Anti-Racism – What Works?
An evaluation of the effectiveness of anti-racism strategies

Prepared by the:
Centre for Social Change & Social Equity
Murdoch University

For the:
Office of Multicultural Interests

March 2003
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“Laws in this area will not change the hearts of men [sic], they can only restrain the actions of the heartless” (Martin Luther King, Jr.)

1. Executive Summary

This report, for the Office of Multicultural Interests, provides a review of the literature on anti-racism strategies, and incorporates evidence from various key researchers and policy workers from around Australia. Although serious methodological limitations restrict the generalisability of much of this literature, a number of key findings consistently emerge. These key findings may inform an evidence-based policy framework for anti-racism strategies. Specifically, the available evidence suggests that effective anti-racism strategies should:

1. Seek to eliminate false beliefs by providing accurate information.
2. Avoid ‘one-way’ communication: people are unlikely to engage with the topic of anti-racism if they are not given the opportunity to contribute their views.
3. Aim to provide the practical skills to empower people to speak out against racism. This is a crucial strategy for combating the racism of those who may assume, in the absence of dissenting voices, that their views are widely shared.
4. Invoke empathy for others.
5. Incorporate longitudinal strategies, initially emphasizing similarities among rather than differences between groups, but subsequently emphasising diversity and plurality.
6. Focus on changing racist behaviours and actions, rather than on changing racist attitudes and/or beliefs, which are remarkably resistant to change. Developing and supporting non-racist behaviour is not only more achievable than are non-racist attitudes, but research suggests that altering behaviour can in itself lead to altered attitudes.
7. Offer communities sound alternative explanations to people’s justifications for their racist views, emphasizing that the ‘anti-social’ behaviour of dispossessed people makes more sense as a consequence of their dispossession than of their ethnicity and, in any case, that ‘ethnic’ groups are not homogenous.
8. Have the support of clear unambiguous political leadership.
9. Draw from a coalition of leaders from academia, sport, police, public life etc. who are committed to delivering a consistent message.
10. Be supported by sustained and substantial funding.
11. Be supported by collaboration across agencies and full consultation/involvement of ethnic communities.
12. Offer practical solutions to changing behaviour rather than just focusing on beliefs.
13. Develop long-term plans rather than one-shot interventions, as change, by necessity, takes time.
In summary, the literature suggests that the best possible strategy for combating racism is multi-faceted, and developed in accordance with the specific and local circumstances of the community for which it is intended. Specifically, a dynamic, iterative and consultative approach, using both ‘top-down’ strategies (e.g., community or institutionally instigated action, such as advertising campaigns targeting specific actions or behaviours — as in the successful HIV/AIDS prevention Grim Reaper campaign) and ‘bottom-up’ strategies (e.g., addressing specific racist behaviours), is more likely to succeed than are replications of ‘one-size fits all’ programs, without due regard for local community concerns and political sensitivities around the issues of entitlement, dispossession, racism and prejudice. Further, in the design and implementation of any strategy, it is advisable to work collaboratively with other community agencies, in order to avoid the duplication of initiatives, and — in future — to evaluate the success of each strategy with reference to empirically rigorous process, interim and longer-term outcome criteria.
2. **Background, definition of terms, and overview of report**

Australia has the reputation of being a successful multicultural society. But the last decade has seen considerable public debate about ‘race’ and racial issues, much of it negative. For example, the Mabo and Wik decisions, the rise of One Nation, the Tampa crisis and the ongoing management of asylum seekers have received a great deal of negative publicity. In this last example, Australia has been criticised by many (e.g., the United Nations) for its treatment of asylum seekers. The reports in the media regarding attacks on the World Trade Center on September 11 2001, and more recently the Bali bombings on October 12 2002, have resulted in a heightened salience of 'racial' and religious issues, racial vilification and racial assaults in Australia. Some political parties support racism by either overtly or covertly espousing it, or by taking no action actively to reject it. But what strategies can be put into place to reduce racism? One frequently advocated way to reduce racism is the implementation of anti-racism strategies by governments and other organisations.

Our aim in this report is to provide a generally representative list of published and unpublished accounts of actions that focus on reducing racist behaviours, attitudes, and/or beliefs. Such approaches may include publicity campaigns against racism, racism response strategies, anti-racist education and training, racial prejudice and racial/religious stereotype reduction programs, and racism awareness training. (Note that in the latter case, any reductions in racism are supposed to be mostly through an increase in awareness of racism). It is the focus of each approach (the supposed active process and, in most cases, the aim) that is the basis for categorization here, rather than the label and politics of each approach. But first, it is necessary to provide a definition of racism - and anti-racism - for the purposes of this report.

First, we discuss the meaning of the term ‘racism’, in particular the difference between it and other constructs such as prejudice. Prejudice and racism are generally seen as attitudes; that is, they are seen to be evaluative orientations individuals have to groups of people.

There are many definitions of racism. In this report, racism is broadly defined as including attitudes, judgments, discriminatory behaviours, and institutional practices that function to systematically disadvantage groups of people defined by their ‘race’ or ethnicity. It is acknowledged that factors such as sexism, homophobia, religious beliefs, and able-ism are often intrinsically linked with racism, and are problems in their own right. ‘Mainstream’ Australians are not a single homogeneous dominant group; nor are ‘minority’ groups homogeneous. However, for the purposes of this report, ‘racial’ issues are concentrated on here.

Related terms are ‘stereotypes’ and ‘prejudice’. A stereotype is defined as consensually-held beliefs about social groups, and can be positive (e.g., The French are supposedly good cooks) or negative (The British are supposedly inhibited). Prejudice, on the other hand, is defined as a “positive or negative attitude,
judgment or feeling about a person that is generalized from attitudes or beliefs held about the group to which the person belongs” (Jones, 1997, p. 10). However, it is usually taken to reflect a **negative** pre-judgment. Thus, the term ‘racism’ is more inclusive than ‘racial stereotypes’ or ‘racial prejudice’ in that it explicitly notes institutional and cultural practices. Some research has distinguished between two kinds of prejudice (e.g., Pedersen & Walker, 1997): an ‘old-fashioned’ form characterized by overt hostility and rejection, and a ‘modern’ form which is more subtle and covert involving individualistic values. However, recent research by the authors indicates that there is not a clear distinction between the two. Although this report will not go into any detail, the distinction needs to be mentioned as some of the research cited in this report relies on these constructs.

The terms ‘prejudice’, ‘racism’ etc. are often used loosely and interchangeably in the research reviewed here. In reviewing this research, we will use the terms as the original authors have defined them.

Racism operates at both individual and systemic levels. Therefore, anti-racism strategies need to be implemented at individual, institutional, and cultural levels. For example, previous research finds that racism relates to some personal characteristics of individuals such as empathy and right-wing authoritarianism; however, it also relates to more societal variables such as lack of education and local norms.

It is important to acknowledge the fluidity of both prejudice and racism. Analyses of historical changes in prejudice and racism in Australia show significant ambivalence in community attitudes throughout the 20th century, but also show a strengthening of the positive and a weakening of the negative poles constituting this ambivalence. Important historical events have produced large and immediate changes in attitudes to particular groups. Research in the United States shows huge changes in how Germans and Japanese people are viewed coinciding with the Second World War. Similar, but less drastic, changes were evident in Australia. Such changes are hard to reconcile with a view that prejudice and racism are persistent attitudes, and that the best way to change discriminatory behaviours is by changing antecedent attitudes. Instead, these changes point to a salutary point – big, historical, structural changes induce attitude change, not the other way round.

In summary, there are no easy solutions to the problems of prejudice, racism, and discrimination. If there were, they would have been found by now. The first point to make is that no strategy for change will be successful without significant political will. It is not apparent that everyone wants to reduce prejudice and racism, or that these are seen as issues worth significant investment of community time and resources. Indeed, it can be argued that significant sections of the general community currently benefit from prevailing intergroup tensions and hostilities. Any attempt to reduce prejudice and racism is likely to encounter resistance if sections of the community stand to lose something, or believe that they stand to lose
something. A second point to make is that moral exhortation to be nice to one another does not work; Sunday sermonizing is not enough. A third point is that any attempt to portray particular groups as ‘different but nice’ do not work, especially in the prevailing climate in Australia which has seen significant community divisions in recent years over issues such as Native Land Title, asylum seekers, and terrorism. Fourth, any strategy that is likely to be successful necessarily involves social, structural, and political change. Fifth, attempts to reduce prejudice and racism are unlikely to have generic effects. Such attempts are probably best articulated to meet particular local needs, and should be targeted for particular issues and for particular sub-populations. The best interventions for the classroom are unlikely to be the best in the workplace; the best interventions in Nedlands are unlikely to be the best in Kalgoorlie. Sixth, any strategy must not expect instant results. Prejudice and racism have been around a long time; they will not disappear from community discourse immediately. Similarly, strategies must target different aspects of prejudice and racism at different times in a sequenced program. Although attitudes do not have strong, direct effects on behaviours, they may well be important to address as precursors for attempts to introduce major structural or legislative change. The present report will enlarge upon all of these points.

2.1. What are anti-racism strategies?

Anti-racist education and training are terms used to refer to many different things. On the one hand, they can focus on increasing anti-racist behaviours, beliefs, and/or attitudes in participants. This, in turn, is supposed to effect a reduction in racism in and by the participants (depending on the viewpoint of the author of the account and depending on whether the participants are from an ethnic/cultural majority or minority). The students (whatever their ethnicity) are supposed to go on to be formal or informal anti-racist educators themselves. Anti-racist education and training programs also usually rest upon quite different ideological and theoretical frameworks from cultural awareness training and racism awareness training. For example, anti-racist education focuses on both individual prejudiced attitudes, social power relations, and aims to change them. In contrast, racism awareness training focuses only on individual attitudes and aims to change them - in isolation from institutional racism. Thus, a salient contrast between the two approaches is the presence or absence of a focus on social power relations. Anti-racism education focuses on social power asymmetries; racism awareness training and cultural awareness training do not. Finally, cultural awareness training focuses on culture rather than racism. That is, the principal aim of cultural awareness training is to promote an increased understanding of ethnic minority cultures; there is no direct focus on reducing racism.

Anti-racism approaches are distinguishable from those that focus on increasing non-racist behaviours, attitudes, and/or beliefs, such as multicultural education or cultural awareness training, even though the reduction of racism may also eventuate. In cultural understanding or tolerance-focused approaches, the focus is not on racism or anti-racism. However, since the relationship between multicultural education and
anti-racist education has been a hotly contested issue, some references are included here in the ‘Related issues & publications’ section of the bibliography (see Appendix A).

At least two major related approaches to combating racism (more or less directly) have been excluded from this report. First, publications that focus on the reduction of racism through increasing participation, access, equity, and equality are not included, unless such programs involve actively anti-racist aspects, such as the addressing of inequities in power and representation described by Reid and Holland (1996). Second, publications that focus on the reduction of racism through, more or less anti-racist, legislation to either increase positive outcomes (e.g., equity and equality) or decrease negative outcomes (e.g., racial vilification) are not included in this report. For readers interested in multi-faceted programs/policies, see the bibliography attached to this report.

2.2 Why are anti-racism strategies needed?
Australia is often heralded as a ‘tolerant’ society, accepting of different cultures and peoples. Australian society also shows considerable evidence of racism. Aside from the fact that racism is ideologically offensive, and results in an exclusionary segmented society, it has considerable negative effects not only for the victim of racism, but for society as a whole. Allbrook (2001) makes the specific point that racism is “socially disruptive, destabilises good community relations, social cohesion, and national unity … and decreases productivity” (p. 12). Thus, it is beneficial for all groups of Australian society to eliminate racism, although not all groups stand to benefit equally and some groups stand to lose as well.

Anti-racist strategies involve eliminating – or at the very least modifying - racist beliefs. However, it is worth noting that some research indicates that these strategies have limited effectiveness (e.g., Commissioner for Equal Opportunities, 1998). Yet, until a sufficient number of different studies are examined with different theoretical perspectives and emphases, no firm conclusions can be reached. We aim to further this endeavour.

3. Method
This report aims to review published and unpublished reports evaluating anti-racism strategies. The following process for document selection and retrieval was followed:

1. A search was made of psychological (PsycINFO), sociological (SocioFile), and educational (ERIC) SilverPlatter databases for journal articles and book chapters that contain the words, ‘anti-racism OR antiracism OR anti racism’ AND ‘strategy OR strategies’ and were published in English between 1980 and 2002. This initial search produced mostly critical discussion documents, guidelines, and recommendations. References that appeared sufficiently relevant were then sought through Western Australian libraries (hardcopy and electronic access).
2. Reference lists in these articles and chapters were manually searched for additional potentially relevant publications, on the understanding that not all anti-racism strategies are directly identified as such.

3. References were sought after performing a search of the above SilverPlatter databases for entries containing the words, ‘prejudice OR stereotype OR attitude OR belief’ AND ‘reduction OR reducing OR change OR changing’ AND ‘race OR racial OR racist OR racism’.

4. An internet search (using the Google search engine), focusing on state, national, and international government and non-government websites, was conducted, seeking internet-published reports of anti-racism strategies.

5. A more informal search was made of the social-psychological research by way of email-lists and word-of-mouth.

6. Interviews with prominent social researchers and policy workers around Australia.

4. **Overview of evaluations of anti-racism strategies**

In this section, an overview is given of the success or otherwise of anti-racism strategies. It is worth noting here that most of the evaluations of anti-racism strategies we uncovered have substantial methodological flaws, such as ill-defined outcomes, poorly-measured outcomes, no follow-up assessment, over-reliance on university students as participants, small numbers of participants, and over-reliance on one-off short-term interventions. Indeed, the set of available evaluations and other studies is generally so flawed that it is difficult to identify, and even harder to support unequivocally, any firm conclusions. As a rule, it is not planned to criticise the method of studies one-by-one, but the quality of the literature at the end of their description will be discussed. Information about all the reports and studies incorporated in this section is summarised in Appendix B (Table 1: an evaluation of strategies; Table 2: review of summaries).

Anti-racism strategies come in many overlapping shapes and forms. Duckitt (2001) argues that anti-prejudice strategies operate at four levels:

i) **perceptual-cognitive**; this involves the salience of specific categorisations which maintain prejudice (e.g., ingroup favouritism)

ii) **individual**; this involves decreasing the individual’s susceptibility to prejudice (e.g., personality variables)
iii) **interpersonal**: this involves how people learn prejudice (e.g., social norms about cultural groups; media images of minorities; intergroup contact)

iv) **societal-intergroup**: this involves the social conditions surrounding prejudiced attitudes (e.g., anti-discrimination laws; ‘liberal’ democracy)

For the purposes of this report, the middle two levels are focused on. Although the other two levels are vital elements in the process of reducing racism, the research conducted tends to involve individual and interpersonal strategies (having said that, it is particularly difficult to separate ‘perceptual-cognitive’ and ‘individual’ in a practical and meaningful way). Yet, as Duckitt (2001) points out, anti-racism strategies need to operate at all four levels; this cannot be overstated.

In the following section, a number of particularly relevant strategies are discussed, and then evaluated for their usefulness. Most of these strategies report ‘mainstream’ participants with ‘minority group’ targets. However, it is worth noting that racist attitudes are not restricted simply to certain high-status groups against low-status groups. In this regard, three pertinent examples are set out below. First, minority groups often direct negativity directed toward majority groups. Although this is often perfectly understandable, there can be negative implications attached to this. For example, a self-fulfilling prophecy may occur. Here, Person A’s expectations about Person B could elicit behaviour from Person B confirming Person A’s expectancy. Put another way, an expectation that a person is racist may influence one’s interaction with that person (e.g., a lack of warmth) which could lead the other person to respond in such a way that this would confirm the expectation that the person was racist and unfriendly.

Second, there is racism against members of one’s own cultural group (see Dudgeon’s 2000 discussion of ‘violence turned inward’ regarding Indigenous-Australians). As Dudgeon points out, some effects of intra-cultural violence are spousal abuse/child abuse, feuding, and self-harm. However, it is important not to take this out of context; as Dudgeon points out, these involve the effects of colonization. Also, it needs noting that Indigenous-Australians are not a homogeneous group. Similarly, violence against women is a major problem throughout Australian society regardless of colour or class. The interaction between racism and sexism is often hard to deal with. For example, Elshaikh reports that migrant women have so much to contend with in a new country that they often do not prioritise their own needs. Also, there are severe penalties for ‘shaming the family’ if they disclose issues such as sexual assault (Elshaikh, 1996, cited in Urbis Keyes, & Young, 2002). Thus, there are complexities and ambiguities in dealing with the effects of racism in ethnic communities based on gender.

Third, there is racism of marginalised groups toward other marginalised groups; in other words, racism among different minority groups (e.g., race, religion, gender, able-ism, sexuality, and the list goes on). As noted by Simpson and Yinger (1985) in the American setting, because of a whole range of reasons which
are personal and social, and also because of the deprivations they themselves suffer, targets of racism can also engage in it. These authors give the examples of Chicanos and Puerto Ricans attempting to set themselves apart from African-Americans, as well as the anti-Semitism sometimes expressed by African-Americans. Thus, ambient political, cultural, and structural factors always contextualise the implementation of any particular anti-racism strategy.

The above has also been found in the Australian setting. Regarding racism against Indigenous-Australians, the authors found much negativity and a lack of understanding regardless of participants’ cultural background. For example, Waller, Mansell, Koh, Raja, and Pedersen’s (2001) analysis of open-ended questions in a prejudice survey against Indigenous-Australians included participant comments such as this: “I am an immigrant. Came here with nothing and was able to get an education and a decent job. If I can do it in a country who’s [sic] language I could not speak then anyone can do it. If aboriginal people wanted to get ahead then they would have done it. Everyone should be treated EQUALLY no matter of colour or race”. Similarly, with regard to racism toward refugees, Atwell, Heveli, and Pedersen (under review) found that people from migrant backgrounds were also negative toward refugees. For example, one respondent stated: “As a migrant some 50 years ago having paid for everything i.e. trip and no handouts [sic]. Sent to the country we did not have the easy side of what is now offered. We had to work and fight to get where we are. Including learning new language and culture”. Clearly, people who have struggled themselves are not immune to hostile attitudes toward other cultural groups. However, there is no empirical research to our knowledge that discusses anti-racism strategies regarding ‘minority on minority’.

