the prevalence, nature and sources of modern racial prejudice in an Australian context. The study aimed to investigate the prevalence of modern racist attitudes in University and ACT Secondary College samples, and in turn, analyse the nature of Australian racist attitudes through the tenets endorsed by the samples. Furthermore, the study aimed to explore demographic and political sources of modern racist attitudes. Empirical evidence for the exploratory analyses and some support for the predictions were found by the present study.

Prevalence of modern racist attitudes

A sizeable proportion of modern racist attitudes was detected in both samples. Over one-third of participants in the University (38%) and Secondary College (39%) student samples scored above the modern racism midpoint, indicating that they endorsed the modern racism items. The sizeable proportion of modern racist attitudes expressed by University students is in contrast to Augoustinos et al.'s (1994) research that identified relatively low levels of contemporary racial prejudice in a University student sample. The variation in reported prevalence in the University samples may be due to differences in the instrument employed to measure racial attitudes between the two studies. The SR-E used in the present study, in contrast to the adapted MRS employed by Augoustinos et al.'s research, may have more accurately detected modern racist attitudes through the relevant and current nature of SR-E items for Australian populations. Thus, modern racist attitudes detected in Augoustinos et al.'s research may have been underestimated due to adapted MRS items not adequately addressing issues and attitudes specific to the racial climate in Australia.

The rise in modern racist attitudes detected in the current University sample may also
reflect the rise and support for the *One Nation* political party following Augoustinos et al.'s (1994) study. Support for *One Nation's* tenets and policies following the party's formation in 1996 could have arguably provided a legitimate basis for the expression of modern racist attitudes amongst high prejudiced university students.

Baseline measures of modern racist attitudes revealed a concerning prevalence of modern racist attitudes in both student samples. It is important to note however, that the prevalence of modern racist attitudes detected in the student samples is lower than prevalence rates reported in community samples. For example, Pedersen and Walker (1997) reported the prevalence of modern racist attitudes in a Perth metropolitan sample to be 57.9%.

In relation to the University sample, the sizeable prevalence of modern racist attitudes is concerning in a population that is arguably more liberal in attitudes. Furthermore, the multicultural nature of the University of Canberra's campus would maintain considerable contact with students from other races and cultures. Likewise, the Secondary Colleges participating in the experiment encompassed large student populations, comprising of students from many different cultures and races. The expression of modern racist attitudes in University and Secondary College student samples supports the assumption that student environments may intensify feelings of racial ambivalence. The desire to maintain a non-prejudiced self-image, despite feelings of negative affect, could create strong feelings of racial ambivalence in the student populations. The environment may place extra pressure on racially prejudiced students to vigilantly guard against any behaviour or transgression that could be attributed as prejudiced by other students and peers. Thus, negative affect towards minority racial groups is expressed in subtle and indirect ways, consistent with the ambivalence of modern racist attitudes.
The nature of modern racism in an Australian context

The SR-E revealed key features of modern racist tenets endorsed by the University student sample. Modern racism items receiving the strongest endorsement were as follows (percentage of agreement for each item in the parenthesis):

New migrants from other cultures should be willing to adapt to the mainstream cultural values of Australia (54.4%).

Housing loans and welfare assistance are being given to Aboriginal people on much better terms than to other Australians (46.8%).

Money given directly to Aboriginal groups for housing and health programs is often wasted because they cannot properly manage it (46.8%).

Providing welfare for Aboriginal groups stops them from developing any self-reliance (42.8%).

Equivalent endorsement of modern racism items were found in the Secondary College student sample, with ‘New migrants should be willing to adapt’ (52.5%), ‘Housing loans and welfare assistance’ (52.5%) and ‘Money given directly to Aboriginal groups’ (46.3%) receiving the strongest endorsement. The items receiving the strongest endorsement by participants reflected common themes of equity, resentment towards monetary concessions and the perceived negative impact of migrants on Australian culture. These themes are consistent with key modern racist tenets and attitudes.

SR-E items receiving strong endorsement reflected support for the principle of equality for all, regardless of race. This belief creates resentment towards monetary concessions and special programs given to Aborigines, with Aborigines perceived to want more opportunities than other Australians. Furthermore, concessions given to Aborigines are seen to provide benefits for those who haven’t earned them through individual achievement or hard work. These beliefs are consistent with the moral values of self-reliance and individualism embodied in the Protestant work ethic. Resentment towards the concessions and over-generous treatment given to
Aborigines were also reflected in the 1996 Herald AGB - McNair poll, which found over half the respondents (55%) believed Aborigines were receiving over-generous treatment by the Federal Government ("Nation divided over Hanson Agenda", November 1996). Thus, resentment towards monetary concessions and special programs given to Aborigines appear to manifest through the perception that they violate the principal of equality for all and the moral values of self-reliance and individualism.

Resentment detected in the sample towards the concessions and special programs given to Aborigines is an issue of concern, given by all objective measures, Aborigines are undoubtedly the most disadvantaged people in Australia (ABS, 1999). Aborigines experience disproportionately higher levels of unemployment, poverty and illness. Given the economic, social and physical disadvantages experienced by Aborigines, resentment towards special programs and concessions given to Aborigines may stem from underlying feelings of negative affect or misinformed feelings of relative deprivation for the ingroup. Misinformed feelings of relative deprivation may manifest from false beliefs held about Aboriginal Australians. Pedersen et al.'s (2000) research revealed false beliefs, concerning government concessions for Aborigines, were significantly related to modern racist attitudes. Thus, a union of negative affect and feelings of relative deprivation for the ingroup are argued to be important features of the nature of racist attitudes in an Australian context.

The second major racial theme that emerged was support for assimilation. This tenet received the strongest endorsement from both populations, with over one-half of participants supporting the assimilation of migrants into mainstream Australian culture and values. This ethnocentric view indicates support for a superordinate (but not necessary inclusive) identity of Australians. The culture and beliefs of migrants are perceived to be a threat to traditional values held by ‘mainstream’ Australians. The tenet of assimilation is strongly endorsed by Pauline
Hanson (1996) through her assertion that “a truly multicultural society can never be strong or united” (p.3862), and to be truly united “we must have one people, one nation” (p.3861). The endorsement of assimilation in contemporary racial attitudes was also detected in Augoustinos et al.’s (1999) research on the content of racial discourse. Participants identified sub-culture identities as a threat to the unity of Australian culture and identity. The considerable endorsement of assimilation is concerning for a multicultural Australia, through supporting unity by means of a superordinate Australian identity, rather than achieving unity through diversity. Assimilation undermines the legitimacy, acknowledgment and affirmation of migrants’ cultural and social identities (Augoustinos et al.). Furthermore, assimilation undermines the existence and prevalence of dual-cultural identities existing in Australian society.

Analyses of modern racist attitudes in Australian populations revealed the tenets of equality for all, resentment towards monetary concessions and perceived negative impact of migrants on Australian culture were significant features of Australian contemporary racist attitudes. The nature of modern racist attitudes maintains clear consistencies with the theory of modern racism developed in the United States. Resentment over special concessions for Aborigines, individualism and self-reliance all reflect principal modern racist tenets and beliefs. In the context of race relations in Australia, ethnocentric views were expressed in support of a superordinate Australian identity, to reduce the perceived negative impact of migrants on Australian culture. Thus, analysis of contemporary racist attitudes provides evidence of a form of modern racism existing in an Australian context and support for the applicability of the modern racism construct for Australian prejudice research.

The student sample in the present study provided insights into the prevalence and nature of modern racist attitudes in an Australian context. However, it is important to recognise that
these findings may not be representative of the nature of racial attitudes in other populations, for example populations identifying with more conservative views and policies. Furthermore, racial attitudes in different regions of Australia, for example regions with higher Aboriginal populations, may not reflect the racial attitudes detected and expressed in the Canberra region. Thus, when interpreting and generalising the findings of the present study it should be kept in mind that the expression of racial attitudes were drawn from a population sample of University and Secondary College students in the Canberra region.

**Potential sources of modern racist attitudes**

**Gender**

This study sought to provide further empirical evidence of the prevalence of modern racist attitudes held by male and female participants. Australian research has yielded mixed results in relation to gender and modern racist attitudes. The present study found no significant difference in the prevalence of modern racist attitudes between males and females participants in the University or Secondary College student samples. This result is in contrast to findings by Augoustinos et al. (1994) (using a population sample of University students), Pedersen and Walker (1997) and Walker (1994) that revealed males to be significantly less racially tolerant than females. Although Pedersen and Walker have argued that socio-demographic variables (such as gender) tend to be less strong predictors of modern racist attitudes than other variables (e.g., socio-psychological variables).

Theories of contemporary racial prejudice maintain negative affect towards minority racial groups is formed from sources such as cognitive mechanisms and racial socialisation. Thus, it is argued that males and females would experience equivalent sources of negative affect in the formation of contemporary racist attitudes, supporting the present finding of no difference
existing between gender and modern racist attitudes. However, a potential limitation of generalising the present findings to previous research relates to the ratio of females to males participants in the study (2:1 respectively). The lower ratio of males in comparison to females may have resulted in a difference in modern racist attitudes not being detected.

**Age**

This study predicted that younger participants would report more positive racial attitudes in comparison to older participants. A significant difference in modern racist attitudes between younger and older participants in the university sample was found in the present study, however, not in the direction predicted by the study. Younger participants expressed significantly more negative racial attitudes in comparison to older participants. This result stands in contrast to theories of contemporary racial prejudice that maintain racial socialisation as a source of negative affect towards minority racial groups. Although younger participants (17 to 18 years) have been brought up in a social and political environment where the open expression of racial prejudice and acts of racial discrimination have been socially unacceptable and illegal, younger participants reported significantly more negative racial attitudes towards Aborigines, Asians and migrants. This pattern was also reflected in the Secondary College student sample, which revealed over one-third of students scoring above the modern racism midpoint. Thus, the decrement in racial socialisation as a source of negative affect for younger participants did not result in more positive racial attitudes.

The negative relationship between age and modern racist attitudes revealed in the present study is in contrast to findings by Walker (1994) that found younger respondents expressed significantly less negative racial attitudes in comparison to older respondents. The disparity between the findings may reflect differences in populations tested (University sample in the present sample and Walker’s random sample from the Perth metropolitan area). Older
participants in the University sample may have obtained higher levels of education, which Pedersen and Walker (1997) found to negatively correlated with modern racist attitudes. The educational levels of older participants may have created a methodological limitation for the present study. It is suggested that future studies could measure the educational attainments of participants from bio-data information, to investigate whether this factor is influencing the lower levels of modern racist attitudes detected in older participants. The higher prevalence of positive racial attitudes reported by older participants in the present study may also be a reflection of increased contact and interaction with minority group members through social and work environments. Contact with minority group members and racial attitudes is another important area for future prejudice research to fully comprehend the significantly lower levels of modern racist attitudes reported by older participants in the present study.

The higher prevalence of modern racism detected in younger participants suggests additional sources of negative affect in the formation of modern racist attitudes. For example, socialisation by family and peers may be just as influential as racial socialisation as a source of negative affect towards minority racial groups. In a study on the transmission of values, Rohan and Zanna (1996) observed a moderate correlation between parents’ and their adult children’s scores on a self-report measure of racial prejudice. The present findings’ disparities with racial socialisation as a source of negative affect illustrates the need for continued research into the development and nature of contemporary racist attitudes. In light of contemporary theories of racial prejudice being developed in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the sources of modern racist attitudes may continue to change with upcoming generations. Future research needs to explore contemporary sources of negative racial affect in younger generations to break the continuum of racial prejudice in Australian populations.
Political party affiliation

Supporting the experiment’s prediction, and consistent with Walker’s (1994) and Pedersen and Walker’s (1997) research, modern racist attitudes were found to be significantly higher in University students affiliated with conservative political parties in comparison to students affiliated with more liberal and socialist parties. The study found that Liberal party supporters reported significantly higher modern racist attitudes in comparison to Labor and Democrat party supporters. The differences in modern racist attitudes and political affiliation are argued to stem from the ideological foundations of the political parties. Liberal party ideology encompasses ideals such as individualism and economic rationalism, whereas Labor and Democrat ideologies encompass a mixture of social justice and egalitarianism tenets (Singleton, Aitkin, Jinks & Warhurst, 1996). Thus, it is reasoned that a propensity to hold the ideological beliefs of social justice and egalitarianism would result in the formation of more positive racial attitudes in comparison to holding beliefs supporting the notion of individualism.

The above-discussed findings of the potential sources, while providing further empirical evidence of the theoretical framework of modern racist attitudes, maintain limitations in terms of generalising results and direction of causality. Akin with the findings of the nature and prevalence of modern racist attitudes, the sample was a university population, therefore bringing into question the ability to generalise results to the wider Australian community. Furthermore, correlates of the potential sources of modern racist attitudes cannot determine the direction of the relationship or causality between the potential source and modern racism.

Overview of Study 3

The principal aim of Study 3 was to investigate the relationship between modern racist
attitudes and subsequent discriminatory behaviours. Whilst Study 2 analysed the nature of modern racist attitudes, Study 3 aimed to investigate the associated behavioural outcomes (discrimination) of modern racism. To the author’s knowledge, the discriminatory behaviours of modern racists in an employment context have yet to be investigated in an Australian setting. The study also aimed to provide further evidence of the construct validity of the SR-E through predicting discriminatory behaviours of high prejudiced participants within the theoretical framework of modern racism, as determined by scores on the SR-E.

In accordance with theoretical and empirical modern racism research, the study aimed to determine under what conditions, and to what extent, modern racists’ discriminatory behaviours exist in an Australian context. As previously discussed, modern racist attitudes are expressed in ways that protect and preserve the modern racist’s non-prejudiced self-image (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986b). For example, agreement with a modern racism item is expressed and justified through a conceivable, non-racial explanation for endorsing the item. Thus, negative attitudes toward minority racial groups are expressed through a perceivably socially acceptable pretext. Akin to the expression of modern racist attitudes, discriminatory behaviours occur under similar conditions. Modern racists’ discriminatory behaviours emerge under conditions in which a plausible, non-racial justification can be invoked for an act of discrimination against a minority racial group member.

Unlike the uniform and overt pattern of discrimination displayed by old-fashioned racists, the pattern of contemporary discrimination is more difficult to identify. The difficulty arises from the ambivalence of modern racist attitudes, which results in discrimination occurring primarily under certain conditions and situations. Discriminatory behaviours are expressed in situations where there exists plausible, non-racial explanations for a behaviour or action that may be considered racist (McConahay, 1986). Thus, subtle and covert acts of discrimination protect
modern racists from self or other-generated attributions of being racially prejudiced.

The empirical findings from Gaertner et al.’s (1982) and Brief et al.’s (2000) research have demonstrated situational and attributional ambiguity are conditions under which modern racists are likely to express discriminatory behaviours, whilst maintaining a non-prejudiced self-image.

Further situations under which modern racists’ discriminatory behaviours are likely to appear were established by research conducted by McConahay et al. (1983). This research revealed that in situations of low racial salience and low social comparisons modern racists expressed racially discriminatory behaviours. In evaluating the equally average employment resumes of two white and one African American applicants in conditions of low racial salience (i.e. the comparison of race was not obvious), modern racists expressed discriminatory hiring decisions against the African American applicant. However, when race was manipulated to be a salient feature (i.e. comparison between race was obvious), modern racists expressed over-compensatory hiring decisions towards the African American applicant in comparison to the white applicants. For low prejudiced participants, the race of the applicant in both conditions of high and low racial salience did not affect the hiring decisions of the applicants.

Modern racism research has established that in situations where there exists low racial salience, no clear guidelines for social comparison and situational and attributional ambiguity, modern racists are likely to express discriminatory racial behaviours. Due to the ambivalence of modern racist attitudes, the pattern of racial discrimination follows that modern racists will express discriminatory behaviours in interracial situations where the above situations prevail, and will not discriminate in situations where high racial salience and clear guides for social comparisons exist.

The present study aimed to conduct a partial replication of McConahay’s (1983)
experiment to investigate the discriminatory behaviours of modern racists in an Australian setting. Consistent with McConahay's research, the study maintained that conditions of low racial salience would result in the expression of discriminatory behaviours by modern racists. High and low prejudiced participants, as determined by scores on the SR-E, evaluated three equally appealing employment resumes of potential employees. The only notable difference between the employment resumes was the race of the applicants; one Aboriginal Australian and two white Australians. Assuming the role of personnel officer, the participants were asked to evaluate the format, content and presentation of the employment resumes. Evaluation of the resumes was conducted via a questionnaire, which measured amongst filler questions, whether participants would hire the potential employee.

The conceptual use of the term low racial salience in the current experimental design refers to making race less obvious in the employment-hiring task. The obviousness of race, in terms of comparisons of race, was reduced in the experiment to create conditions in which, according to theoretical and empirical research, modern racists would express discriminatory behaviours. Low racial salience was created in the experiment through two principal methods. Firstly, the nature of the experiment was concealed in the pretext of a study on how the presentation, format and content of employment resumes appeal to potential employers. The nature of the experiment was emphasised as an evaluative tool of the format, presentation and content presented and contained in the resumes. Secondly, participants were not informed of the number of resumes that they would be evaluating during the experiment. This measure was implemented to reduce guidelines for comparisons through participants being unaware of the number and nature of resumes being compared in the experiment.

