

Preventing race-based discrimination and supporting cultural diversity in the workplace

An evidence review: full report

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VicHealth commissioned five international evidence reviews to build a body of evidence and knowledge about effective workplace health interventions. Both full and summary reports are available for each of the five evidence reviews:

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Executive summary

Race-based discrimination can be defined as discrimination based on race, ethnicity, culture or religion. The behaviours and practices that result in race-based discrimination, along with the beliefs and prejudices that underlie them, are sometimes collectively referred to as racism. Supporting acceptance of cultural diversity means respecting different ways of living and being within an over-arching democratic and human rights framework and valuing diversity as an asset. Reducing race-based discrimination is an important step in ensuring that cultural diversity is nurtured.

Systemic race-based discrimination in the workplace occurs through avoidable and unfair differences in recruitment, selection and interviewing, job allocation, seniority, role ambiguity, performance evaluation, training, promotion, remuneration, dismissal, resignations and retirement among staff of various racial, ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds. This, in turn, leads to inequalities in absenteeism, satisfaction, involvement, attachment, motivation, commitment and intention to leave among staff of various racial, ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds. Interpersonal discrimination can include bullying, harassment, rudeness, name-calling, exclusion, excessive surveillance, verbal/physical abuse, unfair performance appraisal and firing biases in employment as well as through unrealistically positive feedback, overzealous helping, assigning overly easy tasks or tokenistic inclusion. The impact of race-based discrimination in the workplace can also extend vicariously to those who may be associated with members of a racial, ethnic, cultural or religious group, but are not personally members of the group.

Rates of race-based discrimination in the workplace are unacceptably high. The majority of race-based discrimination complaints received by both the Victorian Equal Opportunity & Human Rights Commission and Australian Human Rights Commission relate to employment settings, with some evidence that race-based discrimination at work is on the rise in Australia. Those born overseas and who speak a language other than English at home report the highest rates of workplace racism. Australians from Asian, Middle Eastern and African backgrounds appear to be particularly vulnerable.

Race-based discrimination has negative outcomes for both targets and perpetrators which result in considerable social and economic costs. There is strong evidence that race-based discrimination causes ill health, especially mental health problems such as anxiety and depression. Race-based discrimination at work is associated with poor job quality, reduced organisational productivity, commitment, trust, satisfaction and morale as well as increased cynicism, absenteeism and staff turnover. Both vicarious racism and witnessing racism can also result in negative outcomes. Race-based discrimination is associated with unemployment, early school-leaving, poor educational outcomes and involvement in the criminal justice system. Responding to grievances through formal complaints mechanisms is expensive; there is also considerable potential for litigation costs to workplaces and organisations as a result of substantiated cases of race-based discrimination.

Workplaces in Australia, as in any industrial society, are diverse in size, activity, employee composition, industrial relations and culture. The individual nature of organisations also means that race-based discrimination may occur at different levels, groups and sites, much of which may not be immediately apparent. This level of diversity makes it difficult to identify interventions that will be suitable for all workplaces.

However, the review identified a large body of documented practice in undertaking systematic assessment of workplaces and identified this as a process for determining the actions required to prevent discrimination. This approach is responsive to the variability in workplaces and allows responses to be tailored to specific worksites. While strategies and resources to address issues arising out of this self-assessment are summarised in this review, every possible strategy that may arise out of such a process was not systematically identified and appraised.

Eleven case studies that demonstrated some effectiveness of this ‘whole-of-organisation’ approach in reducing race-based discrimination were identified. In addition, two case studies documenting process evaluations of whole-of-system level intervention are detailed as well as one program for which evaluation is still ongoing.

Intervention components included:

- diversity training
- mentoring programs and other support structures
- systems to monitor staff and client outcomes including self-assessment
- resource development and revision of policies and practices including grievance procedures
- recruitment practices
- flexible working arrangements and new culturally-specific networks
- management styles and workplace culture.

These components were implemented through dedicated staff positions, teams, units, groups, taskforces, plans, policies, procedures, programs, frameworks, internet sites, online training, posters and leaflets. Monitoring and evaluation occurred through surveys, interviews, focus groups and auditing of routinely-collected workplace statistics.

The most commonly reported outcome was improved representation of diverse employees. In some case studies, this included better staff seniority profiles, increased retention and more diverse composition of boards. Other evidence of effectiveness included improved awareness, knowledge, skills, capacity, networks, customer service, sales, innovation, perceived fair treatment, acceptance of ethnic differences and reduced racial tension. There are five key ways in which workplaces can play a role in reducing race-based discrimination:

1. implementing organisational accountability/development
2. diversity training
3. resource development and provision
4. serving as sites for positive inter-group contact
5. serving as 'role models' in anti-discrimination and pro-diversity practice for other organisations.

Key principles of organisational development include: a 'top-down' central team/committee with broad responsibilities and senior membership to lead, monitor and coordinate a whole-of-organisation approach; an existing department, work unit or individual with a central rather than peripheral organisational location to provide administrative, logistic and managerial support to the team/committee; 'bottom-up' strategies that promote transparency, trust and information exchange between staff and organisational managers/leaders (e.g. staff surveys or forums); distributed taskforces, change teams and/or workplans for sections of the organisation as appropriate (e.g. within individual departments); and a requirement to develop and communicate clear goals, measurable outcomes, accountability, evaluation and continuous quality improvement.

A number of resources were identified that have been developed to enable organisations to undertake self-assessment with the aim of eliminating racism.

Diversity training is the most common approach to addressing race-based discrimination in workplaces. Key principles of effective diversity training include a focus on awareness, attitude and skill-based learning; action-oriented learning/reflective thinking; perspective taking; role playing; open discussion; a supportive environment; multidisciplinary approaches; facilitator characteristics, the nature of participation, group characteristics, tailoring, knowledge transfer, length and reinforcement; and caution in utilising confrontation. Principles relevant to training content include the need to address both similarities and differences and to acknowledge the privilege of the dominant group as a factor in discrimination.

In Table 2, 10 best practice resources are summarised. These include five resources relating to organisational development, three about diversity training and two focused on evaluation.

Workplaces are ideal sites for inter-group contact as they are highly likely to meet the key facilitating conditions of positive and effective contact established in the literature: equal status within the contact situation (for co-workers in this case); individuals from different groups seek to achieve common work-related goals rather than acting in competition; the contact is sanctioned (at least implicitly) by the workplace as an institution; and there is sufficient and sustained contact that allows potential for personal acquaintance and inter-group friendships to develop. There is evidence that inter-group contact at work is associated with lower levels of racist attitudes and beliefs in the Australian context, with

international studies demonstrating the effectiveness of such contact among business owners and hospital workers in Italy.

Strategies to promote inter-group contact should be indirect and focus on ensuring representation of individuals from diverse racial, ethnic, cultural and religious groups throughout the workplace. Inter-group contact can be fostered by: matching mentors and mentees from different groups; ensuring job rotations enhance the diversity of work teams and committees; and ensuring heterogeneity in the cultural backgrounds of diversity training participants where appropriate. Making certain that such shared spaces as well as other social activities in the workplace (e.g. organised lunches and sporting teams) are accessible and appropriate for employees from diverse background may also promote positive inter-group contact.

Social marketing (aimed at changing attitudes and/or behaviours), conflict resolution and supporting those witnessing discrimination to take action (sometimes referred to as 'bystander' approaches) are other strategies found to be useful in other settings that may also be applicable in workplace settings.

1. Introduction

Race-based discrimination has negative outcomes for individuals and society, resulting in considerable health, social and economic costs. There is strong evidence that race-based discrimination causes ill health, especially mental health problems such as anxiety and depression (Paradies, 2006b; Pascoe & Richman, 2009; Williams & Mohammed, 2009).

In the workplace, where many people spend a large proportion of their time, race-based discrimination is related to poor job quality, reduced organisational productivity, commitment, trust, satisfaction and morale as well as increases in cynicism, absenteeism and staff turnover (Blank et al., 2004; Buttner & Lowe, 2010; Holder & Vaux, 1998; Nicholas et al., 2001). Loss of productivity, skills and innovation are also major costs arising from race-based discrimination in the workplace (Berman et al., 2008).

The demographic composition of the workforce is also changing. Victoria is one of the fastest growing and most diverse states in Australia. Harnessing diversity is essential to meeting new challenges in terms of productivity, skill shortages, global labour market competition and an ageing population (Berman et al., 2008). Evidence has shown that racial, ethnic, cultural and religious diversity can support creativity and innovative thinking, greater employee commitment and team performance, larger market share, and better customer and client satisfaction but only when race-based discrimination is prevented (Paradies et al., 2009; Roberson & Kulik, 2007).

Reducing race-based discrimination and supporting acceptance of diversity has been identified among VicHealth's key result areas in its *Strategy and Business Plan 2009–2013*. VicHealth's focus in this area is on building fair, respectful and welcoming environments with the aim of preventing discrimination (rather than on measures to respond to discrimination or its consequences after it has occurred). To guide its work in this area, VicHealth partnered with the Onemda VicHealth Koori Health Unit, the McCaughey Centre (Melbourne University) and the Victorian Equal Opportunity & Human Rights Commission to develop an evidence-informed Framework, herein referred to as the *Building on Our Strengths Framework* (Paradies et al., 2009; VicHealth, 2009).

The Framework identifies workplaces as important settings for anti-discrimination. However, little is currently known about how to most effectively reduce race-based discrimination in the workplace. New legislative requirements under the *Victorian Equal Opportunity Act 2010* place a positive duty on organisations to take reasonable and proportionate steps to eliminate discrimination, rather than simply wait for a complaint. This provides a strong case for a proactive approach to reducing race-based discrimination in the workplace and hence the need to determine best practice in this area.

1.1 Project aims

The purpose of this review is to:

- describe the scope and nature of workplace race-based discrimination
- identify specific population groups who are most vulnerable and at a health risk in regards to race-based discrimination
- assess the social and economic impacts of (and benefits in addressing) race-based discrimination in the workplace
- identify and document organisational/systems level interventions that have been shown to decrease race-based discrimination in the workplace (including, if possible, details on major characteristics/components, specific outcomes for participants and cost/benefit)
- locate tools and resources for implementing best practice approaches to reducing race-based discrimination in the workplace
- identify key principles to guide intervention in workplace settings to reduce race-based discrimination.

1.2 Project scope

It is noted in the *Building on Our Strengths Framework* that organisations can be defined by the following main functions:

- the organisation as a workplace
- the organisation as a provider of a service (e.g. schools, libraries)
- the organisation as a formal structure for a community of interest (e.g. sports clubs).

This review focuses on organisations as a workplace rather than as provider of services or formal community structure. Therefore, the review is situated in the context of workplace practices that aim to achieve fairness and diversity among employees.

1.3 Review method

The following search strategy was used in this review:

- search of online databases including: Academic Search Premier (EBSO), Business Source Premier (EBSC), ERIC (CSA), Expanded Academic ASAP, Informit, JSTOR, PubMed, PsychInfo, Scopus and Sociological Abstracts. The search was limited to published articles in English with abstracts between 1990 and 2010. Search terms included workplace, employment, organisation, diversity, racism, race-based discrimination, racial discrimination, prejudice, anti-oppression/racism/bias/

prejudice/discrimination, non-discrimination, prejudice/racism/stereotype reduction/modify/education, cultural competency, audit, tool, assessment, self-assessment, needs assessment, organisational policy, workplace diversity

- manual searches of reference lists of included material
- for the authors of included material: Scopus; and internet searches for other published work and any scholarship in which they were cited
- effective interventions were located using existing knowledge and networks as well as by searching online databases and the internet (including websites associated with key experts)
- requests for information on interventions through key networks and distribution lists.