We now discuss the research relating to anti-racism strategies. With individual strategies, three main issues are discussed: providing specific information about racial issues, creating dissonance about having different values (e.g., believing oneself to be egalitarian, but disliking a certain cultural group), and the role of invoking empathy. With interpersonal strategies, intergroup contact, providing consensus information (do other people agree with our views?), the benefits of dialogue with other people, and advertising campaigns are discussed. Finally, two other campaigns will be discussed (Grim Reaper and Fighting Fat, Fighting Fit). These, although involving different targets, can provide useful information.

4.1 Individual strategies

**Providing knowledge about cultural issues.** It is argued by some that simply reducing stereotypes can be an effective method of reducing prejudice. For example, Louw-Potgieter, Kamfer, and Boy (1991) conducted a stereotype reduction workshop, and although there was no pre and post test evaluation, the researchers received responses such as “I don’t judge the book by the cover anymore” (p. 222). However, it is also worth stressing that the changing of stereotypes is often easier said than done. As the Australian
Psychological Society Position Paper on Racism and Prejudice notes, stereotypes are extremely resistant to change, even in the face of evidence to the contrary (Sanson, Augoustinos, Gridley, Kyrios, Reser, & Turner, 1998).

It is important to challenge false beliefs about target groups. Pedersen, Griffiths, Contos, Bishop and Walker (2000) found a strong relationship between racism and false beliefs such as ‘Aboriginal people only have to make one car payment, and the Government will pay the rest’. Similarly, Atwell et al. (under review) found an even stronger relationship between racism against refugees and false beliefs than the previous Pedersen et al. study. An example of such a false belief was ‘Asylum seekers must be “cashed up”’ (i.e., be financially well off) to pay people smugglers”. The higher reliance of false beliefs with regard to refugees indicates that most Australians have less experience with refugees than Indigenous-Australians, and therefore base their views more on what they hear (unfortunately, it appears that what they hear is inaccurate). However, what is learned can be unlearned to a degree. A Victorian study by Batterham (2001) found that debunking false beliefs about Indigenous-Australians reduced the reporting of prejudiced views.

**Dissonance.** Racism can be reduced by having participants feel dissonance (i.e., psychological discomfort stemming from a perceived incompatibility among their beliefs). For example, they may see themselves as having egalitarian principles but also express prejudiced attitudes and/or behaviours. A Canadian study by Son Hing, Li, and Zanna (2002) targeted ‘aversive racists’ (i.e., people who outwardly endorse egalitarian attitudes, believe that prejudice and discrimination are wrong, but still have negative feelings toward an outgroup). In this study, university participants were required to publicly make a declaration of non-prejudice (they had to write an essay on why it was important to treat Asian students fairly on campus which was then made public). Afterward, they were asked to describe two incidents when they reacted negatively to an Asian person. Participants who scored high on aversive racism responded with increased feelings of guilt and discomfort, which led to a reduction in prejudicial behaviour. Conversely, this procedure had no effect on participants who scored low on aversive racism and seemingly had more difficulty providing examples of discriminatory behaviour. Similarly, other researchers such as Levy (1999) have stressed the fact that evoking people’s dissonance, or inconsistency between egalitarian values and negative attitudes, is a useful strategy for reducing prejudice.

**Empathy.** Research indicates a strong relationship between levels of prejudice and empathy toward Indigenous-Australians (e.g., Batterham, 2001; Pedersen et al., in prep., Study One). In addition, some research finds that invoking empathy reduces racism levels (e.g., Finlay & Stephan, 2000). However, experimentally manipulating empathy is not always straightforward. In the study by Batterham (2001), discussed above, empathy levels were not affected by an empathy manipulation (in this case, watching a video called ‘Cry from the Heart’ which explored the life and healing of an Indigenous man).
Empathy commonly involves perspective taking (a more cognitive approach compared with empathic concern that is more emotional). A classic study was performed in the 1960s using experiential learning by an American primary school teacher, Jane Elliott, in a primarily white rural community in Iowa. This is commonly called the “Blue Eyes-Brown Eyes” experiment (Peters, 1971). Here, Elliott separated 3rd grade children into two groups depending on their eye colour and, through a series of practical experiences, actively discriminated against the blue-eyed children, and then the brown-eyed children. Thirty years later, participants still saw this experience as life-changing and positive.

Little experimental work has been done following up on this study. One American study that did so was Byrnes and Kiger (1990). Three weeks before their experiment, the researchers gave university students a pre-test on a social scenarios scale (i.e., how likely they were to take a stand against discriminatory behaviour toward African-Americans) and a social distance scale (e.g., how comfortable they were with having an African-American occupying specific social positions such as doctor, roommate, or dance partner). Half the students underwent the Elliott procedure; half attended classes on ‘cultural awareness’ and viewed Elliott’s film. The scales were then re-administered to students four weeks after the intervention. Results indicated that the experimental group scored higher on the social scenarios scale three weeks after the experiment – i.e., they saw themselves as more likely to take action compared with the control group (although the magnitude of such change was not strong). However, no difference was found with respect to social distance toward African-Americans. Interestingly, there was no difference in scores between the blue-eyed and brown-eyed participants; therefore, positive attitude change emerged for both groups. Additionally, almost all participants reported stress emanating from the procedure.

This method has, however, been criticised by some authors due to the risks to participants such as stress, coercion and informed consent (e.g., Williams & Giles, 1992). These authors note that they concur with the sentiments behind the Blue Eyes-Brown Eyes experiment, but believe that until the effectiveness of such programs has been established, the risks may outweigh any possible benefits. However, Byrnes and Kiger (1992) responded by noting that they were aware of these ethical issues, and argued that if debriefing occurred, the greater compassion gained outweighed the emotional discomfort of participants.

In another study, Finlay and Stephan (2000) gave Anglo-American university students information about incidents of discrimination against African-Americans, either with empathy-inducing instructions or without. Two versions of empathy were used; one was parallel empathy (i.e., this involved emotions such as hopelessness or anger in line with the target group); the other was reactive empathy (this involved emotions such as compassion or sympathy). Results indicated that the scenarios elicited parallel empathy rather than compassion toward African-Americans. It was hypothesised that emphasising the negativity may have interfered with experiencing positive emotions. The authors concluded that empathy is a complex
emotion and takes a number of forms relating to attitudinal change. Similarly, Batson, Early, and Salvarani (1997) found that imagining how ‘the other’ feels evokes a purely empathic response, and may lead to altruistic behaviour. Yet, imagining how you personally would feel in this situation evokes a more complex combination of personal distress and empathy. Therefore, even though these two forms of perspective-taking are often used interchangeably, they can have very different consequences.

Individual strategies such as imparting knowledge, therefore, can be effective. However, as pointed out by Pate (1981), “knowledge alone will not reduce prejudice; knowledge is something of a prerequisite to prejudice reduction, not the sole means” (p. 288). In fact, Gadamer (1993) argues that knowledge is not possible without pre-judgment. Also, creating dissonance appears to be a useful tool, as is the use of empathy. Yet, given that different forms of empathy can lead to different motivations (either leading to or away from altruistic behaviour), this variable has to be used with care.

4.2 Interpersonal strategies

Intergroup contact. The most compelling social psychological model for change in intergroup relations remains the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). This model specifies the conditions under which conflicting groups should have contact with one another if the aim is to reduce prevailing intergroup tensions. There are four essential conditions:

1. Conflicting groups must have equal status within the contact situation.
2. There should be no competition along group lines within the contact situation.
3. Groups must seek superordinate goals within the contact situation.
4. Relevant institutional authorities must sanction the intergroup contact and must endorse a reduction in intergroup tensions.

An important point to make here is that attempts to bring conflicting groups together to reduce conflict can easily exacerbate intergroup tensions if all four conditions are not met.

It is believed that the contact hypothesis works because it creates situational forces that compel intergroup cooperation. Once achieved, intergroup cooperation leads to a reconceptualisation of self and one’s group memberships. This is also the key to creating change that generalizes from one situation to another and from one outgroup to other outgroups. Many interventions designed to reduce stereotyping, prejudice, and racism produce limited effects, if any, that do not persist across time and do not generalize across situations and groups. This renders them ineffective and inefficient. Part of the problem here stems from the fact that such interventions usually try to change views of a particular outgroup. A more effective route to change is by changing views of the ingroup. If the ingroup is redefined psychologically and socially to be tolerant,
inclusive, and diverse, then changes in intergroup relationships are inevitable and will more likely be persistent and generalizable.

Interventions that target changing the view of the ingroup rather than views of outgroups also circumvent the problem of whether interventions should emphasize sameness or diversity. The question of whether it is better to emphasize sameness or diversity is wrongly framed. Interventions must address both simultaneously, and must succeed in producing a view of the ingroup that allows the recognition of the fact that people and groups are the same and different at the same time. Pettigrew’s (1998) reformulation of Allport’s classic statement of the contact hypothesis specifically addresses this issue. Pettigrew advises that any systematic attempt to change intergroup tensions must adopt a longitudinal framework that focuses initially on sameness and then, having achieved acceptance of a common humanity, works to allow diversity within commonality. This must be an essential element of any programmatic attempt to engineer intergroup relationships.

Thus, the relationship between the reduction of prejudice and intergroup contact is not straightforward. In fact, contact alone may do more harm than good. For example, Walker and Crogan (1998) found that a ‘jigsaw classroom’ (where each student learns a unique piece of information which he or she then teaches to the other members of the group) resulted in enhanced liking of both ingroup and outgroup peers. This pattern was not found with a cooperative learning group (where the children simply worked together); here there was an exacerbation of pre-existing tension.

Without Allport’s conditions being met, the contact may be detrimental to intergroup relations. Another example where intergroup contact may increase tension was outlined by Connolly (1995). Here, a British primary school encouraged African-Caribbean boys to participate in football; however, racist incidents against Asian boys were more likely to occur in this masculinised competitive context.

However, intergroup contact under Allport’s required conditions can produce positive results. For example, Nesdale and Todd (1998) examined the effect of inter-cultural contact in a university residence between Chinese and Australian students over a 6 month period. Results indicated that contact increased inter-cultural knowledge and acceptance for both groups and, importantly, generalised to other university settings outside the residence hall. In this study, Allport’s four conditions were in place. Therefore, any anti-racism strategy which uses contact between groups needs to be careful about the conditions under which it takes place.

The quantitative research described above indicates that contact alone is not enough. In a qualitative study conducted by Tilbury (1999) who examined cross-cultural friendships of New Zealand adults, similar conclusions were reached. She concluded that cross-cultural friendships may help reduce racist attitudes,
but there are many other factors that are important such as cultural ideologies, identity issues, and perceived ingroup threat. Thus, both quantitative and qualitative research clearly indicates that the reduction of racism is multi-faceted, and contact alone is not enough.

**Providing consensus information.** Perth research finds a relationship between racism against Indigenous-Australians and the belief that such views are shared by the wider population (e.g., Pedersen & Griffiths, 2002). In other words, people who were prejudiced were more likely to think that other people thought the same way as them. Believing that your views are the ‘norm’ helps to justify your position. As yet, no empirical strategy has been implemented in Australia to examine whether being provided with different ‘consensus’ information may reduce racism. However, it has been found that providing feedback to White-American university students that their views about African-Americans were not shared by all resulted in a decrease in negative attitudes one week later. This was especially the case for those who were given information regarding the views of ingroup members (Stangor, Sechrist, & Jost, 2001).

Similarly, Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham and Vaughn (1994) found that a few outspoken people can affect racism and anti-racism regardless of their cultural background. In their study of three American college campuses, they found that simply hearing somebody speak out about racism led to participants in the study expressing significantly stronger anti-racist opinions. These findings indicate the malleability of ethnic attitudes. These findings can also be linked to the political situation in Australia over the last few years, and especially to the implicit or explicit endorsement of particular views by community and political leaders.

**Dialogue.** Although the provision of knowledge is useful, it is not enough on its own. For example, as described above, Byrnes and Kiger (1990) found that participants who took part in the Blue Eye-Brown Eye experiment were more willing to act when confronted with discrimination compared with the control group. However, lectures on prejudice and discrimination had no effect on the control group.

In a Canadian study by Aboud and Fenwick (1999), researchers explored and evaluated three school-based anti-prejudice interventions (two of which are relevant here, and will be discussed in turn). In Study 1, they assessed whether a teacher-led program of talking about race and racial evaluations (in particular ‘individualising’ outgroup members) could reduce racial prejudice over an 11 week period with 1-2 sessions per week. Unlike most interventions discussed in this report, their period of assessment included a follow-up two months after the study. Results indicated that the intervention improved the perception of individual differences in both high- and low-prejudice white students. It reduced prejudice scores for high-prejudice white students and importantly did not increase those of others.
In Study 2, high-prejudice children were paired with low-prejudice children to discuss how and why they made evaluations about racial issues. Results indicated that prejudice in high-prejudice students decreased; prejudice stayed the same with low-prejudice students. This study indicates the importance of talking about racial issues, rather than just ‘being taught’.

Liebkind and McAlister (1999) conducted an intervention with 1,480 Finnish school children to examine whether racism could be reduced toward ‘foreigners’ through peer modelling. Here, participants read printed material of same-age peers who went through attitude change after supposedly forming personal relationships with outgroup friends, as well as older university students who were supportive of tolerance toward foreigners. Three weeks later the children filled out a racism scale targeting a number of different cultural groups, but primarily against Russians and ‘black’ African immigrants. Results indicated racism scores of participants in schools that performed the intervention significantly decreased, while racism scores of non-participants either declined or were stable.

In an Australian context, giving people the opportunity to discuss racial issues is also a useful anti-racist strategy. A ‘deliberation forum’ was held where respondents from all over Australia met to discuss issues regarding Indigenous Australians and Reconciliation (Issues Deliberation Australia, 2001). After intense discussion, there were marked shifts in reported knowledge of Indigenous concerns (e.g., perception of disadvantage of Indigenous-Australians; levels of political knowledge). There was also an increase in support for an official apology to the Stolen Generations, and support for Reconciliation. However, there were some initiatives put forward at that forum where opinions did not change (e.g., treaty; allocation for Indigenous seats in Parliament).

**Advertising campaigns.** A raft of interpersonal strategies can be delivered effectively to a wide audience through advertising campaigns. Advertising itself is not an anti-racism strategy or mechanism, but rather a medium for the delivery of such strategies. Advertising campaigns can be very broad (using, for example, free-to-air television and radio), or can be more tailored (using, for example, particular print outlets to reach target groups). Generally, we would question the effectiveness of general advertising campaigns to deliver anti-racism messages. They are unlikely to produce significant behavioural changes, and they run the risk of producing counter-productive backlash effects in at least some sections of the community. However, there are some notable successful general advertising campaigns in other areas, and we mention two such campaigns here: the Grim Reaper campaign and the Fighting Fat, Fighting Fit campaign. ²

**The Grim Reaper Campaign.** This was commenced in April 1987 in an attempt to reduce AIDS. It started with a TV commercial set in a bowling alley where the Grim Reaper bowled over human ‘pins’ (Morlet, Guinan, Diejenthaler, & Gold, 1988). The campaign relied on medieval and horrifying images of a skeletal/skull-headed figure in a black hood carrying a scythe as well as a bowling ball, and saw education
as ‘the’ weapon against AIDS (Lupton, 1994). The campaign was successful in that there was a large increase in requests for HIV antibody testing (Dwyer, Howard, Downie, & Cunningham, 1988; Morlet et al.). However, as these authors point out, most testing took place with low risk people (e.g., women) rather than high risk people. Additionally, while Bray and Chapman (1991) also found that media messages regarding AIDS were successfully recalled, and there was high knowledge of AIDS, there were other issues such as social divisiveness and anxiety which need to be taken into account. For example, a sizeable minority of participants thought people with AIDS should be forced to quit their jobs; also, that they would not like their child to go to school with a child suffering from AIDS.

Physical activity. British research has produced mixed results when examining the role of the media on the undertaking of physical activity. From a negative angle, in a review of the literature, Marcus and colleagues noted that while recall of mass media messages was high, it had little effect on behaviour. However, the more tailored the intervention was to the population, and the more frequent the contact participants had, the more effective the intervention (Marcus, Owen, Forsyth, Cavill, & Fridinger, 1998). However, some success is reported in the literature. For example, Bauman, Baellew, Owen and Vita (2001) found that after media messages promoting activity (TV, print media, physician mailouts, community support strategies), people who recalled the messages were twice as likely to increase their activity. Having said this, there were very large differences in recall. In another study, researchers were interested in the reduction of obesity in Britain (Miles, Rapoport, Wardle, Afuape, & Duman, 2001). They examined a British campaign known as Fighting Fat, Fighting Fit. Here, the BBC provided 7 weeks of messages about obesity targeted specifically at overweight and obese people. They found a 57% public awareness of the campaign, and 237,865 packs of information were sent out to interested parties. When evaluating the weight of participants, they found a significant change, and concluded that media campaigns have the potential to be effective. However, as they pointed out, the campaigns need to be examined long-term rather than short-term, and need to involve other elements as well as the mass media. They also noted that subgroups such as men, lower socio-economic (SES) groups, and people aged under 25 years need campaigns tailored to them specifically. Interestingly, however, not all studies find such gender differences (e.g., Booth, Bauman, Oldenburg, Owen, & Magnus, 1992).