The two described measures were implemented in the design of the experiment to reduce the obviousness of race, in contrast to the order of presentation technique employed in
McConahay's (1983) research, as a result of differences in racial contexts (i.e., Aboriginal and white Australian applicants) between the two studies. Due to the low proportion of Aborigines in Australian populations, presenting an Aboriginal job applicant first may appear as a 'novel' or salient feature of the resumes. However, through presenting the Aboriginal applicant second and not informing participants of the number of resumes that they would be comparing during the study (no clear guidelines for social comparisons) it is reasoned that the obviousness of race would be reduced in the experiment.

The present study also aimed to establish further evidence of the construct validity of the SR-E scale as a measure of modern racist attitudes. High and low prejudiced participants in the study were determined by their scores of the SR-E scale. Theory consistent behavioural outcomes of high and low prejudiced participants in the employment-hiring task would provide evidence to support the construct validity of the SR-E scale as a measure of modern racist attitudes. In other words, high scores on the SR-E should predict discriminatory hiring preferences in conditions of low racial salience.

Aims and predictions

The study aimed to investigate the hiring behaviours of high and low prejudiced participants in conditions of low racial salience. Therefore:

1. It was predicted that high prejudiced participants would express discriminatory employment hiring behaviour against the Aboriginal Australian applicant in comparison to the white Australian applicants.

2. It was predicted that low prejudiced participants would express no difference in employment hiring behaviour between the Aboriginal Australian and white Australian applicants.
Method

Participants

Sixty-four first year Psychology undergraduates (46 females and 18 males) from the University of Canberra participated in the experiment for course credit. The mean age of the participants was 23.73 years (SD = 8.71) ranging from 18 to 56 years. All participation was anonymous and voluntary with approval given by the University of Canberra’s Committee for Ethics in Human Research.

Stimulus material

Symbolic Racism Extended Scale (Appendix A). The Symbolic Racism Extended Scale (SR-E) was used as a measure of modern racist attitudes. The SR-E scale items were concealed in the ‘Student’s Opinions on Current Social Issues’ questionnaire (as outlined in Study 1).

Demographic Information (Appendix A). Additional questions on the questionnaire asked participants to provide their gender, age in years and political affiliation. Participants were also asked to provide free response answers on whether they knew or could guess what the questionnaire was measuring.

Employment Resumes Three similar and comparable employment resumes were created for three potential employees. The employment resumes contained similar information relevant to the applicants’ bio-data, secondary and tertiary education, work experience and attainments. While varying the content across the employment resumes, the content was matched so that all three applicants were equally appealing to the reader. Each resume maintained similar format, font, length and areas of content. Further details relating to the development of the employment resumes and matching of content is discussed in Appendix E.
A pilot study was conducted to test the assumption that the resumes were similar and comparable in content. The aim of the pilot study was to analyse the pattern of mean hiring preference for each employment applicant through the ‘Resume Evaluation Questionnaire’ (to be discussed). Twenty university student volunteers (9 males, 11 females; mean age: 25.45 years) participated in the pilot study which followed the experimental procedure (with the exception of ‘race/nationality’) for administering the employment resumes as outlined in the procedure section (to follow). The resumes were presented to participants in a random order. The results of the pilot study found the mean hiring preference for employment applicants ‘Andrew’, ‘David’ and ‘Robert’ to be 3.60, 3.75 and 3.45 respectively, with no significant difference between the means, F(l,19) = 0.17, p = .845. The similar means for hiring preference between the applicants supports the assumption that the resumes are similar and comparable in content and appeal.

Following the pilot study, race was added to the resumes to create the only notable difference between the three resumes (Appendix F). A ‘Race / Nationality’ section was added to the bio-data of the resumes, creating one Aboriginal Australian and two white Australian applicants. Additionally, the Aboriginal candidate’s surname was replaced with a traditional Aboriginal surname. The addition of race in the resumes created the stimuli for investigating the hiring behaviour of high and low prejudiced participants. The resumes were counterbalanced, with each applicant (David, Robert and Andrew) appearing on all three employment resumes.

Resume Evaluation Questionnaire (Appendix G). The dependent measure was a 5-item questionnaire with responses requested on a 1 - 7 semantic differential - type scale. Items reflected participant’s opinions on the format, content, presentation and hiring preference for each employment applicant. The first four items on the questionnaire were filler questions relating to the format, presentation and content of the resumes. The inclusion of the filler questions was to conceal the objective of the questionnaire in analysing hiring behaviour. The
item that was scored related to hiring preference “Would you hire this applicant?” The scoring
and response format ranged from “definitely would not hire” (1) to “definitely would hire” (7).

**Manipulation Check (Appendix H).** A five-item manipulation check was conducted to
ensure the participants had fully comprehended the race of the applicants. Four items were filler
questions relating to bio-data and educational aspects of the resumes. The question of importance
was “Can you recall the race and nationality of the applicants?” A response of “one Aboriginal
Australian and two white Australians” (in any order) was necessary to obtain a correct response
to the question.

**Procedure**

Participants were tested individually at prearranged times. Upon entry to the testing
room, participants were informed that they would be participating in two unrelated experiments.
The first experiment would involve answering a questionnaire relating to student’s opinions on
current social issues and the second experiment would involve viewing and evaluating
employment resumes. Each experiment would take approximately 20 minutes to complete.

Before commencing the experiment on social issues, participants were given an informed
consent form to sign (Appendix B) and the confidentiality of responses was emphasised by the
researcher. To ensure the anonymity of responses, participants were asked to make up a
participant code for themselves, which consisted of three letters and three numbers. Participants
were given the ‘Student’s Opinions on Current Social Issues’ questionnaire to complete in a
partitioned room, out of sight of the researcher. On completion, the participant placed the
questionnaire in a sealed envelope.

The researcher then thanked the participant for completing the first experiment. The
participant was informed that they would now complete a different experiment being conducted
by a colleague. Participants were informed that the colleague was interested in how the presentation and content of employment resumes may influence or appeal to potential employers.

Participants were informed that they would be viewing a number of employment resumes, and their role would be to act as a personnel officer in evaluating the format, content and presentation of the resumes. This deception was used to conceal the relationship between the measure of modern racism and the subsequent analysis of hiring behaviour through the employment resumes.

To enhance the unrelated nature of the employment-hiring experiment, a second informed consent form was given to participants to sign before commencing the experiment (Appendix I). Participants were individually presented with each resume to read before completing the ‘Resume Evaluation Questionnaire’. The order in which the resumes were presented were as follows; Robert (white Australian), Andrew (Aboriginal Australian) and David (white Australian). After completing the first resume, the questionnaire and resume were collected by the researcher before the next resume was presented. This procedure was repeated until all three resumes were evaluated and completed. Following the presentation of the resumes, a manipulation check was conducted to ensure the participants had fully comprehended the race of each applicant. At the conclusion of the experiments, participants were fully and unambiguously debriefed as to the nature and objectives of the experiment and thanked for their participation. Discussion following the debrief revealed participants were naive to the underlying objectives of the experiment and to the relationship between the SR-E scale and the employment resumes.

Results

All participants correctly responded to the manipulation check, identifying the race and nationality of all three applicants. This result established the manipulation of race in the
A one-way ANOVA was conducted to analyse hiring preference behaviours between high and low prejudiced participants. A score of hiring preference behaviour was created by comparing the hiring preference score for the Aboriginal applicant with hiring preference scores for the two white applicants. This score was obtained by subtracting the average hiring preference for the two white applicants from the hiring preference score of the Aboriginal applicant. This score established whether participants’ hiring preferences compensated, discriminated or showed no difference between the Aboriginal applicant in comparison with the two white applicants. Hiring preference behaviour scores can range between -6 (discrimination) to 6 (compensation), with a midpoint of 0 indicating no difference in hiring preferences between the applicants.

A sub-sample of 50 participants was selected to form the high and low prejudice groups for analysis in the experiment. A sub-sample was selected over an entire sample median split to form the high and low prejudice groups, to ensure participants scoring modern racism scores of 30 and below (moderately disagree) would not be included in the high prejudice group. The high prejudice group consisted of the 25 highest modern racism scores, and conversely the low prejudice group consisted of the 25 lowest modern racism scores. The means for the high and low prejudice groups were 38.32 and 21.60 respectively. The difference in means of the high and low prejudice groups were found to be significantly different, t(48) = 11.55, p = .0001.

The mean hiring preference behaviour scores are presented in Table 6 for high and low prejudiced participants.
Table 6
Mean hiring preference behaviour scores of high and low prejudiced participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prejudice group</th>
<th>Mean hiring preference behaviour scores</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High prejudiced</td>
<td>-0.50 (SD = 1.36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low prejudiced</td>
<td>0.69 (SD = 0.93)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A one-way ANOVA reported a significant difference between hiring preferences of the Aboriginal applicant between the high and low prejudice groups, $F(1,48) = 11.94, p = .001$. High and low prejudiced participants expressed significantly different hiring preference behaviours, with hiring expressed in a discriminatory and compensatory direction respectively. To determine whether the discriminatory and compensatory hiring behaviours of high and low prejudiced participants respectively were significantly different from the midpoint (0) of hiring behaviour scores (no difference in hiring between applicants), a one-sample t-test was conducted for each prejudice group. In the low prejudice group, compensatory hiring preference behaviours were significantly different from the hiring behaviour midpoint, $t(24) = 3.419, p = .002$. The expression of discriminatory behaviours by high prejudiced participants were found to be only marginally significantly different from the midpoint, $t(24) = 1.836, p = .079$.

Discussion

The principal aim of Study 3 was to investigate the discriminatory behaviours of modern racists in conditions where comparison of race was not obvious (low racial salience). The study predicted high prejudiced participants would express discriminatory hiring behaviours in comparison to no difference in hiring behaviours expressed by low prejudiced participants in
hiring an Aboriginal applicant. The study revealed significantly different hiring decisions between high and low prejudiced participants. High prejudiced participant expressed hiring decisions against the Aboriginal applicant in a discriminatory direction (although not significantly), whereas low prejudiced participants expressed hiring decisions towards the Aboriginal applicant in a compensatory direction.

In accordance with the resumes being similar in content and appeal (as established by the pilot study), and the resumes being counterbalanced with each applicant, the difference in hiring preference behaviours is argued to stem from the only notable difference between the resumes, that difference being the race of each applicant. Thus, the pattern of hiring behaviours in the compensatory and discriminatory directions by high and low prejudiced participants respectively, is attributed to the race of the Aboriginal applicant in the employment-hiring task.

The experiment found that low prejudiced participants significantly compensated nearly one preference point higher for the Aboriginal applicant in comparison to the two white applicants. This finding did not support the study’s prediction that race would not be an issue that influenced hiring preference behaviours for low prejudiced participants. Given the similarities and equal appeal of the resumes (with the exception of race) the study predicted that low prejudiced participants would find no basis to discriminate or compensate hiring preferences towards any of the applicants. However, it is not unreasonable to argue that compensatory hiring behaviour is in a direction consistent with low prejudiced attitudes. Low prejudiced participants may have over-compensated hiring preference of nearly one point towards the Aboriginal applicant in response to the unequal representation of Aboriginal Australians in the work force, with the unemployment rate of Indigenous adults currently at 23% (ABS, 1999).

High prejudiced participants expressed one-half point discrimination in hiring preference against the Aboriginal applicant in comparison to the two white applicants. The expression of
discriminatory hiring preferences against the Aboriginal applicant is in a direction consistent with McConahay’s (1983) research that maintained underlying discriminatory behaviours of high prejudiced participants exist in conditions of low racial salience. However, the strength of discriminatory hiring behaviours in the present study was only found to be approaching significance. The present study maintains that the strength of discrimination expressed by high prejudiced participants may have been weakened due to methodological problems in creating conditions of low racial salience in an Australian context.

The difficulty in creating conditions of low racial salience, in relation to white-Aboriginal comparisons, is argued to stem from the highly salient population status of Aborigines in Australian society. Previous research into modern racists’ discriminatory behaviours has been conducted in the context of race relations in the United States. African Americans constitute 14% of the United States population, with figures growing to 20% in Southern States (United States Census Bureau (on-line), 2000). However, in terms of race relations in Australia, Aboriginal Australians constitute 1.1% of the population (0.97% of the ACT population in relation to the present study), making the indigenous status of Aborigines highly salient in the population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1997). In contrast to the present study, McConahay’s (1983) research was conducted in a context that allowed the implementation of low racial salience to be achieved through the employment resumes, due to the proportionately higher population of African Americans in the United States.

The distinction of racial salience raises important issues for the present experiment and for future research relating to the discriminatory behaviours of modern racists in an Australian context. In relation to the present study, although measures were implemented in the design of the experiment to make race less obvious, the highly salient status of Aborigines in Australian society may have limited the effectiveness of these experimental measures. Thus, the potential
for racial salience to have increased in the study may have seen extra pressure placed on high
prejudiced participants to guard against behaviour that may be considered racist, in turn,
reducing the strength of discriminatory behaviours detected in the experiment. The potential
difficulties in creating conditions of low racial salience, as identified by the present experiment,
have important implications for future Australian research analysing the relationship between
modern racist attitudes and the expression of discriminatory behaviours. The highly salient
population status of Aboriginal Australians needs to be taken into account when developing
techniques and scenarios to analyse modern racists’ discriminatory behaviours, without
introducing the potential effect of racial salience into the empirical analysis.

It is acknowledged that varying the order of resume presentation in the study (in
comparison to McConahay’s, 1983, study) could be considered as an alternative explanation for
the present findings. The order of resumes in the present study, reasoned to reduce the
obviousness of race in the employment-hiring task, may have instead increased the salience
(comparisons) of race, reducing the strength of the modern racists’ discriminatory behaviours
detected in the present study.

Furthermore, it is acknowledged that holding a racially prejudiced attitude may not
necessarily result in discriminatory behaviours. This is not to say attitudes are not relevant to
behaviours, rather other variables (for example, situational pressures, subjective norms, self-
monitoring) may overwhelm or counteract the effects of attitudes on subsequent behaviours (see
Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980).

In addition to analysing modern racists’ discriminatory behaviours in conditions of low
racial salience, the present study provided further evidence of the construct validity of the SR-E
as a measure of modern racist attitudes in Australian populations. Low prejudiced participants, as
identified by the SR-E, did not express discriminatory behaviours against the Aboriginal
applicant. Although high prejudiced participants, as identified by the SR-E, only marginally discriminated against the Aboriginal candidate, it is argued that the deficit is not necessarily evidence to interpret the SR-E as an invalid measure of modern racist attitudes. Instead the strength of discriminatory behaviours expressed by modern racists may be the result of the methodological limitations in creating conditions of low racial salience as previously discussed. However, the overall direction of high and low prejudiced participants employment-hiring behaviours (discriminatory and compensatory respectively) provided some construct validity for the SR-E as a measure of modern racist attitudes.

Whilst the present study provided only marginally significant results of modern racists’ discriminatory hiring behaviours, important methodological issues have been raised in creating conditions of low racial salience for Australian prejudice research. Although high prejudiced participants’ discriminatory hiring behaviours were in a direction consistent with modern racism theoretical and empirical research, the strength of the discrimination may have been undermined by difficulties in creating conditions of low racial salience for the Aboriginal employment applicant. This is an important issue to identify in the experimental design of future Australian research analysing modern racists’ discriminatory behaviours.
Chapter 6

Studies 4 and 5: The implicit measurement and content of Australian racial stereotypes

Studies 4 and 5 were designed to investigate the implicit measurement and content of racial stereotypes and the circumstances under which stereotype content may be undermined and changed. The recent trend in prejudice research has been directed towards the development of unobtrusive and implicit measures of contemporary racist attitudes. These measures have been developed to address the potential limitations of explicit measures of racial prejudice, for example, reactivity concerns and social desirability bias. Indirect techniques, namely priming paradigms of racial stereotypes, measure racial attitudes through evaluations that are automatically activated from memory, on the presentation of racial primes (Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Fazio et al., 1995).

However, validity concerns have been directed towards unobtrusive techniques as attitudinal measures, in relation to what it is they are actually measuring. Devine (1989) has argued that stereotypes and personal beliefs are “conceptually distinct cognitive structures” (p.5). While it has been argued that stereotypes are cognitive schemas of categorised group memberships, personal beliefs need to be accepted by individuals as being true (Devine). Following this distinction, Devine has argued that unobtrusive techniques may actually be measuring a person’s knowledge of the primed racial group’s stereotype (automatic process), rather than a person’s prejudicial beliefs (controlled process). Study 4 sought to provide further evidence of this concern in relation to unobtrusive measurement of racial attitudes. The study aimed to analyse high and low prejudiced participants’ implicit knowledge of the cultural stereotypes of Aborigines, Asians and immigrants. Empirical evidence of shared knowledge
structures (stereotypes) between high and low prejudiced individuals would lend support to Devine’s distinction between implicit stereotypes and personal beliefs.