1.4 Review strengths and limitations

The review method ensured a rigorous approach to the identification of evidence. Substantial Australian research was identified on the prevalence of discrimination. However, the search yielded very little Australian literature on interventions and resources to address the problem. This does not mean that there is no Australian practice in this area, but rather that practice has not been extensively documented. Some caution needs to be exercised in generalising to Australia from overseas sources as there are significant differences between nations, especially in the areas of industrial and intercultural relations. However, there are also many social, economic and historical similarities between Australia and other advanced industrial societies, particularly those with an Anglo-Celtic history such as the UK, Canada and the USA. As a result, there is some potential to learn from the experiences of these countries in order to respond to discrimination in the Australian environment.

2. Scope and nature of workplace race-based discrimination

Discrimination encompasses behaviours or practices that result in avoidable and unfair inequalities in power, resources or opportunities across groups in society based on various characteristics. These include gender, sexual preference, ethnicity, race, culture, religion, age, social class and relationship status. Individuals may simultaneously experience multiple discriminations on the basis of two or more of these characteristics (Paradies et al., 2009). Discrimination based on religious beliefs is included within this definition. The behaviours and practices that result in race-based discrimination, along with the beliefs and prejudices that underlie them, can be collectively referred to as racism. Supporting acceptance of cultural diversity means respecting different ways of living and being within an over-arching democratic and human rights framework and valuing diversity as an asset. Reducing race-based discrimination is an important step in ensuring that cultural diversity is nurtured.

Systemic race-based discrimination refers to the way in which the rules, regulations and norms of an institution can be set up such that they function to disadvantage certain racial groups whether intended or not (Harrison, 1999). Systemic discrimination operates through the structures of society in that seemingly 'normal' ways of doing things may consciously or unwittingly promote, sustain or entrench differential advantage for some people and disadvantage for others (Tator, 2005). Thus, whilst systemic racism can be explicit and official, it is often unofficial and unnoticed (Hollinsworth, 2006).

Systemic discrimination that occurs in critical areas such as education, employment and housing can lead to social disadvantage and, in turn, contribute to intergenerational disadvantage. It is important to note that systemic discrimination can persist in institutional structures and policies in the absence of interpersonal discrimination and its operation may be unintentional and often unrecognised by those practising it (Paradies et al., 2009). Hollinsworth (2006) notes that racism exists as much in our established and respected institutions as in the hearts and minds of those who work in institutional settings. For these reasons, systemic discrimination may be difficult to pinpoint and disentangle from other factors contributing to disadvantage (Paradies et al., 2009).

Race-based discrimination can occur on individual, interpersonal, community and societal levels. Racism includes complex interactions between deeply held stereotypes and prejudices, discrimination in the form of everyday acts, and systemic discrimination embedded within ideologies and structures (Paradies et al., 2009). Racism at community and societal levels strongly influences workplace structures and practices (Brief et al., 2005; Di Maggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977) as well as shaping employer and co-worker attitudes, beliefs and behaviours (Syed & Pio, 2009).

Race-based discrimination in the workplace has numerous manifestations. First, many employers recruit applicants primarily by word-of-mouth referrals (Brief et al., 2005). Because word-of-mouth referrals

travel through employees' social networks, they tend to produce applicants similar to those employees already in place and exclude those from racial, ethnic, cultural or religion minority groups who already experience employment disadvantage. Discrimination can also occur through differences in access to, and utilisation of, job search agencies (Berman et al., 2008). There is clear evidence that *race-based* discrimination occurs in selecting applicants for interviews (Booth et al., 2009; Riach & Rich, 1991) and within job interviews (Dipboye & Colella, 2005).

In the workplace, race-based discrimination can occur at either a systemic and/or interpersonal level. At the systemic level, race-based discrimination can result in non-recognition of qualifications and under-employment (Berman et al., 2008). It can also result in avoidable and unfair inequalities in job allocation, seniority, role ambiguity, performance evaluation, training, promotion, remuneration, dismissal, resignations, retirement and absenteeism among staff of various racial, ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds. This may in turn lead to inequalities in satisfaction, involvement, attachment, motivation, commitment and intention to leave among staff of various racial, ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds (Paradies et al., 2009).

Interpersonal discrimination occurs when interactions between people result in avoidable and unfair inequalities across groups. Both overt and subtle forms of interpersonal discrimination can manifest in workplaces. More overt forms may include bullying, harassment, rudeness, name-calling, exclusion, excessive surveillance, verbal/physical abuse, unfair performance appraisal and firing biases. In some cases, jokes and teasing can work to intensify current stereotypes and may result in the exclusion of people from social and work activities. However, humour has been found to act as a form of social glue, helping to accumulate bridging capital and serving anti-racist purposes by making light of difference and reducing conflict between groups (Loosemore et al., 2010).

More subtly, interpersonal discrimination can take the form of apparently positive and well-intentioned behaviour that nonetheless results in inequalities in opportunity, resources or benefits. In a workplace this may include unrealistically positive feedback, overzealous helping, assigning overly easy tasks or tokenistic inclusion. Such behaviour results in reduced opportunity to acquire further competence, knowledge, skills and abilities (Dipboye & Colella, 2005).

Even the existence of negative stereotypes can have a detrimental effect on work performance for people from minority racial, ethnic, cultural or religious groups. Known as *stereotype threat*, this occurs within a situation or activity for which a negative stereotype about one's group applies. For example, negative stereotypes about certain minority groups having inferior intelligence can lead to poor performance on cognitive activities simply by asking about group identity before the activity. This effect is more pronounced in situations (including workplaces) where there are only a few individuals from a particular racial, ethnic, cultural or religious group (Kirnan et al., 2009). Stereotype threat can lead employees to

work harder but less effectively and is most pronounced among highly capable and committed workers (Roberson & Kulik, 2007). The impact of race-based discrimination in the workplace can extend vicariously to those who may be associated with members of a racial, ethnic, cultural or religious group, but are not personally members of the group (Kulik et al., 2008).

A study by Dunn (2003) indicates that the experience of race-based discrimination in the workplace impacts upon almost one in five Australians. In 2008–09, 84 per cent of the 396 complaints received by the Australian Human Rights Commission under the Racial Discrimination Act were related to employment (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2009). Similarly, the majority (66 per cent) of discrimination complaints based on race or religious belief received by the Victorian Equal Opportunity & Human Rights Commission in 2009–10 were employment related (Victorian Equal Opportunity & Human Rights Commission, 2010).

Job Watch, the Employment Rights Legal Centre, noted in a 2007 submission that their telephone advice service took 378 calls from Victorian workers and job seekers about racial and religious discrimination between 2002 and 2006. The majority of these calls came from the manufacturing sector and from organisations with fewer than a hundred staff (Job Watch, 2007). Due to under-reporting, figures such as these represent only a fraction of the true extent of race-based discrimination in employment (Berman et al., 2008).

There is evidence that race-based discrimination at work is on the rise in Australia. The proportion of the 2,000 respondents in the national Mapping Social Cohesion survey reporting that they were “not promoted or treated fairly at work” increased from around 20 per cent to 25 per cent between 2007 and 2009 while the proportion reporting “not being offered a job” due to race-based discrimination rose from approximately 12 per cent to 18 per cent (Markus, 2009, p. 30).

3. The benefits of reducing race-based discrimination and supporting acceptance of diversity

At a personal level, race-based discrimination has negative outcomes for both targets and perpetrators. For those who are targeted, it can “traumatise, hurt, humiliate, enrage, confuse, and ultimately prevent optimal growth and functioning of individuals and communities” (Harrell, 2000, p. 42). Race-based discrimination may also have negative effects on individuals who perpetuate it, distorting their personalities and their perceptions of the world with some evidence of an association between reported levels of unhappiness and prejudiced attitudes (Borooah & Mangan, 2007).

There is strong evidence that race-based discrimination causes ill health, especially mental health and wellbeing problems such as anxiety, depression and stress and poor quality of life (Paradies, 2006a; Pascoe & Richman, 2009; Williams & Mohammed, 2009). These health impacts are summarised in Table 1. People reporting race-based discrimination are also more likely to be overweight or obese and to engage in behaviours known to cause poor health, including smoking and substance and alcohol misuse. While there are conflicting findings, some studies show an association between race-based discrimination and both infant low-birth weight and heart disease/stroke. The link with heart disease is supported by emerging evidence of an association with factors known to increase the risk of heart disease and stroke (e.g. high blood pressure, increased heart rate, early coronary calcification and damage to red blood cells).

Table 1: The association between self-reported race-based discrimination and poor health outcomes, 2011

	Well established (a)	Established in some studies (b)	Emerging (c)
Negative outcomes for mental health	Psychological, psychiatric, emotional distress Depression/depressive symptoms Anxiety Stress		Psychiatric disorders (e.g. post traumatic stress disorder) Suicide risk Sleep disturbance Chronic fatigue
Negative outcomes for mental wellbeing	Quality of life Work and personal satisfaction	Self-esteem General mental health	Psychological wellbeing

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Negative outcomes for physical health		Heart disease and stroke Infant low birth weight/decreased gestational age	Self reported pain Breast cancer Workplace injury, illness and assault
Development of health risk factors	Overweight and obesity	High blood pressure	Other risk factors for heart disease and stroke (e.g. increased heart rate, early coronary calcification) Abnormal/higher fasting glucose (diabetes risk factor) Damage to red-blood cells (risk factor for a range of health problems)
Behaviours increasing the risk of poor health	Smoking Substance misuse Alcohol misuse		
Impacts on health care	Patient satisfaction	Use of screening tests Access to health care and treatment Adherence to treatment	

(a) More than 60% of studies showing an association (b) Less than 60% of studies showing an association
(c) Association explored in less than 5 studies, with all or most showing an association (only studies from 2005 onwards included). Only statistically significant associations included.

Source: Table compiled by the authors on the basis of a systematic review using the peer reviewed methodology in Paradies 2006a.

Race-based discrimination at work has been found to contribute more to poor job quality than other occupational stressors such as low task variety and decision authority, heavy workloads, and poor supervision (Hughes & Dodge 1997). Race-based discrimination leads to ill health via a number of pathways:

- it restricts access to resources required for health (e.g. employment, housing and education) and increases exposure to health risks (e.g. unnecessary contact with the criminal justice system)
- affected individuals internalise negative evaluations and stereotypes of their own group, leading to poor self-worth, self-esteem and psychological wellbeing
- stress and negative emotions/thoughts produced may have negative psychological and physiological effects
- it can result in individuals disengaging from healthy activities (e.g. exercise, taking medications and maintaining good sleep patterns) as well as attempting to cope by engaging in behaviours that impact negatively on their health (e.g. smoking, excess alcohol consumption and drug use)
- it can lead to injury through racially motivated assault resulting in further negative physical and mental health outcomes
- children of parents affected by race-based discrimination are at a higher risk of developing behavioural and emotional problems (Pachter et al., 2009; Sanders-Phillips, 2009).

Race-based discrimination also impacts on individual productivity, with consequences for achievement in both education and employment (Nicholas et al., 2001). Although there are no Australian studies quantifying the financial costs of race-based discrimination to society, they are likely to be substantial:

- race-based discrimination can reduce organisational productivity, commitment, trust, satisfaction and workplace morale as well as increase cynicism, absenteeism and staff turnover (Blank et al., 2004; Buttner & Lowe, 2010)
- an estimated 70 per cent of workers exposed to race-based and other forms of discrimination take time off work as a result (EOC NSW, 1999)
- responding to grievances through formal complaints mechanisms is expensive – averaging at \$55,000 per case in 1999 (EOC NSW, 1999)
- considerable resources are required to deal with the consequences of race-based discrimination through health care and social services (VicHealth, 2007)
- there are direct economic costs associated with the impacts of race-based discrimination on individuals including unemployment, early school-leaving, poor educational outcomes and involvement in the criminal justice system (Dusseldorp Skills Forum & BCA, 2005)
- there are increased skill shortages in the labour market due to under-employment and over-qualification for jobs as well as increased likelihood of migrants returning to their own home country or emigrating (Kler, 2006; Wagner & Childs, 2006)
- the capacity for Australia to attract and retain skilled transnational labour is reduced due to tarnished international reputation (Babacan et al., 2010).