So what can be learned from these two campaigns that may be useful to anti-racism strategies? Five interesting possible commonalities are now set out. First, it is important not to assume that all campaigns will affect all people to the same degree (e.g., male/female; younger/older). Second, there may be positives and negatives involved in interventions, such as social divisiveness. Third, some studies showed little link between attitudes and behaviour, although the more specific the intervention, the better the result. Fourth, interventions need to be examined long-term rather than short-term. Finally, there are other elements that are important aside from mass media, including community level follow-up.
Anti-racism strategies. Campaigns that specifically target racism are now discussed. Some strategies have involved reducing prejudice by way of advertising campaigns. Some researchers point out that these campaigns can sometimes backfire (Maio, Watt, & Hewstone, 2002; Vrij, Van Schie, & Cherryman, 1996). Specifically, Maio et al. examined the effects of anti-racism advertisements on attitudes and found that advertisements run the risk of backlash effects. Surprisingly, while they had a small positive effect on people whose attitudes were wholly positive or negative, they tended to push those who were ambivalent in their feelings about other groups in the opposite direction, making them more racist. Also, the literature review of Vrij et al. indicated that poorly thought out campaigns can have negative effects in promoting ideas such as ‘strangeness’ of ethnic eating behaviour, and ethnic groups being criminal and making trouble.

To overcome these problems, Vrij et al. (1996) argued strongly that researchers often ignore important theoretical predictions. In their study with white Dutch community members, they saw three factors as important in changing attitudes:

1. stressing the similarities between the mainstream population and ethnic groups,
2. using a number of ethnic minorities rather than just one, and
3. providing commentaries about the communication.

They found that by including all of these three factors, prejudice was reduced. However, this effect was not particularly strong, especially with respect to the inclusion of more ethnic groups. In a further study by Vrij and Smith (1999), they found a visual campaign using cue cards launched by the British Government produced increased prejudice scores compared with a control group. A second similar campaign produced no difference in prejudice scores. Thus, the designers of anti-racism campaigns must be very careful about their content (this is discussed later regarding theoretical content).

Little work on the effectiveness of anti-racism strategies has been published in the Australian context. However, an interesting study was performed in Bunbury, Western Australia, by Donovan and Leivers (1993). The aim of this study was to change negative beliefs about unemployed Aboriginal people (e.g., they don’t want to work; they never stay in a job long, etc.). In a pre-test, respondents were given a questionnaire asking questions such as “What percentage of Aborigines in the town who are able to work, do work?” and general questions such as whether respondents believed Aboriginal people were lazy or honest. Then a television campaign was run featuring short interviews with twelve different employed Aboriginal people. In a post-test, there was a 15.8% increase in positive attitudes toward Aboriginal people both with respect to employment and general attitudes. The authors argued that the mass media can be used to modify beliefs underlying prejudice against Indigenous people. As Donovan and Leivers argue, beliefs about employment are a good place to start, as unemployment is seen by many non-Aboriginal Australians as “a violation of white Australians’ values” (p. 208).
An important point was made almost 50 years ago, but the message still has relevance today. As previously discussed in the ‘Dialogue’ section, it seems that discussing racial views has a bigger effect on the reduction of racist attitudes than just being given information (Mitnick & McGinnies, 1958). In their study, 162 participants from two high schools completed an ethnocentrism scale, then watched an anti-racist film, and completed the ethnocentrism scale again then, and one month later. While ethnocentrism scores decreased directly after watching the film regardless of discussion, only the participants who discussed the film afterward retained attitude gains one month later.

In another study, Slone, Tarrasch, and Hallis (2000) conducted two interventions with Jewish Israeli children aged 10-12 years to reduce negative stereotyping against Arab people over six weekly sessions. The first intervention involved text and discussion; the second involved audiovisual programs and discussion, both targeting encounters between Jewish Israeli and Arab children. Results indicated a small but significant reduction of negative stereotypes from both interventions, although the authors concluded that the audiovisual programs were more effective given that TV was more lifelike and vivid.

To conclude, inter-personal anti-racism strategies can be effective, although care must be taken given the complex nature of these strategies (See Appendix B, Table 1). For example, intergroup contact can be effective under certain conditions as per Allport (1954), and providing consensus information is also a promising avenue to explore. The research clearly shows that it is more effective to have participants in anti-racism strategies engage in dialogue, rather than just being lectured at. And finally, advertising campaigns may be effective, or conversely they can increase hostility depending upon their implementation. The results of other campaigns such as The Grim Reaper and Fighting Fat Fighting Fit can also be useful sources of information when instigating anti-racism campaigns (e.g., the need for long-term assessment as well as taking into account the population being targeted, and the issue that negative outcomes may result rather than positive ones)

5. Description of reviews
There have also been a number of reviews of anti-racism strategies; a very brief description of such reviews is given, none of which were Australian-oriented. Pate (1981; 1988) found that a reduction in prejudice in the school setting related to invoking empathy through presentations, books, and simulation games. McGregor (1993) reviewed 26 studies with respect to role playing (demonstrating and/or experiencing vicarious prejudice) and anti-racist teaching (discussions of racism both in the past and present). She pointed out that anti-racist teaching can be criticised for putting negative ideas into the children’s heads. She concluded that both techniques were effective in reducing racism; each method being as effective as each other.
Abell, Havelaar, and Dankoor (1998) reviewed anti-discrimination strategies in the Netherlands using labour market professionals. This review appeared to evaluate the quality of the training rather than its effectiveness in changing attitudes; however, some interesting points were made. They found that anti-racism training (i.e., seeking the support of participants to change racism within organisations) was less popular in the Netherlands compared with other Western countries. Also, cultural awareness training (i.e., making participants more aware of other cultural issues) was less effective than diversity training (i.e., ensuring that all staff can work to their full potential).

Other authors have similarly commented on the drawbacks of anti-racist training; e.g., Massey (1991) suggests that it can confirm stereotypes. Abell et al. (1998) stressed the need to focus on behaviour change rather than simply attitude change. In particular, some participants argued that training programs are often too theoretical, and don’t give them skills for dealing with racist remarks; in their words ‘concrete handles’. For example, one participant reported “during the training we were told that when you encountered discrimination you had to do ‘something’ and you had to handle things correctly; however, I have not learned how exactly to handle things” (p. 4).

Graves (1999) considered the evidence regarding the role of television in children’s prejudice reduction, with a particular focus on the Sesame Street race relations curriculum and a video series called ‘Different and the Same’ which dealt with ethnic relations issues. Graves found evidence of an increase in racial knowledge, positive attitudes, and racial preferences. However, she noted that there was almost no research into how children of different racial groups interact with each other as a consequence of such exposure. As we’ve mentioned previously, attitudes do not equate to behavioural changes.

Stephan and Finlay (1999) reviewed studies on empathy and its role in intergroup relations programs. They argued that empathy can be induced through simple instructions (however, note the difficulties faced by Batterham, 2001, discussed in the section on empathy). They concluded that although it is difficult to hate people with whom you empathise, empathy needs to be used with clear goals and understanding. For example, “empathy can lead to undesirable outcomes such as greater distance between groups, defensive avoidance, negative attitudes, confirmations of negative stereotypes, increased tension and hostility, hurt feelings and lowered self-esteem” (p. 738). They also point out that the effect of empathy can be blunted; for example they point to a study by Boler (1997) which suggests that when activating empathy, researchers do not always deal with the fact that participants are implicated in the machinations of a racist society. In her opinion, empathy without responsibility risks decontextualising specific moral issues.

Aboud and Levy (2000) examined interventions to reduce prejudice in children and adolescents, and found that intergroup contact, bilingual education, or providing information alone were not enough. While empathy and teaching social-cognitive skills (such as having students practise alternative ways of
processing racial information) showed some promise, these skills had not yet become broad intervention programs with large enough numbers to evaluate properly. This can be seen in the context of the levels of anti-racism strategies outlined in Section 3(A); that is, these interventions involve teaching individuals non-racist ways of thinking.

In another review, Cotton (2001) examined the fostering of intercultural harmony with school-children in the United States. First, she noted that contact among different cultural groups was sometimes useful under certain circumstances, but that it could “cause more harm than good” if certain conditions as outlined by Allport (1954) were not taken into account. Similarly, Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) noted the importance of Allport’s conditions, together with institutional support. Second, Cotton noted the success of cooperative learning, where children are put into culturally heterogeneous teams and work together cooperatively. Having said that, as discussed previously, the Jigsaw Classroom appears a more effective strategy. Third, she discussed the strong link between prejudice and empathy, but noted that some practices are better than others in achieving prejudice reduction. Fourth, she noted that developing critical thinking skills to deal with issues such as overgeneralization is useful in reducing prejudice.

Finally, Cotton (2001) argued that there was a strong correlation between prejudice and low self-esteem. It is worth noting, however, that the research is not clearcut in this regard. While some researchers argue that people with low self-esteem are more prejudiced (e.g., Bagley, Verma, Mallick, & Young, 1979), others argue the opposite (e.g., Utsey, McCarthy, Eubanks & Adrian, 2002). This latter finding has also been evidenced recently in the Australian setting. Specifically, Attwell et al. (under review) found that high esteem participants scored higher on negative attitudes; this effect was, however, small. One explanation for these seemingly perverse findings is that to maintain self-esteem, some people denigrate other cultural groups. Another Australian study indicating that self-esteem may not be the way to an anti-racist Australia was performed by Pedersen and Walker (2000). After interviewing Indigenous-Australian children and Anglo-Australian children, they found no relationship between ingroup preference (how the children felt about their cultural group) and self-concept (how they felt about themselves personally). Thus, the research indicates that anti-racism campaigners should not make it their focus to increase self-esteem; this may have no effect, or do more harm than good. Again, these studies can be linked back to the levels of anti-racism strategies outlined previously. Not only are individual skills important, but interpersonal issues (and structural issues for that matter) should also be taken into account.

In short, these reviews paint a somewhat similar picture to the literature that has been initially discussed (See Appendix B, Table 2). For example, empathy is one fruitful avenue to explore; however, the effect of anti-racist strategies is often small. The reviews support the previous statements in this report in that attention needs to be paid to theoretical issues such as Allport’s (1954) conditions being met. Also, the research clearly shows that providing information is not enough for racism-reduction/elimination, and
multi-methods are more useful. Finally, it appears that the changing of behaviours is more useful than the changing of attitudes. This final conclusion supports a whole body of social-psychological literature that shows only a small relationship between attitudes and behaviour. However, the more specific the attitude, the more likely it is to relate to behaviour. In short, the reviews tell us that we need to take into account a range of different strategies to reduce racism.

6. Methodological adequacy

Many of the studies reviewed in this report have limited methodological adequacy. For example, Kiselica, Maben, and Locke (1999) reviewed multicultural education and diversity-appreciation training. They found that although there was tentative support for the training being effective, it was difficult to make a clear decision given that most researchers did not use sound measures of specific forms of prejudice. Additionally, cause-and-effect could not be established because of the lack of experimental design. Other problems include:

a. There is often a small pool of participants
b. Participants were often white middle-class university students who may be more open to attitude change than other members of the community
c. There is much more information on what has worked compared with what hasn’t worked; this is known as the ‘bottom drawer problem’. In other words, studies or interventions that have significant results are more likely to be published than those that do not. Rebecca Bigler and her colleagues conducted a literature review of published and unpublished work and found a large body of interventions which showed no reduction in children’s stereotyping and prejudice. Similarly, significant effects are often only found for some participants, not for all. Large individual differences occur between participants (Bigler, 1999)
d. Often anti-racism strategies involve a one-off training session; clearly this cannot reverse racist mentalities/behaviours; the best one can hope for is that the session will be a stimulant for ongoing change (see Abell et al., 1998; Massey, 1991). Vrij et al. (1996) point out that the positive effects found in persuasive communication programs may be short-lived given the limited exposure of the materials to the participants in experimental studies such as theirs.
e. Researchers need to take into account that a uniform anti-racist strategy is likely to be less effective than those tailored to the audience for whom they are designed.
f. Most interventions did not examine the differences between high-racist participants and low-racist participants. Thus, ‘very racist’ participants may not respond in the same way as those who are ‘somewhat racist’, who may in turn be different from more egalitarian
participants. Effects such as unintended audiences are rarely well-considered. This needs to be examined in some depth when developing anti-racism strategies.

g. Racial awareness training has been criticised by a number of sources. For example, Gurnah (1984) criticises it as being theoretically inadequate and reductionist (overlooking societal structures). He argues that these deficiencies extend from its philosophies to its practical strategies, resulting in not enough being done and the work that is done being done badly. These criticisms can be clearly seen from the literature discussed above, in particular theoretical adequacy (Allport’s 1954 conditions arose time and time again in the literature). Bigler (1999) makes a similar point regarding the lack of effectiveness of anti-racism strategies for children. She notes that there are a number of different theoretical mechanisms (e.g., conditioning, imitation, reinforcement) which affect attitude change; these are often ignored, as is the important factor of the age of participants.

h. Often, racism is seen as a personality-type problem that resides inside the individual. However, this does not take into account the fact that people are racist for different reasons, and often racism is higher for certain groups. For example, attitudes toward Indigenous-Australians are often stronger and more negative than attitudes toward other groups (see Walker, 1994; Zelinka, 1995) with the exception of very recent Perth research which found even stronger negative attitudes toward asylum seekers (Atwell et al., under review).

i. The biggest problem associated with the research outlined above is that there has usually not been any follow-up, and when there is, it is often only one week or two weeks after the intervention (see Appendix B; Table 1). One notable exception to this was Hill and Augoustinos (2001) who measured prejudice (modern and old-fashioned) and stereotypes about Indigenous-Australians and knowledge about Indigenous issues before a three-day cross-cultural awareness program (baseline). They again re-assessed these attitudes directly after the program, and found pronounced increases in knowledge about Indigenous issues, and decreases in stereotyping and prejudice (both modern and old-fashioned). When re-assessing these same attitudes three months afterward, only knowledge about Indigenous issues was higher than at baseline. However, when separating participants into ‘high prejudice’ and ‘low prejudice’, results indicated a significant decrease in old-fashioned prejudice for high prejudiced respondents. Yet overall, while the program was successful in the short-term, it had limited success in the long-term. Similar findings regarding the rarity of long-term attitude change have also been found with respect to children (see, for example, Bigler, 1999).
7. **Broader issues**

Although effect sizes are often small, some research has found relationships between socio-demographic variables and prejudice. For example, lower levels of formal education, right-wing political orientation, and being male have been linked with prejudice (Pedersen & Walker, 1997). Increased age has also been linked to prejudice (Pedersen et al., 2000). Additionally, the social climate differs depending on the historical period involved. For example, old-fashioned prejudice has declined over the years in Western countries (see Walker, 2001).

While implementing anti-racism strategies, it is essential to look at the broad social or geographical context. There are differences between contexts. What may be a useful strategy in one context may not be in another. For example, as found in an Australian anti-racism campaign known as *Different Colours, One People*, teenagers in country areas were more racist than their city counterparts; or at least less ‘politically correct’ in their language and views (Zelinka, 1995).

Similarly, in a study conducted in Perth and Kalgoorlie, it was found that racism was linked to both personal values (especially about fairness and equity) and experience with Aboriginal people (Pedersen et al., 2000). However, there were differences between the two locations in that racism scores were significantly higher in Kalgoorlie. The prejudice of Kalgoorlie residents was more linked to their experiences compared with their value system. This reliance on experience is also illustrated by the frequency with which Kalgoorlie residents referred to experiences of anti-social behaviour. For example, one participant reported: "From dealings with Aboriginal people through work it appears that there is a large percentage that abuse alcohol and other substances. As a result it is this group that display anti-social behaviour and form a high number of the population which is imprisoned". The fact that the prejudice of non-Aboriginal Kalgoorlie residents is primarily linked to their experiences, demonstrates that they are being affected by Aboriginal disadvantage in a very real way. The point that racism adversely affects dominant groups as well as minority groups was noted by Simpson and Yinger (1985) almost 20 years ago. They acknowledge the gains that dominant groups gain by prejudice (e.g., prestige), but outline two primary costs. The first involves personality; for example, the “loss of contact with reality” (p. 158); in other words, how can a person be rational (a highly valued trait by most people) while oversimplifying outgroups and relying on stereotypes? The second cost is economic: there are many ways in which this may occur; for example, loss of skills in the community, a lack of buying power of minority groups, blowouts in public health etc.

Returning to the Pedersen et al. (2000) study, while education would serve to help non-Aboriginal residents understand the reasons for the current predicament of many of their Aboriginal counterparts, and is therefore as vital as it is in Perth, it will not of itself alleviate the social problems to which Kalgoorlie respondents so frequently referred. The difficult challenge facing non-Aboriginal residents is to resist the
temptation to “Aboriginalise” the issues. Oppression is deeply embedded in Australia’s history, and can only be meaningfully addressed through partnerships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians who are committed to social change. However, with regard to any anti-racist interventions, it would be well not to ignore participants’ experiences, and attempt to deal with them. As noted in Section 1, moral exhortation to be nice to one another does not work; this may especially be the case if people’s life experiences are involved.

Conversely, in Perth, racism was more linked to personal values such as issues of fairness and equity. This needs to be taken into account when devising strategies to reduce racism. Two issues need addressing here. First, as discussed previously in this report, the inaccuracy of many people’s beliefs about the so-called “benefits” for Aboriginal people seems essential. Second, where Aboriginal people do receive assistance, an appeal would have to be made to the values, especially those relating to fairness, of those holding negative attitudes. For instance, if non-Aboriginal Australians were given more information about the history and experiences of Aboriginal people - in particular the fact that a “level playing field” does not exist - this may facilitate a shift in thinking to the perspective that the present policies which may benefit Aboriginal people are necessary to redress past inequity and injustice and are, in this sense, therefore “fair”.

As the above study indicates, racism toward Indigenous people served several psychological functions. In Perth, the function was primarily based in values; in Kalgoorlie, the function was primarily based on personal experience. However, there was evidence of both functions in both locations; so anti-racism strategies would be well advised to take both into account. Of course, linked to this is the political will to overcome racism (this was discussed previously in Section 1). Just as the nature of prejudice differs between contexts, so does people’s inclination to address it.

Another relevant point is that racial prejudice may be less strong than other structures such as class (Pate, 1981). As Pate points out, it may not be just that white people do not like black people; black people may be seen as poor and lower-class. So not only are they seen as an outgroup regarding race, but they are also seen as an outgroup regarding class and general lifestyle and aspirations. Gurnah (1984) similarly points out that racism affects people differently depending upon their class, culture, and educational backgrounds.