In addition, Study 4 aimed to provide an analysis of the implicit content of Aboriginal, Asian and immigrant cultural stereotypes in Australia. Research has illustrated that when appropriate racial cues are present, racial stereotypes are activated (unintentionally and effortlessly) from memory (Devine & Monteith, 1999; Fazio et al., 1995). Once a stereotype has been activated, and not consciously inhibited, it can have a subsequent role in guiding perceptions and behaviours (Hamilton & Sherman, 1994; Hamilton & Trolier, 1986). Given the subsequent influence of activated stereotypes, it is important to establish the content of racial stereotypes being activated in response to racial cues.

Study 5 aimed to investigate the circumstances under which the content of racial stereotypes can be undermined or changed. The cultural stereotype of Aboriginal Australians was analysed prior to and following the Sydney Olympic Games. The study investigated whether the recategorising of ingroup boundaries and disconfirming stereotypical information relating to Aboriginal Australians, observed in the Olympic Games, would result in changes to the content of the cultural stereotype.

Overview of Study 4

The first aim of Study 4 was to investigate the distinction between stereotypes and personal beliefs, in relation to implicit measures of racial attitudes. Specifically, the study examined whether cultural knowledge of implicit racial stereotypes is independent of prejudicial beliefs (as measured by the SR-E). The trend in prejudice research towards the use of indirect and implicit measurement techniques has occurred in response to the potential limitations of explicit measures of racial attitudes. Explicit measures (for example, self-report and stereotype
adjective checklists) of prejudice can only reveal respondents' explicit and controlled responses, that is what they say their attitudes are. However, indirect techniques aim to measure attitudes implicitly, and in doing so, bypass the individual’s censoring and self-presentation biases. Indirect techniques measure automatic cognitive processes, involving the “unintentional or spontaneous activation of some well-learned set of association and responses that have been developed through repeated activation in memory” (Devine, 1989, p.6). While, explicit techniques measure racial attitudes at the controlled level (allowing conscious and effortful processing), indirect techniques measure attitudes at the automatic level (not allowing conscious and effortful processing) (Devine). A focal technique in the indirect measurement of contemporary racist attitudes is priming paradigms of racial stereotypes. This technique involves automatically activating associated evaluations from participants’ memory after the presentation of target racial primes, for example, photographs or category labels (Fazio et al., 1995). Response facilitation to the associated evaluations (such as positive and negative adjectives) presented immediately after the racial primes are the focus of unobtrusive attitudinal measurement (Dunton & Fazio, 1997). Increased facilitation towards negative evaluations would be indicative of a more negative personal attitude towards the primed racial group. Conversely, increased facilitation towards positive evaluations would be more indicative of a more positive personal attitude.

Implicit measures of racial attitudes have been found to only weakly correlate (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998) or maintain no relationship with explicit attitudinal measures (Dovidio, Brigham et al., 1996; Fazio et al., 1995). Fazio et al. argued the lack of a relationship between implicit and explicit measures reflects the reactivity of the latter technique as a measure of contemporary racist attitudes. Research has revealed some measures of validity for implicit techniques in the measurement of contemporary racial attitudes. Fazio et al.’s research argued the variability
detected in the facilitation responses of white participants towards African American primes was evidence of differing levels of prejudiced attitudes in the sample. Furthermore, implicit measures in the study were found to be predictive of a race-related behaviour. An African American experimenter, blind to participants’ racial attitudes, rated the interaction with each participant in the study. Participants with increased negative facilitation towards the black primes were rated as more unfriendly in their interaction with the African American experimenter.

Whereas explicit measures of racial attitudes present detailed psychometric properties in relation to their respective measurement techniques, only initial psychometric properties have been directed towards the development and use of unobtrusive techniques in the measurement of racial attitudes. In response, validity concerns have been directed towards what unobtrusive measures are actually measuring. Devine (1989) has maintained that unobtrusive priming paradigms of racial stereotypes could actually be measuring an individual’s cultural knowledge of the primed racial group, rather than an individual’s prejudicial beliefs. Regardless of personal beliefs, people are consensually aware of the social stereotypes of major racial groups in our society (Devine). Through common cognitive development and socialisation experiences, high and low prejudiced participants share similar knowledge structures of racial groups. When encountering a racial group member (or symbolic equivalent) racial stereotypes are automatically activated from memory, resulting in well-maintained cognitive structures of racial groups (Devine & Monteith, 1999).

However, Devine (1989) argues a controlled component to stereotyping exists, following the activation of racial stereotypes. Although people are consensually aware of the stereotype of racial groups, not all people accept the stereotype as being true. Individual differences in prejudiced attitudes determine whether the automatically activated racial stereotype remains active (high prejudiced individuals) or intentionally inhibited (low prejudiced individuals).
(Locke et al., 1994). Devine’s dissociation model maintains racial stereotypes are automatically activated, whereas personal beliefs require a conscious and effortful process. In relation to priming paradigms of racial attitudes, it follows that these techniques could actually be measuring a person’s knowledge of the cultural stereotype (automatic process) rather than his or her personal beliefs (controlled process).

The second aim of the study sought to provide an account of the implicit content of Australian racial stereotypes. Previous research has illustrated the activation of racial stereotypes in response to appropriate racial cues. Measurement of African American and Aboriginal racial stereotypes has revealed the predominantly negative nature and content of the schemas (Augoustinos et al., 1994; Devine, 1989; Devine & Elliot, 1995). As previously discussed, individual differences in prejudiced attitudes determine whether the content of the activated racial stereotype remains active or intentionally inhibited (Locke et al., 1994). In accordance with Devine’s dissociation model, high prejudiced individuals experience no conflict between the automatically activated stereotype and personal beliefs, thus the content of the stereotype remains active in subsequent responses and behaviours. On the other hand, low prejudiced individuals experience conflict due to the disparity between personal beliefs and the activated racial stereotype. This results in a motivation to inhibit the stereotype’s content and replace subsequent responses and behaviours with ones that are consistent with personal beliefs. Thus, low prejudiced individuals engage in controlled processes to inhibit the content of racial stereotypes. However, these controlled processes require motivation and cognitive resources to inhibit the content of the activated stereotype. The implication for low prejudiced individuals in situations where motivation or cognitive resources are reduced or limited is the potential for the activated stereotype to result in a discrepant prejudiced response or discriminatory behaviour (Monteith et al., 1994).
In light of the subsequent role the activation of racial stereotypes (without conscious inhibition) can play in guiding responses and behaviours, the content of racial stereotypes is an important area of prejudice research (Hamilton & Sherman, 1994; Hamilton & Trolier, 1986). It is important to establish the content of racial stereotypes activated in response to racial cues, given the subsequent influence of racial stereotypes. Augoustinos et al. (1994) analysed the explicit content of participants’ cultural knowledge of the Aboriginal Australian stereotype. Employing a free-response task, the study revealed the predominantly negative nature and content of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype. The racial categories most frequently reported in relation to the Aboriginal cultural stereotype were alcoholics (67%), bludgers (50%), lazy (46%), miscellaneous negative qualities (41%) and troublemakers (35%).

A study conducted by Islam and Jahjah (2001), using a population sample of university of students, found 79% of characteristics used to describe Asians were positive in content, in comparison to 52% of positive characteristics used to describe Aboriginal Australians.

The cultural stereotype of Asian migrants was analysed in a study by Ip, Kawakami, Duivenvoorden and Tye (1994). In a random survey of 500 white Australian respondents from Brisbane and Sydney, the study revealed the most frequently reported stereotypes of Asian migrants to be negative in nature and content. Frequently reported traits and characteristics included culturally exclusive, unwilling to learn English, criminal and receiving special assistance and treatment from the government. However, the positive traits of hardworking and strong family ties were also frequently reported as being part of the Asian cultural stereotype.

Australian studies have revealed the predominantly negative nature of the Aboriginal and Asian cultural stereotypes through explicit measurement techniques. However, to the author’s knowledge, Australian research has not investigated the implicit content of racial stereotypes.

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23 Miscellaneous negative qualities included aimless, hostile, incompetent, ungrateful and wasteful.
Given the influence activated stereotypes can play on subsequent responses and behaviours, it is important to establish the implicit content of racial stereotypes in an Australian context.

The present experiment analysed the implicit cultural knowledge of three Australian racial groups - Aborigines, Asians and immigrants\textsuperscript{24}. To achieve this research aim an adapted priming technique was employed using verbal category primes. To analyse the content (knowledge) of the implicit racial stereotypes free-response traits and characteristics were primed from participants. Implicit cultural knowledge was measured through a verbal priming task to elicit implicit, free-response stereotypical traits and characteristics associated with the target prime. Potential limitations of previous studies analysing the automatic processes of racial stereotypes is through the use of racial primes that have been determined by the experimenter or through explicit stereotype measures. This study recognises the need to establish the content of implicit cultural stereotypes through a free-response procedure.

Devine (1989) defined an automatic process as involving the unintentional activation of well-learned associations and responses activated by a target cue. Furthermore, Banaji and Hardin (1996) have defined a process as being automatic when it occurs without explicit intentions. To control for deliberate and controllable (explicit) intentions in this experiment, participants were required to state as quickly as possible, the traits and characteristics associated with the cultural stereotype of each racial group.

To achieve these conditions a time limit of 2 seconds was imposed for the activation of associated traits and characteristics in response to the racial primes. Previous research (Blair &

\textsuperscript{24}In relation to the design of this study, the author proposed to analyse both the implicit cultural knowledge and personal beliefs (through a free-response measure), towards the racial groups, between high and low prejudiced participants. However, in response to the Ethics in Human Research Committee’s recommendations, only participants’ implicit knowledge of cultural stereotypes was measured in this study.
Banaji, 1996; Fazio et al., 1995; Kawakami et al., 1998; Locke et al., 1994) using priming paradigms of racial stereotypes have employed a 2000 millisecond stimulus onset asynchrony (SOA) for the presentation of primes when analysing the controlled process of racial stereotypes. In analysing the controlled process of racial stereotype activation, the above research presented the target prime on the computer screen for 2000 milliseconds, which was immediately followed by evaluative associations for participants to respond to via the computer keyboard (participants’ response facilitation). In relation to the present study, it was reasoned that a 2-second time limit between the verbal presentation of the racial prime and participants’ verbal free-responses would engage an automatic response of associated traits and characteristics. Furthermore, in research measuring implicit attitudes by Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz (1998), response latencies of 3000 milliseconds and above were removed from the data as outlying values. Therefore, responses above 3000ms were not analysed as the activation of an implicit attitude. On the basis of the above-described studies, a 2-second time limit was imposed to assess the activation of associated traits and characteristics (without conscious and effortful thought) related to the target racial primes.

**Aims and predictions**

The present study was designed to examine Devine’s (1989) conceptual distinction between racial stereotypes and personal beliefs. Specifically, the study aimed to investigate the cultural knowledge of implicit racial stereotypes among high and low prejudiced individuals. Therefore:

It is predicted that implicit cultural knowledge of racial stereotypes is independent of prejudicial beliefs. No significant differences will exist between the implicit cultural knowledge of the Aboriginal, Asian and immigrant
stereotypes between high and low prejudiced participants.

The second aim of the study was to provide an account of the implicit content of Australian racial stereotypes.

Therefore:

An exploratory analysis was conducted to establish the implicit content of the Aboriginal, Asian and immigrant cultural stereotypes through a verbal priming task.

**Method**

**Participants**

Seventy-eight first year Psychology undergraduates (53 females and 25 males) from the University of Canberra participated in the experiment for course credit. The mean age of the participants was 22.47 years (SD = 9.94) ranging from 17 to 58 years. All participants were white, native-born Australians, as determined from bio-data information provided by participants. All participation was anonymous and voluntary with approval given by the University of Canberra’s Committee for Ethics in Human Research.

**Stimulus materials**

*Symbolic Racism Extended Scale* (Appendix A). The Symbolic Racism Extended Scale (SR-E) was used as a measure of modern racist attitudes. The SR-E scale items were concealed in the ‘Student’s Opinions on Current Social Issues’ questionnaire.

*Demographic Information* (Appendix J). Additional questions on the questionnaire asked participants to provide their gender, age in years and nationality. Participants were also asked to provide free response answers on whether they knew or could guess what the questionnaire was
measuring.

Verbal priming stimulus words (Appendix K). The verbal primes employed in the experiment consisted of category primes of social and racial group memberships (for example, politicians, criminals, Americans). The practice session consisted of 15 category primes. The experimental session consisted of seven filler category primes and three target racial category primes of Aborigines, Asians and immigrants. Participants’ verbal responses to the primes were recorded on audiotape.

Procedure

Participants were tested at pre-arranged times to participate in two unrelated experiments. Participants were informed that the first experiment would be on student opinions on current social issues. Before commencing the experiment on social issues, participants were given an informed consent form to sign (Appendix B) and the confidentiality of responses was emphasised by the researcher. To ensure the anonymity of responses, participants were asked to make up a participant code for themselves, which consisted of three letters and three numbers. Participants were given the ‘Student’s Opinions on Current Social Issues’ questionnaire to complete in a partitioned room, out of sight of the researcher. On completion, the participant placed the questionnaire in a sealed envelope.

In an ostensibly unrelated experiment, participants were informed that they would be completing an experiment on the nature and content of stereotypes in Australian society. To enhance the unrelated nature of the stereotype experiment, a second informed consent form was given to participants to sign before commencing the experiment (Appendix L). Verbal and written consent was obtained from participants to have their responses recorded during the experimental session. Instructions given to participants outlining the nature of the experimental procedures are contained in Appendix K. Participants were informed that the researcher was
interested in participants’ knowledge of commonly held stereotypes of a number of social groups. Participants were required to state, as quickly as possible, the traits and characteristics most people would associate with the primed social group. It was emphasised to participants that the researcher was interested in the cultural stereotype of the primed social groups, and participants did not have to personally believe the associated traits and characteristics. After the experimenter stated each category prime, participants were required to produce associated traits and characteristics, without conscious and effortful thought, relating to the prime. To ensure the spontaneous activation of associated traits, participants were required to respond to the primes in less than 2 seconds.

To ensure participants’ understanding of the experimental procedure and maximise speed of responses to the verbal primes, 15 practice category primes were completed. Each category prime was verbally stated by the experimenter, to which participants responded to as quickly as possible, with the traits and characteristics associated with the cultural stereotype of the prime. Responses in the practice trial were timed to ensure the speed of associated traits and characteristics. Participants responding to the category primes in the set time at the completion of the practice session, proceeded to the experimental stage of the study. The instructions of the priming task were again reiterated to participants before commencing the experiment. Participants completed the experimental priming task of the study, consisting of seven filler category primes and the three target racial primes. Participants’ responses in the experimental sessions were recorded on audiotape.

At the conclusion of the experiment, participants were fully and unambiguously debriefed as to the nature and objectives of the experiment and thanked for their participation.
Results

The implicit cultural knowledge between high and low prejudiced participants was measured for three Australian racial groups - Aborigines, Asians and immigrants. The implicit content of free-responses produced by participants in response to the racial primes were also analysed by the study. Two participants did not successfully fulfil the conditions of the practice trial and did not complete the experimental priming task. In relation to the racial groups of Asians and immigrants, it is acknowledged that people may distinguish sub-groups within these categories, for example Chinese, Japanese and Vietnamese sub-groups within the Asian racial category. However, no participant in the present study reported any difficulties in responding to the Asian or immigrant racial categories. Participants’ responses to the primes were transcribed from tape, excluding responses that were 2 seconds and over from the experiment. Subsequent traits and characteristics produced after the initial response needed to be expressed in a consistent string of words to be included in the experimental data. Pauses or gaps between the initial response and the subsequent responses, resulted in the latter being excluded from the experimental data.

Two independent judges categorised participants’ responses into common racial categories for each racial group. Responses that did not capture traits and characteristics of a cultural stereotype (for example, physical features) were not included for analysis in the experiment. The independent judges categorised each response as being a positive or negative stereotypical response in relation to the racial group. Agreement between the two independent judges on the nature of participant’s responses was 96%. Disagreements were determined and categorised by the researcher.
Cultural knowledge of the Aboriginal stereotype

A total of 10 cases were excluded from the experiment due to response time exceeding 2 or more seconds. The average number of traits and characteristics produced by participants in response to the Aboriginal racial prime was 2.67. The numbers of responses produced between high (mean of 2.50 words) and low (mean of 2.85 words) prejudice groups was not significantly different. A sub-sample of 54 was selected to form the high and low prejudice groups (27 in each group) for analysis in this experiment. A sub-sample was selected over an entire sample median split to form the high and low prejudice groups, to ensure participants obtaining modern racism scores of 30 and below (moderately disagree) would not be included in the high prejudice group. The means of the modern racism scores for the high and low prejudice groups were 39.96 and 21.33 respectively. The difference in means were found to be significantly different, \( t (52) = 10.68, p = .0001 \). Two independent judges created 15 stereotype categories from participants’ responses to the Aboriginal category prime. Table 7 shows the stereotype categories and the percentage of high and low prejudiced individuals who reported the category in their free-responses to the prime.