Race-based discrimination perpetrated by a supervisor leads to reduced trust and confidence in the workplace (Fox & Stallworth, 2005). In a study by Beagan and Etowa (2009), race-based discrimination at work resulted in African Canadian women having strained relationships with co-workers and feeling that they could not trust their co-workers and rarely relax at work. Furthermore, African Canadian women spent considerable energy educating colleagues and supervisors (Beagan & Etowa, 2009).

As well as directly limiting opportunities for career progression (Fearful & Kamenou, 2006; Pio, 2008; Syed & Pio, 2009), perceptions of barriers caused by race-based discrimination in the workplace may result in some employees self-limiting their career choices (Gainor & Forrest, 1991; Spokane & Richardson, 1992). Similarly, vicarious discrimination may result in negative career outcomes (Kulik et al., 2008). Low et al. (2007) found that witnessing race-based discrimination directed at a co-worker resulted in detrimental effects on wellbeing comparable to those suffered by the direct target of such discrimination.

Employment affords opportunities for social networking and participation in society. Unemployment and under-employment (that is, a situation where employees have education, experience or skills

beyond the requirements of their job) attributable to race-based discrimination in the workforce can compromise an individual's social integration into Australian society, thus reducing social cohesion (Berman et al., 2008). Under-employment has also been found to be a risk factor for poor mental health (Dooley, 2003; Dooley & Catalano, 2003; Friedland & Price, 2003). There is also considerable potential for workplaces to suffer litigation costs as a result of substantiated cases of race-based discrimination. Litigation resulted in very large settlements in the USA (see Von Bergen et al., 2002) as well as smaller settlements in Australia (Gaze, 2005).

Although there is currently no data quantifying the direct or indirect benefits of reducing race-based discrimination, the cost and range of social and economic impacts suggest that such benefits would be substantial.

4. Population groups most at risk

While race-based discrimination can be said to occur everywhere in society, it is also “everywhere different” (Forrest & Dunn, 2007, p. 716). This variation occurs not only across countries, but also across regions in Australia and across different racial, ethnic, cultural and religious groups (Dunn & McDonald, 2001). In the workplace, some individuals and groups are particularly susceptible to both interpersonal and systemic forms of race-based discrimination.

Challenging Racism Project survey data from over 12,000 respondents across Australia in 2001–2008 shows that those born overseas and who speak a language other than English are far more likely to report race-based discrimination than Australian-born respondents. This occurs across a range of settings (workplace, education, housing, police, shops/restaurants and public events) as well as across types of race-based discrimination (treated with less respect, not trusted and insulted) (Challenging Racism Project, 2010; Dunn, 2003).

Rates of racism experienced by Indigenous Australians in the workplace are considerably higher than non-Indigenous people (Dunn, 2003), with almost a third (30 per cent) of Indigenous Australians reporting race-based discrimination in the workplace (Challenging Racism Project, 2010), compared with 13 per cent of non-Indigenous Australians.

In Victoria, 38 per cent of respondents born in non-English speaking countries reported discrimination because of their ethnic origin in the workplace in 2006 compared to 13 per cent of Australian-born respondents (VicHealth, 2007). There is also some variation among those from non-English speaking backgrounds, with those from Middle-Eastern, Asian and African backgrounds appearing to be at higher risk of experiencing discrimination than those from European country background groups. For example, almost half of the Challenging Racism respondents from Asian and Middle Eastern backgrounds reported experiences of race-based discrimination in the workplace (Challenging Racism Project, 2010).

A study of hiring practices conducted in Melbourne, Brisbane and Sydney in 2007 involving submission of about 5,000 fictitious job applications similarly demonstrated inter-group differences in vulnerability to race-based discrimination. The study found that applicants with Chinese, Middle Eastern, Indigenous and Italian names had to submit 68 per cent, 64 per cent, 35 per cent and 12 per cent more job applications respectively to obtain the same number of interviews as an applicant with an Anglo-Australian name who had equivalent experience and qualifications (Booth et al., 2009). This confirmed the results of an earlier Australian study conducted in 1986 in which fictitious job applications with Greek, Anglo-Celtic and Vietnamese names were sent to employers. The study found that Vietnamese and Greek applicants had to submit 38 per cent and 10 per cent more job applications respectively to get the same number of interviews as an Anglo-Australian applicant with equivalent experience and qualifications (Riach & Rich,

1991). The design of these studies is such that race-based discrimination is the only explanation for these disparities in willingness to interview applicants.

The heightened vulnerability of Indigenous Australians and those from particular non-English speaking backgrounds is also indicated in surveys of community attitudes. Over a third of Australians believe there are cultural or ethnic groups that do not belong in Australian society. Muslims and those born in the Middle East are the most frequently mentioned groups while African, Indigenous and Asian people are also commonly nominated (Challenging Racism Project, 2010; VicHealth, 2007).

No differential patterns of reporting emerged by age or socioeconomic status in the Challenging Racism Project surveys. Although there were higher rates of reporting across settings by men in the surveys, other Australian research conducted in the education sector found that gender was not a significant predictor of being subject to racism, but that being female was a predictor of negative health outcomes associated with such exposure (Mansouri et al., 2009).

Findings from broader worldwide literature suggest higher reporting of race-based discrimination among younger respondents and those of higher socioeconomic status and mixed findings in relation to gender differentials in reporting. However, much of this variation by socio-demographic characteristics is due to differences in perceptions of, and willingness to report, race-based discrimination (Paradies, 2006a; Pascoe & Richman, 2009; Williams & Mohammed, 2009) and, as such, implications for targeting of interventions are not clear at present.

5. Best-practice workplace interventions – ‘whole-of-organisation’ approaches

We identified 11 case studies which occurred at the organisational/system level and demonstrated some effectiveness in reducing race-based discrimination. While many interventions detailed efforts to promote and/or manage diversity in workplaces, such case studies were only included if they also had a focus on reducing race-based discrimination. These case studies were: ASDA Stores, Coco-Mat, Dismantling Racism, Lloyds TSB, Project Change, Sainsbury's Supermarkets, The Race and Social Justice Initiative, Tower Hamlets Borough, Union Equality Representatives project, Undoing Racism and Canada's Action Plan Against Racism.

As examples of the challenges involved in implementing effective interventions to reduce race-based discrimination, we also included two additional case study documenting process evaluations of system level intervention (race equality policies in a UK local authority and the Jewish Board of Family and Children's Services).

5.1 ASDA Stores (International Labour Organization (ILO), 2008)

ASDA is a British supermarket chain that retails food, clothing, toys and general merchandise. ASDA introduced an equal opportunities policy in 1984 in order to increase its commitment to employing people from the local community and to gain a reputation for race equality. The policy has been implemented at numerous levels, including recruitment, promotion and performance management as well as specific race equality actions. Each store has a personnel manager who implements race equality measures at a local level and monitors the ethnic profile of the store. Head office developed an action planner to assist the personnel manager in developing and reviewing race equality activities. Staff and managers receive information and training on race equality, including information on equal opportunities and harassment policies, while managers receive further training on communication and behaviour. Other information, such as leaflets and a poster on harassment are displayed on notice boards. Measures to accommodate cultural differences, including flexible leave and utilities for Muslim prayer rooms have been adopted.

As a result of the initiative, customer service improved and sales have been enhanced by targeted local recruitment as stores are more in touch with local demand. Equal opportunities practices also benefited ASDA in terms of reduced turnover rates and increased retention of ethnic minority staff. About 7.5 per cent of ASDA employees are from ethnic minorities, which is considered to be fairly representative of the ethnic minority population for non-managerial staff (including supervisors). However, the percentage of managerial staff from ethnic minorities is still low. The demographic composition of the workforce is

more representative of diversity in areas with high ethnic minority concentration. At two case study stores, more than half of the stores' employees, 53 per cent and 59 per cent respectively, were from ethnic minority backgrounds.

5.2 Coco-Mat (European Commission, 2005)

Coco-Mat is a mattress, bed linen and furniture company committed to equality of opportunity in employment since it was founded in 1989. The company specifically employs people from diverse backgrounds, including those who have been subjected to racial, ethnic or religious discrimination. Currently the workforce comprises 13 nationalities and nine religions, with approximately 70 per cent of employees being refugees from the former Soviet Union and Turkey. The company is known locally and internationally as an equal opportunity employer and has received a number of awards including the Corporate Social Responsibility Award for HR/Equal Opportunities by the Greek Advertisers' Association in 2010.

Employees are selected on their personality, commitment, behaviour and ecological awareness as much as on their qualifications and work experience. New employees are given language training (if needed) and skills training, and are also encouraged to suggest ideas for improving the business, which has led to substantial innovation, with about 30 per cent of the company's new products being ideas from employees in minority groups.

5.3 Dismantling Racism

Dismantling Racism (DR) is a systems change intervention strategy designed to address systemic racism in organisational settings (Griffith et al., 2010). Coordinated by *dRworks* (originally called *Changework*), the process was developed in the United States through a collaboration with anti-racism trainers, researchers/evaluators, community organisers and leaders working in partnership with organisations and communities. The DR process is designed to assist leaders and organisations to understand and address racism, both within their organisation and the community where the organisation is working (Griffith et al., 2010). Specific aims of the DR process are to:

- increase the accountability of individuals and systems in monitoring for health care inequality
- reorganise power by strengthening interpersonal relationships within the organisation
- develop a common language and analytic framework for understanding the problem
- create opportunities for individual growth and professional development (Griffith et al., 2010, p. 370).

Individuals both within and outside the organisation, who have access to knowledge, resources and power, are involved in the DR process to monitor organisational progress and provide accountability.

The process takes 18 months to two years and occurs in five phases (see www.dismantlingracism.org for further details). The first phase involves an organisational assessment of the structure and culture of the organisation, relationships within the organisation and community served, organisational commitment and comprehension of racism and dominant group privilege. The actual assessment may include forms completed prior to the visit, interviews and discussions with board, staff, volunteers and members, and community interviews/focus groups.

The second phase of the process involves a two-day DR workshop. This aims to help participants build relationships and gain an understanding of racism and its impacts. It also allows participants to experience and understand the role of caucuses in which people from different racial, ethnic, cultural and/or religious groups spend time together and separately to discuss issues of privilege and the impacts of racism. Two weeks following this workshop, there is a check in with the organisation and people who have taken on leadership roles.

In phase three (scheduled one to two months after the initial DR workshop) there is another one day workshop to help participants understand the stages organisations go through to become anti-racist, evaluate organisational strengths, weaknesses and readiness, and understand the role of the change team and caucuses in the change process. Another check in occurs within two weeks to a month.

Phase four includes another training/strategy session with organisational leaders and the change team to develop a two-year plan to dismantle racism in the organisation, followed by a check in every month for the next six months. There is also an evaluation of the process (phase five), which occurs at least twice and within six to 12 months of completing phase three. The evaluation examines both the process and outcome of the intervention and aims to inform planning. The cost of the process varies according to what organisations intend to do but it is estimated to be approximately \$10,000–\$15,000 plus expenses at the completion of phase two and \$5,000–\$7,500 plus expenses at the completion of phase four. These costs are calculated based on 20–22 days of *dRworks* staff time.

A key element of the intervention is the establishment of a change team. This group is a multi-racial team representing a cross-section of employees within the organisation, who work alongside DR consultants, evaluators, community representatives and other relevant stakeholders. The change team is responsible for monitoring the intervention in terms of:

- organisational policies, procedures and practices
- the allocation of resources
- relationship structures

- organisational norms and values
- addressing individual skills and attitudes of staff.

The change team does this through coordinating the collection, analysis and dissemination of organisational data, such as data on job satisfaction, perceived racial climate, perceived staff cultural competence, adequacy of resources, job stressors, client and staff demographics, adequacy of policies and procedures as well as organisational needs and challenges (Griffith et al., 2007b).