Some lessons can be gleaned by from sources that are not specifically ‘anti-racism’. For example, a study of Women’s Information Needs produced for the NSW Department for Women stressed the importance of designing campaigns well (Urbis et al., 2002). Amending their recommendations in line with this report, the following six points are particularly relevant:

1. Make information a priority rather than appending it to other programs.
2. Define the strategy’s aims clearly.
3. Be aware that no single message or format will be applicable to all people. Thus, have due regard for the appropriateness and format of the message for each target group. As the authors put it, different target groups include: “people with a disability, low income-earners, older people, people in rural and remote areas, people with low levels of literacy, people of non-English speaking backgrounds and Aboriginal people (p. 7)”\(^4\). One size does not always fit all!

4. Adopt a multidimensional approach rather than just relying on one source of information (e.g., printed material could back up oral communication).

5. There needs to be consultation over how to disseminate the information that needs to be incorporated into planning. Otherwise, production can prove both wasteful and costly.

6. Evaluate the effectiveness of the whole process undertaken, and provide information to other interested parties. Attempt to avoid duplication etc., by coordinating initiatives. In other words, work collaboratively.

8. **Summary, conclusions, and implications**

This evidence regarding anti-racism strategies is mixed. In fact, there are probably more failures than are reported here because of the ‘bottom drawer problem’ discussed previously. This is unfortunate given that it would be useful to have reports of failure as a learning tool. Nevertheless, with respect to a tentative policy framework and recommendations for future anti-racism strategies, past research suggests that successful anti-racism workshops might involve the major issues discussed below. These tools can be applied in a range of different anti-racism strategies.

1. Eliminate false beliefs by providing accurate information.

2. Involve the audience (dialogue should be entered into). Rather than the participant being lectured at, a discussion between individuals would be useful. Building on the findings of Pedersen et al. (2000) that prejudice relates to negative experience, it appears essential that the environment is conducive to a frank and open discussion. If participants feel that they cannot speak about negative experiences, they are less likely to pay attention, and less attitude change is likely.

3. Give practical skills on how to speak out against racism; not speaking out can lead those with negative attitudes to feel they have more support than they have, thus justifying their views.

4. Invoke empathy (although exactly how this should be done needs a great deal of thought, taking into account previous literature).

5. Emphasise similarities rather than differences between groups. This is particularly important given the recent terrorist attacks; in particular the Bali bombing. Judging by recent Letters to the Editor in the *West Australian* and *The Australian*, there is a great deal of defining Muslim people as ‘the outgroup’ (or the enemy). In particular, they are often described as being much more different to other Australians than similar. This hostility toward Muslim-Australians exists despite
the fact that many Muslims have come to Australia to escape the terrorist regimes that Australia deplores; however, they are often then seen as possible al-Qa’ida members.

6. Focus on changing behaviours as much as changing attitudes. As discussed previously, attitudes are generally seen as a significant cause of behaviours, and prejudice and racism are no different—they are seen as being significant causes of discriminatory behaviours. Accordingly, in a commonsense understanding as well as in much public policy, attempts to change behaviour often directed target attitudes, on the assumption that changes in attitudes will lead to changes in behaviours. The evidence to support this view of the importance of attitudes is weak, either in the arena of prejudice and racism, or more generally. Generally, attitudes have only a tenuous relationship with behaviours, and attempts to change behaviours by inducing prior changes in attitudes are ineffective and inefficient. More specifically to the present project, it may be just as useful to focus on the changing of racist behaviours, rather than simply racist attitudes, which are remarkably resistant to change. It is likely that non-racist behaviour is not only more achievable than are non-racist attitudes, but social psychological research suggests that altered behaviour change can lead to altered attitudes.

7. Past research indicates that ‘personal experience’ is linked with prejudice. Emphasise that any ‘anti-social’ behaviour of dispossessed people is a consequence of their dispossession not of their ethnicity, and also that they are not a homogeneous group.

However, it is also worth reiterating that often significant results from anti-racism strategies were small in effect size, and there is no way of telling whether there were long-term benefits involved after the anti-racist training. In a sense, it is not surprising that the small amount of research that has been done has not always found long-term results. As pointed out by Hill and Augoustinos (2001), prejudice reduction programs focus on the individual and often overlook the wider oppressive power relationships. Thus, there is merit in tackling the problem of racism from a number of angles. First, as discussed previously, psychological variables are important in anti-racist strategies. Yet, societal structures that impact on psychological factors are also vitally important. Similarly, given the fact that socio-demographic variables such as education often relate to prejudice, action is not only necessary at grass-roots level by individuals, but also social reform especially by those with power to deal with issues such as education. The research does indicate, however, that any anti-racism strategies should emphasise similarity between cultural groups. Especially after the Bali bombings, where cultural difference is reiterated over and over in the mass media, Australians need to feel some connection with marginalised groups, and this is far more difficult to achieve if they are seen as members of an alien species. Having said that, it is also important not to homogenize all cultural groups so that they are seen as “all the same”. As noted in Section 3, some hostile attitudes are linked to people wanting all Australians to be treated “all the same”. The distinction between ‘equality’ and ‘justice’ is not always well understood. When implementing anti-racist strategies, it needs stressing
that without a level playing field it may be unjust to treat all people equally. Thus, a delicate balance seems between ‘difference’ and ‘unity’ seems to be necessary.

To conclude, it is clear that much more research, especially research which is longitudinal in nature, is required before a definitive answer can be given to this dilemma. Even though lessons can be learnt from international strategies, Australia has specific issues to examine. When implementing anti-racism strategies, it is important that the wider context in which it is embedded is examined. The strategies needed in 1930 are different from those needed in 1960, which are different again from those in the 1990s. Indeed, the strategies needed post September 11 and post October 12 are different again. As noted by Duckitt (1991), shifts have occurred in dominant approaches with discrimination and segregation seen as natural before the 1920s, and at the turn of the century a concentration on multicultural policies. Furthermore, the problems associated with racism in one context may not be the same as in another. As pointed out previously, the nature of racism is fluid, and changes across times and contexts. Social change takes time; sometimes a generation, sometimes more, given the need for structural change. The pervasiveness and fluidity of racism cannot be ignored.

9. References


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Endnotes

The authors gratefully thank a number of people for their input into the paper. In particular, we would like to thank Donna Buckingham, Brian Griffiths, Helen Maddocks, and Yin Paradies for their very useful comments on earlier drafts (although the authors take full responsibility for the views stated herein). Additionally, we would additionally like to thank Donna for her administrative assistance in pulling the report together during the last few weeks.

1. We note the problems associated with using the term “race” which implies a biological reality (Dobbins & Skillings, 1991) that is refuted by biologists and geneticists (e.g., Miles, 1989). However, we use this term for consistency with past research and with contemporary colloquial use.

2. An evaluation of the Life Be In It campaign was also attempted. Here, focus was to engineer changes in community attitudes and behaviours in using their leisure in a creative manner (Stewart & Nicholson, 2001). However, as noted by Shelton (1999), although there was an 88% recognition of the campaign, and 73% of survey respondents recognised promotional material relating to it, there was no empirical research conducted on its effectiveness in changing attitudes or behaviours. Success, however, can be judged according to many different criteria; for example, getting a topic on the public and political agenda is likely to have numerous effects that we do not consider here.

3. The commonsensical view is that behaviour changes stem from attitude change. An alternative, and initially somewhat counter-intuitive, approach seeks alternative routes to induce behaviour change, ignoring attitudes. Once achieved, behaviour change induces attitude change. Behaviour is generally under strong situational and institutional control. The most effective and efficient route to behaviour change is by changing the situational norms. This can sometimes be achieved by legislative or other ‘top down’ approaches. This requires significant and strong leadership from ‘the top’. Similarly, on a more individual ‘bottom up’ level, Bem’s self-perception theory posits that attitudes are based on self-observed behaviours (Bem, 1967); this is particularly the case when the situation is weak or ambiguous (Bem, 1972).

4. The Urbis et al. (2002) report also gives very useful communication tips for multicultural communication strategies.
Appendix A

Annotated bibliography: Anti-racism and related strategies

“Like a virus, it’s hard to bet racism, because by the time you come up with a cure, it’s mutated to a ‘new cure-resistant’ form. One shot just won’t get it. Racism must be attacked from many angles” (Yamato, 1992, p. 58, cited by Hayes, 1994).

Introduction

This bibliography contains published accounts of anti-racism strategies as defined in the body of the report. Publications are catalogued rather than critiqued. Our principal aim is to list empirically evaluated anti-racism actions. However, since such evaluations are sparse, some references which contain descriptions, relevant guidelines and recommendations, policies and procedures, and other issues related to racism and anti-racism have been included.

Annotations were derived from the source document abstract, the entire document, or from database summaries. In all cases, however, the entire document was accessed. To a large extent, the terms document, report, article, and paper are used interchangeably.

Subjects and headings

The subject headings below are organized in a hierarchy of direct relevance to an empirically-founded review of anti-racism actions. Headings are broadly indicative of a publication’s content, in terms of the anti-racism focus of this report. Each publication has been positioned in the highest category for which criteria are met.

Empirical evaluations of action. Focuses on empirically evaluated strategies (i.e. based on quantitative or qualitative data) which incorporate an aim and action to reduce racist behaviours, beliefs, and/or attitudes. Note that the following factors need to be specified: racist group; (ideally) pre-intervention measurement of racist behaviours, beliefs, and/or attitudes; action taken (i.e. beyond policies and procedures); and post-intervention measurement of racist behaviours, beliefs, and/or attitudes.

Reviews of empirical evaluations. A selection of reports that review more than one empirically evaluative study. Additional reviews are included within other sections of the bibliography.

Descriptions of action. Includes reports of strategies which focus more on description than empirical evaluation. Note that the actions in question need to be sufficiently specified and anti-racist. They also need to have been carried out (i.e. beyond planning) and reported in sufficient detail. Such reports tend to be based more on theory and anecdotal evidence - such as experience - rather than empirical data. They may be more or less evaluative. Note that Oskamp and Jones (2000) is an example of a report that is more data-based than most in this section.

Guidelines for action. Includes reports which incorporate strategy guidelines. Some were developed by and for individual organizations. Others were developed as resource materials for other organizations.

Policies and procedures. A small number of documents such as policy statements, grievance procedures, and codes of practice. Some were developed by and for individual organizations. Others were developed as resource materials for other organizations.

Related issues & publications. A variety of publications which may be informative in the development of anti-racist strategies.
Suggested keywords for searching

To assist with locating items of interest, in addition to using subject headings, the following keywords are suggested for searching this bibliography:

- anti-racism strategy
- anti-racist education
- anti-racist training
- community relations
- racism awareness training
- cultural awareness training
- multicultural
- school
- Australia
- Canada
- EU
- South Africa
- UK
- U.S.

It is recommended that any such searches should not be case sensitive and should include the exact spelling of the relevant keyword/s. In all cases, (anti-)racism may be substituted for (anti-)racist, and vice versa. We have tended to hyphenate such words. Some authors replace the hyphen with a space (e.g. anti racist) or simply remove the hyphen (e.g. antiracist).

Empirical evaluations of action


Reports on three empirical studies from Canada which examine ways of talking about race and racial evaluations in order to reduce rather than raise prejudice. The first study was of an 11 week teacher-led classroom program. The second involved pairing White students with a low prejudice friend to discuss their racial evaluations. The third explored ways that students orally respond when they overhear a peer’s demeaning racial remark and the conflicting pressures influencing their interventions. Results suggest that talking about race and attitudes can reduce prejudice under certain conditions and that, in the tested situations, the talk was more about collaboration than persuasion. Concludes that teachers and peers can play a valuable role in such dialogue.


Compared the effects of a presentation to challenge false beliefs and a video plus instructions to induce empathy about Aboriginal Australians. Participants were university students and people from surrounding towns. Results showed the empathy manipulation to be ineffective in modifying empathy, modern racism, old-fashioned racism, or endorsement of reconciliation, compared to a baseline sample. However, the false beliefs manipulation did reduce false beliefs and it was ‘related to’ lower modern racism scores. Concludes that challenging false beliefs may reduce prejudice and that false beliefs may be fruitful targets.


Participants were White undergraduate women from three U.S. campuses. Either a Black or a White research confederate posed as a student with a naïve participant. Both were asked about how their college should respond to racism. In the condemning or condoning influence condition the confederate publicly supplied their extreme answers on a 5-point response scale before the naïve participant. In the no-influence conditions both people responded privately. Results showed that participants who heard someone offer strong anti-racist views condemned racism significantly more strongly. Corresponding effects were found for racist influence. Implies that a few outspoken
people (of either race) can influence the normative climate of interracial social/learning settings in either direction. Indicates the value of anti-racism in such settings.


Compared racial prejudice reduction in black and white U.S. high school students. Students in the experimental conditions attended up to six small-group sessions of either game-playing, school-issues discussion, racial discussion, and racial role-playing. Participants in the control condition did not attend any group sessions. There were only five students per condition. All experimental groups evidenced a reduction in prejudice on questionnaire measures and various groups showed various improvements on race-related behavioural measures. Suggests that out of class (‘study hall’) activities can be successfully structured for the reduction of racial prejudice and that a combined activity approach may be most fruitful.


Used racial attitude questionnaires to assess the effectiveness of the prejudice-reduction simulation (PRS) ‘Blue Eyes-Brown Eyes’ as a tool for changing the attitudes of U.S. teacher education students toward Black people. Most participants reported the experience to be meaningful. The PRS favourably influenced non-Black participants attitudes toward Blacks, while lectures and viewing the PRS on film did not appear to influence a control group’s attitudes. Statistical evidence supporting the effectiveness of PRS was moderate. Participants and the facilitator reported stress from the PRS. See Williams and Giles (1992) and Peters (1971), below.


Reply to qualitative evaluation of Byrnes and Kiger (1990) by Williams and Giles (1992). Concludes that more accurate measurement tools are required, that Williams and Giles overstated their case that risks to participants may be too great, and that they did not consider the reported benefits. See also Byrnes, Kiger, Williams, and Giles (1992) (same volume; not in this bibliography).


Considers Holocaust education as a medium for developing ‘maximalist’ notions of citizens among secondary school students in south-east England, UK. Mostly qualitative study of students’ understanding of racism and their opinions on the value of Holocaust education. Students appeared to value the learning experience and were often able to reflect on them. The majority claimed that awareness had increased but several were described as displaying complacency and confidence beyond their knowledge.


Qualitative evaluation. Reports on data from an ethnographic study of an inner-city primary school in the UK. Considers how a strategy of encouraging Black boys to join in with football (soccer) inadvertently had the effect of increasing the exclusion and racist abuse experienced by Asian boys and of fostering a masculine and sexist culture. Points out the need for school policies to be more adequately grounded in an understanding of the inherently complex nature of racism and how its expression can only be understood in relation to other systems of inequality, in this case gender. Calls for appropriate resources and support for teachers.

Evaluated strategies to reduce prejudice among young people at a UK youth centre. The five strategies were a board game with questions on racial attitudes, a true-false quiz (for individual completion then discussion) with assertions that have implications for inter-ethnic assumptions and attitudes, a workshop centred on prejudicial opinions in a newspaper article about British immigrants in Australia, and either a role play involving the experience of disadvantage and discrimination (an hour was proposed) or a video of a teacher being unfair to students in their class in ways reflecting racial prejudice (both followed by a debriefing discussion). Three of the seven centres were not able to complete all activities. Besides qualitative data, partial results from a questionnaire designed to measure prejudice suggests that some prejudice reduction occurred, especially in boys.


Pilot study of a 2-week mass media campaign aimed at reducing negative beliefs about Aboriginal Australians and employment. Post-intervention questionnaire results showed a significant positive change in beliefs about the proportion of Aborigines in long-term paid employment.


Examined the effects of giving Anglo American (U.S.) undergraduates information about everyday incidents of discrimination against African Americans either with or without empathy-inducing instructions. Results indicate that reading about discrimination against African Americans or inducing empathy reduces in-group-out-group bias in attitudes toward African Americans vs Anglo Americans.


In part, draws on an ethnographically inspired study of two (plus one) UK secondary schools, blending school-based research with a critical reading of policy and theory. Suggests that the experiences of teachers in real schools show that schools can challenge racism in school and beyond. In both case-study schools it was clear that race and racism were taken seriously as whole-school issues, and both schools were regarded by government inspectors as being in the forefront of good practice. Part 1 focuses on policy issues and broad educational issues with regard to race. Part 2 provides somewhat more detailed examinations of study schools, student perspectives, and anti-racist change as it can develop in schools.


Evaluation of a cultural awareness/anti-racist education program aimed at reducing prejudice towards Aboriginal Australians by employees of a large public service organization. Although there was a significant reduction of prejudice and stereotyping questionnaire responses immediately post-intervention, this was not maintained at follow-up. However, knowledge remained significantly higher at 3 month follow-up, as did a significant reduction in ‘old-fashioned’ racism by high prejudice participants. Calls for further evaluative research in such ‘real world’ contexts.

Reports on regional and national Deliberative Polls in which many Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians were brought together for dialogue about reconciliation. Deliberation included the presentation of information, discussion, and questions being answered by a range of experts from a diverse range of perspectives. Major portions of the final, national, deliberation were broadcast on national television and radio. Participants were surveyed on their views before and after deliberations. Results generally showed marked shifts in reported knowledge of Aboriginal concerns and support for various aspects of Reconciliation.


Somewhat qualitative/quantitative evaluation of an anti-racism training course designed to help white educators recognize personal, cultural, and institutional manifestations of racism and become more proactive against racism in their schools. Analysis of writing-sample data (written assignments) indicated that over half took meaningful anti-racist actions during/after the course. Authors from the U.S.


Studied the effects of extended contact through peer modeling for tolerance promotion among school students in Finland, aged 13-15. Printed stories of ingroup members engaged in close friendship with members of outgroups were presented as examples of successful intergroup contact. Intergroup attitudes were measured by questionnaire. Intergroup tolerance was stable or increased compared to stability or reduction in the control group. Concludes that tolerance can be improved or maintained by peer modeling of positive intergroup contacts.


Describes the Stereotype Reduction Workshop, an organizational intervention in intergroup relations conducted in South Africa. Outlines the content, group dynamic processes, theoretical underpinnings, and, briefly, the impact of the workshop (through a single case’s responses to open-ended questions re goal attainment). Argues that SRW deals with the root cause and starting point of discrimination in everyone - stereotypes.