Chi-square analyses were conducted for each stereotype category. Only one category differed between high and low prejudiced participants, that being “unable to look after themselves” \( (\chi^2 = 6.17, p < .05) \). Low prejudiced participants reported this category more frequently than high prejudiced participants.
Table 7
Percentage of implicit cultural stereotype categories of Aborigines as a function of prejudice level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>High prejudice</th>
<th>Low prejudice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alcoholics</td>
<td>51.8</td>
<td>48.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lazy</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bludgers</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unable to look after themselves *</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>40.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undeserved allocation of resources</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare abusers</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offensive</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggressive</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uneducated</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inferior</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Untrustworthy</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiritual</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal orientated</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athletic</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: * significant difference at *p* < .05

Content and nature of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype

The nature and content of stereotype categories and the percentage of participants that reported the category in their free-responses to the Aboriginal prime are presented in Table 8. The content of the Aboriginal implicit stereotype was predominantly negative in nature and content. Overall, only four free-responses were categorised as being positive in response to the Aboriginal prime. The frequently reported categories focused on negative social (alcoholics, lazy, bludgers, unable to help themselves) and economic (undeserved allocation of resources) characteristics of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype. On average, participants produced nearly three free-responses to the Aboriginal prime, indicating a clear knowledge structure of the Aboriginal stereotype.
Table 8

Percentage of implicit free-responses in response to the cultural stereotype of Aborigines

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage of free-responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alcoholics a</td>
<td>46.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lazy a</td>
<td>39.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bludgers a</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unable to look after themselves a</td>
<td>32.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undeserved allocation of resources a</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed a</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare abusers a</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offensive a</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggressive a</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uneducated a</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inferior a</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Untrustworthy a</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiritual b</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal orientated b</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athletic b</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Negative racial categories, as determined by independent judges, denoted with "a"
Note: Positive racial categories, as determined by independent judges, denoted with "b"

Cultural knowledge of the Asian cultural stereotype

A total of 13 cases were excluded from the experiment due to response time exceeding 2 or more seconds. The average number of traits and characteristics produced by participants in response to the Asian racial prime was 1.88. The numbers of responses produced between high (mean of 1.75 words) and low (mean of 1.98 words) prejudice groups was not significantly different. A sub-sample of 54 was selected to form the high and low prejudice groups (27 in each group) for analysis. The means of the modern racism scores for the high and low prejudice groups were 39.96 and 22.59 respectively. The difference in means were found to be significantly different, t (52) = 9.89, p = .0001. Two independent judges created 12 stereotype categories from participants’ responses to the Asian category prime. Table 9 shows the stereotype categories and the percentage of high and low prejudiced individuals who reported the category in their free-responses to the prime.
Table 9

Percentage of implicit cultural stereotype categories of Asians as a function of prejudice level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>High prejudice</th>
<th>Low prejudice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hardworking</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>40.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelligent</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culturally exclusive</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrogant</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannot speak English</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dishonest</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dirty</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare abusers</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inferior</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad drivers</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealthy</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: No differences were significant at p< .05*

Chi-square analyses were conducted for each stereotype category. No categories were found to be significantly different in relation to level of prejudice.

Content and nature of the Asian cultural stereotype

The nature and content of stereotype categories and the percentage of participants that reported the category in their free-responses to the Asian prime are presented in Table 10.

The stereotype categories of the Asian cultural stereotype were for the most part negative in nature and content. However, the two most frequently reported categories, hardworking and intelligent, were positive in nature. The positive categories focused on the abilities and skills of Asians. The negative categories reported by participants focused on differences between Asians.
and white Australians (culturally exclusive, cannot speak English) and negative social characteristics (criminal, arrogant and dishonest).

Cultural knowledge of the immigrant cultural stereotype

A total of 22 cases were excluded from the experiment due to response time exceeding 2 or more seconds. The average number of traits and characteristics produced by participants in response to the immigrant racial prime was 1.98. The numbers of responses produced between high (mean of 2.01 words) and low (mean of 1.97 words) prejudice groups was not significantly different. A sub-sample of 50 was selected to form the high and low prejudice groups (25 in each group) for analysis. The means of the modern racism scores for the high and low prejudice groups were 39.25 and 23.42 respectively. The difference in means were found to be significantly different, \( t (48) = 8.62, p = .0001 \). Two independent judges created 14 stereotype categories from participants' responses to the immigrant category prime. Table

Table 10
Percentage of implicit free-responses in response to the cultural stereotype of Asians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage of free-responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hardworking ( b )</td>
<td>38.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelligent ( b )</td>
<td>31.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culturally exclusive ( a )</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal ( a )</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrogant ( a )</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannot speak English ( a )</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dishonest ( a )</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dirty ( a )</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare abusers ( a )</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inferior ( a )</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad drivers ( a )</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealthy ( b )</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Negative racial categories, as determined by independent judges, denoted with "a"
Note: Positive racial categories, as determined by independent judges, denoted with "b"
11 shows the categories and the percentage of high and low prejudiced individuals who reported the stereotype category in their free-responses to the prime.

Table 11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>High prejudice</th>
<th>Low prejudice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ungrateful</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culturally exclusive</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>29.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannot speak English</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bludgers</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uneducated</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative influence of culture</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take Australians' jobs</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardworking</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare abusers</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inferior</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brave</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambitious</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsuccessful in own country</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: No differences were significant at \( p < .05 \)

Chi-square analyses were conducted for each stereotype category. No categories were found to be significantly different in relation to level of prejudice.

Content and nature of the immigrant cultural stereotype

The nature and content of stereotype categories and the percentage of participants that reported the category in their free-responses to the immigrant prime are presented in Table 12. The stereotype categories of the immigrant cultural stereotype were predominantly negative in nature and content. Three positive categories were reported (hardworking, brave and ambitious), however, the frequency in which they were reported was only minimal. The most frequently reported categories reflected themes of differences between immigrants and white
Table 12

Percentage of implicit free-responses in response to the cultural stereotype of immigrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage of free-responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ungrateful a</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culturally exclusive a</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannot speak English a</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bludgers a</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uneducated a</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative influence of culture a</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor a</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take Australians’ jobs a</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardworking b</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare abusers a</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inferior a</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brave b</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambitious b</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsuccessful in own country a</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Negative racial categories, as determined by independent judges, denoted with “a”
Note: Positive racial categories, as determined by independent judges, denoted with “b”

Australians (culturally exclusive, cannot speak English) and the perception that immigrants were ungrateful for being allowed to immigrate to Australia. Although hardworking was reported in the stereotype of immigrants, its polar opposite of bludgers, was also reported as being a characteristic of the stereotype.

Discussion

The first aim of Study 4 was to investigate the cultural knowledge of implicit racial stereotypes between high and low racially prejudiced individuals. In accordance with Devine’s (1989) conceptual distinction between racial stereotypes and personal beliefs, it was predicted that implicit knowledge of racial stereotypes would be independent of prejudicial beliefs. Applying Devine’s research to an Australian context, the experiment analysed the implicit cultural knowledge of three Australian racial groups - Aborigines, Asians and immigrants. Across the three stereotype categories, there existed only one instance in which the level of racial
prejudice was related to implicit knowledge of the cultural stereotype. In response to the Aboriginal prime, low prejudiced participants reported the category of ‘unable to look after themselves’ more frequently than high prejudiced participants, indicating that the former were more knowledgable of this cultural stereotypic characteristic. With the exception of this stereotype category, implicit cultural knowledge of Aboriginal, Asian and immigrant racial stereotypes were independent of prejudicial beliefs. High and low prejudiced participants were equally knowledgeable of the traits and characteristics associated with the cultural stereotype of the Australian racial groups.

The present findings lend support to Devine’s (1989) cognitive distinction between stereotypes and personal beliefs. While participants differed in their level of personal beliefs towards Aborigines, Asians and immigrants, as measured by the abridged Symbolic Racism Scale (controlled process), implicit measures revealed predominantly no differences between high and low prejudiced participants’ cultural knowledge of the racial stereotypes. Irrespective of personal beliefs, participants were consensually aware of the stereotypes of major racial groups in Australian society. Thus, the present findings support high and low prejudiced participants sharing similar knowledge structures of Aboriginal, Asian and immigrant groups. Although low prejudiced participants were consensually aware of the negative content of the racial stereotypes, the content may have no other function than a knowledge structure, developed and maintained through cognitive and socialisation processes.

The present study measured the implicit knowledge of racial stereotypes through a verbal priming task. This technique was employed to analyse the implicit free-response traits and characteristics (knowledge structures) of Australian racial groups. The findings provided further evidence to support concerns raised in relation to what priming paradigms are actually measuring (Augoustinos et al., 1994; Devine, 1989; Devine & Elliot, 1995). The study found that high and
low prejudiced participants accessed similar knowledge structures in response to the verbal racial primes. Furthermore, cultural knowledge of racial categories was predominantly independent of an individual’s prejudicial beliefs (as measured by the SR-E). Thus, in accordance with Devine’s research, the findings support concerns that priming paradigms of racial stereotypes may actually be measuring an individual’s cultural knowledge of the primed racial group, rather than his or her prejudicial beliefs.

As previously discussed, a verbal priming task was employed to analyse the implicit content of racial stereotypes activated in response to the racial primes. However, a limitation stemming from the employment of this technique relates to directly assessing the validity of priming paradigms of racial attitudes. Due to differences in the priming techniques (visual versus verbal primes) and nature of measurement (response facilitation versus implicit content), the findings cannot be directly related to the validity of priming paradigms of racial stereotypes as a measure of racial attitudes. However, the findings can support previous concerns raised in relation to the use of implicit techniques in the measurement of racial attitudes. In light of the concerns raised by research supporting the distinction between stereotypes and personal beliefs, further research is needed to establish the psychometric properties of priming paradigms of racial stereotypes. With the trend in prejudice research towards the development and use of indirect measurement techniques, it is essential to ensure these techniques are actually measuring a person’s racial attitudes.

In addition to furthering the psychometric properties of implicit measurement techniques, additional research could be directed towards reducing limitations of explicit measures of racial attitudes. Study 1 outlined potential measures that could be implemented to reduce reactivity and social desirability concerns of self-report measures of modern racist attitudes. The adoption of measures to reduce these limitations could increase the reliable measurement of contemporary
racial attitudes through explicit measurement techniques.

In response to the deficiency in Australian studies investigating the implicit content of racial stereotypes, the second aim of this study was to analyse the implicit cultural stereotypes of Aborigines, Asians and immigrants. Implicit measurement of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype revealed the predominantly negative nature and content of the racial schema. Only four of the free-responses produced by participants were categorised as being positive in content. Over one-third of participants reported the stereotype categories of alcoholics (46.9 %), lazy (39.4 %) and bludgers (36.4%) in their implicit free-responses, indicating the salience of these traits and characteristics in the cultural stereotype of Aborigines. The most frequently reported content of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype focused on negative social and economic characteristics, reflecting a theme of Aborigines being a social and economic burden on Australian society. The present findings were similar to the explicit content of racial stereotypes revealed in Augoustinos et al.’s (1994) research. The stereotype categories most frequently reported in Augoustinos et al.’s explicit free-response study were alcoholics, bludgers and lazy, equivalent to the most frequently reported categories in the present study. Implicit and explicit free-response measures of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype have revealed the predominantly negative nature and content (unfavourable social and economic characteristics) of the Aboriginal racial schema.

Implicit measurement of the Asian cultural stereotype revealed a representation of negative and positive characteristics in the racial schema. Although, the racial categories of the Asian stereotype were mostly negative in content, the most frequently reported traits and characteristics in response to the Asian category prime were hardworking (38.1%) and intelligent (31.8%). The negative categories of the Asian stereotype focused on anti-social behaviours and differences perceived between Asians and mainstream white Australians. The present findings
revealed some consistencies with explicit measures of the Asian cultural stereotype. Ip et al.’s (1994) study revealed the traits and characteristics of the Asian cultural stereotype included differences that set Asians apart from wider Australian society and criminal and anti-social behaviours. While the present study found the positive traits of hardworking and intelligent in the implicit content of the Asian stereotype, implicit and explicit measures have revealed the prominence of negative characteristics (cultural differences and anti-social behaviours) in the content of the Asian racial schema.

Negative categories predominantly composed the implicit cultural stereotype of immigrants. Only three positive traits (hardworking, brave and ambitious) were infrequently reported as being part of the immigrant cultural stereotype. Akin with the Asian cultural stereotype, differences between immigrants and mainstream white Australians (culturally exclusive, cannot speak English and negative influence of culture) were frequently reported by participants in response to the immigrant category prime. One of the most frequently reported traits in participants’ implicit free-responses was ungrateful, reflecting a theme that immigrants were unappreciative for being allowed to immigrate to Australia. A substantial number of participants (22) did not respond to the immigrant category prime within the time limit for the verbal priming task. This figure was considerably higher than the excluded responses for Aboriginal and Asian category primes (10 and 13 respectively). The substantial number of participants unable to implicitly produced traits and characteristics of the immigrant stereotype suggests this racial schema is not as clear or consistent as the racial schemas of Aborigines and Asians. The Aboriginal stereotype was the most clearly defined in the experiment, with participants reporting on average nearly three traits in response to the Aboriginal prime. This indicates participants had a clear knowledge structure of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype.

Given the subsequent role the activation of stereotypes can play in guiding and
influencing responses and behaviours towards the stereotyped racial group member, the present findings raise concern for intergroup relations in Australia. In response to racial primes, predominantly negative traits and characteristics were reported in relation to Aborigines, Asians and immigrants. As illustrated in this study, high and low prejudiced participants were equally knowledgeable of the negative content of the cultural stereotypes of Aborigines, Asians and immigrants. The negative content of these racial stereotypes is particularly concerning for low prejudiced individuals in situations where cognitive ability or motivation to inhibit the negative racial content are reduced or limited. Given the predominantly negative content of Australian racial stereotypes, the influence of activated racial stereotypes has potentially serious implications. In response to this concern, the question arises as to how we can change, modify or undermine the content of racial stereotypes. The subsequent study (5) aimed to investigate circumstances under which the content of racial stereotypes may be undermined or changed in an Australian context.

**Overview of Study 5**

Study 5 aimed to investigate the circumstances under which the content of racial stereotypes may be undermined or changed. The study investigated whether recategorising ingroup boundaries and exposure to disconfirming stereotypical information relating to Australian Aborigines, observed in the recent Sydney Olympic Games, would result in changes to the content of the cultural stereotype. The sociocultural and cognitive mechanisms involved in the formation and maintenance of stereotypes, make stereotype change or modification a difficult process to achieve (Hamilton & Sherman, 1994). Cognitive mechanisms such as attending to, processing and recalling information that is stereotype-consistent and the cognitive processes of
ingroup favouritism and outgroup discrimination are significant obstacles for stereotype change (Devine et al., 1994; Hamilton & Trolier, 1986; Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel et al., 1971). Coupled with sociocultural factors, such as social learning in the formation and maintenance of stereotypes, stereotype change remains a real dilemma for psychological research (Hamilton & Sherman).

Although change to the content of stereotypes is a challenging process to achieve, several models and mechanisms have been proposed in which stereotypes may be undermined and changed. Rothbart’s (1981) bookkeeping model maintains changes to stereotypes can be achieved gradually, through progressively encountering and processing increasing amounts of stereotype disconfirming information. The processing of disconfirming stereotypical information leads to a slight weakening of the respective stereotype’s content. The model maintains that by gradually presenting observable disconfirming traits and characteristics over a period of time, the existing stereotype of a particular social group may be weakened, with the eventual aim of implementing change to the content of the stereotype (Rothbart & Park, 1986).

Rothbart and Park (1986) note that traits vary in their susceptibility to stereotype change. The behavioural manifestations of some traits are clearly observable and evident (for example, cleanliness and aggressive), whereas the behavioural manifestations of other traits are less observable (for example, devious and self-assured). To the extent that a trait’s behavioural manifestations are less observable and evident, the more difficult it will be into induce stereotype change to the respective trait (Hamilton & Sherman, 1994).

A second process of stereotype change proposed by Rothbart (1981), the conversion model, maintains stereotype change in response to a dramatic or significant disconfirming instance or experience. Thus, stereotype conversion or change can occur suddenly, in contrast to the bookkeeping model’s position of gradual change in response to disconfirming information (Hamilton & Sherman, 1994).
The bookkeeping and conversion models propose a change in the overall stereotype in response to disconfirming information. A third model of stereotype change predicts disconfirming information will result in changes to the cognitive representations of the stereotyped group (Johnston & Hewstone, 1992). The subtyping model (Brewer, Dull & Lui, 1981; Taylor, 1981) views stereotypes as hierarchical structures. In response to disconfirming information discriminations within groups are made leading to the development of subgroups, which are considered exceptions to the superordinate stereotype (Hamilton & Sherman, 1994; Johnston & Hewstone). For example, a student may hold a stereotype that Aboriginal Australians are lazy. In a class situation, the student encounters a hardworking Aboriginal student that violates their stereotype of Aborigines being lazy. The subtyping model would predict that the stereotype would become more differentiated to include a subgroup of Aborigines (perhaps Aboriginal students) to incorporate the disconfirming information. Thus, the original superordinate stereotype is left uninfluenced. The subtyping model, as opposed to the bookkeeping and conversion models, is more a model of stereotype maintenance rather than one of change (Johnston & Hewstone).