Griffith et al. (2007a; 2010) documented a case study of the DR process involving a Southern County public health department in the USA. The program of intervention commenced in October 2001 and ran until January 2004, with the completion of a DR action plan. During the first phase, baseline data was gathered through an employee survey, focus groups and interviews with staff, a community survey, a review of organisational policies and procedures and an organisational self-assessment.

This data was used to inform the DR process, including the program of training and workshops for staff. With the support of the evaluation team, the change team designed an action plan to begin the process of addressing institutional racism across multiple levels of the organisation (Griffith et al., 2007a). A qualitative process evaluation, including interviews with staff and board members, was also conducted. Findings of this process demonstrate how organisational policies and practices, decision-making processes and an authoritarian leadership structure contributed to institutional racism. Other issues described by staff and board members included staff turnover due to racist practice, lack of diverse representation on the board and repeated instances of racist comments and behaviour (Griffith et al., 2010).

Based on these findings, a number of changes to organisational policy and practice were instituted:

- introduction of a mandatory two-day workshop for all staff
- changes to recruitment and hiring processes
- revision of staff and client grievance procedures
- a data system to track and monitor staff hiring, wages, and promotions over time and to evaluate client services and outcomes
- the development of a tool to assess perceptions of institutional racism at each level of the DR framework (Griffith et al., 2010).

The DR framework is outlined in Griffith et al. (2007b). The framework is designed to measure institutional racism at three levels of an organisation:

1. the individual level through individual employee attitudes, beliefs and behaviours
2. the intra-organisational level through the internal climate and culture, including relationships between staff and organisational policies and procedures

3. the extra-organisational level through the influence of external social, economic, political and cultural factors that influence the organisation and its resources (Griffith et al., 2007b, p. 297).

In the case study cited above, institutional racism was found to be operating at all three levels of the organisation, which highlights the need to assess and monitor institutional racism in multiple ways and across multiple levels.

5.4 Lloyds TSB (International Labour Organization (ILO), 2008)

Lloyds TSB is a retail bank in the UK. Lloyd's has taken steps to introduce equal opportunities and race equality into all aspects of the company's operations and to encourage applications from ethnic minority candidates. The company provides training courses and development tools to facilitate employee understanding of diversity and why it is essential for the company's success. All Lloyds TSB staff are expected to complete a multimedia online training package, while managers also have to undertake intensive face-to-face management training. This aims to raise awareness and understanding of the benefits of diversity to managers and provide opportunities to identify and practice skills needed to manage in a diverse workplace. Training and employment schemes are available for unemployed people in areas of high ethnic minority populations. Graduate recruitment for ethnic minorities is promoted by the company to recruit more ethnic minorities into management roles. Other strategies have included the development of a racial harassment policy and measures to accommodate cultural diversity. The company has established ethnic minority mentors and an employee network that provides networking and personal development opportunities.

These initiatives appear to have had positive impacts on the company. This is most evident in the increase of employees from ethnic minority backgrounds, which rose from an average of 2.5 per cent in 1994–96 to 19 per cent in 1998. Other measures of success include employee reports of low levels of racial tension at work and a feeling of being treated fairly irrespective of their ethnic group. Furthermore, the number of ethnic minority managers has more than trebled since 1998. A range of business benefits have been identified, notably better customer services to ethnic minorities because of shared language and culture, resulting in increased sales and productivity (The Times 100).

5.5 Project Change

Project Change was developed by the Levi Strauss Foundation in 1991 as an initiative to address racial prejudice and institutional racism in four communities in the USA that operated Levis Strauss facilities: Albuquerque (New Mexico), El Paso (Texas), Valdosta (Georgia) and Knoxville (Tennessee) (Batten & Leiderman, 1995). In 1997, Project Change became a project of the Tides Center and in 2002 the project entered into a partnership with the Institute of Democratic Renewal at Claremont University. As a specific project, Project Change has concluded. However, many of the anti-racism activities and networks established continue to operate, both within some of the community sites, as well as at a national level (Leiderman & Dupree, 2005).

The initial goals of Project Change were to:

- dismantle institutional policies and practices that promote racial discrimination
- ease tensions between minority and majority groups and reduce inter-ethnic conflict
- promote fair representation of diversity in the leadership of community institutions
- stop overt or violent acts of racial or cultural prejudice (Batten & Leiderman, 1995).

The organising structure of the project included the establishment of taskforces, made up of members from diverse groups selected due to their access to and understanding of community institutions. All taskforce members were volunteers. Evaluation of the program began in 1994 with an interim evaluation report released in 2000 by the Centre for Assessment and Policy Development (CAPD) and the final evaluation report released in 2005.

According to the evaluation, Project Change succeeded in changing policies and practices in some institutions (including the composition of boards and institutions). Addressing institutional racism was one of the project's biggest challenges, with a lack of clarity on how to reduce institutional racism. There was also significant resistance from some institutions over time as the aims of the project became clearer and implementation progressed. On the whole, many of the taskforce leaders felt limited in their ability to make any substantial progress in terms of reducing institutional racism. Difficulties in achieving project goals were heightened given limited resources available to the project and the broader economic and political context for addressing institutional racism (Leiderman & Dupree, 2005).

At an advocacy and social policy level, Project Change contributed to national and internal dialogue on institutional racism by promoting the program and disseminating information to organisations, corporations, funding bodies, meetings and conferences. The project also developed a number of publications and resources and created an online anti-racism network to act as a clearinghouse for anti-racism news and activities (Leiderman & Dupree, 2005).

5.6 Sainsbury's Supermarkets Ltd (International Labour Organization (ILO), 2008)

Sainsbury's Supermarkets Ltd (Sainsbury's) is a large supermarket chain in the UK. Sainsbury's was forced to take a more holistic approach to diversity management following a tribunal case regarding racial harassment, findings from a staff attitudes survey and expansion into areas of high ethnic minority population. Through a range of practices, the company improved its general HR policy and practices, and introduced a range of other actions. For the new stores, recruitment was conducted so that the ethnic composition of the store's employees would reflect that of the local population. This often required pre-recruitment training.

Sainsbury's has tried to increase the percentage of ethnic minority trainees by targeting ethnic minority press and presenting at educational institutions with high ethnic minority intakes. Measures were taken in the stores to communicate race equality issues through pamphlets and by providing race awareness training to store managers and personnel managers. Other activities support cultural diversity, such as flexible leave arrangement and dress code in order to satisfy religious requirements. Special arrangements were made to canteens to cater for Muslims observing Ramadan.

According to general managers at the case study stores, fairness and racial tension improved since the implementation of diversity management strategies. There was also evidence that staff turnover had declined due to race equality, and targeted recruitment resulted in an enhanced pool of graduate employees. Sainsbury's attributed improved customer service and sales to more equitable representation in their workforce.

5.7 The Race and Social Justice Initiative

The Race and Social Justice Initiative (RSJI) was initiated by the Seattle City Government in 2004 to address institutionalised racism within the city and create a community enriched by its diverse cultures.

The program is ongoing and specific strategies included:

- assessing the impact of race on organisational culture, policies, practices and procedures
- transforming business practices towards race and social justice goals
- conducting outreach and providing public engagement opportunities
- providing training and building the capacity and skills of city staff to address institutionalised racism (Potapchuk & Aspen Institute Roundtable for Community Change, 2007).

Through the initiative, all city departments are required to develop a workplan to dismantle institutionalised racism and support multiculturalism with activities and findings reported directly to the mayor.

In the first year of the program, review of department plans identified five common areas of work or central concerns across departments: workforce equity, economic equity, immigrant and refugee services, public engagement and staff capacity building (Seattle Office for Civil Rights, 2008). A key feature of the RSJI is a comprehensive organising framework to manage and implement specific activities arising from central concerns in departments across the organisation (Potapchuk & Aspen Institute Roundtable for Community Change, 2007). This includes, at the executive level, a subcabinet of department directors who review, discuss and provide input into key RSJI issues, share best practices and opportunities and make recommendations to the mayor.

The Office for Civil Rights is responsible for managing implementation of the initiative by reviewing departmental plans, providing support to change teams, coordinating training and staffing the core team. The core team is a group of over 30 employees who receive training to provide assistance and strategic planning, lead training/workshops for other city staff and work on issues specific to the initiative. Change teams exist within each department and are responsible for implementing the RSJI plan supported by a senior leader. The central concerns committee leads and coordinates efforts across departments, to share best practices and to develop consistent tools and policies and address concerns raised within departmental plans (Potapchuk & Aspen Institute Roundtable for Community Change, 2007).

An assessment of the initiative was conducted in 2007, following three years of implementation. Methods for assessment included a review of documents (including departmental workplans), interviews with key stakeholders and an RSJI forum to promote learning and practice across jurisdictions (Seattle Office for Civil Rights, 2008). The assessment found that the broad goals of the RSJI were disseminated and adequately understood by department managers, change agents and change team members, with most participants utilising consistent language. An effective management structure for the initiative was established and the organising framework provided the opportunity to collaborate across city departments on central concerns and areas of importance (Seattle Office for Civil Rights, 2008). The assessment also found that most departments embraced the initiative and established change teams to develop and implement workplans (Seattle Office for Civil Rights, 2008). Reporting increased as the initiative became better understood and as the mayor's long-standing commitment was demonstrated. The development and implementation of a capacity building and anti-racism training program targeted at change team members and managers has also been a key outcome of the first few years of the program (Seattle Office for Civil Rights, 2008).

Specific progress in terms of workforce equity activities included the recruitment of people from diverse backgrounds at every level, and particularly entry-level positions such as labourers and administrative assistants. The city also made a commitment to increase upward mobility and professional development opportunities for employees, to be facilitated by an extensive workforce diversity analysis conducted in

2007 by the personnel department (Seattle Office for Civil Rights, 2008). However, progress was slow in some areas and challenges remain in terms of workforce equity goals. While goals of equal employment were met, some employees expressed concerns and ongoing frustration about opportunities for upward mobility and a lack of mentoring and educational opportunities (Seattle Office for Civil Rights, 2008). Another issue of concern from employees was a lack of understanding about the impact of racism on health and performance, and it was suggested that there needs to be more expertise in working with employees on the impact of racism in the workplace (Seattle Office for Civil Rights, 2008).

Going forward, working internally within the city to eliminate racism was identified as a key priority action area for the RSJI. This includes improving workforce equity, with additional efforts to increase upward mobility and overall workforce diversity, increase city staff's knowledge and tools through further training for departmental managers and aligning training to core competencies. This will be supplemented by conducting two-yearly surveys of employee knowledge of and involvement in the initiative and strengthening organisational infrastructure (Seattle Office for Civil Rights, 2008). At this stage, there is no further information available on the effectiveness of these workforce strategies. However, more information and ongoing updates can be found at www.seattle.gov/rsji

5.8 Tower Hamlets Borough (ENAR, 2009)

Tower Hamlets Borough is a local government area with a very diverse population. The council is committed to building a workforce that reflects the community of Tower Hamlets and is free from discrimination in employment. The council established a number of workforce programs to increase job opportunities for local residents within council at different stages of the job cycle. This includes the Hamlets youth training scheme, a trainee program for 16–18 year olds, providing them with work experience, vocational skills training and the opportunity to obtain qualifications. Each trainee is allocated to a mentor and receives a tax-free allowance, a target related bonus and 21 days annual holiday. The programs have had a positive impact on education, with many of the trainees going on to study at university or becoming junior managers.

The Hamlets graduate development program provides employment opportunities within the council for local graduates from black and minority ethnic communities. In 2005, 39 graduates completed the scheme with 35 of them gaining full-time employment with the council. Race for Success is another program developed by the council which aims to accelerate leadership development for people from black and minority ethnic communities. In March 2005, 37 per cent of the workforce was from black and minority communities, compared to 32 per cent in 1999–2000 with 17 per cent of the council's top earners from black and minority ethnic backgrounds.