Maio, Watt, Hewstone & Rees (2002) examined the effects of anti-racism advertisements on attitudes and found that advertisements run the risk of backlash effects. Surprisingly, while they had a small positive effect on people whose attitudes were wholly positive or negative, they tended to push those who were ambivalent in their feelings about other groups in the opposite direction, making them more racist.


 Investigated the effects of ethnocentric attitudes (E) and discussion upon learning and attitude change in response to a persuasive film about prejudice being treated as a communicable disease with origins in family and community. Participants were high school students, measured as being low, high, or middle on a questionnaire for E. They either watched the film alone, watched the
film and took part in a discussion, or did neither. Results showed significant E reductions from film-discussion and film-alone. For high E participants, the effect was less with than without discussion. E alone did not affect the extent of attitude change induced by the film. Both active and passive participants in discussion retained attitude gains at one month follow-up whilst film-alone participants tended to regress. Low E participants evidenced more learning from the film than high E participants immediately after the intervention and at one month follow-up. Active participants learnt more than passive participants. Suggests that discussion adds to persuasive communication (our conclusion) and that the extent of participation in discussion depends on the amount of learning that has taken place (authors' final stated conclusion).


Describes a mental health consultation project in Pittsburgh, U.S., to help school personnel deal with problems related to racial and cultural differences. Extremely minimal reporting of evaluation by questionnaire.


Compared a textual intervention plus related class discussion and a video intervention plus related class discussion. Both interventions were based on bibliotherapy and depicted stories of encounters between Jewish Israeli and Arab children. Control groups viewed texts or videos of plants and animals before a related class discussion. Each program took place over 6 weekly sessions. Participants were middle-class Jewish Israeli schoolchildren, between 10-12 years old. Effects were measured with a questionnaire about stereotypic attributions about pictures of Arab and Jewish men. Both interventions resulted in similarly significant reductions of negative stereotypes of Arab people.


Undergraduates completed an Asian Modern Racism Scale. Authors identified aversive racists as people low in explicit prejudice but high in implicit prejudice toward Asians in Canada. Aversive racists, but not truly low prejudiced participants (i.e. those low in both explicit and implicit prejudice), responded to a hypocrisy induction procedure with increased feelings of guilt and discomfort, compared to those in a control condition. Furthermore, aversive racists, but not low prejudiced participants, responded to a hypocrisy induction procedure with a reduction in prejudicial behaviour. Suggests that consciousness raising might play an important role in motivating aversive racists to reduce their prejudicial behaviour.


U.S. study, finding that European American undergraduates changed their beliefs about African Americans after learning about that others held different beliefs. Changes were stronger for people who were exposed to information about the opinions of ingroup rather than outgroup members and persisted when measured 1 week later. Suggests that learning about the positive racial beliefs of others has the potential to reduce stereotypic beliefs. Bolstering stereotypic beliefs was also demonstrated under certain conditions.


Compared an existing poster campaign for reducing ethnic prejudice (by the Commission for Racial Equality, UK), a version of the poster campaign modified by the researchers in line with
research, and a control condition of no campaign. Participants were White and from the general population. The modified campaign involved stressing similarities between ethnic minorities and majority populations, providing explicit information about the aims of the communication, exposure to one ethnic minority at a time, and credible communicators. Questionnaires were used to assess ‘subtle’ and ‘blatant’ prejudice. The existing campaign resulted in more prejudice than the control group whilst the modified campaign resulted in equal prejudice to controls. Argues that drawbacks in the existing campaign may have been too great to overcome and that research-based campaigns developed from scratch may have been more effective. Discusses pros and cons of expressing only similarities.


Compared the effects of eight brief video presentations (combinations of factors stressing similarities between ethnic minorities and majority populations, exposure to many ethnic minorities, and providing explicit information about the aims of the communication) with a control condition. Participants were White Dutch adults from the general population. Questionnaire results showed that only the combination of all three factors produced significant increases in positive judgements of ethnic minorities compared to the control condition. Concludes that all three factors are important for persuasive communication programs. Hypothesizes that ineffective campaigns are not so constructed.


Investigated the effects of a cooperative learning environment and a Jigsaw classroom environment on academic performance, self-esteem, liking of school, liking of peers, and racial prejudice. Participants were school children in Grades 4-6, from Western Australia. Jigsaw produced significant improvements on measures of liking of peers, racial prejudice, and academic performance. In contrast, the cooperative environment exacerbated pre-existing intergroup tensions. Demonstrates that Jigsaw can be successfully applied in Australian conditions and supports Allport’s contact hypothesis.


Qualitative evaluation of Byrnes and Kiger’s (1990) research on the ‘Blue Eyes-Brown Eyes’ simulation. Provides a social psychological and ethical consideration of whether and how such simulations may reduce prejudice. Concludes that, according to available evidence, the risks to participants may well outweigh any possible benefits. Authors from the U.S. See Byrnes and Kiger (1992).


Outlines the successful inception of a youth targeted anti-racism campaign, *Different Colours, One People* (1989 – 1993). Based upon a successful British initiative (Rock Against Racism), the popular media-based campaign was targeted at youths age 12 – 18, who were deemed to have not yet formulated their own stance about racism. By moving away from traditional institutional learning it was hoped that the anti-racism message would rapidly spread throughout youth culture channels; with well-known identities from sporting, music, and entertainment fields chosen as advocates to promote the campaign message. A designated campaign week was incorporated to include youth based activities, and used in conjunction with the media campaign. A number of notable successes of the campaign were identified: campaign merchandise was widely disseminated and accepted within the teen population; public support ensured the continuation of
another campaign week of activities the following year; and a number of schools incorporated their own anti-racism initiatives following the initial campaign due to student-initiated influence and support.

**Reviews of empirical evaluations**


A review of anti-discrimination training literature and services (including anti-racism) to labour market professionals in the Netherlands. Includes a survey of training provision by organizations in the Netherlands. Training providers, informants in client organizations, and trainees were also surveyed with semi-structured evaluation interviews. Classifications are based on Wrench and Taylor’s *A research manual on the evaluation of anti-discrimination training activities* (1993). Cultural Awareness Training was most common, with a shift towards Managing Diversity. This study may have evaluated quality of training more than effectiveness. It also identifies the need for greater focus on behaviour change.


Argues that there is enough basic research on social cognition, developmental psychology, and peer relations as they relate to prejudice, discrimination, and stereotyping to address program development and evaluation. At the same time, there are enough race relations programs being developed and implemented to inform basic research on prejudice. Introduction to the special issue on the topic of putting prejudice research into practice and vice versa. Authors from Canada and U.S.


Reviews quantitative research on five broad types of intervention that aim to reduce prejudice in school-age children (not including cooperative learning). Two interventions - ethnically integrated schooling and bilingual education - are based on intergroup contact theory. Two further interventions - multicultural and anti-racist education - are based on socialization theory and can be conducted with or without intergroup contact. Finally, training in social-cognitive skills, role-playing, and empathy, are aimed respectively at students’ cognitive and emotional capabilities. Examples of each type of intervention are given, analyzed, and their success is evaluated.


Reviews programs designed to reduce racial stereotyping and prejudice among children using multicultural curricula and materials. Focuses on the theoretical assumptions and empirical limitations that underlie current and previous programs. Points out that, even when well-documented evidence of attitude change is presented, intervention effects are weak and transient at best. Argues that many nonsignificant findings are not reported. Author is from the U.S.

Qualitative review of cultural diversity education to reduce negative intercultural attitudes and behaviours and/or promote positive ones. Conducted on behalf of the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education. Compiled list of recommendations for teacher training.


First section reviews the amount and nature of racial/ethnic content on television. Second section focuses on theoretical models that help explain television’s role in the development, maintenance, and modification of stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination. Third section addresses research on the effects of television in altering stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination, with particular attention given to media intervention programs specifically designed to address these issues (‘Sesame Street’ and ‘Different and the Same’). Concludes that there is evidence of positive attitude change but almost no research into how children of different racial groups interact with each other as a consequence of exposure to television. Television has not yet fulfilled its positive potential. Author is from the U.S.


Final chapter provides a somewhat evaluative review of a number of anti-racism policies and strategies in Australia, including in connection to the media, legislation, complaints procedures, affirmative action, school education, cross-cultural training and community education (cultural awareness training, racism awareness training, and anti-racism strategies), individual anti-racist work, and human rights and social justice campaigns.


Review of research evaluating the effectiveness of multicultural education and diversity appreciation training (MEIDAT), to determine if MEIDAT reduces prejudice among mental health counsellor trainees. Positive results, although the extent and nature of prejudice reduction is mostly unclear. Causal inferences are limited due to experimental design. However, suggests that MEIDAT fosters White racial identity development, which is presumed to involve prejudice reduction.


Begins by reviewing research showing that both adults and children differ in social-cognitive factors related to stereotyping. Describes and evaluates empirical prejudice reduction strategies that target these factors. Concludes that such individual differences can be stable but malleable and that high-prejudice persons no longer appear to be different types of persons to low-prejudice persons. Author from the U.S.


Chapter 5 includes a review of a few mostly descriptive UK studies of translating top-down policy statements into practice at local education authority and school level. Includes a consideration of racism awareness training for staff. Chapter 6 focuses on a case-study of theory into whole-school practice at a mostly white community secondary school in south-east England. The positive results from satisfaction/evaluation questionnaires are presented and discussed. Lessons learnt include the involvement of governors in training, how to raise parental awareness, and the need to involve pupils from the early stages of planning and implementation.

Meta-analytical review of research evaluating role playing or antiracist teaching to reduce student prejudice. Results indicate that role playing and antiracist teaching significantly reduce racial prejudice and do not differ from each other in their effectiveness. Also, younger students’ were found to be more changed than young adult students.


Brief review of empirical research findings on prejudice reduction. Organized around the following headings: (1) Facts or information are not sufficient to change attitudes, (2) Class prejudice may be stronger than religious prejudice, (3) An individual who has a high degree of self-acceptance will likely have a low degree of prejudice, (4) Students who work in interracial learning teams develop positive attitudes and cross-ethnic friendships, (5) The cognitive, affective, and behavioural components of prejudice are not necessarily related, (6) Films and other media improve students’ attitudes, and (7) Social contacts may reduce prejudice under certain conditions. Additionally, many of the conditions which are thought to reduce prejudice may also serve to increase prejudice when misapplied. Remaining questions include: (1) If prejudice serves a psychological function, do we need to replace it with something else?, (2) Are there optimal and ‘beyond it’ ages for prejudice reduction, (3) Are findings from experimental settings replicable in ‘real world’ conditions, and (4) What are the long-term effects and what is the value of short-term effects? Concludes that there is enough knowledge available to begin applying what we know. Author from the U.S.


Brief review of empirical research findings on prejudice reduction. Organized around the following headings: (1) Audiovisual approaches, (2) Approaches using special materials, (3) Cognitive approaches, (4) Cooperative learning approaches, (5) Human relations training, (6) Direct approaches, (7) Schoolwide conditions, (8) Other approaches, and (9) Teacher education. Concludes that available knowledge is sufficient for positive results. Author from the U.S.


Presents meta-analytic findings on the effectiveness of intergroup contact in reducing prejudice. Shows that intergroup contact under certain conditions has a substantial, highly significant effect in reducing a wide variety of measures of prejudice toward outgroups. Demonstrates many of the key conditions that moderate the size of the contact effect, such as the quality of the research, contact in work settings versus less intense and long-lasting settings, the type of outgroup studied, the formation of intergroup friendships, and the use of structured contact programs with optimal contact conditions. Argues that Institutional social-structural changes are necessary to optimize intergroup contact and produce prejudice reduction which can generalize to other outgroup members.


Section 7 includes a review of mostly empirical studies concerning strategies to reduce racism and prejudice. Subsections focus on changing stereotypes, cross-cultural awareness education (workplace programs and school programs), parenting in early childhood, and other approaches (working with youth, using the arts, media interventions, and government legislation). See also recommendations in Section 9.

Reviews studies on empathy and its role in intergroup relations programs, exploring the proposition that narrowing the psychological distance between the prejudiced and the targets of their prejudice can result in improved intergroup relations. Defines three types of empathy: cognitive, reactive, and parallel. Concludes that empathy can be induced through simple instructions, and that training can be used to increase it. Argues that empathy needs to be used with clear goals and understanding to minimize negative consequences and maximize beneficial effects. Authors from the U.S.

**Descriptions of action**


Broad, descriptive review of anti-racism related initiatives - many of which were reported on the internet, in addition others that were described more formally.


Discusses antiracism teaching and learning, focusing on the experiences and reflections of the participants of a U.S. college course, entitled ‘Racism and Intellectuals’. Addresses the creation of a ‘beloved community’, a community of equals with a shared vision, and the student organization PEACE: Promoting Equality and Community Everywhere.


Describes strategy implementation within the Inner London Education Authority School Psychological Service, UK. Work focused on referral processes, assessment of students, and communication with community groups.


Reports on a national anti-racism forum/conference in Canada. Other activities listed on the website include a consultation task force, an international day for the elimination of racial discrimination, and an African heritage month. See CLC (2001b), below.


Reports on regional anti-racism forums involving regional labour structures and community representatives in Canada.

This state government guide provides information to employers, employer bodies, trade unions, and service providers, on recognising and combating race discrimination and racial harassment in the workplace. Information provided within the guide is based on 1997 research undertaken in a number of Western Australian workplaces which found that pre-guide workplace strategies were mostly ineffective in reducing incidents of race discrimination and harassment. The guide emphasises that effective strategies for the reduction of racially motivated discrimination and harassment are those which are instilled at a systems and practices level within the organisation, and that incorporate both administrative and legal mechanisms. A strategic checklist of mechanisms and model EEO policy materials are incorporated within the guide. Measures that have been shown to improve cultural inequities in the workplace include: promoting the organisation’s commitment to equal opportunities and inducting employees accordingly; encouraging or providing access to English language training; allowing access to vocational training to improve promotional prospects; and instilling mentoring and support practices throughout the workplace.


See Garland and Rowe (1999b), below.


Critical review of anti-racism schemes in UK football (soccer). Advocates the adoption of more concrete programs and a wider focus than on fascism and hooliganism. See Horne (1996), below.


Qualitative case study of students from two UK secondary schools, examining white students’ reactions to anti-racist change and the schools’ attempts to involve the students positively. Discussion of whiteness and anti-racism.


Paper from the West Australians for Racial Equality (WARE) community organization. Briefly outlines and evaluates (cross-)cultural awareness training, cultural skills training (training staff to work with Aboriginal people and people from non-English speaking backgrounds), racism awareness training, and anti-racist training. Provides description and guidelines for anti-racist training (ART) and describes the Youth Sector Training Council Anti-Racist Training Project, consisting of workshops, the training of anti-racist trainers, and the production of a distance education anti-racist kit. Also outlines WARE’s community relations project.


Shows how a university course in Canada that focused on anti-racist education and critical pedagogy was used by eight Aboriginal women to develop their capacity as ‘organic intellectuals’ - preservice teachers with a commitment to anti-racist education, rather than politically conservative citizens. Considers the author’s experiences as teacher, the theory, and the course delivery of the Saskatchewan Urban Native Teacher Education Program (SUNTEP), an
affirmative action, teacher education program. Presents the final examinations and course evaluations as results of the course.


Examines the experiences of students enrolled in the Saskatchewan Urban Native Teacher Education Program (SUNTEP), Canada. Argues that such First Nation TEPs moderate but do not wholly challenge the dominant, bureaucratic teacher education ideology. Teacher educators need to structure counter-hegemonic learning experiences to strengthen potential for anti-racism.


Considers the UK’s ‘Let’s Kick Racism out of Football’ (LKROOF) campaign. In particular, argues for the need to recognize the specificity of racism in different social (national/regional) contexts, such as in differences between England and Scotland. See also Garland and Rowe (1996a & b), above.


Briefly reviews the following educational initiatives from around the world: Dowa Education in Japan, the Action Plan of the Slovak Republic, work of the Anti-Defamation League in the U.S., Global Education in Jordan, the British Columbia Teachers Federation’s Program Against Racism in Canada, the Racism. No way! Project in Australia, two projects in South Africa, Clover Park Middle School in New Zealand, a project by Amnesty International in Mauritius, the Israel/Palestine Centre for Research and Information, activities of the Board for Ethnic Equality in Denmark, work by the International Education and Resource Network (iEARN), and other internet web sites.


Reports interviews with five teachers in Scotland, UK, who regularly teach primary school students from 9 years old about the Holocaust. Assesses the nature of teaching and its integration into the curriculum. Discusses the implications/merits of Holocaust education with younger students than in England. Recommends wider adoption of such primary education in Scotland.


Describes the (public stance) campaign adopted by a town in the U.S. state of Illinois and the subsequent role of the labor movement.


Evaluative overview of programs in the U.S. President’s Initiative on Race (1999) to promote dialogue, education, community building, problem solving concerning race relations and race-related problems. Lists a number of specific psychological mechanisms for the major categories of education and publicity, training, contact or interaction, resource allocation, community building, and other methods or mechanisms. Evaluates the program domains of arts, media, and sports; business; community and economic development; community building; education; government;
health and human services; religious; and youth in terms of prejudice reduction goals, evaluation of outcomes, receipt of rewards or publicity, and expansion to other cities. Lists mechanisms most frequently mentioned as (descending order) education; dialogue; leadership training; providing educational materials; public conferences, exhibitions, etc.; diversity training; contact; conflict resolution training; providing community services; activism in general; and providing consultants. Concludes that reducing prejudice and improving intergroup relations requires efforts from both academic researchers and community-based organizations.


Summary of a United Way program to provide social service agencies in Toronto, Canada, support to implement multicultural/anti-racism change. Training programs ranged from workshops to in-depth (10 day long) skills training. Resource materials, policies, and procedures were also developed or planned. Some outcomes, such as number of agencies with policies, and lessons learned are listed.


