A review of communication components of anti-racism and prodiversity social marketing/public education campaigns

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Paper 1 of the Discrimination Community Attitudes Project

State Government
Victoria

VicHealth

A Review of Communication Components of Anti-Racism/Anti-Discrimination and Pro-Diversity Social Marketing/Public Education Campaigns

Report to VicHealth

by

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Glossary

CALD: Culturally And Linguistically Diverse

CSA: Community Service Announcement (an advertisement placed free of charge by the media vehicle) (Australian terminology)

PSA: Public Service Announcement ((an advertisement places free of charge by the media vehicle) (US terminology)

TVC: Television commercial

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background to this Report

The Victorian Health Promotion Foundation, VicHealth, is an independent statutory body established in 1987. VicHealth works towards the development of innovative responses to the complex social, economic and environmental forces that influence the health of all Victorians. VicHealth has a particular focus on a flexible, responsive and evidence-informed approach to working with partners from across different sectors in the community to create environments which improve population health.

In 1999, in recognition of the growing human, economic and community costs associated with mental ill health, VicHealth identified mental health as a priority and established a program for the development of activity relevant to the promotion of mental health and wellbeing.

Mental health is defined as: 'the embodiment of social, emotional and spiritual wellbeing. Mental Health provides individuals with the vitality necessary for active living, to achieve goals and to interact with one another in ways that are respectful and just' (VicHealth 1999).

The VicHealth Mental Health and Wellbeing Unit is responsible for managing activity relevant to mental health promotion including:
- Research, monitoring & evaluation
- Direct participation programs
- Organisational development (including workforce development)
- Community strengthening
- Communication & social marketing
- Advocacy
- Supporting positive change in legislation & policy.

Activity is directed towards strengthening four key areas for promoting mental health and wellbeing:
- Improving access to economic resources such as income, housing and meaningful employment

- Reducing violence, especially violence against women

- Improving opportunities for participation in social, recreational and civic activities

- Reducing discrimination and promoting acceptance of diversity.

While discrimination may take a number of forms, discrimination affecting people from culturally diverse backgrounds is a particular public health concern given both its prevalence (Kessler at al, 1999; HREOC 1999) and the size of this population:

- Over 13% of the Victorian population is born in a non-English speaking country

- One in five Victorians speaks a language other than English at home

A further 20.1% have at least one parent born in a country other than Australia (Victorian Office of Multicultural Affairs 2002a; 2002b).

Discrimination is understood to adversely affect mental health by contributing to stress and poor self perception and by limiting access to other resources required for good health (such as employment & education) (Williams & Williams-Morris 2000). Studies indicate a strong link between perceived racial and ethnic discrimination and poor mental health outcomes, in particular depression (Paradies 2006; Williams et al 2003).

In 2002 VicHealth contracted the Sydney Health Projects Group, School of Public Health, University of Sydney to conduct a review of the evidence for effective interventions to promote mental health and wellbeing focusing on the themes identified in the VicHealth mental health promotion plan. The reviewers proposed that addressing discrimination required attention to both broader societal factors (e.g., through legislative reform or large scale communications and marketing campaigns), as well as interventions aimed at changing attitudes and behaviors at the individual level (Rychetnik & Todd 2004)

Building Bridges: Together We do Better is a program of work developed by VicHealth to address discrimination experienced by people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. At the time of writing this program comprises the following components:

- A grants scheme supporting interventions to promote inter-group contact in educational, work place and community settings; and

- Research to better understand and address discrimination and acceptance of diversity.

In order to further develop activities aimed at reducing discrimination, and in particular any social marketing/public education initiatives, VicHealth commissioned this review. It reviews national and international communication and marketing activity designed to address discrimination against or to promote inclusion of ethnic, religious and racial minorities, and reports implications for future activity. In our view, the promotion of cultural diversity and the reduction of discrimination and racism are strongly interlinked in that campaigns that promote cultural diversity can be viewed as one strategy within the broader category of anti-discrimination campaigns. In fact, several campaigns described below explicitly enjoin the two, while others implicitly enjoin them.