5.9 Union Equality Representatives project

The Union Equality Representatives project was coordinated by the British Trade Union Congress from 2008 to 2009 in a range of localities in the UK. The initiative involved the establishment of equality trade union representatives to address inequality and discrimination in the workplace. The project was not restricted to reducing race-based discrimination but sought to address all forms of discrimination. Key aims of the project included:

- liaising with trade union representatives
- developing and delivering national training (including online) to the representatives
- promoting the role of the equality representatives with union officers
- sharing good practice between unions
- evaluating the training and impact of the equality representatives.

A conference was held on 9 February 2009 for representatives and officers to showcase the work of the project, with 175 people attending the conference (Bennett, 2009).

An initial evaluation of the program was conducted in early 2009 through a series of questionnaires and face-to-face and telephone interviews (Open Learning Partnership, 2009). The evaluation found that training courses gave participants increased knowledge, skills and confidence to take on the new role and resulted in increased activity relating to equality issues in the workplace. The course also increased the capacity and networks of representatives, many of whom were already actively undertaking work in this area. The evaluation supported clear evidence of new issues being raised with management, or old issues being dealt with (Open Learning Partnership, 2009).

Most of the equality representatives could report some success in increasing the profile of equality issues within workplaces. However, many felt limited by their lack of statutory rights. Although a full evaluation of the work being undertaken by equality representatives was to be carried out by the end of 2009, no further detail could be located. The major focus for follow-up research was to be on workplace case studies, which was not possible with the resources and timeframe of activity for the initial evaluation (Open Learning Partnership, 2009).

5.10 Undoing Racism

Undoing Racism is a two and a half day workshop offered by the People's Institute for Survival and Beyond, a national, multiracial, anti-racist network based in New Orleans, USA, dedicated to eradicating racism and other forms of institutional oppression (www.pisab.org). The institute has provided training, consultation, and leadership development to over 110,000 people in organisations nationally and internationally. Workshops seek to unpack what racism is, where it comes from, how it manifests and why it persists and the process of undoing racism. Training materials focus on understanding and learning

from history, developing leadership, ensuring accountability, establishing networking, undoing internalised racism and understanding the role of organisational gatekeepers as a mechanism for perpetuating racism. The Community Organizing Strategy Team (C.O.S.T) works with community activists to assess their organisations, roles, and relationships across racial and cultural lines. The Reflection, Assessment, Evaluation Team (R.A.E) helps an organisation, or group state, observe and measure its vision and values to measure objective goals and outcomes. The workshop usually runs at a cost of approximately \$420 per participant.

Mack Burch et al. (2005) conducted an evaluation of Undoing Racism, undertaken as part of the *SevenPrinciples* project, which was established to target institutional racism and eliminate disparities in African American infant mortality in San Francisco, USA. Workshops were conducted with staff from health and social service agencies serving African American communities. For the evaluation, participants completed post workshop questionnaires. Six workshops were held with over 200 participants. Follow-up meetings and open-ended interviews were conducted to determine the ongoing impact of the workshops. Findings from the immediate post evaluation showed that over 80 per cent of participants rated the workshops highly while 90 per cent agreed to take some form of action to reduce the effects of institutional racism. In the follow-up meetings, many of the participants talked about how the workshops had impacted on them personally and a number of them had adopted practices to improve their organisational cultural competency and decreased institutional racism. One organisation obtained some funding to form a community action team to continue the momentum created by the workshops and expand its impact (Mack Burch et al., 2005).

Another evaluation of Undoing Racism was conducted by Johnson et al. (2009) to evaluate training for community service providers to address disproportion and disparity in child welfare. Between June 2007 and June 2008, pre and post evaluation questionnaires were completed by 462 people who participated in the training. These questionnaires measured key concepts regarding race and racism and changes in participants' attitudes toward race and knowledge, as well as how effective they felt the training to be and anticipated changes in practice (Johnson et al., 2009). Preliminary findings of this evaluation found a high level of participant satisfaction with the training, increased knowledge of issues of race and racism and increased awareness of racial dynamics (Johnson et al., 2009).

5.11 Racism-Free Workplace Strategy

This initiative formed a key part of the Canadian Government's 'A Canada for All: Canada's Action Plan Against Racism'. With \$13 million of funding for five years from 2005 with ongoing funding thereafter, the strategy aims to remove the systemic discriminatory barriers to a racism-free workplace for both visible minorities and Aboriginal peoples. Aiming to increase the effectiveness of Canada's *Employment Equity*

Act and its Federal Contractors Program, this intervention focuses on education and increasing awareness about racism-related issues in the workplace and is based around strong partnerships with organisations, employers and unions (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, 2010).

As part of the strategy in 2007, 75 Racism-Free Workplace workshops were delivered to 515 private sector employers throughout Canada (OAS, undated). In 2008 nine regional Racism Prevention Officers were hired to work with employers and stakeholders directly. The strategy has also included: awareness sessions, advice and support to address racism-related issues in the workplace and information on all aspects of employment best practice for Aboriginal people and members of visible minorities. A series of short documentaries, entitled 'Work for All' were produced in collaboration with the Canadian National Film Board. These films document real life struggles with discrimination in the workplace and issues surrounding social inclusion (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, 2010).

Evaluation of the program is still ongoing and in progress. Results from workshops have shown the need for tools to address racism and methods for formulating the business case for workplace diversity (OAS, undated).

5.12 Race equality policies at work: Employee perceptions of the 'Implementation Gap' in a UK local authority

This case study by Creegan et al. (2003) considers employee perceptions of the implementation of a race equality plan in a local authority in the UK. During the 1980s, the authority had a longstanding equal opportunities policy, including a race relations unit, which resulted in an increase in the recruitment of black and visible minority staff. In 1997, there was a change in leadership and appointment of a white male chief executive. Political changes also brought about a new program of public sector reform, which translated into radical changes in the management and operational structure of the authority. On these grounds, the race relations unit was disbanded and a new equality and valuing diversity strategy was introduced. This was undertaken on the grounds that race issues had become "marginalised" within the organisation and needed to be accorded "higher priority" by making it a central responsibility of managers (Creegan et al., 2003, p. 622).

In 1998, over a year into the new arrangements, there was a crisis in confidence over the organisation's internal employment practices. Criticisms came from all staff, but particularly black and minority employees. Following these complaints, the Commission for Racial Equality intervened and the authority was forced to acknowledge evidence of racial discrimination towards staff. A race equality action was introduced in 1999 with the purpose of addressing institutionalised racism in the authority's employment practices. Key elements of the plan included:

- high level security group
- corporate equalities team to develop the action plan and oversee the work of the directorates
- race equality action plans in each directorate
- policy commitments and communications with staff
- management framework based on best practice
- personnel procedures and standards
- monitoring and evaluation of personnel issues affecting black and ethnic minority staff
- staff surveys
- independent referral unit to deal with complaints of discrimination
- positive action plan, the establishment of a “black and visible minority group” and a cultural change program (Creegan et al., 2003, p. 623).

In 1999, an independent evaluation was conducted to establish whether the plan was having an impact on the practices of the authority. The research involved a review of documentation and reports, a survey of all employees of which 21 per cent responded, 14 interviews with key informants and 18 focus groups with employees. The purpose of the research was to establish employee perceptions of how well the plan was being implemented and to gain further information about the treatment of black and minority staff and experiences of discrimination.

A key finding of the research was a divergence in opinion among staff from different backgrounds. Seventy-six per cent of visible minority staff felt that race discrimination was a problem in the council, compared with 48 per cent of other minority respondents and 38 per cent of white respondents. Furthermore, visible minority staff felt that the plan had not been given enough priority within the organisation, and that organisational restructuring had a severely detrimental effect on equal opportunity employment practices. On the other hand, white respondents felt that the plan was “unfair” and too obligatory (Creegan et al., 2003, p. 625). In terms of organisational culture, visible minority employees felt that race discrimination was a long-standing problem which was deeply “embedded” in the culture of the authority (Creegan et al., 2003, p. 625). This was seen as an obstacle to talking about issues of race-based discrimination and other forms of inequality, particularly as the majority of senior positions within the organisation were held by “white men” (Creegan et al., 2003, p. 625).

The evaluation also asked employees about the fairness of employment practices, including human resource procedures and practice, recruitment and selection, disciplinary procedures, grievance procedures, promotion and training (Creegan et al., 2003). Two areas of key concern expressed by staff were opportunities for promotion and treatment under grievance procedures. Again, there was a significant difference in opinion among staff, where 54 per cent of white men felt that black and visible

minority staff had the same promotional opportunities, in contrast to only 12 per cent of visible minority women and 19 per cent of visible minority men.

Through the qualitative analysis, another key issue was lack of adequate support for staff who had been promoted into more senior roles, where staff felt they were being “set up to fail” (Creegan et al., 2003, p. 632). In relation to grievance procedures, there were concerns about the handling of complaints and a lack of transparency and ineffectiveness in procedures. In a climate where black and minority staff were not trusting of approaching managers to deal with complaints, the handling of complaints was left with managers rather than HR.

On the whole, many employees expressed anger and disappointment about how the plan was being implemented. Despite formal commitment, the plan was perceived to have a limited impact on the culture of the organisation. Rather, employees were concerned about whether the strategy was significantly robust and radical given the perceived deeply embedded culture of discrimination (Creegan et al., 2003). There were also concerns over shifting the responsibility of race issues to managers without strong leadership support for diversity. These were both seen as issues of implementation. Unfortunately, at the time of the research, the plan was seen as having failed to make a real impact in the authority according to those most directly affected by discrimination and inequity.

5.13 The Jewish Board of Family and Children’s Services

The Jewish Board of Family and Children’s Services is a network of mental health and social services based in New York employing nearly 3,400 staff from racially and culturally diverse backgrounds (www.jbfcs.org). The journey of the organisation in moving beyond diversity and multiculturalism to becoming an anti-racist institution has been documented by Greene (2007). From the outset, agency leaders and staff viewed the undertaking as a long-term project, recognising that it would take many years of dedicated work to change the culture of the organisation.

One of the key issues that became apparent early, in work to transform the agency, was trying to manage different levels of knowledge and world views. While the organisation had made some important gains in terms of gender and religious diversity, the issue of race and racism was overshadowed by other pressing issues within the organisation. The organisation “lacked a common language and a clear vision for addressing structural racism” and airing of issues would often result in tension, which meant that issues would be put aside (Greene, 2007, p. 9). The process also made it apparent just how much race and racism was affecting staff and clients.

The organisation came to understand that racism is both prejudice and power that manifests individually, culturally and institutionally. This new understanding led to a shift in focus from an individual to an

institutional focus, leading to more clarity about the need to focus on the role of leaders, managers and supervisors in relation to policies and procedures as well as the culture and tone of the institutional environment. Shifting the focus to addressing institutional racism was one of the biggest challenges faced by the organisation. Many employees were initially reluctant to accept that institutional racism was occurring in the organisation, and viewed racism as an individual problem rather than a systemic issue.

A key strategy employed by the organisation in shifting organisational culture and practice was undertaking the Undoing Racism process by the People's Institute for Survival and Beyond (see previous *Undoing Racism* case study). All of the executive staff and managers were required to attend the two and a half day Undoing Racism training workshop to establish a common language and to lay the foundation for the agency's anti-racist organisational plan.

Key learnings from the workshop involved establishing a definition of structural racism as practices, policies, procedures and, importantly, the culture of an institution, which includes the impact of unconscious racism and its influence on organisational policy and practice. Through establishing common understanding and language, it was recognised that increased awareness among leaders, managers and supervisors about contemporary forms of racism and its impact on staff and clients was required. The workshops provided opportunities to practice race dialogues, learn new techniques for addressing issues of racism and created a space for questions and reflection.