Considers several anti-racist strategies by the Aboriginal Rural Education Program (AREP) at the University of Western Sydney, Macarthur. AREP is a part-time residential mode of study for students coming from throughout New South Wales who are taught separately to full-time (often called ‘mainstream students’). After several years, the Centre for Indigenous Australian Cultural Studies was established. This is described as an anti-racist progression from enclave to teaching/research centre (and, in the future, perhaps faculty), as a way to redress assimilationist histories.


From the perspective of initiatives in Ontario, Canada, distinguishes between multicultural and anti-racist education, and between multiculturalism and anti-racism in policies and practices. Focuses on two activities of the various boards of education’s race and ethnic relations services: the typically one-shot and in many ways counterproductive staff development programs for teachers and the Multicultural Leadership Camps for students. Both activities can be more or less to do with raising cultural awareness or anti-racist knowledge. Suggests that, with a more active interaction between academics and practitioners, critical pedagogy can offer anti-racism some much needed direction.


Describes the approach of the Centre for Early Childhood Care and Education, University of Waikato, New Zealand. Aims include the development of racism awareness and of a commitment to anti-racism in young students within a bicultural framework.

Discusses five experiential educational strategies from colleges and universities in Ontario, Canada, for harassment and discrimination prevention. Strategies were based on principles of anti-racist theory and pedagogy to address a variety of oppression. The five models for change place participants in real or simulated oppressive situations. The approaches have been used with senior decision makers, students, staff, and the general community.


Through observations and interviews, examines the meaning work in the anti-racist activism of two U.S. feminist organizations for fighting violence against women. Strategies included hiring 50 per cent women of colour (i.e. equity), a protocol for addressing oppressive remarks, and versions of unlearning racism workshops. The former is described as expressing a structural analysis of racism (explicit statements of ideology, shifting racial demographics through affirmative action), the latter two as, additionally, expressing an individual analysis (fighting racism from within).


Describes an anti-racist training and materials assessment and improvement program as carried out within social work school departments in the British Columbia region of Canada. Reported accomplishments include anti-racism becoming more central, changes to policy statements, vision statements, and strategic planning statements, curriculum reviews, the development of teaching materials, increased student involvement, review and plans for professional development of faculty, a staff workshop on dealing with critical incidents and issues of racism, action plans, and an ongoing commitment to anti-racist activities. See also phase one report (not in this bibliography).


Argues the need to realize the Holocaust’s anti-racist potential, especially in Ontario, Canada, where conventional anti-racism (aimed at enhancing the life chances of visible minorities) is under threat. Examines the teaching of the Holocaust in Ontario schools, reporting from a survey of history staff. Altered approaches are suggested.

**Guidelines for action**


Suggestions for discussion and group exercises including on how to challenge discrimination against a variety of social groups.

Cultural awareness training? Suggests various staff development approaches for combating racism and sexism. Author from the U.S.


Latter half of the chapter provides several suggestions for ‘effective anti-racism in the postmodern world’. Author from the U.S.


Personal experience examples/suggestions from teachers of anti-racist English for school children. Authors from UK.


Discussion and guidelines included in most contributors’ chapters. Authors from the UK.


Includes detailed guidelines for an anti-racist (racism awareness?) program plus a bibliography of readings and resources.


Key component of *Racism. No way!,* a state and national initiative which brings together understandings of racism with strategies for countering racism in schools. Other project resources include a newsletter, student games and activities, teaching ideas and activities, strategies for countering racism, and reference materials on Australian legislation and international law and international approaches to anti-racism education.


Includes chapters on ‘Deconstructing racism: Anti-racism awareness training and social workers’ and ‘Tackling racism at the organisational level: Working on agency policies and practices’. Author from the UK.


Discusses general aspects of strategies for addressing racism and sexism on two levels within anti-racist and feminist education: strategies for personal change (changing one’s own beliefs and actions) and strategies for professional change (educating others about racism). Author from the U.S.

HREOC.

Web page that briefly describes an information and training package, developed in Australia by the Race Discrimination Commissioner to assist employers in the workplace by providing information to reduce the likelihood of complaints under the Racial Discrimination Act of 1975 (RDA). The package is listed as including a video, a training manual, detailed guidelines for employers on the RDA, and a brochure aimed at small businesses. The HREOC states its intention, in partnership with the Australian Human Resources Institute, to run ‘train the trainers’ programs to equip managers with the knowledge to deliver effective anti-racism training in the workplace.


Summary of findings from the Report of the National Inquiry into Racist Violence in Australia (NIRV) (HREOC, 1991) and the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (RCIADIC, 1991). Discusses three different approaches to crosscultural training of police (and other community groups): cultural awareness training (CAT), racism awareness training (RAT), and anti-racist strategies (ARS). Argues that the racism highlighted by the RCIADIC requires the latter.


Manual for what appears to blend a focus on equal opportunities with anti-racism training for staff.


Presents a plan for an anti-racism staff development course for teachers, designed to help sensitize them to the racial constructions of reality in their own lives, schools, curricula, and teacher-student interactions. Also examines how issues of class and gender affect racism. Author from the U.S.


Influential step-by-step training manual for what appears to be more like racism awareness training than anti-racism training, per se. Described on the back cover as being adaptable to any employee or school setting. Author from the U.S.


Personal examples/suggestions from a teacher of anti-racist English for school children. Author from the UK.

Office of Multicultural Affairs, the Ethnic Affairs Commission of NSW, & the NSW Department of School Education (1995). Whole school anti-racism project: Anti-racism planning guide. NSW Department of School Education, Curriculum Directorate, Multicultural Education Unit.
Guidelines for evaluating a school’s present state and for planning goals in terms of anti-racism in Australian schools. See other three WSARP resource materials (in various sections of this bibliography).

Office of Multicultural Affairs, the Ethnic Affairs Commission of NSW, & the NSW Department of School Education (1995). Whole school anti-racism project: Strategies for change. NSW Department of School Education, Curriculum Directorate, Multicultural Education Unit.

Materials to provide a model for change and suggestions for collecting information, setting up workshops, conferences, and meetings, to involve people, and to enhance communication across Australian school communities. See other three WSARP resource materials (in various sections of this bibliography).


Examines racism in Australian school textbooks - largely in terms of being against Aboriginal people. Suggests improvements for school books, teacher education courses, curriculum development, and community awareness.


Developing an anti-racist and multicultural policy for modern language teaching from a whole school anti-racist policy.


Considers possible approaches to racism awareness training for school teachers. Author from the UK.


Anti-racism training course kit for use with and by secondary school staff. Includes manual and video.


Includes guidelines on appropriate books in a multicultural society (by C. Jones and G. Klein of ILEA’s Centre for Urban Education Studies, UK). Suggests strategies for dealing with the issue of race in books with school children, including looking at writer’s assumptions, comparing representations, and using literature by and about ethnic minorities. Authors from UK. See Simons and Ashton (1980b), below.


Suggestions for using stories with an explicit focus on racism for exploring the racism issues with school children.

54.

Considers anti-racist workshops and educational exercises, in particular how knowledge is locally represented. Compares to similar confinements of representation in multiculturalist practice and policy. Offers alternative model based on practical coalition politics. Author from Canada.

**Policies and procedures**


Policies and procedures guide provided for public sector organizations in the UK. Includes descriptions of the legal framework and general duty for promoting race equality, specific duties (in policy, service delivery, and employment), and the role of the CRE in partnership and enforcement.


Policies and procedures guide provided for public sector organizations in the UK. Includes descriptions of the general duty, specific duties regarding the race equality scheme (functions and policies, monitoring policies, assessing and consulting on proposed policies, publishing results, access to information and services, and training staff), specific duties regarding employment, procurement, and partnership. Also available for schools, for higher and further education institutions, and for monitoring.


Provides background to the development of EU policy on Fundamental Rights and combating racism, lists relevant legislation, details EU strategy of ‘mainstreaming’, and describes its policy of evaluation and monitoring.


Summarizes the main perspectives that informed responses to education and race relations (by the ILEA, in the UK) over three decades: assimilation, integration, and cultural diversity. Proposes that all future ILEA responses should be informed by a perspective which emphasizes equality, with central intention given to racism and to measures to unlearn and dismantle racism.


Draws on ethnographic fieldwork to examine equal opportunities policies and anti-racist initiatives in two Higher Education institutions in the UK. Considers the silences of those texts in relation to anti-racism. Reports on interview data to explore the ways in which race, racial equality, and anti-racism were actually discussed by research respondents.

Example of a policy statement from a London school, UK.


Document to assist schools and school boards ensure that the principles of anti-racism and ethnocultural equity are observed throughout Ontario, Canada’s, school system.


Explores the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work’s (CCETSW’s) Paper 30 anti-racist policy initiative. Considers how this anti-discriminatory initiative came about, how it fared in practice, what reaction it generated, and what political response it produced. Examines research based on interviews with black and white students on placement and their respective practice teachers. Demonstrates that ‘top down’ policies do not necessarily invoke change in institutions. Argues that, to be more effective, policy prescriptions must be fully integrated with the struggles of the oppressed against all structural and institutional racism.


Discusses the development and presentation of a whole school anti-racist policy. Author from the UK.


Includes guidelines around the following headings: legislative framework, responsibility and roles of principals and line managers, responsibilities and roles of contact people, confidentiality, victimization, curriculum and development for students, procedures to deal with racist discrimination and harassment (re various combinations of employees and students), and parents.


Intended to provide departmental employees with information about their rights and responsibilities regarding sexual harassment and racial discrimination.


Policy and complaints template for organizations to use. Posted on the Toronto Arts Council, Canada, website.
Related issues & publications


Discussion paper, requesting feedback to contribute in the development of an ACT strategy to address racism and discrimination, to assist in developing the ACT’s contribution to the National Action Plan Against Racism, and to assist in the planned review of ACT anti-discrimination legislation.


Hypothesis concerning the important situational requirements for intergroup contact to reduce prejudice. In short, these optimal conditions are: equal group status within the situation; common goals; intergroup cooperation; and the support of authorities, law, or custom. The hypothesis was originally supported by early field research. Although some problems are evident, it has continued to receive widespread empirical support. See Pettigrew (1998), below.


Argues that the failure of multicultural policies to be instituted by teachers is mediated by a ‘hidden racism’ within the conscious perceptions of individuals and within the ideological mechanisms and cultural understandings inherent in the school organization.

Attwell, J., Heveli, D., and Pedersen, A. (under review). Let them stay or send them away? Predictors of negative attitudes toward refugees.

The purpose of this study was to examine attitudes toward refugees in the Perth community, and what predicts such attitudes. In Study One, an Attitudes toward Refugees (ATR) scale was constructed based on qualitative data obtained from the Perth community. In Study Two, self-esteem, national identity, false beliefs, and socio-demographics were used in an attempt to predict negative attitudes toward refugees in a random survey of the Perth metropolitan area (n=157). Results indicated only a weak relationship between high self-esteem and negative attitudes, and a very strong relationship between a high level of false beliefs and negative attitudes. Additionally, using multiple regressions, right-wing political orientation, strong national identity, and low education predicted negative attitudes.


Further presentation of findings regarding racism from a Toronto, Canada, ethnographic study of how the everyday work world of left-of-centre social workers was socially organized around, race class, and gender. Discusses in the context of developing anti-racism in social work.


Hypothesizes that imagining how another feels and imagining how you would feel have different emotional consequences – empathy (i.e. empathic distress) and empathy plus personal distress, respectively. To test this, undergraduates were given instructions before listening to a (bogus) radio interview with a young woman in serious need. One third were instructed to remain objective while listening, one third to imagine how the young woman felt, and one third to
imagine how they would feel in their situation. According to questionnaire responses, the two types of imagine instructions produced the hypothesized patterns of emotions. Points out that empathy has been shown to evoke altruistic motivation and that personal distress has been shown to evoke egoistic motivation.


This study examined the effectiveness of a NSW physical activity campaign conducted in 1998 as part of the “Active Australia” initiative. Over a two-month period, adults aged 25-60 were targeted to increase levels of physical activity via a series of paid and unpaid media placements in prime-time television spots, advertising in weekend newspaper and lifestyle magazines, health professional mail-outs, and community based activities and support events. Multilingual components of the campaign were also circulated to reach minority groups in the community, and campaign merchandise was also distributed to increase exposure. Independent population samples were surveyed prior to, and following, the mass-media campaign to ascertain knowledge and levels of physical activity, activity intention, self-efficacy, and recall of media-based campaign messages; populations in other States were surveyed as comparison. There was a significant increase in unprompted recall of the campaign messages, and a significant increase in physical activity knowledge and self-efficacy within the NSW cohort. Additionally, the mass-media campaign appeared to be successful based on statistics suggesting that those within the target group who recalled the campaign message were more likely to increase their weekly activity levels by at least one hour.


Summarises a selection of physical activity campaigns that utilised mass-media campaigns (c.f. Marcus et al, 1998). Proposes that well designed media campaigns can inform and set physical activity agendas; however, acknowledges that increases in population physical activity rates requires the support of community based events and environments conducive to physical activities.


Examines problems with anti-racist discourse in Western nations, especially in the U.S. and France. Contends that anti-racism privileges identity over individual behaviour and, consequently, that the equality of some is more important than the equality of others (i.e., discriminatory anti-racism). The shortcomings of applying a humanistic approach to overcoming racial discrimination are discussed, e.g. the placement of blame for being discriminated against on other individuals. Argues that anti-racist discourse has over-expanded the notion of racism. Concludes that it will exacerbate certain individuals’ frustrations in expressing their ideas.


Examines the racial thinking behind the policy of the removal Aboriginal children from their families and the subsequent policy of assimilation. Challenges Australians to focus on critical issues relating to reconciliation.

Interview evaluation of a Forum Theatre workshop with further education college staff from the north of England, UK. Results suggest that the interviewees found the drama of value in experiencing temporary disadvantage.


Argues that ‘passive empathy’ - as suggested from the presented case of students’ readings of a comic-book genre depiction of someone’s survival of Nazi Germany - falls short of assuring any basis for social change and leads to a ‘consumptive’ mode of identification with the other. Calls for educators to encourage a ‘testimonial reading’ which requires the reader’s responsibility, to recognize oneself as implicated in the social forces that create the climate of obstacles the other must confront.


Presented the outcome of surveys conducted pre- and post- to a social learning and social marketing driven mass-media campaign, which included community events, conducted by the Australian National Heart Foundation in 1990. The surveys aimed to determine adolescent and adult recall of the campaign message, attainment of physical activity knowledge, and effectiveness in increasing low-intensity physical activity rates. High recall of the campaign message was found, which was unrelated to age, educational level and health beliefs. Physical activity knowledge levels were already high at pre-campaign testing, and did not differ significantly post-campaign. Low-intensity exercise increased significantly post-campaign, in the older age, and less educated groups; suggesting this mass-media campaign was effective in encouraging behaviour change in less advantaged sectors of the community.


Examines the ideology and geography of radical anti-racism through interviews with anti-racist teachers in London and Tyneside, UK. Contrasts anti-racism with multiculturalism, a form of liberal educationalism. Concludes that all educational ideology is geographically, as well as historically specific and has the potential for its own reactionary transformation.


Includes chapters on representing ‘racial’ difference and identity; anti-racist dilemmas; the public professions and the ‘new radicalism’; multiculturalism as a public educationalist ideology; anti-racism in London; anti-racism in Tyneside; and the marginalization of radicalism in Devon. Author from the UK.


Introduction to anti-racism (including racism awareness training). Includes consideration of the relationship between nationalism, capitalism, and anti-racism; the practice; theoretical and political dilemmas; and the politics of backlash. Author from the UK.


Compares and identifies dilemmas in the anti-racist education of Ontario (Canada) and of England and Wales (UK). Discusses how the ideological characteristics of anti-racism have been shaped by different national and local discourses. Concludes with a summary and reflection on the value of comparative studies.

Includes consideration of the background and context of anti-racist education, how anti-racist pedagogy is constructed, observations of what occurs during anti-racist teaching, and what needs to occur.


In this study, randomised telephone surveys of Sydney residents were conducted one year apart to assess for community changes in AIDS-related knowledge, attitudes about AIDS, recall of AIDS-related media messages and changes in personal lifestyle to avoid exposure to the HIV/AIDS virus. Results indicated that AIDS-related knowledge levels in the Sydney samples were very high for both years, indicating the effectiveness of intensive community wide AIDS campaigns and continual exposure to AIDS-related news stories and television programs. It was also evident by responses to the surveys that a large proportion of people surveyed experienced unjustifiable anxiety and personal fear of acquiring AIDS despite their ‘low-risk’ status; and additionally, there were high levels of hostile attitudes and social exclusion towards groups considered at a higher risk of acquiring AIDS, especially homosexual men and drug users. In light of these negative ramifications the authors challenge the effectiveness of continuing to target low-risk groups, instead suggesting that intensive campaigns should be directed towards groups considered to be at a ‘high-risk’ of exposure to the HIV/AIDS virus.


Discuss the Macpherson report into the murder of Stephen Lawrence in London, UK. Suggests that, in its approach to ‘institutional racism’, the report has downplayed the need for a critical re-examination of policing policies and priorities at a strategic level. The government’s commitment is also questioned in its restricting of defendant’s rights and the ability of black people to defend themselves against racist police practices through the criminal justice system.


Discusses ‘institutional racism’ initiatives in the wake of the Macpherson report into the murder of Stephen Lawrence in London, UK. Suggests that it is arguable that many of the initiatives relating most directly to policing and criminal justice have actually served to compound the ‘disadvantage’ and ‘disproportionate impact’ of government policies on the black community.


On the basis of small-scale work using data from teachers’ perceptions, draws attention to problems in learning about the Holocaust and suggests issues which require further investigation.


Argues that the current danger is that a more sophisticated version of the old assimilationism is being constructed. Proclaims that it is time to exorcise the ghost of White Australia; to proclaim that cultural and language differences can exist in an Australia formed around shared core moral values.

Examines anti-racism resistance and organizing among women of colour, specifically African Canadian nurses in Ontario and Quebec, Canada. Thirty semi-structured interviews evidence a range of strategies including large-scale change through policy struggles, public demonstrations, transformation in nursing hierarchies and structures, and dealing with everyday racism. Advocates coalitions and networks at local, national, and international levels.