Another approach proposed to achieve changes to the content of stereotypes relates to intergroup perceptions of the ingroup and outgroups; namely the common ingroup identity model (Gaertner et al., 1997). Researchers have argued that intergroup bias may be reduced through broadening the inclusiveness of the ingroup or recategorising ingroup boundaries by drawing attention to common traits, characteristics, identities and memberships shared between groups. (Gaertner et al., 1994; Gaertner et al., 1993). Research has shown that evaluations of outgroups improved significantly when outgroup members were shown to share common memberships, characteristics and goals (Gaertner et al., 1993). This model of stereotype change does not suggest individuals should give up their cultural or racial identity to become more ingroup
inclusive. Instead, it is possible to have two racial groups relating to a superordinate group membership, for example African Americans.

Given the predominantly negative content of the Aboriginal Australian cultural stereotype revealed in Study 4, the present study measured changes in the explicit content of the stereotype following the recent Sydney Olympic Games (held between the 15th September to the 1st October 2000). The Sydney Olympic Games were reasoned to contain evidence of disconfirming stereotypical information and recategorising of ingroup boundaries relating to Australian Aborigines.

The Olympic Games presented Aboriginal culture to an Australian and world audience. The opening ceremony of the Olympic Games predominantly featured Aboriginal culture and was “an opportunity to showcase to the world the rich and diverse cultures of Australia’s indigenous people” (“Reconciliation Games”, September 2000, p.3). A Newspoll survey following the opening ceremony found 87% of respondents enjoyed the ceremony, identifying the major theme as reconciliation (“Opportunity in unifying celebrations”, September 2000). The Games also displayed the athletic abilities of a number of Aboriginal athletes, the most prominent being Cathy Freeman. Media and public attention focused heavily on Cathy’s attempt to win gold in the 400-metre track event. The race that ‘stopped the nation’ transcended the athletic nature of the event, and focused on issues of reconciliation and unity between white and Aboriginal Australians (“Pride of the land”, September 2000; “Race stops a nation”, September 2000). Following Cathy’s gold medal performance in the 400-metre track event, the following sentiments were expressed in the Australian media:

“Freeman carried the Australian and Aboriginal flags in a victory lap... She had lit the cauldron in one act of reconciliation. Last night we saw another such act” (“Pride of the land”, September 2000).

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25 The Sydney Olympic Games’ opening ceremony attracted a record audience of 10.4 million in Australia and close to four billion worldwide (Public Debate, 2000).
"I am sure what has happened and what I symbolise will make a lot of difference to people's attitudes". (Cathy Freeman, "Cathy's girlhood dream", September 2000).

"No, she [Cathy] didn't cure cancer. Absolutely she didn't alleviate world hunger all on her own. But have a look around you as the nation widely celebrates her Olympic victory. That, in itself is no mean feat and proof positive that we have come a long, long way from the darker days of our past" ("As we leave darker days behind", September 2000).

"She’s the [person who] brought the people of Australia to come together as one group" ("This will help bring black and white together", September 2000).

"She’s proud of her Aboriginality and she’s proud of being an Australian" (Prime Minister John Howard, "With Australia all aflutter", September 2000).


The prominence of Aboriginal culture displayed in the opening ceremony and the sentiments expressed in relation to Cathy Freeman’s gold medal performance illustrates key features and circumstances of the models of stereotype change. Firstly, the opening ceremony presented disconfirming information pertaining to the Aboriginal stereotype, through the presentation of Aboriginal culture and beliefs that are not predominantly featured in the mainstream Australian media. It was reasoned that the Olympic Games gradually presented stereotypical disconfirming information over the entire 16-day period (bookkeeping model).

Secondly, the sentiments expressed following Cathy Freeman’s gold medal performance illustrated evidence of the recategorising of ingroup boundaries. Cathy Freeman was viewed as bringing Australians together under one common identity. Moreover, she was perceived to be identifying to a superordinate group membership (Aboriginal Australian). Finally, the prominence of Aboriginal culture and the accomplishments of Aboriginal athletes during the Games were presented gradually over time, which according to the bookkeeping model, would have resulted in the weakening of the existing cultural stereotype of Aboriginal Australians.
The Olympic Games can be viewed as a large social and cultural event. In support of the present study's predictions of stereotype change following the Olympic Games, previous research has demonstrated stereotype change in response to large social and cultural events (see Haslam, Turner, Oakes, McGarty & Hayes, 1992; Meenes, 1943, Sinha & Upadhyaya, 1960). Therefore, previous empirical research has demonstrated stereotype change in response to social and cultural events.

Aims and predictions

The study investigated whether the recategorising of ingroup boundaries and disconfirming stereotypical information relating to Australian Aborigines, observed in the Sydney Olympic Games, would result in changes to the content of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype. The explicit content of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype was measured via an adjective checklist prior to and following the Olympic Games. The experiment predicted the reporting of negative traits and characteristics in relation to the Aboriginal cultural stereotype would significantly decrease following the Olympic Games. Moreover, positive traits and characteristics of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype would significantly increase during the same period.

Method

Participants

Two different samples of participants formed the pre and post-Olympic experimental groups. Sixty-six first year Psychology undergraduates (49 females and 17 males) formed the pre-Olympic Games experimental group and 40 first year Psychology undergraduates (21
females and 19 males) formed the post-Olympic Games experimental group. All participants in the experiment were from the University of Canberra and participated in the experiment for course credit. The mean age of the participants in pre-Olympic Games and post-Olympic Games experimental groups were 22.37 years (SD = 7.78) and 22.63 years (SD = 5.75) respectively. All participants were white, native-born Australians, as determined from bio-data information provided by participants. All participation was anonymous and voluntary with approval given by the University of Canberra’s Committee for Ethics in Human Research.

Stimulus materials

Symbolic Racism Extended Scale (Appendix A). The Symbolic Racism Extended Scale (SR-E) was used as a measure of modern racist attitudes. The SR-E scale items were concealed in the ‘Student’s Opinions on Current Social Issue’ questionnaire.

Demographic Information (Appendix J). Additional questions on the questionnaire asked participants to provide their gender, age in years and nationality. Participants were also asked to provide free response answers on whether they knew or could guess what the questionnaire was measuring.

Aboriginal Australian adjective checklist questionnaire (Appendix M). Participants were asked to respond to 51 stimulus words on an adjective checklist on the cultural stereotype of Aboriginal Australians. The adjective checklist was developed from research conducted by Augoustinos et al. (1994). The adjective checklist consisted of 15 positive and 16 negative stereotypical categories. The remaining adjectives consisted of 10 positive and 10 negative filler non-stereotypical categories. Two filler adjective checklist questionnaires were created for American (Appendix N) and New Zealander (Appendix O) racial groups using the same list of adjective words.
Procedure

Participants were tested at pre-arranged times to participate in two unrelated experiments. The pre-Olympic Games experimental group was tested between July and August 2000. The post-Olympic Games experimental group was tested mid to late October 2000, two weeks following the Olympic Games’ closing ceremony. Participants were informed that the first experiment would be on student opinions on current social issues. Before commencing the experiment on social issues, participants were given an informed consent form to sign (Appendix B) and the confidentiality of responses was emphasised by the researcher. To ensure the anonymity of responses, participants were asked to make-up a participant code for themselves, which consisted of three letters and three numbers. Participants were given the ‘Student’s Opinions on Current Social Issues’ questionnaire to complete in a partitioned room, out of sight of the researcher. On completion, the participant placed the questionnaire in a sealed envelope.

In an ostensibly unrelated experiment, participants were informed that they would be completing an experiment on the nature of stereotypes in Australian society. To enhance the unrelated nature of the stereotype experiment, a second informed consent form was given to participants to sign before commencing the experiment (Appendix P). Participants were informed that the researcher was interested in the cultural stereotypes of a number of social groups in Australia. Participants were asked to carefully read through a list of adjectives and select all the adjectives that make-up the cultural stereotype of each of the social groups. Following the selection of traits, participants were asked to put an asterisk next to the five adjectives they considered being most typical of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype. It was emphasised to participants that the researcher was interested in the cultural stereotype of each racial group, and that participants did not have to personally believe the stereotypical traits and characteristics.
Participants completed the New Zealander (filler), Aboriginal Australian (target) and American (filler) adjective checklist questionnaires. Filler questionnaires were used to disguise the purpose of the experiment as solely measuring the cultural stereotypes of Aboriginal Australians. At the conclusion of the experiment, participants were fully and unambiguously debriefed as to the nature and objectives of the experiment and thanked for their participation.

Results

An adjective checklist prior to and following the Sydney Olympic Games measured the explicit content of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype. Comparisons between high and low prejudiced participants, in both the pre (13.29 and 14.79 respectively) and post (17.44 and 17.2 respectively) Olympic Games experimental groups, revealed no significant differences in the number of adjectives reported in relation to the Aboriginal cultural stereotype. Positive and negative adjectives reported in relation to the Aboriginal cultural stereotype were found to be independent of prejudicial beliefs, for both experimental groups.

Changes to the negative traits and characteristics of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype prior to and following the Olympic Games are presented in Table 13.
Table 13
Percentage of Aboriginal negative stereotype categories prior to and following the Olympic Games

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negative racial categories</th>
<th>Pre-Olympic Games</th>
<th>Post-Olympic Games</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage of responses</td>
<td>Percentage of responses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troublemakers *</td>
<td>84.8</td>
<td>57.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunken</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td>87.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lazy</td>
<td>80.3</td>
<td>75.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bludgers</td>
<td>78.8</td>
<td>70.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployable</td>
<td>75.8</td>
<td>70.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unreliable</td>
<td>68.2</td>
<td>70.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aimless *</td>
<td>69.7</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law breakers</td>
<td>68.2</td>
<td>52.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ungrateful</td>
<td>62.1</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dirty</td>
<td>60.6</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inferior</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incompetent</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>52.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demanding</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostile</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disrespectful *</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wasteful</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>45.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: * Significant at p < .05

Note: Presentation of the stereotype categories is based on the descending order of categories selected prior to the Olympics.

Chi-square analyses were conducted for each negative adjective to determine whether significant changes had occurred in the racial stereotype following the Olympic Games. Three significant differences in the percentage of traits and characteristics selected as being part of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype were reported after the Olympic Games; troublemakers ($\chi^2 = 9.81$, p < .05), aimless ($\chi^2 = 4.15$, p < .05) and disrespectful ($\chi^2 = 3.84$, p = .05). In all three cases, the negative characteristics of troublemakers, aimless and disrespectful decreased after the Olympic Games.

Changes to the positive traits and characteristics of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype prior to and following the Olympic Games are presented in Table 14.
Table 14
Percentage of Aboriginal positive stereotype categories prior to and following the Olympic Games

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive racial categories</th>
<th>Pre-Olympic Games</th>
<th>Post-Olympic Games</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage of responses</td>
<td>Percentage of responses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect the land</td>
<td>77.3</td>
<td>85.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiritual *</td>
<td>60.6</td>
<td>85.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proud</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artistic *</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>62.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musical</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easy-going</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>42.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resourceful</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talented</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wise</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loyal</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentle</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caring</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-assured</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Just</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Significant at p < .05
Note: Presentation of the stereotype categories is based on the descending order of categories selected prior to the Olympics.

Chi-square analyses were conducted for each positive adjective to determine whether significant changes occurred in the racial stereotype after the Olympic Games. Two significant differences in the percentage of positive traits and characteristics selected as being part of the Aboriginal stereotype were reported after the Olympic Games; spiritual ($\chi^2 = 7.03$, p < .05) and artistic ($\chi^2 = 4.65$, p < .05). In both cases, the positive characteristics of spiritual and artistic increased after the Olympic Games.

The most typical traits of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype prior to and following the Olympic Games

Participants were asked to select five traits on the Aboriginal adjective checklist that they believed were most typical of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype. Two participants in the post-
Olympic period did not complete this part of the adjective checklist. The five most typical traits and characteristics of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype reported prior to and following the Olympic Games are presented in Table 15.

Table 15
The most typical traits of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype prior to and following the Olympic Games

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Pre Olympics</th>
<th>Post Olympics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drunken</td>
<td>67.7</td>
<td>68.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bludgers</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>42.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lazy</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>31.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troublemakers *</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect the land</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>47.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployable</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law breakers</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiritual</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>39.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artistic *</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proud</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: * Significant at $p < .05$.

Note: Presentation of most typical traits is based on the descending order of most typical traits prior to the Olympics.

Note: Only percentages of agreement with the most typical traits over 10% in the pre and post Olympic periods are reported in the table.

Prior to the Olympic Games the traits of drunken (67.7 %), bludgers (51.1 %), lazy (43.9 %), troublemakers (40.9%) and respect the land (36.4 %) was reported as being the most typical traits. In comparison, the five most typical traits characteristics reported following the Olympic Games were drunken (68.4 %), respect the land (47.4 %), bludgers (42.1%), spiritual (39.5 %) and artistic (36.8 %). Three positive traits were reported as being most typical of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype in comparison to only one positive trait (respect the land) prior to the Olympic Games. The most typical trait of artistic significantly increased from 13.6% in the pre-Olympic period to 36.8% in the post-Olympic period ($\chi^2 = 7.54, p < .05$). In addition, the
most typical trait of troublemaker significantly decreased from 40.9\% in the pre-Olympic period to 21.1\% in the post-Olympic period ($\chi^2 = 4.25, p < .05$).

**Explicit content of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype**

The pre-Olympic content of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype revealed the majority of negative adjectives received strong endorsement by participants as being part of the cultural stereotype. The most frequently reported negative traits and characteristics were troublemakers, drunken, lazy, bludgers and unemployable, with over three-quarters of participants reporting these traits and characteristics as being part of the Aboriginal stereotype. However, the positive categories of respect the land, spiritual and proud were also frequently reported by participants. This indicated the presence of positive traits and characteristics in the explicit content of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype, in comparison to the negligible percentage of positive traits reported in the implicit content measured in Study 4.

**Discussion**

The explicit content of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype was measured prior to and following the Sydney Olympic Games. The explicit content of the Aboriginal stereotype measured prior to the Olympic Games, revealed a notable difference in stereotype content in comparison to the implicit content measured in Study 4 (also measured prior to the Olympic Games). Although the most frequently reported negative racial categories in the implicit and explicit studies were largely comparable in content (alcoholic, lazy, bludgers and unemployable), the explicit study revealed a considerable increase in positive racial categories being reported as part of the Aboriginal stereotype. In the implicit study, only four free-responses produced by
participants were categorised as being positive in content. However, the present explicit study revealed the positive traits of respect the land, spiritual and proud were frequently reported as being part of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype. While the activated (implicit) content of the racial stereotype was predominantly negative in content, explicit measures, allowing participants to consider the racial categories (controlled process), revealed an increased frequency in the reporting of positive stereotypical traits and characteristics.26

Comparisons between high and low prejudiced participants in both the pre and post-Olympic Games groups, revealed no significant differences between the explicit content (positive and negative traits) reported in response to the Aboriginal cultural stereotype. Consistent with Augoustinos et al.’s (1994) research, the present findings revealed high and low prejudiced participants were equally knowledgable of the explicit cultural stereotype of Aborigines, providing further evidence to support cultural knowledge of the racial stereotypes to be independent of prejudicial beliefs.

The principal aim of Study 5 was to investigate whether recategorising of ingroup boundaries and disconfirming stereotypical information, observed in the Olympic Games, would result in changes to the content of the Aboriginal stereotype. Some support was found for the study’s prediction that changes to the Aboriginal stereotype would be observed following the Olympic Games. Specifically, the experiment predicted positive and negative traits of the Aboriginal stereotype would increase and decrease respectively. The study found the negative traits of troublemakers, aimless and disrespectful significantly decreased in the post-Olympic period. Moreover, the positive traits of spiritual and artistic significantly increased during the same period. In reporting the five most typical traits of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype, a

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26 Due to differences in methodologies employed to obtain the content of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype, only descriptive analyses could be conducted in relation to the explicit and implicit stereotypes.
significant increase and decrease was observed in the positive trait of artistic and negative trait of troublemaker respectively, following the Olympic Games.

Evidence of change to the Aboriginal cultural stereotype over the Olympic Games period provides some support for the bookkeeping and common ingroup identity models of stereotype change. The Olympic Games was reasoned to maintain key features and circumstances of both models of stereotype change. The gradual presentation of disconfirming and observable traits of Aborigines may have weakened the stereotype content of these respective traits, eventually resulting in changes to the Aboriginal cultural stereotype. Moreover, the recategorising of ingroup boundaries through the achievements of Aboriginal athletes may have reduced intergroup bias, in terms of reporting stereotype traits, through broadening the inclusiveness of the ingroup. These circumstances are maintained to have facilitated increases in the positive traits of spiritual and artistic, and decreases in the negative traits of troublemakers, aimless and disrespectful in the Aboriginal racial stereotype.

The present findings also provide some evidence against the subtyping model of stereotype change. Instead of maintaining the superordinate stereotype of Aboriginal Australians, the disconfirming information observed in the Olympic Games resulted in stereotype change to a number of traits contained in stereotype. Thus, the disconfirming information impacted upon the original stereotype, resulting in subsequent changes to a number of positive and negative traits contained in the original Aboriginal cultural stereotype.