However, as well as the workshop, it became clear that managers also needed specialised training to integrate anti-racist principles into management practice. A specialised leadership consultant was engaged to establish the Leadership Development Institute (LDI) to strengthen the leadership and management capacity of the agency. A key goal of this program of work was to produce anti-racist leaders within the organisation. Leaders consistently demonstrating their commitment to the process to all staff and setting the tone for honest discussion and airing of issues, including tensions, were critical to driving change within the organisation.

One of the challenges of the process was to address the backlash from employees who felt that too much time and resources were being spent on race issues, and fears among some staff of having to give up their position, access and power. It was important for organisational leaders to engage with these concerns and create a safe space for staff to discuss divergent views and fears about the anti-racism goals of the organisation.

Therefore, it was essential that leaders established policies and procedures to support institutional change, kept communication flowing and listened and engaged with all sides of the debate. There is a limit to how much change systems can absorb at one time, where individuals may be supportive of "change, in general, but may be opposed, in particular, when they themselves have to change" (Greene,

2007, p. 13). This translated into another key learning: that changing the values and culture of individuals and the organisation takes time.

The role of managers and supervisors was also seen as critical to supporting organisational anti-racism efforts, and a degree of culture shift in the attitudes of managers was required. There was a need for managers to understand the role of privilege and dominant cultural values in shaping institutions, as well as holding people to account for discriminatory behaviours. As well as addressing their own attitudes and those of other staff, managers have an important role in developing and retaining staff from diverse backgrounds. This includes responding to instances of racism, or perceived racism, when they occur, and supporting staff who were not in a position to do this directly. Likewise, addressing both overt racial attacks and more subtle instances.

It was important for supervisors to be aware of the impact of both forms of racism on staff and the significant time and energy spent on addressing these issues. Managers need training and support in having the skills and sophistication to recognise and address the impact of racism on staff and how this might affect performance. Alternatively, some managers may be concerned about appearing to be racist and therefore deny their staff feedback rather than confronting difficult issues or situations. This requires clarity and skill on the part of managers, and also a level of commitment in responding to issues quickly and consistently.

On the whole, the organisation learned how having racially diverse staff can enhance the quality of work and add substance and value to the organisation (Greene, 2007). However, it is important that leaders, managers and supervisors have ongoing training to identify and enhance skills, beliefs and practices in working with staff from diverse backgrounds. There is also recognition that it takes time and concerted effort to integrate these skills into organisational culture and create conditions for lasting institutional change. This includes ensuring that efforts are sustained across all levels of the organisation and anticipating that there will be challenges and tensions that need to be worked through (Greene, 2007).

Summary

There are significant synergies across the 13 case studies detailed above in terms of components of the interventions, measures of success and key learnings. Intervention components included diversity training, mentoring programs and other support structures, systems to monitor staff and client outcomes including self-assessment, resource development and revision of policies and practices including grievance procedures, recruitment practices, flexible working arrangements and new culturally-specific networks, management styles and workplace culture.

These components were implemented through dedicated staff positions, teams, units, groups, taskforces, plans, policies, procedures, programs, frameworks, internet sites, online training, short films, posters and leaflets. Monitoring and evaluation occurred through surveys, interviews, focus groups and auditing of routinely-collected workplace statistics.

Across the case studies, effectiveness was largely assessed in relation to successful implementation of intervention components rather than in relation to outcomes or impacts. The most commonly reported outcome was improved representation of diverse employees. In some case studies this included better staff seniority profiles, increased retention and more diverse composition of boards. Other evidence of effectiveness included improved awareness, knowledge, skills, capacity, networks, customer service, sales, innovation, perceived fair treatment, acceptance of ethnic differences and reduced racial tension.

Key learnings included the need to be cognisant of resistance from some institutions over time as the nature of, and effort required to reduce, institutional racism became apparent. Leadership was highlighted as key to supporting institutional change, ensuring clear communication and engaging with those resistant and/or fearful of change. The importance of training for managers and staff was noted, particularly knowledge and skills in recognising and addressing race-based discrimination and its impacts. These case studies also demonstrate that changing the values and culture of individuals and the organisation takes time and long-standing commitment.

6. Key principles to reduce race-based discrimination and build acceptance of diversity

As detailed in VicHealth's *Building on Our Strengths Framework* there are five key ways in which organisations (including workplaces) can play a role in reducing race-based discrimination:

1. implementing organisational accountability/development
2. diversity training
3. resource development and provision
4. serving as sites for positive inter-group contact (Paradies et al., 2009; VicHealth, 2009)
5. serving as 'role models' in anti-discrimination and pro-diversity practice for other organisations.

Approaches to implementing organisational accountability/development, diversity training and measures to increase positive inter-group contact are considered in detail below. Specific resources should ideally be developed by and provided to workplaces dependent on the specific needs and contexts of each organisation. However, given the significant time and energy required to develop resources it is recommended that workplaces utilise the 10 best practice resources summarised in Table 2. These include five resources relating to organisational development, three about diversity training and two focused on evaluation. Once organisations have developed good practices with regard to supporting diversity and reducing race-based discrimination, they may be in a position to model this to a wider constituency. The case studies detailed above are a form of such role-modelling.

6.1 Organisational accountability/development

Organisational accountability involves a "conscious, planned and appropriately resourced process of reform to incorporate non-discrimination across a range of organisational functions" (Paradies et al., 2009, p. 13). These functions include: leadership; organisational strategy, planning and policy; organisational practice and culture; communications; auditing; as well as data collection and monitoring.

Organisational accountability requires:

- a shared organisational vision
- sufficient resources for planning and implementation of activities
- a comprehensive organisational plan (including an ongoing assessment framework)
- strong support from organisational leaders and champions
- effective communication with constituencies
- stakeholder participation
- partnerships with other organisations engaged in the reduction of race-based discrimination (Hubbard, 1998).

As adapted from the Confronting Prejudiced Responses (CPR) model (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008) in Nelson et al. (2010), organisational readiness in relation to addressing race-based discrimination may involve the following stages:

- professional development and training focused on employee understandings of race-based discrimination and inclusive behaviour in the workplace
- communication by the organisation that any form of race-based discrimination is unacceptable in the workplace
- educating employees that they are expected to contribute to an inclusive, non-discriminatory workplace culture
- educating employees on the means (words, actions and tactics) which they can use to confront race-based discrimination
- establishing organisational culture and practice that normalises action rather than inaction when faced with race-based discrimination.

Drawing on the best practice case studies detailed previously, key principles of organisational development include:

- a ‘top-down’ central team/committee with broad responsibilities and senior membership to lead, monitor and coordinate a whole-of-organisation approach
- an existing department, work unit or individual with a central rather than peripheral organisational location to provide administrative, logistic and managerial support to the team/committee
- ‘bottom-up’ strategies that promote transparency, trust and information exchange between staff and organisational managers/leaders (e.g. staff surveys or forums)
- distributed taskforces, change teams and/or workplans for sections of the organisation as appropriate (e.g. within individual departments)
- a requirement to develop and communicate clear goals, measurable outcomes, accountability, evaluation and continuous quality improvement.

As demonstrated in the case studies, a well-conducted self-assessment is an essential step in identifying race-based discrimination in the workplace and creating an action plan to reduce such discrimination. Assessment identifies the needs and priorities of an organisation in tailoring interventions to reduce race-based discrimination. The process is a useful starting point to gain a deeper understanding of current practice and provides a baseline assessment from which further activity can be developed and measured against.

The very process of undertaking an audit shows a commitment to furthering anti-discrimination practice and standards within the organisation and is a useful tool for initial data collection and monitoring of race-based discrimination.

6.2 Diversity training

Diversity training programs featured in several of the case studies. However, scant detail was provided on the nature of such training. Drawing on a recent review by Trenerry et al. (2010), this section describes the approaches, contextual factors and recommendations pertaining to diversity training programs.

Generally, training programs aim to affect cognitive, skill-based and emotional 'learning domains' (Hill & Augoustinos, 2001; Johnstone & Kanitsaki, 2008; Kraiger et al., 1993; Kulik & Roberson, 2008). However, specific contextual factors relevant to any particular training program vary considerably. Such factors include duration, location, content, delivery methods, mix of majority/minority group participants and extent of previous diversity training experience among participants, as well as trainer experience and demographics. Delivery methods may include lectures, video, film, small group discussions, role plays, case studies and critical incidents (Sanson et al., 1998).

Diversity training also varies by the approach used. A popular approach is cultural awareness training, also known as information training (Abell et al., 1997), intercultural, cross-cultural and multicultural training (Paradies et al., 2009). This approach is 'fact-centred' and is based on the notion that ignorance is the root cause of prejudice. Most people are fair, it is thought, but can engage unintentionally in race-based discrimination through ignorance about both minority cultures and the extent/effect of racial discrimination (Abell et al., 1997). Providing accurate information is seen as one approach to enhancing awareness of inappropriate past behaviour, an increased acceptance of those from minority groups, and thus behaviour change (Young, 1999).

Another approach is anti-racism training which seeks to confront prejudice through discussions of past and present racism, prejudice, stereotyping (including stereotype threat) and discrimination in society (McGregor, 1993). Information on the production and perpetuation of racism has been drawn upon by facilitators and incorporated into anti-racism training programs. Participants are encouraged to understand whiteness as a hegemonic, normative racial identity, against which racial/ethnic minorities are evaluated, judged and often found to be lacking, inferior, deviant or abnormal (Frankenberg, 1993; Sue, 2006). From this perspective, McIntosh (1990) asserts that the beliefs and practices reinforcing 'white privilege' are 'an invisible package of unearned asset' that are normalised and seldom considered by the dominant culture.

Similarly, Poteat and Spanierman (2008) argue that as a result of their racial identity people from the dominant culture have greater access to resources and the power and position to define rules, norms, and world views. Thus, anti-racism trainers typically aim to shift their thinking about racism as something individual, malicious, overt and possibly exaggerated by people of colour to seeing it as a pervasive reality that we all have a responsibility to address (Miller & Harris, 2005).

While diversity training generally has a positive impact on participants (Beach et al., 2006; Bhawuk & Brislin, 2000; Black & Mendenhall, 1990; Chipps et al., 2008; Kulik & Roberson, 2008; Littrell & Salas, 2005; Paluck, 2006; Shapiro, 2002), such training can produce negative or 'backlash' effects. For instance, cultural awareness training has been criticised for perpetuating stereotypes and entrenching cultural identities in static forms (Walcott, 1997). It is seen to reinforce both who is able to tolerate and who is able to be magnanimously tolerated despite their 'otherness' (Colvin-Burque et al., 2007; Hage, 2003; Hollinsworth, 2006).

A further criticism of the cultural awareness approach is that a sense of mastery of minority culture is falsely promoted and those who believe they have such mastery are in danger of understanding individuals on solely a superficial level (Gross, 2000). Pon (2009, p. 60) asserts that training which promotes an obsolete and absolutist view of culture by "otherizing" those seen to be outside the dominant culture "is a new form of racism".

Anti-racism training has also been criticised for inducing psychological discomfort among those in the dominant culture. Strong reactions such as guilt, humiliation, sadness, shame and embarrassment can result, leading to heightened prejudice (Doosje et al., 1999; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1999; Miller & Harris, 2005; Paradies et al., 2009). For example, students from the dominant culture may disengage from training as they become overwhelmed with discussions of race (Pack-Brown, 1999; Slocum, 2009; Utsey et al., 2005). Such approaches also run the risk of erroneously portraying racism as something primarily, if not exclusively, perpetuated by people from the dominant culture (Von Bergen et al., 2002).

This propagates a "we-them" perspective towards difference that is simplistic and binary (Gosine, 2002, p. 96) and can create an atmosphere of alienation and bias against white people (Von Bergen et al., 2002, p. 243). Dominant culture participants may consequently avoid interracial contact due to increased anxiety (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986), deny their race completely or resist learning about race and racism after growing weary of being labelled an 'oppressor' (Miller & Harris, 2005). Alternatively, they may re-characterise their self-concept in terms of an identity that has less focus on anti-racism and egalitarian values (Doosje et al., 1999; Slocum, 2009).