Part 1 is concerned with racism, feminism, and anti-racism. Part 2 is concerned with education, pluralism, and access to knowledge; black families and social services; and the politics of equal opportunities in employment. Contributors from the UK.


Explores the notion of ‘difference’ (from a social constructionist perspective), particularly in the context of black people in South Africa and the UK. Includes, for example, calls to ‘deessentialise’ conceptions of the ‘black subject’ and to devise strategies acknowledging the development and sense of becoming of black people.


Traces the desegregation of school in South Africa, particularly in the Gauteng region, from 1990 to 1996. Identifies a shift in from ‘race’ to ‘ethnicity’ - a move from assimilationist to multiculturalist perspectives. Argues that this has led to ‘bad’ multicultural approaches which should be replaced with critical anti-racism to include a consideration of ‘intra-black’ dynamics and redress apartheid’s legacy.


Contends that, since the mid-1980’s, many UK schools in predominantly white areas have taken active steps to counter racism and ethnocentrism. Examines the ethical issues of researching such initiatives at the primary school level. Looks at curriculum development work in anti-racist and multicultural education in ‘all white’ schools.


The United States Task Force on Community Preventive Services reviewed selected interventions, categorised by type, which aimed to increase physical activity behaviours and increase physical fitness. Six intervention types were strongly recommended or recommended; two of which were informational, three behavioural and social, and one utilised an environmental and policy approach. Interventions that were not recommended due to insufficient evidence of their effectiveness included mass-media campaigns, elements of classroom based health education (see report for expansion), college-age physical education, and health education. Conclusions drawn also include the need for interventions to be tailored to target groups, and incorporating multi-component interventions (which combine recommended intervention strategies with mass-media promotion) at a community-wide level.

Critiques Short and Carrington’s (1996) contention that in order to challenge racism, educators should promote a reconstructed form of multiculturalism in addition to conventional anti-racism. Offers a reformulation of racism which incorporates both biological and cultural elements. Author from the UK. See Short and Carrington (1998), below.


Includes papers on a Commonwealth community relations strategy, anti-racist training in the community sector, legislation on racial vilification and equal opportunity for ethical minorities, the relationship between racial prejudice and social-cognitive development in children, Aboriginal education, creating a supportive school environment in culturally diverse communities, anti-racism content in an early childhood training program, the failure of multiculturalism and the ‘hidden racism’ in Melbourne schools, why Aboriginal studies won’t stop racism, simulation games of challenging racism in adult education, designing a Law and Societies course, and intercultural communicative competence.


Includes papers on dimensions of contemporary racism and papers on racism and indigenous peoples.


Critique of ‘multiculturalism’, the caring professions’ view of Black people from *without*, and ‘identity politics’, as experienced in a feminist youth project in London, UK.


Review of schooling practices which have been shown by well-designed research to be related to changes in intercultural relations in educational settings. Examines research on practices that educators have used to reduce negative intercultural attitudes and behaviors and/or to promote positive ones, determines how well those approaches have worked, and makes recommendations based on findings. Author from the U.S.


Drawing on detailed ethnographic material, analyzes the ways in which black people are treated differently by the UK probation service. Examines shortcomings in policy and practice and proposes further movement in anti-racist directions.


Explores ways of constructing, producing and disseminating anti-racism knowledge, particularly (but not exclusively) in the contexts of Euro-Canada/America.

Exploration by author from Toronto, Canada, of the implications of race, social difference, identity, and power for schooling and educational change in North America. Calls for challenges to meritocratic principles and hegemonic Western discourses.


Discusses some of the issues raised by student conduct rules on U.S. universities and colleges. The problem of campus racism is often seen, a priori, as a tension between free speech and the protection of equality. Reviews other Western nations dealing with the problem, examines social science teachings on anti-racism, and applies case law to the issue.


The first phase of the Diversity Victoria coalition project focused on leadership training and comprised a series of workshops based around this Celebrating Diversity kit. The kit includes a (not directly anti-racism) slide presentation and guidelines for workshop activities to challenge misconceptions about race and religion. Building on evaluation and feedback from these initial activities, the project aims to support local initiatives to address the specific needs of rural and regional communities, especially women and young people.


Review building on the authors’ concept of aversive racism as being typical of many people. Aversive racists are defined as people who sincerely believe themselves to be unprejudiced, but who still harbour some negative feelings (often unconscious ones) toward ethnic minority groups. Reports on quantitative studies aimed at reducing automatic negative stereotypes about outgroups. Individual-level experiments using extensive cognitive retraining, and others creating awareness of discrepancies between one’s actions and values, demonstrate methods to reduce explicit and implicit stereotypes. Authors also investigated conditions for optimal intergroup contact, reduced intergroup bias, and prejudice reduction, in which two groups were encouraged to recategorize their boundaries in the direction of sharing a common group identity. Emphasizes that a strong advantage of such dual-identity procedures is that they do not require minority groups to forsake their own unique group identity when they adopt a broader, superordinate identity.


Initial historical analysis suggests that systematic shifts in dominant policies advocated by social scientists for reducing prejudice occurred in response to changes in the way that prejudice was conceptualized and explained. Suggests that these policies are not conflicting and may be successfully combined into comprehensive, multilevel, interventions. Therefore, offers a multilevel framework for prejudice reduction based around the perceptual cognitive (changing social categorization), the individual (changing the individual’s susceptibility to prejudice), the interpersonal (changing social influence and creating favourable intergroup contact), and the societal-intergroup (changing social conditions). Author from South Africa.

Addresses how the “Grim Reaper” campaign (and subsequent media debate) increased numbers of low-risk persons fronting for HIV-testing, rather than targeting high-risk groups. As such, the campaign inadvertently increased the workload of diagnostic laboratories.


Argues that the discourse of critical pedagogy in U.S. college/university anti-racism classes is based on rationalist assumptions that continue to perpetuate relations of repression in classrooms.


Discusses implications of the Education Reform Act 1988 and of policy developments for multicultural anti-racist education in England and Wales, UK. Concludes that such education has been marginalized, that minority ethnic groups have been poorly served, and that the jury is still out with regards to the New Labour Government. Criticises assumptions such as life as ‘work’ and education as preparation for ‘work’.


Reviews bilingual education programs from Canada and the U.S.. Research indicates that such programs can reduce racial prejudice in addition to increasing communication skills and cultural awareness.


Advocates that antiracism engages with the dynamics of identity and racism by building on conceptual critiques of previous approaches while simultaneously addressing the lived (complex) experiences of teachers and students. Author from the UK.


Develops a critique of anti-racist strategies that remain too firmly embedded within the (municipal) state. Insists that there is more to the emancipation of black people than opposition to racism. Poses the alternative of creating a radical, democratic civil society by linking immediate local concerns to globalizing economic and political developments, entailing a new conception of ‘micro-political’ activity.


Building on discourse analysis and conversation analysis, introduces a conversational model of language-use-in-social context based on the effects of language in getting things done. Applies the new model to the appearance of racist and prejudiced ways of talking and categorizes current racism-reduction interventions in terms of the social functions of language that they potentially change. Offers suggestions for how interventions may better address the various identified language functions.

Briefly outlines three areas: critical multiculturalism, multiculturalism and anti-racism, and multiculturalism, legitimation, and postcolonialism. Considers why vast gaps continue to exist between theoretical state policies of multiculturalism and their actual implementation. Suggests that when multiculturalism is employed as a travelling term, its relationship with anti-racism becomes evident. Also, argues that multiculturalism is often employed as a means of suppressing or even excluding references to race. By an author who relocated from Australia to Canada.


Describes how racism awareness training (RAT) established a reputation in the UK of being the most practical, crucial first step in combating personal and institutional racism. Criticizes RAT’s underlying assumptions as being theoretically inadequate, metaphysical, & reductionist. Argues that these deficiencies extend from its philosophies to its practical strategies, resulting in not enough being done and it being done badly. Suggests that RAT has negative consequences that serve to divert or prevent any real progress towards eliminating racism.


Findings from discourse practices research (using the methods of, e.g. Essed and van Dijk) on integrating anti-racism into an undergraduate nursing curriculum in Toronto, Canada.


Researchers reports evidence that condom use amongst Sydney prostitutes and their clients increased following the 1987 “Grim Reaper” campaign; suggesting the success of the campaign in promoting behavioural and attitudinal change for higher-risk sexual practices. However, there was no significant increase overall in the number of Sydney prostitutes fronting for HIV-testing following the campaign.


Critical account of one of Ontario (Canada) Labour government’s anti-racism policies/actions.


Examines the terms ‘diversity’ and ‘difference’ in the context of the Toronto Board of Education, Canada. Discusses how emphasis on prejudice and assimilationism limit multiculturalist approaches while fixed notions of identity politics constrain anti-racist education.


Provided evidence that increased demand for HIV-screening tests following the “Grim Reaper” campaign in Western Australia, did not result in higher levels of confirmed HIV positive people tested; despite a recommendation from the Health Department of Western Australia that those with five or more heterosexual partners in the last seven years be tested. Suggested that as HIV in the Western Australian community was limited to established high-risk groups, HIV/AIDS testing should be recommended only for high-risk groups, and those in the general community with a recent history of other sexually-transmitted diseases.
Third theme contains discussion of the role of education, from pre-school to life-long learning and public education campaigns. A number of programs to challenge racism are briefly discussed/assessed, including the Living in Harmony program, the City of Dandenong-Springvale Interfaith Network initiatives, Vic Health, the Australian Arab Council, the AFL, and the Melbourne City Mission.

Considers what Australia needs to do to combat racism. Defines racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. Discusses the five themes for the World Conference (and raises a number of questions about the themes in order to stimulate debate about the current state of racism in Australian society.

Argues that the Canadian Multiculturalism Policy/Act of 1971, with its liberal ideological orientation that stifled the race relations approach to education for a racially diversified student population, has continued to stifle anti-racism, ‘redefined’ multicultural education, and other critical perspectives that attempt to address the systemic and structural barriers to effective and equitable education for all students in Canada. Calls for teachers to give attention to history, seek systemic changes, critically challenge entrenched multicultural ideology, and provide marginalized students with the anti-racism knowledge and skills that make their schooling related and relevant to their social and political experiences.

Includes consideration of how to combat individual, institutional, and cultural racism in Australia.

Combines theory and ethnographic observations of practice in an exploration of how school teachers can fully implement diversity and anti-racism as a foundation of their teaching approach.

Explores several situations underlying the divergent and opposing proposals from social scientists in the field. Argues that these proposals represent diverse approaches to the problem of racism rather than different conclusions and goals. Chapters offer new perspectives on the primary controversial issues involved in the elimination of racism: integration versus pluralism, symbolic versus realistic group conflict, racism towards Blacks, racism and sexism, school desegregation, busing, intergroup contact, and affirmative action.

Identifies, reviews, and characterizes organizational structures and practices in schools that influence the frequency of interracial interactions, the likelihood of cross-race friendships, and students’ attitudes and behaviours towards members of different racial and ethnic groups. These include curriculum tracking, assignment to classes, attendance at school level functions, and extracurricular activities. Concludes that such measures are important in discouraging racial stereotyping and prejudicial behaviour. Authors from the U.S.


Argues that there is no general relationship between race and gender as forms of social division. Instead, race and gender are constructs that have only temporary relationships construed by the issues though which they are articulated. Thus, postulates temporary links between groups of subjects with interests and positions, involving the construction and reconstruction of political constituencies in struggle and some difficult dilemmas for feminists and anti-racists. Authors from the UK.


Analyzes the use of equality and equal education as cited in various U.S. sociohistorical contexts, which has been strategic to the institutionalization of and the resistance to the oppressive ideologies. Discusses multicultural education in the context of different groups fighting for equal education, as they define it. Declares an interest in a multicultural education that allows equality to exist as a dynamic community of difference.


Considers anti-racist developments that have taken place since the 1988 University Council for Adult and Continuing Education (UCACE) survey of existing provisions for minority ethnic communities by university continuing education departments in the UK. Suggests that the following issues must be taken into account for progress: provision of better access for mature students, including blacks; improved access through anti-racist outreach and recruitment; access and maintenance of academic standards; and a focus on the nature of an anti-racist and lifelong continuing education system.


In chapter four, the author likens the AIDS campaigns and intense media attention to AIDS in the mid-1980’s as a semblance of ‘war’ - positioning the Australian government as an authoritarian moral guardian. The most notable ‘battle’ of this period was the 1987 ‘Grim Reaper’ AIDS campaign, which was designed to elicit fear by overwhelming the Australian heterosexual public with messages that promoted AIDS as the result of ‘immoral’ lifestyle choices. The author presents statistics and a number of quotes from major newspaper editorials which illustrate the intensity, and controversy, surrounding the media coverage of AIDS during this period. By the end of the decade, media coverage of the heterosexual angle and subsequent public panic had diminished.

Discusses inadequacies of anti-racism in relation to socio-economic factors. Proposes a broader movement for human rights which acknowledges class, gender (and other) oppressions. Author from the UK.


Paper addresses a range of opposing arguments to racial vilification legislation whilst explaining why it should be introduced as an instrument to help manage cultural diversity in Australia.


Review of twenty-eight media-based physical activity intervention studies; seven of which were mass media campaigns. Social Cognitive Theory, Transtheoretical Model, Social Marketing and health education frameworks were variably utilised. Results indicated that although recall of mass-media content was generally high, these campaigns did not instigate increased physical activity. In contrast, print and/or telephone interventions produced short-term behavioural change. The most effective campaigns were those which where intense and tailored toward the target audience. Discusses how advancing technologies for media-based interventions offer promise for future behaviour change campaigns, but cautions that these interventions may by-pass socially disadvantaged groups.


Assessed the outcomes of the ‘Fighting Fat, Fighting Fit’ mass-media health education campaign launched by the BBC in the United Kingdom in 1999. The campaign aimed to target the overweight and obese and was supplemented by the addition of a ‘hotline’, registration scheme, and the provision of literature to self-manage behaviour change in reducing body fat and increasing exercise/fitness levels. In addition, the campaign attempted to encourage social participation in campaign activities and incentives were offered to registered participants that utilised pre-existing community infrastructures. Baseline and follow-up surveys of a random sample of those registered in the campaign scheme, found that there was a significant increase in healthy eating and exercise; which suggests that mass-media campaigns are effective in eliciting weight control behaviours. As there was the under-representation of particular sub-groups in this study sample, including men and people below 25 years, the authors caution the need to design future campaigns that specifically seek to target these sub-groups.


This study reported the impact of the 1987 ‘Grim Reaper’ AIDS campaign, based on information obtained from a random survey, and contacts made to an AIDS clinic and AIDS hotline. The fear laden campaign elicited a marked increase in the numbers of low-risk persons, especially women, who requested HIV testing; however, the number of persons within high-risk groups fronting for testing did not increase from pre-campaign levels. As the small number of HIV-seropositive individuals found within the ‘low-risk’ groups had heterosexual sexual encounters with ‘high-risk’ individuals, the authors argue the importance of aiming AIDS preventative messages at high-risk populations in order to curb the progression of the disease outside these groups. Additionally, the campaign appeared to be ineffective in reaching younger members of the population, despite the
evidence that these groups were more likely to participate in known AIDS risk behaviours than any other groups.


Reflections from an empirical evaluation of the Commonwealth Community Relations Strategy (CRS), on behalf of the Office of Multicultural Affairs, Australia (see Morrissey and Mitchell, 1993; not in this bibliography). Describes the CRS and attempts to locate it within an emerging framework through which the state is attempting to manage cultural and ethnic diversity. Provides a critical analysis of the contradictory role of the state in this task of managing community relations.


Designed to remove some of the confusion around terminology in Australia and to alert communicators in such areas to the prevailing ways in which terms are used and interpreted. Not to provide immutable definitions.


Assessed whether contact between international (mainly ethnic Chinese) students and Anglo-Australian students generalized to another setting and influenced their intercultural knowledge and acceptance. Participants lived in 3 student resident halls, with each group comprising a numerical majority, equal proportion, and a numerical minority in one of the residential halls. It was found that most intercultural contact occurred with members of a numerical minority, regardless of the student group. Furthermore, residence intercultural contact tended to generalize to the wider university environment and to influence intercultural knowledge and acceptance (as measured by questionnaire). Some notable differences between results for the Australian and international students were found, however.


Explores how the author - a Mexican-American woman raised in the U.S. - ‘mothers’ against racism as a marriage partner, a parent, and a college professor who teaches undergraduate and graduate students.

Office of Multicultural Affairs, the Ethnic Affairs Commission of NSW, & the NSW Department of School Education (1995). Whole school anti-racism project: School communities investigating racism. NSW Department of School Education, Curriculum Directorate, Multicultural Education Unit.

Includes background to WSARP and identifies general considerations to be discussed by Australian schools that are working towards a racism-free school community. See other three WSARP resource materials (in various sections of this bibliography).
Collection of articles on racism, anti-racist education, and promoting and supporting attitudinal change in Australian schools. Includes titles on promoting intercultural understanding and racial tolerance among children, developing an anti-racist national curriculum, educating young Australians to be citizens, cultural bias in primary textbooks, exploring cultural diversity, Aboriginal people and racism, the use and abuse of racial language in secondary schools, and providing a culturally responsive pedagogy for Aboriginal children in their first year of schooling. See other three WSARP resource materials (in various sections of this bibliography).


Briefly outlines the rationale and content of the Australian Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, Sexual Harassment is Out (SHOUT) education campaign launched in 1990. Included is a brief overview of findings from a pre-1990 sexual harassment research project of 411 Australian women (aged 16 – 25). Provides details of how the SHOUT campaign is disseminated to young women in the community through popular media advertisements, and in kit-form available as magazine inserts; the content providing strategies to defend against unwanted attention in the workplace. Acknowledges that not all sexual harassment issues faced by working women can be adequately addressed by the practices recommended in the SHOUT campaign literature.


Introduction to the book. Includes brief description of six specific techniques which have been systematically used to reduce prejudice: reducing realistic conflict; publicity about role models; intergroup contact; cooperative learning; planned, personal experience of discrimination, and spotlighting value conflicts. Summarizes research findings on the contact hypothesis.