The review brief was to exclude campaigns in Australia with respect to Indigenous people as VicHealth had commenced a separate activity to address Indigenous discrimination in collaboration with Indigenous communities in Victoria. However, one of the few campaigns identified in the literature that was explicitly based on principles of attitude change and was evaluated involved Indigenous Australians (and involved the first author; Donovan & Leivers, 1993). Hence this campaign is reported here. We will also draw upon others' work involving Indigenous people where the principles appear relevant to broader anti-discrimination campaigns. Anti-discrimination campaigns in other areas such as gender, age, mental illness, disability and

AIDS were not included in this report, although we did look at some such campaigns for conceptual elements that might assist anti-discrimination and pro-diversity campaigns. Similarly, we did not seek out campaigns that focused on religious differences, although we do include reference to a Northern Ireland campaign that dealt with the protestant vs catholic issue in that country.

Furthermore, this report's focus was on (media led) interventions; it was not concerned with documenting studies on the prevalence of discrimination in Australia or elsewhere, nor the different patterns found in different populations or directed to particular out-groups. Hence, as per our brief, we focus on recommendations for media based interventions, although our conceptual discussion alludes to the potential for different strategies for different patterns of discrimination.

1.1.1 A note on terminology: 'Racism' & 'Discrimination'.

'Discrimination' can be viewed as the behavioural expression of negative beliefs about and attitudes towards other groups. However, the term 'discrimination' is used when referring to <u>all</u> bases for prejudice such as age, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, mental health or disability status, etc (e.g.,, National Institute of Public Health 2006). When negative beliefs and stereotypes are directed towards CALD groups, the common usage is to term these 'prejudicial beliefs' or 'racism'. Hence, where campaigns are targeted towards reducing prejudice by changing stereotypes and beliefs about CALD groups, they are generally termed 'anti-racism' rather than 'anti-discrimination' campaigns, even though the eventual aim is to change discriminatory behaviours that result from these beliefs and attitudes. This distinction also accommodates the fact that behaviours are influenced by situational and broader environmental factors and hence do not always reflect underlying beliefs. It is also consistent with campaigns that target discriminatory behaviours per se (e.g., activism to introduce legislation to outlaw various practices) without regard to changing underlying prejudicial beliefs.

While much of the literature uses the term 'racism' when referring to discrimination based on race, ethnicity, culture or language, some uses of 'racism' refer to prejudice based primarily on genetically defined characteristics. Hence 'discrimination' may be a broader term than 'racism' when looking at prejudice against members of culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) communities, that includes discrimination based on religion, language or cultural practices. However, because the term 'racism' is used in many campaigns and in the literature, in the review sections we have used the terminology of the campaign or authors, and where we use the term 'racism', we use it inclusively to refer to discrimination against a group based on race or ethnicity or cultural practices or language differences. Similarly, when we do use the term 'discrimination' it is used in the context of discrimination against CALD groups and is used interchangeably with the term 'racism'.

1.2 Precis of Findings

There appear to be few examples of evaluated large-scale public education campaigns in the anti-racism and pro-diversity areas, and of those we found, even fewer had been evaluated in terms of their impact on racist beliefs, attitudes or behaviour. Similarly, for many campaigns we are unaware whether formative research was conducted; it might well have been but that information was simply unavailable.

The communication campaigns identified and described here vary from brief feasibility or one-off campaigns to being an integral part of ongoing, comprehensive, sustained interventions. While community intervention components generally have specific target groups (often by definition) and have (inherent) behavioural and communication objectives, with some exceptions, the communication campaigns identified in this report are characterised by the following:

- Formative research is lacking or narrow in scope and generally not available where it has been conducted. In particular, there is little reporting of pre-testing materials against the ethnic groups that are the subjects of the materials.
- Communication campaigns are rarely explicitly based on any communication principles, attitude-behaviour change models or psycho-social concepts of racism. Most simply display 'other' groups in a positive light and state that diversity is inherently a 'good thing' for that particular state/nation, and that racism is bad or will not be tolerated by the campaign source (i.e., the government). The most common 'rationale' for acceptance of 'others' is that the 'others' are actually not as different as the audience thinks and have many interests and values in common with the majority group.
- The target audiences for the campaigns are only vaguely stated or simply assumed to be 'the general population'.
- Communication objectives are broadly stated rather than delineating specific beliefs being targeted, and, where part of comprehensive interventions, the communication objectives are simply stated as those of the overall intervention.
- Evaluations are generally not conducted, and where conducted are inadequate to assess campaign effectiveness or are not available.
- Media expenditure, media schedules and media weights are rarely reported – hence reducing the ability to interpret evaluations that are done.