6.2.1 Awareness, attitude and skill-based learning

Successful diversity training requires a balanced focus on awareness, attitude and skills. Providing accurate information that aims to dispel 'myths' about minority groups can induce negative outcomes when used in isolation (Sanchez & Medkik, 2004). Furthermore, training that aims to raise awareness about the cultural characteristics of specific minority groups risks homogenising and 'essentialising' these groups and, thus, perpetuating stereotypes that may lead to race-based discrimination.

Information provision in conjunction with skills learning has the potential to be effective (Pedersen et al., 2011). Awareness can help trainees to understand what diversity means and why it is important while skill training provides the specific information needed for behaviour changes (Roberson et al., 2003). Training programs that combine cognitive and behavioural techniques by exploring critical incidents or alternative response strategies are particularly effective (Kealey & Protheroe, 1996).

6.2.2 Address both differences and commonalities

Training that focuses simply on the characteristics of minority groups risks promoting negative stereotypes (Colvin-Burque et al., 2007; Hill & Augoustinos, 2001; Pettman, 1988; Reimann et al., 2004; Walcott, 1997). Similarly, training that encourages the acceptance of 'others' by emphasising commonalities with the majority group (Donovan, 2008) risks promoting assimilation. Thus, it is important to address issues relating to both diversity and commonality, both between and within groups (Pedersen et al., 2011).

6.2.3 Acknowledging privilege

Training programs to address discrimination need to raise awareness of the benefits that accrue from being part of the dominant culture. Considerable sensitivity is required in this as exposing people to their privilege may induce feelings such as guilt, humiliation, sadness, shame and embarrassment, which can result in heightened prejudice (Doosje et al., 1999; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1999; Miller & Harris, 2005). It is important to focus on the privilege itself rather than characterising those from the dominant culture in a negative light or as inherently racist. Similarly, evidence of racism committed by members of minority ethnic groups should be acknowledged as valid and discussed rather than ignored or denied. Locke and Kiselica (1999) also highlight the importance of encouraging everyone regardless of racial, ethnic, cultural or religious background to engage with experiences of privilege across other aspects of their identity (e.g. their gender or social class).

6.2.4 Action-oriented learning/reflective thinking

Learning that involves active participation is an effective way of approaching the complexity of issues involved in cultural awareness, prejudice and beliefs (Duckitt, 2001; Jakubowski, 2001). It also allows ample opportunity to reflect on course content (Buhin & Vera, 2009). Action learning may involve relating, experimenting, exploring or reinterpreting from different points of view or within different contextual factors as well as theorising and linking theory with practice (Moon, 1999). Activities that promote such learning include role plays, worksheets, quizzes, debates and group discussions.

6.2.5 Perspective taking

Taking the perspective of others (e.g. 'walking in their shoes') can lead to an appreciation of the contextual factors (above and beyond personal characteristics) that result in disadvantage (Vescio et al., 2003). Perspective taking that involves imagining how one would feel in another person's situation (Findlay & Stephan, 2000) and focusing on the feelings of others (Vescio et al., 2003) is effective in reducing prejudice.

6.2.6 Role playing

By participating in role playing games or activities, participants can demonstrate or vicariously experience prejudice and discrimination (McGregor, 1993). When implementing role plays, facilitators should attempt to dispel unintended victimisation of minority groups, and should be prepared for reluctance to participate as well as difficulty in recognising situations requiring empathy (Kehoe, 1981; McGregor, 1993).

6.2.7 Open discussion

Buhin and Vera (2009) assert that discussion should be open and frank. Open discussion should be a central component of diversity training (Buhin & Vera, 2009; Gamble, 1999; Gany & Thiel de Bocanegra, 1996; Jakubowski, 2001). Open discussion incorporating both interactive and reflective learning can have a positive impact on knowledge and attitudes (Gany & Thiel de Bocanegra, 1996).

6.2.8 Supportive environment

In order for frank and open discussion to occur, a safe space of trust, support, acceptance and respect is required (Baron, 1992; Buhin & Vera, 2009; Burgess et al., 2007; Kobayashi, 1999). Prejudice should not be suppressed or ignored as this can have a paradoxical effect. It can decrease a person's sense of freedom and lead to greater prejudice over time as a response to such a restriction (Plant & Devine, 1998;

2001). For this reason, it is integral that participants feel supported enough to genuinely explore their feelings and assumptions. Facilitators should remain neutral (Gamble, 1999) but address any emotional reactions that arise (Cohen, 1995; Kobayashi, 1999).

6.2.9 Multidisciplinary approaches

It is useful to employ multidisciplinary approaches and multimedia formats to encourage discussion and reflection (Cohen, 1995; Gamble, 1999). Films are a particularly useful method of disseminating information and provoking reflection, as they can put a “personal face on racism” (Gamble, 1999, p. 143). Fiction is also a potentially useful tool as it can be a safe way of discussing challenging and sensitive issues (Gamble, 1999). The effectiveness of each strategy will vary for each individual participant. It is, therefore, advisable to implement course material in a variety of formats.

6.2.10 Facilitator characteristics

As people interpret messages differently depending on who delivers the message and in what manner, trainer/facilitator characteristics influence participants’ learning and transfer of knowledge, attitudes and skills into the workplace (Kuklinski & Hurley, 1996). Facilitators should aim to avoid an authoritarian style and preaching (Karp & Sammour, 2000; Kobayashi, 1999). It is useful for the trainer to encourage the group to set the guidelines for appropriate behaviour (e.g. ground rules) as participants who are able to take responsibility for their interactions will be less inclined to shy away from challenging topics (Karp & Sammour, 2000).

The reactions of participants toward the trainer are often dependent on the trainer’s race and gender. Participants in a study by Holladay (2004) rated the black male trainer most favourably. Other research has found that pairs of diversity trainers that differ in terms of ethnicity and/or gender produce significantly more learning among participants than homogeneous trainer pairs (Hayles, 1996). Trainers should not be selected solely on the basis that they either represent or are advocates for a particular minority group (Hill & Augoustinos, 2001).

6.2.11 Confrontation

Techniques that aim to ‘confront’ participants should be employed with caution (Roberson et al., 2003). If an organisation is hiring an outside trainer to conduct a short-term, single-shot diversity training program, confrontation may be not only inappropriate, but harmful. Confrontation may be appropriate if trainers are trusted insiders, who are highly familiar with the trainees and who will be available for follow-up sessions with the same training group.

6.2.12 Voluntary participation

When developing and delivering diversity training, it is important to consider whether people volunteered to participate. Those who do not volunteer may be more resistant to change than those who do (Castillo et al., 2007).

6.2.13 Group composition

There is some debate over the relative advantages of diversity training groups that are heterogeneous (Ellis & Sonnenfeld, 1994) versus homogeneous (Allen, 1995; Katz, 1978; Roberson et al., 2001) in relation to race, ethnicity, culture and/or religion. Roberson et al. (2001) found that heterogeneous training groups were most effective for trainees with limited prior diversity training experience while homogeneous training groups were most effective for trainees with some prior diversity experience.

6.2.14 Tailored training

Successful programs are tailored to each organisation and linked to operational goals (Bendick et al., 1998). Strategies that are useful in one context may not be useful in another (Pedersen et al., 2005). Therefore, needs assessment is critical to training design. A needs assessment should address three interrelated components: organisational, operations, and person analysis (Roberson et al., 2003).

Examples of questions to include in a needs assessment are:

- What is the organisational motivation for initiating change efforts?
- What are employee attitudes toward diversity and how strongly are these held?
- How much previous exposure to diversity issues have trainees had? (Roberson et al., 2003)

6.2.15 Knowledge transfer

Strategies that encourage the translation of knowledge, attitudes and behaviours gained during diversity training to the workplace have been increasingly researched (Roberson et al., 2009). Training that appears to produce positive outcomes frequently fails to lead to changes back in the workplace (Hesketh, 1997). Goal setting and mental rehearsal can help to increase the transfer of knowledge, skills and attitudes to the workplace by enhancing trainee self-efficacy (Latham, 1997; Noe & Schmitt, 1986). Individual, self-directed learning that enables people to learn at their own pace and in the privacy of their own office or home can also be effective. A computer-based resource for people to complete in their own

space and time or journal writing may consolidate, refresh or expand learning and assist with translation to behaviour change within the workplace (Moon, 1999).

6.2.16 Length and reinforcement

Workplace diversity training courses tend to be short and are rarely repeated. It was suggested that prejudice reduction interventions are likely to be most effective if they are longer rather than shorter (McGregor, 1993; Taylor et al., 1997) and are reinforced repeatedly (Duckitt, 1992; Gould, 2000; McGregor, 1993). There needs to be sufficient time for in-depth consideration and reflection on feelings and reactions that may be occur in diversity training (Pedersen et al., 2011).

6.2.17 Summary of principles

Do	Don't
Aim to enhance the three central learning outcomes: awareness, attitudes and skills	Don't risk perpetuating or formulating stereotypes; programs should not solely focus on enhancing awareness about specific minority groups
Focus on both cultural awareness and issues relating to racism and power	
When addressing racism, power inequalities and the benefits of being part of the dominant culture, focus on both individually based, cognitive forms of racism as well as structural power imbalances	Don't focus solely on individually based racism while ignoring racism that exists at a structural level
Emphasise commonality and diversity	
Discussions of the privilege associated with being a member of the dominant culture are important but should be approached carefully	
Encourage ample opportunity for reflection on course material by administering quizzes, worksheets and encouraging discussion	Don't focus solely on either commonality or diversity
Use perspective taking approaches	
Encourage participation in role plays	Don't characterise those from the dominant culture as inherently racist; acknowledge that anyone can perpetrate racism
Ensure that discussion is open by providing ample time to address complex issues at regular intervals and ensuring the atmosphere in which discussion takes place is safe	
Use confrontation with caution	
Utilise course material with a diversity of media formats and multidisciplinary approaches	
Employ facilitators who are qualified and experienced	Facilitators should not 'preach' or address the learners in an authoritarian manner
Facilitators should remain neutral, informal, address emotional issues and encourage students to take responsibility for their learning (e.g. allow them to establish ground rules)	
Facilitators should be willing to act as a mentor after training	Complex or difficult issues should be addressed not ignored
Choose facilitators that are from differing cultural backgrounds	

Consider whether participants self-selected to participate	Approaches should not encourage a colour-blind perspective
Organisations need to be clear about what they want to achieve through diversity training	
Conduct a needs assessment prior to training	Facilitators should not be selected solely because they either represent or are advocates for a minority group
Tailor training to specific geographic, social and organisational contexts	
Reference aims and intended outcomes at regular points throughout the training	Facilitators who are not well known or trusted by participants should not use confrontational approaches
Aim to meet the needs of learners on an individual level	
Encourage further learning and provide information about additional resources	Do not assume that participants will automatically transfer what is learnt during training to the workplace
Heterogeneous training groups may be more effective for trainees with limited prior diversity training experience while homogeneous training groups may be more effective for trainees with some prior diversity experience	

6.3 Measures to increase positive inter-group contact

Workplaces provide important natural contexts for positive inter-group contact to occur during the course of day-to-day activities. Workplaces are ideal sites for positive inter-group contact as they are highly likely to meet the key facilitating conditions of positive and effective contact:

- equal status within the contact situation (for co-workers in this case)
- individuals from different groups seek to achieve common work-related goals rather than acting in competition
- the contact is sanctioned (at least implicitly) by the workplace as an institution
- there is sufficient and sustained contact that allows potential for personal acquaintance and inter-group friendships to develop (Paradies et al., 2009).