An extension of the Booth et. al., (1992) study. Findings suggest that implementing conceptually similar mass-media serial campaigns aimed at promoting physical activity is only effective in maintaining but not improving upon the behavioural change rates evidenced after the first instalment campaign, suggesting that serial, follow-on campaigns may be redundant.


Volume critiquing anti-racism.


Two random surveys were conducted in 1997 in a city location (Perth, Western Australia) and a country mining town (Kalgoorlie, Western Australia) (n=208). Three major findings emerged. First, modern prejudice (a subtle form of prejudice with a veneer of egalitarianism) was more prevalent than old-fashioned prejudice (a blunt, segregationist form of prejudice) in both locations, although Kalgoorlie residents scored significantly higher than Perth residents on modern prejudice. Second, political correctness was predicted by prejudice, which related (directly or not) with age, education, political orientation, and “false beliefs”. Third, attitudes toward Aboriginal people served both a value expressive function (to do with values and beliefs) and an experiential-schematic function (to do with personal experience). However, the latter function was more prevalent in Kalgoorlie compared to Perth.

A prejudice against Indigenous-Australians study was performed in 2002 including 121 community participants and 203 people sympathetic to Indigenous social justice issues. First, an Attitudes toward Indigenous Australians (ATIA) scale was constructed based on qualitative data obtained from the Perth community. There were three major findings. First, over half of the participants from the community sample showed evidence of prejudice. Second, there were two social psychological variables that strongly related to prejudice: empathy and collective guilt. Also, social variables – in particular SES, education, and political orientation - were related to the attitudes of our respondents. Third, people’s perception of the wider community’s attitudes is not always accurate. In particular with respect to prejudiced people over-estimating support for their position, this can lead to a justification for it.


Two studies were performed examining the role of collective guilt and empathy in predicting prejudice against Indigenous-Australians. In the first study, empathy and collective guilt specific to Indigenous Australians predicted prejudice. In the second study, while general collective guilt predicted prejudice, general empathy did not.


Theories of prejudice distinguish between old-fashioned and modern forms. The former is an open rejection of minority group members; the latter is subtle and covert, with a veneer of outgroup acceptance. The present study examines the distinction in the context of contemporary attitudes to Australian Aborigines. Separate measures of each, and of other variables, were included in a random survey of the Perth metropolitan area in 1994 (n=223). The two forms of prejudice were correlated (r=.55), but factor analysis revealed that the two constructs are separable. Further, they were distributed differently in the population, with modern prejudice being more prevalent than old fashioned prejudice (57.9% scoring above the midpoint on the modern scale, and only 21.2% on the old-fashioned scale). Modern prejudice was predicted more strongly by social psychological variables than was old-fashioned prejudice and the pattern of results from regression analyses differed for the two types of prejudice.


The ingroup preferences and self-concepts of urban Aboriginal-Australian and Anglo-Australian children have never been compared, nor their relationships to teachers’ evaluations of academic performance. In this study, 60 Aboriginal (primarily local Nyoongah) and 60 Anglo children aged 6-12 years were tested on ingroup preference; children aged 8+ were tested on self-concept. Also, their teachers evaluated them on their general academic performance. Results indicated that Anglo children showed greater ingroup preference and scored higher on teacher evaluations than Aboriginal children, although there was no difference on self-concept. No correlation existed between ingroup preference and self-concept.


Includes descriptions of the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work’s (CCETSW) anti-racist policies, an interview-based study exploring racism (and anti-racism?) in UK social work, and the backlash against anti-racist developments.


Discourse analysis of young heterosexual Australians participating in facilitated group conversations about HIV/AIDS was undertaken to discern the extent to which group members distanced themselves from their own perceived HIV/AIDS risk, based on their level of identification with similar (in-group) and different (out-group) social groups. The conversations recorded within this study suggest that young heterosexual Australians perceived foreigners as the highest HIV/AIDS transmission group; there was less evidence of HIV/AIDS transmission blame targeted at homosexual men, IV drug users, and Australian sex workers contrary to previous quantitative research. The authors elucidate this as evidence that higher levels of social distance (as evidenced by cultural differences, geographical distance, and reduced likelihood of personal contact) contribute to a greater dissociation of personal HIV/AIDS risk. The authors conclude by suggesting the key to successful HIV prevention programs lies in the ability to encompass not only personal HIV prevention responsibilities but to also incorporate messages/imagery which readily engage social identification.


Review of how U.S. social workers have responded to multicultural issues, including shifts from an assimilation model, to an anti-racism model, to a cultural sensitivity model, and back to an anti-racism model. Suggests an expansion of the current model.


Empirical and qualitative evaluation of prejudice reduction in a personal and social education (PSE) module for 14 year-old students in an almost all-white urban comprehensive school in the north-east of England, UK. The module comprised active learning techniques, involving both cognitive and affective strategies. The principles of stereotyping were taught, rather than teaching against racism or about oppressed groups. Whilst some students evidenced a reduction in prejudice (as measured by questionnaire), others evidenced a hardening of prejudice. High-prejudice students might require earlier intervention and cooperative learning in multi-ethnic classrooms. Behavioural measures and follow-up assessment are also advocated.


Argues that White Americans often take one of three approaches to affirmative action. First, they can reject affirmative action because of their own personal frustrations. Second, they can engage in selective aid that maintains the basic patterns of social dominance. It is suggested that both of these approaches can damage the psychological functioning of Whites. Third, they can proactively seek to remove discriminatory barriers in a process the authors call democratic altruism, thereby opening the possibility of learning from diverse others and growth as a person. Concludes by discussing tactics for promoting democratic altruism. Authors from the U.S.

Challenges the opposition of multiculturalism to anti-racism. Contrasts the Swann Report’s liberal optimism with the Macdonald Inquiry's condemnation of antiracist policies at Burnage High School, UK. Critiques some of the assumptions underlying both multiculturalist and antiracist interventions. Presents an alternative theorization of racism and highlights the need for multicultural and anti-racist education to update their conceptions of racism, ethnicity, and cultural difference.


Identifies various disguises used to hide racism by higher education faculties and administrations in the U.S.


Discusses ways to prevent explicit racists from becoming teachers. Explains how racism affects student teachers and how to test for it using measures of ethnocentrism to screen prospective students. Considers implications of misleading analyses of racism in some contemporary literature, criticizing the approach to racism in the UK’s Swann Report.


Rebuttal to criticism that a reduction in prejudice toward individual members of a group through inter-racial contact does not transfer to the group as a whole. Highlights the damaging implications of such criticism on practices hitherto thought useful in combating racial prejudice. Argues that, while there is much evidence to support this charge, the acquisition of positive attitudes towards an entire racial or ethnic group is not an aim that educationalists should seek. An alternative view of inter-racial contact is proposed in which its value may be judged in terms of whether it helps diminish the tendency for unsupported generalizations. Specific steps to promote this goal within the actual setting are outlined. Author from the UK.


Draws on interview data from UK history teachers and textbook content analysis. Argues that a lack of interest among anti-racist educators in how the Holocaust is taught has had a number of adverse consequences, such as the forfeiture of a potent vehicle for advancing the aims of antiracism and the loss of the unique contribution that a study of the Holocaust can make to an understanding of racism. Suggests that there has also been a lack of consideration of the consequences of the subject being taught badly. A definition of racism is thus advocated that can encompass anti-Semitism.


Argues that in order to increase student action against racism, anti-racist educators should look to lessons from the Holocaust and adopt measures aimed specifically at preventing bystander behaviour and conformity to group pressure. Discusses research related to both phenomena and identifies implications for moral education.

Presents ethnographic data on the development of UK culture and identity among children (aged 8-11), suggesting an incipient awareness of the new racism among the older children. Concludes that antiracist education and reconstructed multicultural education should be taught in primary schools.


Refutes Cole’s (1998) paper by addressing five main topics: (1) the new racism as a means to changing multicultural education, (2) representation of antiracist educators, (3) advice to teachers of controversial aspects of other cultures, (4) identifying students’ misconceptions before imparting new knowledge, and (5) nationalism.


Review of research on anti-racism in primary and early years education in the UK. Identifies a pathologizing deficit model of the educational experiences of Black and ethnic minority students. Argues for the need to understand and resolve discourses of racism in education in order to understand and resolve the multidimensional problem of Black and ethnic minority underachievement. Proposes a greater focus on the transformative abilities of ethnic majority pupils and teachers.


Includes reports of field work exploring prejudice and combating prejudice in two secondary schools in Victoria, Australia.


Reviews research on cooperative learning programs. Concludes that such programs assist in developing cross-cultural friendships in and out of class but that behavioural observations in nonclassroom settings are still needed. Implies that cooperative learning can play an important role in reducing racism, prejudice, and discrimination. Authors from the U.S.


Argues that multicultural education began as a scholarly and activist movement to transform schools and their contexts. Suggest that a good deal of what currently occurs in the arena of multicultural education does not address power relations critically, particularly racism. Reviews critical discourses regarding their implications for multicultural education.


Provides an overview of multidisciplinary initiatives aimed at increasing physical activity in Australia, South Africa and the United States. The ‘Active Australia’ strategy, launched in 1997,
is highlighted as a multi-sector collaboration of government and industry, which aims to increase individual knowledge of choice and opportunity for physical activity in Australia; in addition it addresses environmental features that are conducive to the uptake of physical activity by individuals and groups. Initiatives promoted in this campaign include mass-media advertising, community events, primary care advice, and environmental policy considerations. This essay advocates the importance of a multidisciplinary, theory based approach to understanding the link between behaviour and health.


Addresses the problems of racism in schools and reviews the historical and contemporary context of the policies and programs to reduce it. Discusses obstacles and challenges to implementing effective anti-racist policies and programs. Presents strategies that address these challenges from a systems and an ecological approach. Author from the U.S.


Argues that anti-racist education can ignore, maintain, and reproduce the power relations of racism within anti-racist workshops. Advocates: (1) exposing such power relations, (2) acknowledging the separate realities and needs of people of colour, (3) the development of several forms of anti-racist education that will differently address diverse needs of non-white and white communities, and (4) more substantial links to anti-racist action, rather than merely using the experiences of people of colour as an educational tool. Author from Canada.


Presents research and discusses issues concerning the employment of black social workers in inner London social services departments, UK.


Identifies sources of resistance to talking about race and learning about racism by students in U.S. colleges. Offers strategies for overcoming such resistance.


Argues that lower scores on essays in English exams completed by children from ethnic minorities may be due to the reactions that the titles would arouse in candidates from a non-English cultural background. Asks if this is hidden assessment. Author from the UK.


Highlights issues and approaches that have arisen in the UK, including assimilation and integration, immigration and legislation, race relations, and multiculturalism vs anti-racism. Briefly reviews how anti-racism has been contrasted with multicultural strategies that focus
excessively on curriculum content and ‘positive images’ but do not engage with power and racism in interpersonal and institutional contexts. However, argues that the emerging anti-racist commitment of the mid-1980’s has been largely subdued as issues have been deracialized. Briefly reviews reports, research, and curricula.


Statistical and case summary reports on calls made to the racism hotline during its five days of operation in the UK.


Explores the Council on Social Work Education’s efforts to fight racism & sexism in U.S. schools of social work. Considers how the council moved from an equal opportunity to an affirmative action approach, initiating changes in accreditation, student and faculty recruitment, and curriculum. Describes how progress continued until the late 1970’s to early 1980’s, when affirmative action policies nationwide met with resistance or backlash from nonminority groups.


Critiques multicultural education and its concern with deracialization. Considers anti-racist education in its stead. Author from the UK.


Attempts to highlight conservative implications of Walking and Brannigan’s (1986) arguments regarding Muslim community schools, antiracist and antisexist education. Authors from the UK.


Considers the impact on racism and anti-racism of the 1988 Education Reform Act in the UK.


Draws on interviews with Nyoongar people by a Nyoongar person in the course of her doctorate.


Response to Troyna and Carrington (1987; see above). Authors from the UK.


Considers whether the UK’s Human Rights Act will be an effective check on state and other institutional racism.

Offers a discourse analytical perspective on racism and anti-racism. In line with Foucault, proposes that (racist) ‘truths’ can be undermined by examining the process by which true and false statements become distinguished in discourse, rather than counterposing them with other ‘truths’ (p. 67). See Chapter 7 for a critique of modern racism approaches and Chapter 8 for critiques of prejudice and anti-racism approaches. Authors from New Zealand and the UK.


Draws attention to the dearth of citations directly related to multicultural teacher education and anti-racist teacher education in Canada in the preceding ten years. Reviews the provision and substance of multicultural teacher education in Britain and Canada (including First Nations/Native teacher education) and searches for the presence of anti-racist perspectives.
## Appendix B

### Table 1. An evaluation of anti-racism strategies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Strategy comments</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Target Group</th>
<th>Method</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Successful strategies</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboud &amp; Fenwick (1999, Study 1)</td>
<td>Dialogue about race</td>
<td>Children (126)</td>
<td>Canadian ethnic minorities</td>
<td>Field, quasi (2 month post-test)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboud &amp; Fenwick (1999, Study 2)</td>
<td>Peer influence</td>
<td>Children (88)</td>
<td>Canadian ethnic minorities</td>
<td>Experiment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batterham (2001)</td>
<td>Debunking false myths</td>
<td>University students + community adults (90)</td>
<td>Aboriginal Australians</td>
<td>Experiment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blanchard et al. (1994)</td>
<td>Speaking out can reduce racism</td>
<td>University students (227)</td>
<td>African Americans</td>
<td>Field, experiment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donovan and Leivers (1993)</td>
<td>Advertising campaign</td>
<td>Community adults (46% of phones in town)</td>
<td>Aboriginal Australians</td>
<td>Field, quasi, survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finlay and Stephan (2000)</td>
<td>Parallel empathy</td>
<td>University students (141)</td>
<td>African Americans</td>
<td>Experiment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issues Deliberation Australia (2001)</td>
<td>Deliberation forum</td>
<td>Community adults (1220 pre-, 240 post-)</td>
<td>Aboriginal Australians</td>
<td>Field, quasi, survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study</td>
<td>Methodology</td>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Design/Setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
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<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louw-Potgieter et al. (1991)</td>
<td>Stereotype reduction No</td>
<td>Adults (41, few reported)</td>
<td>Oppressed (S. Africa)</td>
<td>Field, quasi, (survey)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mitnick &amp; McGinnies (1958)</td>
<td>Film-alone participants regressed over time unlike active participants</td>
<td>High school children (162)</td>
<td>US ethnic minorities</td>
<td>Field, experiment 1 month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slone et al. (2000)</td>
<td>Text/audiovisual + discussion</td>
<td>Children (209)</td>
<td>Arab people (Israel)</td>
<td>Field, experiment 1 week post-test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son Hing et al. (2002)</td>
<td>Hypocrisy induction No</td>
<td>University students (49)</td>
<td>Asian Canadians</td>
<td>Experiment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stangor et al. (2001)</td>
<td>Consensus information</td>
<td>University students (90)</td>
<td>African Americans</td>
<td>Experiment 1 week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vrij et al. (1996)</td>
<td>Theory-driven No advertising campaign</td>
<td>Community adults (261)</td>
<td>Dutch ethnic minorities</td>
<td>Experiment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Unsuccessful strategies**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study</th>
<th>Methodology</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Design/Setting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Batterham (2001)</td>
<td>Manipulating empathy No</td>
<td>University students + community adults (90)</td>
<td>Aboriginal Australians</td>
<td>Experiment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connolly (1995)</td>
<td>Promotion of football led to racist abuse in non-targeted group</td>
<td>Children (N/A)</td>
<td>African-Caribbean school boys (UK)</td>
<td>Qualitative field study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maio et al. 2002</td>
<td>Advertising can lead to backlash</td>
<td>University students (*)</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vrij &amp; Smith (1999)</td>
<td>Advertising campaign (cue cards) No</td>
<td>Community adults (190)</td>
<td>UK ethnic minorities</td>
<td>Experiment</td>
</tr>
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</table>
### Both successful and unsuccessful strategies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study Source</th>
<th>Strategy Description</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Assessment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Byrnes &amp; Kiger (1990)</td>
<td>Empathy ('Blue Eyes - Brown Eyes', as per Peters, 1971)</td>
<td>University students (164)</td>
<td>African American</td>
<td>Field, quasi</td>
<td>3 weeks post-test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moderate decrease: social scenarios</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No difference: social distance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walker and Crogan (1998)</td>
<td>Jigsaw classroom successful; No Cooperative learning not</td>
<td>Children (103)</td>
<td>Aboriginal and Asian Australians</td>
<td>Field, quasi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:** Bracketed figures in the Population column refer to the total number of subjects across all study conditions. The term ‘quasi’ is an abbreviation of ‘quasi-experimental’, and refers to studies in which researchers did not have full control over independent variables, in contrast to ‘experiments’, in which researchers could control independent variables fully. The term ‘field’ refers to studies that were conducted in natural settings, with the implication of participants being in less of an ‘experiment’. Our use of such terms is relative. Bracketed figures in the Long-term Assessment column refer to post-test assessments that were conducted some time after intervention.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Results</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abell et al. (1998)</td>
<td>Programs need to focus on behaviour change rather than simply attitude change. In particular, concrete skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboud &amp; Levy (2000)</td>
<td>Contact, bilingual education, providing information alone not enough; Empathy and teaching social–cognitive skills show some promise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton (2001)</td>
<td>Contact under certain conditions, cooperative learning, empathy, critical thinking skills, self-esteem building useful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graves (1999)</td>
<td>Evidence of positive attitude change with children through television programmes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levy (1999)</td>
<td>Tailored interventions may be useful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McGregor (1993)</td>
<td>Moderate positive effect of anti-racist strategies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pate (1981, 1988)</td>
<td>Audiovisual aids reduce prejudice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pettigrew &amp; Tropp (2002)</td>
<td>Intergroup contact reduces prejudice under certain institutional-societal conditions (in particular Allport’s conditions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephan &amp; Finlay (1999)</td>
<td>Empathy should be used with clear goals and understanding</td>
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</table>