The present findings are encouraging for intergroup relations and prejudice research. Given the difficulties in achieving stereotype change due to sociocultural and cognitive mechanisms involved in the formation and maintenance of stereotypes, the present study revealed evidence of stereotype change for a number of positive and negative traits in the Aboriginal cultural stereotype. An advantage of the present study for stereotype research was in
providing evidence of stereotype change in response to a ‘real’ social event. Previous research on stereotype change has been largely conducted within a laboratory or artificial setting, with experimental manipulations to the stereotyped group and disconfirming stereotypic information (for example, Brewer et al., 1981; Hewstone et al., 1992, Weber and Crocker, 1983). However, this thesis still recognises the need for further stereotype research directed at examining the validity of specific models of stereotype change, in response to social and cultural events. Designing research to directly test specific models, will provide further evidence of the circumstances and conditions necessary to modify, undermine or change racial stereotypes.

While the present study found some evidence of stereotype change in the Aboriginal cultural stereotype, the amount of stereotype change that was actually observed may have reflected the nature of the stereotypical attribute. Rothbart and Park (1986) noted that traits vary in their susceptibility to stereotype change. The less observable and evident a trait’s behavioural manifestations are, the more difficult it will be to induce stereotype change. This could explain why a number of traits on the ‘Aboriginal Australian Adjective’ checklist reported no significant changes over the Olympic Games period. Traits such as loyal, self-assured, just, demanding and inferior are not traits that are readily observable and evident as a behavioural manifestations. This may have created a limitation for achieving changes to these respective traits contained in the Aboriginal cultural stereotype.

While it is recognised that the Sydney Olympic Games was a unique event in terms of impact and coverage, the circumstances observed during the Games, relating to the models of stereotype change, could be applied to other settings. For example, gradually presenting disconfirming information about Aboriginal Australians in the form of a national advertising campaign, may serve to weaken the existing stereotype, with the eventual aim of achieving stereotype change. The advertising campaign could focus on redressing the frequently reported
negative stereotypical traits of ‘troublemakers’, ‘drunken’, ‘bludgers’ and ‘unemployable’ reported in present study in relation to the Aboriginal cultural stereotype. In line with this reasoning, Donovan and Leivers (1993) conducted a study exploring changes to negative beliefs relating to Australian Aborigines through a national advertising campaign. During Aboriginal Employment week, the study aimed to neutralise negative beliefs held about Aboriginal Australians and their employment status, for example “very few Aborigines hold jobs” (Donovan & Leivers, p. 205). In the post-test following the campaign, the study revealed a 15.8% increase in positive attitudes towards the employment status of Aboriginal Australians.

A limitation and direction for future research relating to the present study is that the permanence or stability of these changes to the content of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype cannot be determined. It is not known whether the disconfirming stereotypical information and recategorising of ingroup boundaries resulted in temporal or permanent changes to the content of the Aboriginal stereotype. It is essential that future research be directed at analysing the stability of stereotype change produced through the above-described models. While the present study has revealed encouraging results relating to the modification of stereotype content, the important element for intergroup relations is achieving stability and permanence to subsequent stereotype change.
Chapter 7
Implications and Conclusions

Theoretical review of thesis

This thesis aimed to produce a theoretical and empirical account of contemporary forms of racial prejudice in Australia. Contemporary theories of racial prejudice encompass a qualitative shift in the nature and expression of racist attitudes, from overtly negative and blatant forms to more subtle and indirect forms of racial prejudice. The extensive body of theoretical and empirical research into contemporary racial prejudice has been primarily developed and conducted in the United States. In comparison, only a limited number of studies have been conducted into the nature of contemporary racist attitudes in Australia. It is important to establish the nature and expression of contemporary racial prejudice existing in Australian populations and to establish the applicability of contemporary theories of racial prejudice for Australian research.

The changing nature and expression of contemporary racist attitudes has created a quandary for the measurement of racial attitudes in terms of accurately detecting and measuring the subtle and indirect expression of contemporary racism. The challenge for contemporary prejudice research is to devise scales and measurement techniques that accurately detect contemporary racist attitudes. The trend in prejudice research is towards the use of unobtrusive techniques in the measurement of racial attitudes. Unobtrusive techniques aim to measure racial attitudes implicitly, and in doing so, bypass the potential limitations of self-report measures such as censoring and self-presentation biases. Currently, only limited psychometric properties have been reported in the use of unobtrusive techniques for the measurement of racial attitudes. In response, validity concerns have been raised in relation to whether unobtrusive techniques could actually be measuring an individual’s cultural knowledge of the primed racial group, rather than an individual’s prejudicial beliefs.

Research employing implicit techniques has revealed that when appropriate racial cues are present, racial stereotypes are automatically activated from memory (Devine & Monteith,
1999; Fazio et al., 1995). Once a stereotype has been activated, and not consciously inhibited, it can have a subsequent role in guiding perceptions, evaluations, judgments and behaviours (Hamilton & Sherman, 1994; Hamilton & Trolier, 1986). The subsequent influence of activated stereotypes has potentially serious implications, given previous research illustrating the predominantly negative content of racial stereotypes (Augoustinos et al., 1994; Fazio et al.; Devine, 1989; Devine & Monteith). Thus, the content of racial stereotypes and techniques proposed to change stereotypical content are important areas of prejudice research.

In providing a theoretical and empirical account of contemporary racial prejudice in Australia, this thesis encompassed four principal research aims, namely: (a) to further establish the psychometric properties of an explicit Australian scale of racial prejudice (Symbolic Racism Extended Scale, Fraser & Islam, 1997b) (b) to investigate the nature, prevalence and potential sources of modern racist attitudes and associated discriminatory behaviours (c) to examine concerns pertaining to the measurement of racial attitudes through implicit techniques and (d) to analyse the implicit and explicit content of Australian racial stereotypes, and to investigate the circumstances under which the content of racial stereotypes may be undermined and changed. Overall the studies undertaken in relation to these research aims provided some support for the theoretical and empirical predictions made in this thesis.

In relation to the empirical findings of this thesis, subsequent discussion in this chapter will address the theoretical and practical implications of these findings in terms of the four research aims previously outlined. Following the theoretical and practical implications, future directions for contemporary racism research will be discussed.

Theoretical and practical implications

Psychometric properties of the Symbolic Racism-Extended scale

The first research aim of this thesis was to further establish the psychometric properties of the Symbolic Racism Extended Scale (Fraser & Islam, 1997b). This thesis recognised the deficiency in published Australian racism scales as a potential limitation for Australian prejudice
research. The SR-E was developed to establish a current scale of symbolic (modern) racism that reflected modern racism principles in the context of racial issues and racial climate in Australia.

Study 1 and Study 3 revealed good psychometric properties of the SR-E as a measure of modern racist attitudes in Australian populations. The SR-E scale reported good measures of reliability (high coefficient alphas, high levels of internal consistency, test-retest reliability) and validity (unifactorial model, behavioural outcomes in a direction consistent with the modern racism theory). The psychometric properties reported for the SR-E, in association with the current and relevant nature of the scale items, represents an important advancement for the measurement of modern racism in Australian populations. In comparison to adapted versions of the MRS, the properties of the SR-E are arguably more suited to measuring contemporary racial prejudice in Australian populations, supporting the SR-E as a useful scale for future Australian prejudice research.

The findings reported in Study 1 also promoted the incorporation of SR-E items within filler social items, to ensure the purpose and nature of measurement is adequately concealed. The ‘Student Opinions on Current Social Issues’ questionnaire was supported as a non-face valid context in which to measure modern racist attitudes. The consistency in participants' responses over two administrations of the SR-E and the low identification percentage in relation to the nature of the scale suggested the large majority of respondents had not detected the nature or purpose of the questionnaire. The employment of techniques, such as the ‘Student Opinions’ questionnaire, to reduce the reactivity and social desirability concerns of self-report measures, establishes additional foundations for the reliable measurement of contemporary racist attitudes through explicit measures.

The prevalence, nature and potential sources of contemporary racist attitudes, and associated discriminatory behaviours

Turning now to the second research aim of this thesis, namely the prevalence, nature and potential sources of contemporary racist attitudes, and associated discriminatory behaviours, in
Australian populations. Baseline measures of modern racist attitudes revealed a sizeable and concerning prevalence of modern racist attitudes in the student samples. Over one-third of participants in Study 2 scored above the modern racism midpoint, indicating that they endorsed the modern racism items. The degree of negative affect expressed towards Aborigines, Asians and immigrants in the student sample is of concern, given student populations are arguably more liberal in attitudes and maintain considerable contact with students from other races and cultures.

This thesis suggested the higher prevalence of modern racism detected in the university student sample, in comparison to previous Australian research, may have reflected the instrument employed to measure modern racist attitudes. The SR-E scale used in the present study, in contrast to the adapted MRS employed in, for example Augoustinos et al.'s (1994) research, may have more accurately detected modern racist attitudes through the relevant and current nature of SR-E items for Australian populations. Furthermore, the expression of modern racist attitudes in University and Secondary College student populations supported the assumption that the student environment may intensify feelings of racial ambivalence. Thus, negative affect towards minority groups is expressed in subtle and indirect ways, consistent with the ambivalence of modern racist attitudes.

One of the theoretical contributions of this thesis has been in providing further empirical evidence of the nature and tenets of modern racist attitudes in Australian populations. In light of the potential for inherent differences to exist between the United States and Australia, it is important to establish the applicability of contemporary theories of modern racism for Australian prejudice research. The tenets of equality for all, resentment towards monetary concessions and perceived negative impact of migrants on Australian culture were significant features of contemporary Australian racist attitudes. The nature of modern racist attitudes maintained clear consistencies with the theory of modern racism developed in the United States. The expression of resentment towards special concessions, individualism and self-reliance all reflected key modern racism tenets and beliefs. In the context of race relations in Australia, contemporary racist attitudes contained ethnocentric views, with attitudes supporting a superordinate (but not
necessarily inclusive) Australian identity to reduce the perceived negative influence of migrants on Australian culture. Overall, the empirical evidence provides support for a form of modern racism prevailing in Australian populations, through the tenets endorsed by the present population samples. In turn, these findings support the applicability of the modern racism construct for Australian prejudice research.

The practical implications of understanding the nature and tenets of modern racist attitudes are through developing techniques aimed at reducing prejudiced attitudes. For example, Study 2 revealed resentment towards monetary concessions given to Aborigines as a significant feature of modern racist attitudes. In light of the economic, social and physical disadvantages currently experienced by Aborigines, it was argued that resentment towards monetary concessions given to Aborigines may stem from underlying feelings of negative affect or misinformed feelings of relative deprivation for the ingroup. With respect to modern racist attitudes, it follows that redressing the inaccuracies and false beliefs held in relation to the monetary concessions given to Aborigines, may facilitate a shift in attitude.

The application of this argument can be seen in a national campaign undertaken by the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC, 2000). ATSIC distributed postcards providing ABS statistics on the health, economic and social status of Aboriginal peoples in Australia. Providing information of the disadvantages Aboriginal Australians currently experience, through educational programs or national advertising campaigns, may facilitate an attitudinal shift in the resentment felt towards concessions stemming from misinformed feelings of relative deprivation. Providing information that concessions and special programs are necessary to redress past and present inequalities, therefore arguably being fair in nature, may undermine or shift feelings of resentment. Thus, through understanding the nature and tenets of modern racist attitudes in Australia, specific techniques can be implemented with the aim of reducing prejudiced attitudes.

Through investigating the potential sources of modern racist attitudes, this thesis provided further empirical evidence of the characteristics associated with the construct. Study 2
revealed that gender was not associated with holding a modern racist attitude. This finding was inconsistent with previous research conducted by Augoustinos et al. (1994) (using a university population), Pedersen and Walker (1994) and Walker (1994) that found males to be significantly less racially tolerant than females. Modern racist attitudes were found to be significantly higher in participants affiliated with a conservative orientated political party, supporting previous Australian research (for example, Pedersen & Walker; Walker, 1994).

A contribution of this thesis has been in relation to the demographic source of age and the prevalence of modern racist attitudes. Study 2 revealed younger participants expressed significantly more negative racial attitudes in comparison to older participants in the university sample. This result stands in contrast to theories of modern racism that maintain racial socialisation as a source of negative affect towards minority racial groups. Although younger participants (17 to 18 years) have been brought up in an environment where the open expression of racial prejudice and discrimination have always been socially unacceptable and not condoned by the law, the environment appears to have had minimal impact on the racial attitudes.

Explanations for the disparity found in relation to contemporary theories of racial prejudice suggested family and peer socialisation could be just as influential as racial socialisation as a source of negative affect. Furthermore, in light of contemporary theories of racial prejudice being developed over twenty years ago, it was suggested that sources of negative affect might continue to change with upcoming generations. In response to the prevalence of modern racist attitudes detected in younger participants, it is essential to explore and establish potential sources of negative racial affect, to break the continuum of racial prejudice in Australian populations.

A contribution of this thesis for Australian prejudice research has been in providing empirical evidence of modern racists’ discriminatory behaviours in an Australian context; in turn, providing empirical evidence of the behavioural outcomes of modern racist attitudes. In an employment-hiring task, modern racists expressed discriminatory hiring behaviours against the Aboriginal applicant in comparison to the white applicants. Although the strength of
discrimination was only marginally significant, the direction was consistent with McConahay’s (1983) research that maintained underlying discriminatory behaviours of high prejudiced participants exist in conditions of low racial salience.

Study 3 maintained the strength of discrimination expressed by high prejudiced participants in the study may have been weakened due to methodological problems in creating conditions of low racial salience in an Australian context. While, African Americans constitute 14% of the United States population, Aboriginal Australians constitute only 1.1% of the Australian population, making the indigenous status of Aborigines highly salient. The highly salient population status of Aborigines in Australian society creates an inherent methodological difference between the present study and McConahay’s research conducted in the United States. The methodological issue of creating low racial salience has important implications for future Australian research analysing the discriminatory behaviours of modern racists. The highly salient racial status of Aborigines needs to be taken into account when developing experimental techniques and scenarios to analyse modern racists’ discriminatory behaviours. This thesis suggests that by using more naturalistic scenarios, for example helping behaviour scenarios (e.g., Gaertner & Dovidio, 1982), more natural expressions of discriminatory behaviours could be observed and measured in Australian populations, limiting the experimental effects of racial salience as previously discussed.

Measurement of racial attitudes through implicit techniques

The third research aim of this thesis examined concerns pertaining to the measurement of racial attitudes through implicit techniques. The implicit measurement of racial stereotypes in Study 4 provided support for Devine’s (1989) cognitive distinction between stereotypes and personal beliefs. While participants differed in their level of prejudicial beliefs (controlled process), as measured by the abridged SR-E scale, implicit measures revealed predominantly no differences between high and low prejudiced participants’ knowledge of the Aboriginal, Asian and immigrant cultural stereotypes. In the absence of controlled processes, high and low
prejudiced individuals were equally knowledgeable of the cultural stereotypes of the racial
groups. Within a different cultural setting to the research conducted by Devine, there existed
evidence to support a distinction between racial stereotypes and prejudicial beliefs towards the
racial groups.

The findings of Study 4 support concerns raised by researchers (Augoustinos et al., 1994;
Devine 1989; Devine & Elliot, 1995) in relation to what implicit measurement techniques are
actually measuring. The study found evidence that high and low prejudiced participants were
accessing similar knowledge structures in responses to the verbal racial primes. In accordance
with Devine's distinction between racial stereotypes and beliefs, it follows that implicit
techniques involving the priming of racial stereotypes, may actually be measuring an individual's
cultural knowledge of the primed racial group, rather than their prejudicial beliefs. With the trend
in prejudice research towards the use of implicit techniques, it is essential to ensure these
techniques are actually measuring prejudicial attitudes. In light of the concerns raised in relation
to the distinction between racial stereotypes and personal beliefs, research is needed to further
establish the psychometric properties of these techniques for their use in future research
measuring contemporary racial attitudes.

Implicit content of Australian racial stereotypes and changes to the content of racial stereotypes

The final research aim of this thesis was to investigate the content and nature of
Australian racial stereotypes and the circumstances under which the content of racial stereotypes
may be undermined or changed. Study 4 provided empirical evidence of the implicit content of
the Aboriginal, Asian and immigrant cultural stereotypes. In response to the racial primes,
predominantly negative traits and characteristics were reported in relation to the cultural
stereotype of the racial groups. While positive traits were reported in the racial stereotype for
Asians and immigrants, the Aboriginal stereotype consisted almost entirely of negative traits and
characteristics. The Aboriginal stereotype was most clearly defined indicating participants had a
clear knowledge structure of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype. The predominantly negative nature of the racial stereotypes revealed in this study is consistent with American research illustrating the stereotype of African Americans being primarily negative in content (Devine, 1989; Devine & Elliot, 1995; Fazio et al., 1995).