Data from the Challenging Racism Project surveys provide strong evidence that inter-group contact at work is associated with lower levels of racist attitudes and beliefs in that context (Challenging Racism Project, 2010). Inter-group contact can occur incidentally or be consciously developed through activities expressly designed for the purpose. However, situations that are too 'artificial' or 'contrived' may reduce the effectiveness of inter-group contact by highlighting group boundaries, creating inter-group anxiety and reducing the perceived quality of contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

As such, organisational strategies to promote inter-group contact should be indirect and focus on ensuring representation of individuals from diverse racial, ethnic, cultural and religious groups throughout the workplace. Inter-group contact can also be fostered by:

- matching mentors and mentees from different groups
- ensuring job rotations enhance the diversity of work teams and committees
- ensuring heterogeneity in the cultural backgrounds of diversity training participants where appropriate.

The work lunch room has been identified as a potential site for inter-group contact (Commission on Integration and Cohesion, 2007; Wise & Ali, 2007). Ensuring that such shared spaces as well as other social activities in the workplace (e.g. organised lunches and sporting teams) are accessible and appropriate for employees from diverse background may also promote positive inter-group contact.

6.4 Other measures for consideration

There are three other strategies for reducing race-discrimination identified in the *Building on Our Strengths Framework* that may form part of, or the basis for, a workplace initiative to reduce discrimination. These are:

- *Bystander approaches*, where specific efforts are undertaken to engage and support people who are not directly involved as a perpetrator or target of discrimination to speak out or seek to engage others in responding. This may be in response to an incident of discrimination perpetrated by an individual or to a discriminatory practice, culture or system. The potential role of the bystander is the subject of a separate review published by VicHealth (Nelson et al., 2010).
- *Social marketing and other communication approaches*: There is some evidence for the effectiveness of social marketing campaigns implemented at the community level in changing discriminatory attitudes (Donovan & Vlasis, 2007). Workplaces are potential sites for the 'roll-out' of campaigns. Communications approaches have the potential to reinforce some of the approaches described elsewhere in this review.
- *Conflict resolution*: Poor conflict resolution skills are a factor contributing to race-based discrimination (Paradies et al., 2009; VicHealth, 2009) and may be indicated in some contexts.

Table 2: Resources of utility in implementing best practice approaches to reducing race-based discrimination in workplace settings

Organisational development resources	Summary
<p>Achieving Equality in Intercultural Workplaces – An agenda for action (Ireland)</p> <p>www.equality.ie/getFile.asp?FC_ID=31&docID=108</p>	<p>This handbook aims to develop anti-discrimination practices and attitudes in businesses and trade unions with a focus on achieving equality in intercultural workplaces through industrial relations within organisations. The handbook identifies and analyses a spectrum of initiatives and insights which, taken together, provide a holistic approach to equality in intercultural workplaces. It addresses issues relating to equal access to jobs, job retention, equality of working conditions, equality of task assignments and equal pay for equal work. The agenda for action also describes common patterns of understanding and response to ethnic diversity in the workplace.</p>
<p>Integrated Workplaces: An Action Strategy to support Integrated Workplaces (Ireland)</p> <p>http://www.integration.ie/website/omi/omiwebv6.nsf/page/AXBN-7RXJ3X14421211-en/\$File/An%20Action%20Strategy%20to%20Support%20Integrated%20Workplaces.pdf</p>	<p>This strategy aims to assist in managing a diverse workplace and to contribute to and develop an integrated workplace. It includes a range of initiatives to assist employers and trade unions to respond effectively to the potential and challenges of a culturally diverse workforce by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • supporting all employees to operate effectively and without discrimination or harassment within a culturally diverse workforce • supporting all migrant workers and minority ethnic employees to adapt to the workplace • reviewing and further developing all workplace policies, procedures and practices to ensure that they adequately take into account and adjust for cultural and linguistic diversity within the workplace.

Organisational development resources	Summary
<p>Promoting Equality in Intercultural Workplaces</p> <p>http://www.equalityni.org/archive/pdf/PromequalinInterculturalworkplaces.pdf</p>	<p>This agenda outlines a seven-point action plan to promote equality in workplaces that are culturally diverse. It's key objectives are:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. adapting the minority (provide induction training for migrant workers) 2. making cultural allowances (implement work life balance working arrangements) 3. changing majority attitudes (provide equality and diversity training for all employees) 4. changing majority behaviour (implement anti-discrimination and other relevant policies and procedures) 5. changing rules and procedures (review all employment policies and procedures) 6. active recruitment and promotion (develop and equality action plan) 7. mainstreaming equality.
<p>Promoting Equality In Diversity – An Agenda for Action (Europe)</p> <p>http://www.ilo.org/public/english/prot action/migrant/equality/</p>	<p>The toolkit consists of materials and practical guides including: research and evaluation of integration indicators; a compilation of practices; profiles of measures and activities by employers, unions, government authorities and other organisations; orientation pamphlets and toolkits for employers, trade unions and church organisations; a practitioner's handbook and a practice evaluation methodology. For employers, the following topics are covered:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • combat discrimination in recruitment and selection • combat discrimination during period of employment • implement an equality/diversity policy • raise awareness and delegate responsibility • educate and train your employees on equality and diversity • make cultural and language allowances in the workplace • implement clear policies and procedures • integrate with induction, training and assistance • monitor and encourage integration. <p>How discrimination can be tackled by business or service providers is also considered. The toolkit includes sample press releases, a sample speech for an anti-racist event or conference and a sample training program with trainer's notes and slides.</p>

Organisational development resources	Summary
<p>Australian Centre for International Business Diversity Project</p> <p>http://www.mibru.unimelb.edu.au/projects/diversity.html</p>	<p>Diversity management aims to reduce conflict, communication problems, a lack of cohesion and discrimination. This website includes information on the business cases, business models, policies related to diversity management as well as various toolkits that provide practical advice on how to implement diversity management:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Attract, retain and motivate: A toolkit for diversity management.</i> This toolkit outlines 10 key steps for HR managers to effectively attract, retain and motivate top quality employees via diversity management practices • <i>Keys to expatriate success: A toolkit for diversity management.</i> This toolkit outlines five key steps to enhance expatriate performance, focusing on cross-cultural capabilities and skills • <i>Adding value through HRM: A toolkit for diversity management.</i> This toolkit runs through 12 key steps that enable firms to add value to their bottom-line through effective diversity management and HR management • <i>Using diversity climate surveys: A toolkit for diversity management.</i> This toolkit provides firms with tools to measure and assess their firm’s diversity management environment and performance • <i>Building cross-cultural capabilities: A toolkit for diversity management.</i> This toolkit explains how firms can develop cross-cultural capabilities to excel in global business • <i>Engaging senior managers: A toolkit for diversity management.</i> This toolkit provides information to engage senior managers in diversity management. It defines diversity and develops a business case for diversity management • <i>Effective management of diverse teams: A toolkit.</i> This toolkit explains how firms can improve their bottom-line through effective management of diverse teams • <i>Innovation and learning: A toolkit for diversity management.</i> This toolkit explains how organisations can achieve greater innovation and more effective learning through diversity management.

Diversity training resources	Summary								
<p>Organisational Diversity Needs Analysis (ODNA) Instrument (Dahm et al., 2009)</p>	<p>The ODNA is a 53-item individual needs assessment tool to inform the development of workplace diversity training programs. The tool can also be used to measure the effectiveness of diversity training programs. It includes eight dimensions:</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>1. organisational inclusion/exclusion</td> <td>2. cultural group inclusion/exclusion</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. valuing differences</td> <td>4. workload</td> </tr> <tr> <td>5. affirmative-action group perceptions</td> <td>6. trust</td> </tr> <tr> <td>7. adaptation</td> <td>8. sensitivity/flexibility.</td> </tr> </table> <p>The tool could be administered as a survey of all employees or selection of employees. Empirical testing has shown strong construct validity.</p>	1. organisational inclusion/exclusion	2. cultural group inclusion/exclusion	3. valuing differences	4. workload	5. affirmative-action group perceptions	6. trust	7. adaptation	8. sensitivity/flexibility.
1. organisational inclusion/exclusion	2. cultural group inclusion/exclusion								
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5. affirmative-action group perceptions	6. trust								
7. adaptation	8. sensitivity/flexibility.								
<p>Managing Cultural Diversity Training Program</p> <p>http://amf.net.au/news/managing-cultural-diversity-training-program/</p>	<p>A resource for small and medium business owners and managers in Australia to support them in recognising and encouraging cultural diversity in their workplaces. Main objectives include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • learn about cultural diversity in the workforce and the business case for managing cultural diversity • identify and consider for their enterprises the actual and potential impacts and benefits of diversity • increase their understanding of culture and cross-cultural interactions • develop their cultural awareness and cross-cultural communication skills • conduct a diversity analysis of their business strategies and operations • develop an action plan for managing cultural diversity in their businesses • learn about available resources and support services. <p>Training program resource manual includes detailed notes and discussions of the training program. Training facilitator’s guide is included as well as training program workbook with PowerPoint slide presentation, worksheets and glossary of key terms. The training program consists of four sections:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. business case 2. cross-cultural communication 3. managing culturally diverse teams 4. factoring diversity into project and business planning. 								

Diversity training resources	Summary
<p>Dismantling Racism Workshop resource</p> <p>http://www.westernstatescenter.org/tools-and-resources/Tools/Dismantling%20Racism</p>	<p>The resource book is a compilation of materials designed to supplement a Dismantling Racism workshop. The resource outlines the context of dismantling racism work, examining the philosophy of reform, diversity training and Dismantling Racism training assumptions. It highlights the need for a shared language and analysis of race and racism. The resource also examines the impact of internalised white supremacy and the tactics used by people from the dominant culture to resist acknowledging and addressing racism such as distancing behaviours. The characteristics of anti-racist allies are also discussed.</p> <p>An evaluation tool to aid anti-racist organisational development is included. Four states of organisational development are identified: The All White Club, The Affirmative Action or ‘Token’ Organisation, The Multicultural Organisation and the Anti-racist Organisation. While no organisation fits any stage precisely, the tool can be used to identify the dominant characteristic of the organisation and aid the transition of the organisation to an anti-racist state.</p> <p>The resource book outlines the role of a change team, that is, a working committee whose overarching goal is to provide leadership and momentum around anti-racist organisational development. It gives tips for successful caucusing, i.e. times when people of colour and white people within an organisation meet separately in order to progress anti-racism development.</p> <p>An assessment to determine whether an organisation has the capacity to move to a Racial Justice Agenda is included. The resource provides tips for naming and framing racism and building alliances across race. A resource list is provided, including multimedia and recommended reading.</p>

Evaluation resources	Summary
<p>Evaluation Tools for Racial Equity</p> <p>http://evaluationtoolsforracialequity.org/evaluation/index.htm</p>	<p>The website is concerned with helping workplaces to evaluate anti-racism and inclusion activities, including how to take into account the ways that race and racism, privilege, oppression and power influence evaluation of such work. The website includes seven stages. Each stage covers several topic areas, with guiding questions for each topic:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. getting ready: readiness to evaluate work on race, ethnicity, power and privilege 2. defining your work: thinking about the work to be evaluated 3. designing: evaluation design and plan 4. collecting data: finding and collecting data 5. analysing: examining and interpreting evaluation information 6. sharing findings: sharing outcome information and evaluation findings 7. reflecting: ways the evaluation findings can improve the work. <p>For each set of questions, the website user can find tip sheets, tools and resources that explore the issues in greater detail. The website also provides a glossary for racial equity terms.</p>
<p>Racial Equity Tools, Centre for Assessment and Policy Development</p> <p>http://www.racialequitytools.org/</p>	<p>Racial Equity Tools aims to help people to understand and articulate the role that race plays in our communities, and act in deliberate and effective ways to promote racial equity, inclusion and social justice for systems, organisations and individuals. Four sections are included:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. essential concepts and issues 2. assessing and learning 3. planning and implementing 4. sustaining and refining.

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