Given the subsequent role the activation of stereotypes can play in guiding and influencing responses and behaviours it is important to establish the implicit content of racial stereotypes. The present findings have potentially serious implications for intergroup relations in light of the predominantly negative content of the Australian racial stereotypes revealed in this thesis. The implications of these findings were identified as being of particular concern for low prejudiced individuals in situations where cognitive ability or motivation to inhibit the negative racial content are reduced or limited. Given the findings supporting high and low prejudiced participants accessing similar knowledge structures, the activation of racial stereotypes could lead to potentially discrepant responses for low prejudiced individuals experiencing the above circumstances.

In response to this concern, Study 5 aimed to investigate the circumstances under which the content of racial stereotypes may be undermined or changed. The recent Sydney Olympic Games were reasoned to contain evidence of disconfirming stereotypic information and recategorising of ingroup boundaries relating to Aboriginal Australians, key features of the bookkeeping and common ingroup identity models of stereotype change. The study revealed significant increases to the positive traits of spiritual and artistic, and significant decreases to the negative traits of troublemakers, aimless and disrespectful in the two weeks following the Olympic Games. The findings provided evidence to support disconfirming information and the recategorising of ingroup boundaries during the Olympic Games facilitated some change to the explicit content of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype. Therefore, the findings of this experiment provided some potential support for the bookkeeping and common ingroup identity models of stereotype change.

The theoretical implication of these findings for prejudice research was in establishing
evidence of changes to the content of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype through the circumstances described in the above models of stereotype change. Furthermore, Study 5 provided evidence of stereotype change in response to a ‘real’ social event. However, the implications are limited by the present study being unable to establish the permeance and stability of these changes to the Aboriginal cultural stereotype.

In light of the predominantly negative content of racial stereotypes revealed in this and previous research, an avenue proposed for stereotype change could focus on incorporating more positive traits and characteristics into racial group schemas. Permanent changes to the negative content of racial stereotypes remains a difficult process to achieve owing to the sociocultural and cognitive mechanisms (for example, ingroup favouritism and outgroup discrimination) involved in the formation and maintenance of stereotypes. Thus, changes to the predominantly negative content of racial stereotypes encompass significant obstacles and the stability and permeance of stereotype changes could be undermined by the influences of these mechanisms. It is suggested that by incorporating more positive traits and characteristics into racial stereotypes, through the described models of stereotype change, a more balanced schema of racial groups may be achieved. The benefit of a balanced racial schema for intergroup relations stems from the subsequent role the activation of racial stereotypes can play in guiding responses and behaviours. The incorporation of positive traits into racial schemas could assist in countering the automatic activation of predominantly negative traits, in turn, influencing the role the negative stereotypical content can play in subsequent responses (e.g., prejudiced attitudes) and behaviours (e.g., discriminatory behaviours) towards minority racial group members.

**Future Directions**

From the empirical findings reported in this thesis and the theoretical and practical implications previously discussed, a number of areas for future contemporary racial prejudice research are identified. Undoubtedly there exists a need for continued research into the nature and prevalence of modern racist attitudes in other populations and regions of Australia.
Generalisation of the findings reported in thesis is limited by the empirical studies being conducted in student populations. In relation to the prevalence of modern racist attitudes, this thesis reported a concerning level of negative affect expressed towards racial groups in the student samples. The prevalence of modern racist attitudes detected in a student sample accentuates the need for further research into the extent of contemporary racial prejudice in other populations and regions of Australia. Furthermore, this thesis proposes future research into the prevalence of contemporary racist attitudes be conducted with a scale (for example, SR-E scale) designed specifically for Australian populations. Using scales that reflect issues and attitudes specific to the racial climate in Australia will assist in the accurate detection and measurement of modern racist attitudes in Australian populations.

A further area for prejudice research that is proposed by this thesis is the continued investigation of sources of negative racial affect in the formation of modern racist attitudes. This thesis reported findings that were in contrast to contemporary theories of racial prejudice that maintain racial socialisation as a source of negative racial affect. With contemporary theories of racial prejudice being developed over twenty years ago, there exists the potential for sociocultural sources of negative affect to have changed for upcoming generations. Through exploring and establishing the sources of negative racial affect, techniques and programs can be specifically designed to break the continuum of racial prejudice in Australian populations.

The discriminatory behaviours of modern racists are another important area for future Australian prejudice research. The findings reported by this thesis in relation to modern racists’ discriminatory behaviours in conditions of low racial salience were argued to be limited by methodological problems in creating conditions of low racial salience in an Australian context. It is essential to understand the subtle and complex nature of contemporary discrimination prevailing in Australian populations and the conditions under which it occurs. Although contemporary discrimination may be more subtle and indirect than old-fashioned forms of discrimination, the consequences for the targets of discrimination are just as aversive by restricting opportunities and maintaining present inequalities.
As previously discussed in the theoretical and practical implications of this thesis, future research needs to be directed towards further establishing the psychometric properties of implicit techniques in the measurement of racial attitudes. While this thesis recognised the advantages of implicit measurement techniques in addressing the potential limitations of explicit self-report measures, it is imperative to establish that these techniques are measuring prejudicial beliefs. In light of the concerns raised by the present and previous research, establishing the psychometric properties of implicit measurement techniques is an important area for future prejudice research.

The final area proposed for future research relates to the stability and permanence of stereotype change achieved through key features of the bookkeeping and common ingroup identity models, observed in the recent Sydney Olympic Games. While the findings reported in this thesis provided some support for the above models in relation to achieving changes to the explicit content of the Aboriginal cultural stereotype, evidence of the permanence and stability of these changes could not be drawn from this study. Future research in the form of a longitudinal study would be beneficial in establishing the stability and permanence of changes to racial stereotypes through the above-described models of stereotype change. Furthermore, it is proposed that future research examine the validity of specific models of stereotype change, in response to social and cultural events. Designing research to directly test specific models, will provide further evidence of the circumstances and conditions necessary to modify, undermine or change racial stereotypes.

Final comments

Racial prejudice and discrimination remain prominent social forces in Australian society, despite concerted social and political policies to achieve racial tolerance over the past few decades. Contemporary forms of racial prejudice are more subtle and indirect in nature and expression, nonetheless they are still harmful and debilitating forms of racism. Due to the subtlety and complexity of contemporary forms of racial prejudice, the recognition of racist attitudes and discriminatory behaviours are not only difficult to identify, but also difficult to
combat. Research into the nature and expression of contemporary forms of racial prejudice provides the foundations for developing social policies to address racial intolerance in Australian society. Traditional techniques such as emphasising the immorality and illegality of prejudice and discrimination are not as effective in targeting racist attitudes among modern and aversive racists who consider themselves to non-prejudiced. Techniques need to be developed that target the changing nature and expression of racist attitudes and discriminatory behaviours. Strategies designed to reduce contemporary racism need to be implemented not only at an individual level, but also at a societal and organisational level.

In response to the serious and current social reality of racism in Australia, this thesis aimed to provide a theoretical and empirical account of contemporary forms of racial prejudice in an Australian context. By understanding the nature and expression of contemporary racial prejudice in Australia, we can become better equipped at developing techniques and avenues designed to achieve a reduction in prejudiced attitudes. The implementation of techniques and social policies designed to promote racial tolerance, may one day, see racial prejudice defeated not only intellectually, but also emotionally.
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APPENDIX A

Student’s Opinions of Current Social Issues questionnaire
Participant code:

Student's Opinions on Current Social Issues Questionnaire

The following questionnaire will contain 42 opinion statements about current social issues. You will be asked to express your level of agreement or disagreement to the statements. The response format for all questions is as follows:

1 - Strongly Disagree
2 - Disagree
3 - Moderately Disagree
4 - Moderately Agree
5 - Agree
6 - Strongly Agree

Participants are required to circle the number that most closely represents their opinion on a particular question. You are under no obligation to give an opinion to any item that you feel is too personal or intrusive.

Question 1: Sex education should be taught in all public High Schools.

Question 2: Australia should become a Republic in the next 10 years.

Question 3: Money given directly to Aboriginal groups for housing and health programs is often wasted because they cannot properly manage it.
Question 4: Australia should sign the International Treaty on reducing Greenhouse gases.

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<tr>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Moderately Disagree</th>
<th>Moderately Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
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Question 5: The fashion industry is in no way responsible for the rise in eating disorders (for example bulimia and anorexia nervosa) in female teenagers.

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Question 6: Australian culture would be weakened if the percentage of the population from an Asian background became much higher than at present.

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Question 7: Australia should retain the Monarchy as the Head of State in Australia.

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Question 8: Sex education is effective in reducing the number of teenage pregnancies.

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Question 9: The significant rise in cosmetic surgery reflects society's preoccupation with the perfect body image.

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Question 10: There is too much emphasis in Australian on multiculturalism.

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<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Moderately Disagree</th>
<th>Moderately Agree</th>
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Question 11: Uranium mining should be allowed in National parks.

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Question 12: Today, men face as much pressure as women, to live up to unrealistic stereotypes of the perfect body image.

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Question 13: A constitutional referendum on the Republic is the best way to resolve the Republic debate.

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Question 14: Sex education in schools encourages sexual activity among students.

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<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Question 15: Housing loans and welfare assistance are being given to Aboriginal people on much better terms than to other Australians.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
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<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
**Question 16:** Stiffer financial and legal penalties should be enforced for companies found guilty of polluting the environment.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Moderately Disagree 4 Moderately Agree 5 Agree 6 Strongly Agree

**Question 17:** Beauty magazines place too much pressure on young teenage girls to live up to unrealistic body images.

1 2 3 4 5 6

**Question 18:** Australian logging and timber quotas should be increased to promote economic growth in Australia.

1 2 3 4 5 6

**Question 19:** Aboriginal people have more influence upon the mining and pastoral industries than they ought to have.

1 2 3 4 5 6

**Question 20:** Education is the best weapon in reducing the incidence of sexually transmitted diseases in our society.

1 2 3 4 5 6

**Question 21:** An Australian Head of State should open the Sydney Olympic Games in the year 2000.

1 2 3 4 5 6
Question 22: Beauty and fashion magazines should use a greater range of models with different body shapes and sizes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
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<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>Moderately Disagree</td>
<td>Moderately Agree</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question 23: New migrants to Australia receive benefits which other Australians have to work for.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
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</thead>
</table>

Question 24: Not enough world attention and resources are being directed towards saving endangered species.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Question 25: Another Republic Convention is needed to resolve the debate over whether Australia should become a Republic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Question 26: Moral and religious views on sexual issues should be included in the sex education programs at public High Schools.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
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<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
**Question 27:** Providing welfare for Aboriginal groups stops them developing any self-reliance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
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<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Moderately Disagree</td>
<td>Moderately Agree</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Question 28:** If Australia was to become a Republic, the Head of State should be directly elected from the general population.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Question 29:** Koala culling is the most effective and humane way of reducing overpopulated Koala colonies in certain areas of Australia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
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</thead>
</table>

**Question 30:** It is morally wrong to allow condom vending machines in public High Schools.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Question 31:** Not enough attention and resources is being directed towards treatments for eating disorders.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
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</thead>
</table>

**Question 32:** It is just a matter of some people not trying hard enough. If Aboriginal people would only try harder they could be as well off as other Australians.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
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<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Question 33: Cosmetic surgery is a viable option to prevent the aging process.

1  2  3  4  5  6
Strongly Disagree Moderately Disagree Moderately Agree Strongly Agree

Question 34: Sex education is an effective technique in increasing High School student’s knowledge of the risks associated with sexual activity.

1  2  3  4  5  6

Question 35: The establishment of a republic would increase the national pride of all Australians.

1  2  3  4  5  6

Question 36: Too much money is being spent on welfare payments and housing for Aboriginals.

1  2  3  4  5  6

Question 37: The Federal Government is not committed enough to environmental polices to reduce environmental degradation in Australia.

1  2  3  4  5  6

Question 38: The medical risks of cosmetic surgery far outweigh any potential benefits.

1  2  3  4  5  6
Question 39: Logging restrictions and quotas have destroyed the Australian timber industry.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Moderately Disagree</td>
<td>Moderately Agree</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question 40: New migrants from other cultures should be willing to adapt to the mainstream cultural values of Australia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question 41: Parents should give their children permission to attend sex education classes in High Schools.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>4</th>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question 42: More research is needed on the economic, legal and social implications of a Republic for Australian society.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

~ End of Questionnaire ~
Please answer the following Bio-Data questions:

Gender: Male [ ] Female [ ] (please tick appropriate box)

Age: _______ years

Political affiliation; which political party do you affiliate with (please tick appropriate box)

Labor [ ]
Liberal [ ]
Democrats [ ]
Greens [ ]
National [ ]
Other ________ [ ]
(please fill in name of political party)

No political party [ ]

Do you know or can you guess what this questionnaire was measuring?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________
APPENDIX B

University students' informed consent form
Informed Consent Form

Chief Investigator: Jenny Wheeler
University of Canberra Research Masters Student

Supervisor: Patricia Brown
Contact Phone Number: 62012536

Project title: Student opinions on current social and political issues

The following experiment is part of my research project for the Masters by Research Degree. The experiment consists of a questionnaire. The questionnaire will contain a number of opinion statements about current social and political issues. You will be asked to express your level of agreement and disagreement to the statements.

Your responses to the questionnaire will remain completely confidential. All questionnaires will be stored securely on university premises. The researcher is only interested in statistical means, so no form of identification will be placed on the questionnaire.

Participation in the experiment is on a voluntary basis. You may withdraw from the experiment at any stage, without penalty.

You are under no obligation to give an opinion to any item that they feel is too personal or intrusive.

Completing the questionnaire will take one hour. At the completion of the experiment you will be debriefed as to the specific nature, purpose and significance of the experiment.

When the results of the experiment have been finalised, a notice will be posted on the Psychology bulletin board. Any interested participants may contact the researcher in relation to the results of the experiment.

I --------------- have read the informed consent statement and agree to participate in the experiment

Signature --------------- Date --------------
APPENDIX C

Internal-External Locus of Control Scale
For each question, please circle the letter (a or b) which you more strongly agree with.

**Question 1:**
(a) Many of the unhappy things in people’s lives are partly due to bad luck.
(b) People’s misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.

**Question 2:**
(a) One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don’t take enough interest in politics.
(b) They will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.

**Question 3:**
(a) In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world.
(b) Unfortunately, an individual’s worth often passes unrecognised no matter how hard he/she tries.

**Question 4:**
(a) The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.
(b) Most students don’t realise the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.

**Question 5:**
(a) Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.
(b) Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.

**Question 6:**
(a) No matter how hard you try some people just don’t like you.
(b) People who can’t get others to like them don’t understand how to get along with others.

**Question 7:**
(a) I have often found out what is going to happen will happen.
(b) Trusting to fate has never turned out well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.

**Question 8:**
(a) In the case of the well-prepared student, there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test.
(b) Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying is really useless.
Question 9:
a. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
b. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.

Question 10:
a. The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.
b. This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little person can do about it.

Question 11:
a. When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.
b. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyway.

Question 12:
a. In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
b. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.

Question 13:
a. Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.
b. Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability, luck has little or nothing to do with it.

Question 14:
a. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand nor control.
b. By taking an active part in political and social affairs, the people can control world events.

Question 15:
a. Most people don’t realise the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.
b. There really is no such thing as “luck”.

Question 16:
a. It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.
b. How many friends you have depends on how nice a person you are.
Question 17:
a. In the long run the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones.
b. Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all three.

Question 18:
a. With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.
b. It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in the office.

Question 19:
a. Sometimes I can’t understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.
b. There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get.

Question 20:
a. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.
b. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life.

Question 21:
a. People are lonely because they don’t try to be friendly.
b. There’s not much use in trying too hard to please people, if they like you, they like you.

Question 22:
a. What happens to me is my own doing.
b. Sometimes I feel that I don’t have enough control over the direction my life is taking.

Question 23:
a. Most of the time I can’t understand why politicians behave the way they do.
b. In the long run the people are responsible for bad government on the national as well as a local level.
APPENDIX D

ACT Secondary College Students’ Informed Consent form
Informed Consent Form

Chief Investigator: Jenny Wheeler
University of Canberra Research Masters Student
Supervisor: Patricia Brown
Contact Phone Number: 62012536

Project title: Student opinions on current social and political issues

The experiment is part of my research project for the Masters by Research Degree. The experiment consists of a questionnaire. The questionnaire will contain a number of opinion statements about current social and political issues. Participants will be asked to express their level of agreement and disagreement to the statements.

Responses to the questionnaire will remain completely confidential. All questionnaires will be stored securely on university premises. The researcher is only interested in statistical means, so no form of identification will be placed on the questionnaire.

Participation in the experiment is on a voluntary basis. Participants may withdraw from the experiment at any stage.

Participants are under no obligation to give an opinion to any item that they feel is too personal or intrusive.

Completing the questionnaire will take half an hour. The experiment will be conducted in school hours. At the completion of the experiment participants will be debriefed as to the specific nature, purpose and significance of the experiment.

When the results of the experiment have been finalised, the school will be notified of the results for any interested participants.

Parental consent to participate in the experiment is necessary for students under 18 years.

Parent or Guardian:
I --------------------- have read the informed consent statement and agree for my son / daughter to participate in the experiment

Signature ------------------------ Date ---------------------

Student:
I --------------------- have read the informed consent statement and agree to participate in the experiment

Signature ------------------------ Date ---------------------
APPENDIX E

Development of the employment resumes
Development of the employment resumes

Matching of resume content

Bio-data:

All three applicants were single males residing in suburban Melbourne, Victoria. Three common names were selected for each applicant; Andrew, Robert and David. The age of applicants ranged between 25 and 26 years.

Education

Each applicant was awarded the Victorian Certificate of Education. Applicants attended either Monash or Deakin Universities and were awarded a Bachelor of Arts degree. Units selected in the academic transcripts were based on four academic disciplines; Political Science, Economics, Sociology and Policy Studies. Unit titles were drawn from two university course guides; Deakin Undergraduates Studies 1997 and Australian National University Undergraduate Handbook 1997. Applicants received the same number of Passes (3), Credits (9) and Distinctions (2), however the grades were presented in different orders between the academic transcripts.

Work Experience

The work experience of each applicant incorporated retail experience at a shop assistant position.

Referees

Each resume included the contact details of a personal and work referee.

Manipulation of race

The Aboriginal traditional surname “Nungarayi” was chosen from a selection of traditional Aboriginal names from the Northern Territory.

Matching of format and presentation:

Each resume were of equivalent length and font (“12”). Moderate variations in format
and presentation were created between the employment resumes. Moderate variations included the resumes being printed on different shades of paper ("Soft white lines", "Beige" and "Natural"), different typeface and formatting of the content. Each employment resume was laser printed and laminated.
APPENDIX F

Employment resumes
Resume: Robert Davies

Bio-data:

Date of Birth: 14th July 1972

Marital Status: Single

Race/ Nationality: White Australian

Residence: 16 Axton Place
   Kensington, Victoria
   Ph: (03) 98341209

Education:

Secondary:
1991 Victorian Certificate of Education awarded

Tertiary:
Monash University
1995 Bachelor of Arts awarded
Majors: Political Science and Sociology

Record of Academic Transcript

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Unit Code</th>
<th>Unit Title</th>
<th>Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>POLC101</td>
<td>Australasian Politics</td>
<td>Credit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>POLS101</td>
<td>Political Science A</td>
<td>Credit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ECON102</td>
<td>Economics 1</td>
<td>Pass</td>
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<td>SOCY101</td>
<td>Introduction to Sociology</td>
<td>Credit</td>
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<tr>
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<td>SOCY210</td>
<td>Qualitative Research Methods</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SOCY302</td>
<td>Political Sociology</td>
<td>Credit</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>POLC205</td>
<td>Society, State and Politics</td>
<td>Distinction</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>POLS308</td>
<td>Contemporary Political Theory</td>
<td>Credit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>POLS311</td>
<td>International Relations Theory</td>
<td>Credit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>SOCY209</td>
<td>Ideologies and Belief Systems</td>
<td>Distinction</td>
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<td>SOCY312</td>
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<td></td>
<td>POLS203</td>
<td>Australian Elections</td>
<td>Credit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>POLS205</td>
<td>Australian Political Economy</td>
<td>Credit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Attainment's:
- Current Drivers Licence
- Red Cross Resuscitation Certificate

Work Experience:
1993 – Present
Abies’ Music Centre: Shop Assistant
Duties Include; Operating a register and EFTPOS terminal, handling customer inquires and refunds, ordering stock, assisting with in-store music promotions, packing and distributing stock to other stores.

Referees:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal</th>
<th>Sue Allen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ph: 96385269 (h)</td>
<td>0421 258,698 (m)</td>
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<tr>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Janine Thomas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ph: 96382584 (w)</td>
<td>0412 289,782 (m)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Resume
Andrew Nungarrayi

Bio-data:

Date of Birth: 6th February 1973

Marital Status: Single

Race/Nationality: Aboriginal Australian

Residence: 44 Myer Street
Chadstone, Victoria
Ph: (03) 98577890

Education:

Secondary:
1992 Victorian Certificate of Education awarded

Tertiary:
Deakin University
1996 Bachelor of Arts awarded
Majors: Political Science

Record of Academic Transcript

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<th>Unit Title</th>
<th>Grade</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Sociology 1</td>
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<td>ECO1002</td>
<td>Modern Political Economy</td>
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<td>POC 1001</td>
<td>Issues in Australasian Politics</td>
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<td>Approaching Politics</td>
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<td>Australian Government Administration and Public Policy</td>
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<td>Credit</td>
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<td></td>
<td>SOC3002</td>
<td>Collective Behaviour and Social Movements</td>
<td>Distinction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>POC3009</td>
<td>Health Policy and Administration</td>
<td>Credit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Work Experience:

1993 – Present: Coles Chadstone

Wages clerk
Duties include: Employee wages, Planning store wages for the week, Maintaining the payroll masterfile of each employee, Maintaining employee time clockings for the week (labour management), liasing with other stores, handling employee wage inquiries.

Attainment's:

- Current Victorian Driver's Licence
- Type- speed certificate Level 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Referee:</th>
<th>Work Referee:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Elliot</td>
<td>Judy Ellis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ph: 98023698</td>
<td>Ph: 98639889 (w) 0421 568 216 (m)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
~ Resume ~

Name: David Thompson
Date of Birth: 3rd April 1973
Race/Nationality: White Australian
Marital Status: Single
Phone Number: (03) 98732202
Address: 14 Seymour Street, Templestowe, Victoria

Education:

Secondary:
1993 Victorian Certificate of Education awarded

Tertiary:
Monash University
1996 Bachelor of Arts awarded
Majors: Political Science and Policy Study

Record of Academic Transcript

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Unit Code</th>
<th>Unit Title</th>
<th>Grade</th>
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<tr>
<td>1994</td>
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<td>SOCY101</td>
<td>Introduction to Sociology</td>
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<td>ECON102</td>
<td>Economics 1</td>
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<td>Australasian Politics</td>
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<td>POLS203</td>
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<td>SOCY207</td>
<td>Community and the Individual</td>
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<td></td>
<td>SOCY308</td>
<td>Modern Sociology Theory</td>
<td>Distinction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>POLC305</td>
<td>Democracy and Citizenship</td>
<td>Credit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Work Experience:**

1994 – Present
Safeway Templestowe; Service Supervisor

Duties Include: Distributing change to registers, Authorising cheques, Liasing with other stores, Handling customer complaints and inquires over the phone and in person, giving customer refunds, Operating a register and EFTPOS terminal, responsible for the smooth running of all checkouts and liquor.

**Attainment’s:**

- Current Victorian Drivers licence
- St John’s First Aid Certificate

**Referees:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal</th>
<th>Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leanne Spence  Ph: 96305321 (w)</td>
<td>Toby Allen  Ph: 96356489 (h)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX G

Resume Evaluation Questionnaire
Participant Code:

Resume evaluation questionnaire;

The following questionnaire will contain 5 opinion questions relating to the resume of a potential applicant for employment.

After reading the resume you will be asked to express your opinion to questions relating to the format, content and overall presentation of the resume. Please circle the number that most closely represents your opinion on a particular question.

Q1: To what extent did you like the applicant's overall resume?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Not at All
Very Much

Q2: How would you judge the overall format of the resume?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Unfavourable Favourable

Q3: Did you find the applicant's educational background to be:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Less than Satisfactory More than Satisfactory
Q4: Did you find the resume easy to read?

[1 2 3 4 5 6 7]

difficult to read

very easy to read

Q5: Would you hire this applicant?

[1 2 3 4 5 6 7]

definitely not hire

definitely hire
APPENDIX H

Manipulation check for Study 3
Manipulation Check:

1. **What state or territory were the applicants from?**
   Response:
   Correct / Incorrect

2. **Can you recall the race and nationality of the applicants?**
   Response:
   Correct / Incorrect

3. **Were the applicants married or single?**
   Response:
   Correct / Incorrect

4. **Can you recall what universities the applicants attended?**
   Response:
   Correct / Incorrect

5. **Can you recall the type of degree the applicants obtained?**
   Response:
   Correct / Incorrect
APPENDIX I

Employment resume informed consent form
Informed Consent Form

**Project title: Evaluation of employment resumes**

This experiment involves evaluating the presentation and format of employment resumes of potential employees. You will be asked to read and evaluate each employment resume on content, presentation and format.

Your response to the questionnaires will remain completely confidential. All questionnaires will be stored securely on university premises.

Participation in the experiment is on a voluntary basis. You may withdraw from the experiment at any stage, without penalty.

I ------------------------ have read the informed consent statement and agree to participate in the experiment

Signature ------------------------ Date ------------------------
APPENDIX J

Demographic Information Questionnaire
Please answer the following Bio-Data questions:

Gender: Male [ ] Female [ ] (please tick appropriate box)

Age: _______ years

Nationality: ________________

Were you born in Australia? Yes [ ] No [ ] (please tick appropriate box)

Political affiliation; which political party do you affiliate with (please tick appropriate box)

Labor [ ]
Liberal [ ]
Democrats [ ]
Greens [ ]
National [ ]
Other ____________________ [ ]
(please fill in name of political party)

No political party [ ]

Do you know or can you guess what this questionnaire was measuring?

________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________
APPENDIX K

Verbal priming stimulus words
Stereotype experiment: Instructions to participants

The experiment is designed to investigate people’s knowledge of social stereotypes. The researcher is interested in participant’s knowledge of the commonly held stereotypes of a number of social groups.

A stereotype is a belief that all members of a specific social group share certain traits and characteristics. The experiment involves a verbal priming task. The aim of the experiment is to quickly state what most people believe the stereotype (traits and characteristics) is for a particular social group. Quickly state the first traits and characteristics that come to mind, associated with the social group. It is important to note that you do not have to personally hold this stereotype of the particular social group. The aim of the experiment is to state what most people believe the stereotype of the particular social group is.

For example: A commonly held stereotype of an athlete could be; fit, dedicated and strong.

Practice stimulus primes.
Criminals
Football players
English people
Lawyers
University students
Doctors
Models
Germans
Musicians
Police officers
New Zealanders
Soldiers
Firefighters
Artists
Italians
Experimental session.
This is the experimental session. The method is the same as the practice session. The aim of the experiment is to quickly state what most people believe the stereotype (traits and characteristics) is for a particular social group. It is important to note that you do not have to personally hold this stereotype of the particular social group. The aim of the experiment is to state what most people believe to be the stereotype of the particular social group. Quickly state the first traits and characteristics that come to mind, associated with the social group.

Experimental stimulus primes.
Americans
Law student
Aborigines *
Nurse
Teacher
Asians *
Politicians
Actors
Immigrants *
University lecturer

* Target racial primes
APPENDIX L

Stereotype informed consent form
Informed Consent Form

Project title: Knowledge of current social stereotypes.

This experiment involves participants' knowledge of current social stereotypes. Participants will be asked to state the traits and characteristics that are associated with the cultural stereotypes for a number of social groups.

For transcribing purposes, participant's responses will be recorded on tape. All responses in the experiment will remain completely confidential. All recordings of responses on tape will immediately be recorded over after the information has been transcribed.

Participation in the experiment is on a voluntary basis. You may withdraw from the experiment at any stage, without penalty.

At the completion of the experiment you will be debriefed as to the specific nature, purpose and significance of the experiment.

I --------------------------- have read the informed consent statement and agree to participate in the experiment.

Signature --------------------------- Date ---------------------------
APPENDIX M

Aboriginal Australian adjective checklist questionnaire
Instructions:

This questionnaire will comprise of a list of adjectives. Please read through the list carefully and identify those adjectives that make up the cultural stereotype of Aboriginal Australians. Note, these characteristics may or may not reflect your personal beliefs. So, select those adjectives that you know to be part of the cultural stereotype whether or not you believe the stereotype to be true. Please tick all the adjectives that make up the cultural stereotype of Australian Aborigines.
Please read through the list carefully and please tick those adjectives that make up the cultural stereotype of Aboriginal Australians.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artistic</th>
<th>[ ]</th>
<th>Bludgers</th>
<th>[ ]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unreliable</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Easy-going</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thoughtful</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Unemployable</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentle</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Understanding</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lazy</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Self-assured</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrow-minded</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Ungrateful</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheerful</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Reliable</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obnoxious</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Inferior</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incompetent</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humorous</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Intelligent</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caring</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Just</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Untrustworthy</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Liars</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loyal</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aimless</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Hostile</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kind</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Trouble makers</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loud mouthed</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Resourceful</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drunken</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Dishonest</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect the land</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Demanding</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musical</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Spiritual</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dirty</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Happy</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insincere</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Unfriendly</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proud</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Wise</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wasteful</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Sincere</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truthful</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Conceited</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talented</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Disrespectful</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law Breakers</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Instructions:**

What I would like you to do now is to go back to the set of adjectives selected and listed as making up the cultural stereotype. Please mark with a star the five words that seem to you to be most typical of Aboriginal Australians according to the cultural stereotype.
APPENDIX N

American adjective checklist questionnaire
Participant Code:

Instructions:

This questionnaire will comprise of a list of adjectives. Note, these characteristics may or may not reflect your personal beliefs. Please read through the list carefully and identify those adjectives that make up the cultural stereotype of Americans. So, select those adjectives that you know to be part of the cultural stereotype whether or not you believe the stereotype to be true. Please tick all the adjectives that make up the cultural stereotype of Americans.
Please read through the list carefully and please tick those adjectives that make up the cultural stereotype of Americans.

| Artistic     |       | Bludgers     |       |
| Unreliable  |       | Easy-going   |       |
| Thoughtful  |       | Unemployable |       |
| Gentle      |       | Understanding|       |
| Lazy        |       | Self-assured |       |
| Narrow-minded |     | Ungrateful  |       |
| Cheerful    |       | Reliable     |       |
| Obnoxious   |       | Inferior     |       |
| Incompetent |       | Mean         |       |
| Humorous    |       | Intelligent  |       |
| Caring      |       | Just         |       |
| Untrustworthy |     | Liars        |       |
| Loyal       |       | Independent  |       |
| Aimless     |       | Hostile      |       |
| Kind        |       | Trouble makers|     |
| Loud mouthed |     | Resourceful  |       |
| Drunken     |       | Dishonest    |       |
| Respect the land | | Demanding  |       |
| Musical     |       | Spiritual    |       |
| Dirty       |       | Happy        |       |
| Insincere   |       | Unfriendly   |       |
| Proud       |       | Wise         |       |
| Wasteful    |       | Sincere      |       |
| Truthful    |       | Conceited    |       |
| Talented    |       | Disrespectful|       |
| Law Breakers |     |              |       |

**Instructions:**

What I would like you to do now is to go back to the set of adjectives selected and listed as making up the cultural stereotype. Please mark with a star the **five words** that seem to you to be most typical of Americans according to the cultural stereotype.
APPENDIX O

New Zealander adjective checklist questionnaire
This questionnaire will comprise of a list of adjectives. Note, these characteristics may or may not reflect your personal beliefs. Please read through the list carefully and identify those adjectives that make up the cultural stereotype of New Zealanders. So, select those adjectives that you know to be part of the cultural stereotype whether or not you believe the stereotype to be true. Please tick all the adjectives that make up the cultural stereotype of New Zealanders.
Please read through the list carefully and please tick those adjectives that make up the cultural stereotype of New Zealanders.

Artistic [ ]
Unreliable [ ]
Thoughtful [ ]
Gentle [ ]
Lazy [ ]
Narrow-minded [ ]
Cheerful [ ]
Obnoxious [ ]
Incompetent [ ]
Humorous [ ]
Caring [ ]
Untrustworthy [ ]
Loyal [ ]
Aimless [ ]
Kind [ ]
Loud mouthed [ ]
Drunken [ ]
Respect the land [ ]
Musical [ ]
Dirty [ ]
Insincere [ ]
Proud [ ]
Wasteful [ ]
Truthful [ ]
Talented [ ]
Law Breakers [ ]
Bludgers [ ]
Easy-going [ ]
Unemployable [ ]
Understanding [ ]
Self-assured [ ]
Ungrateful [ ]
Reliable [ ]
Inferior [ ]
Mean [ ]
Intelligent [ ]
Just [ ]
Liars [ ]
Independent [ ]
Hostile [ ]
Trouble makers [ ]
Resourceful [ ]
Dishonest [ ]
Demanding [ ]
Spiritual [ ]
Happy [ ]
Unfriendly [ ]
Wise [ ]
Sincere [ ]
Conceited [ ]
Disrespectful [ ]

Instructions:

What I would like you to do now is to go back to the set of adjectives selected and listed as making up the cultural stereotype. Please mark with a star the five words that seem to you to be most typical of New Zealanders according to the cultural stereotype.
APPENDIX P

Adjective checklist informed consent form
Informed Consent Form

Project title: Knowledge of current social stereotypes.

This experiment involves participant’s knowledge of current social stereotypes. Participants will be asked to select traits and characteristics from an adjective questionnaire that are associated with the cultural stereotypes for a number of social groups.

Participation in the experiment is on a voluntary basis. You may withdraw from the experiment at any stage, without penalty.

At the completion of the experiment you will be debriefed as to the specific nature, purpose and significance of the experiment.

I _______________________ have read the informed consent statement and agree to participate in the experiment

Signature ___________________________  Date _______________________