Given the paucity of identified community campaigns, we also report the results of several laboratory studies and small scale interventions where these provide insights potentially relevant to community wide campaigns.

Overall, only a few reports provide guidelines about what is or could be effective in any future community wide campaign. Hence we draw on our previous experience in this area as well as useful concepts, theoretical considerations and research from a selected review of relevant literature in various fields (sociology, social psychology, social marketing, etc) in order to generate recommendations for the design of campaigns in this area.

1.3 Structure of the Report

We first present a summary and comment on each of the campaigns we identified and were able to get sufficient information on, followed by brief mention of several other campaigns identified. We then present a brief review of some relevant literature, followed by recommended guidelines for developing campaigns in this area.
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2. Overview of Campaigns

For each identified campaign we first provide an introductory Background to the campaign, followed by the Target Group & Behavioural Objectives, and the Communication Objectives & Message Strategy. In many cases these are inferred from the campaign materials rather than stated explicitly in the available information. The campaign communication materials are then described, along with a brief summary of any associated community activities. Finally, evaluation data are presented where available along with a contact for the campaign. In general, only campaigns since 1995 and in English were sourced.

2.1 Australia

2.1.1 Australians Against Racism Campaigns

We identified a national television advertising campaign in 2001 (*Faces in the Crowd*) and a billboard campaign in Sydney and Melbourne in 2004-05 (*Sisters Daughters Australians*). *Faces in the Crowd* went to air in all capital cities on Human Rights Day December 10th, 2001. *Sisters Daughters Australians* was launched on supersite billboards in Sydney and Melbourne in 2004.

Background

Australians Against Racism (AAR) is an advocacy non-profit organisation with the following objectives (taken from the "Background" page of http://www.australiansagainstracism.org):
- To run projects that counter destructive stereotyping of race and culture by promoting understanding and debate through the media, arts, education and the law.
- To help change community attitudes that diminish anyone on the basis of race and/or culture and/or religion by promoting understanding and debate through the media, arts, education and the law.
- To rally and unite those who have been and are affronted by current policy, in order to celebrate and foster humanitarian values of compassion and integrity in our society.
- To assist where possible and to collaborate with others to assist individual refugees.
- To help change policy and legislation by encouraging a grassroots movement of outspoken lawful dissent in all sectors of Australian society; and by participating in lobbying politicians and facilitating other groups' actions.
- To go beyond protest and to take a proactive positive approach to influencing prevailing attitudes. AAR has a particular strength in its contacts with literary, visual arts, theatre, film, graphic, dotcom, food and wine industries, and will use these and connections with all other industries to promote and celebrate multiculturalism and humanitarian values in Australian culture.

Both the television (*Faces in the Crowd*) and billboard (*Sisters Daughters Australians*) campaigns were conducted within the context of these broad goals of the organisation, and were funded largely by donations from community members with some limited donated airtime.

As part of the developmental process for the *Sisters Daughters Australians* campaign, ideas were disseminated through the organisation's mailing list (presumably made up of people concerned

about the community's negative attitudes towards refugees and racism in Australia more generally) as a means of providing feedback. Through this process, and using research by Oxfam, the campaign team developed the brief to derive a concept that invited "feelings of equality and human identification", and portrayed strong, positive and equal images of women. Testing of the images was undertaken among a range of stakeholders.

Target Groups and Behavioural Objectives

Faces in the Crowd was targeted at the general population and was designed to increase community acceptance of refugees.

Sisters Daughters Australians was targeted at Australians who "are uncomfortable about Muslims in their community". The campaign's webpage describes:

> The billboard project's genesis was in a market research pilot study undertaken by Oxfam in 2001. This study found that fear and ignorance played a major role in negative views Australians had of refugees from the Middle East; and that the key group that might change their mind would be women, indicating that images of women, and women with children, would be the strongest images in any kind of education campaign. (http://www.australiansagainstracism.org/, "Billboards" page).

Sisters Daughters Australians was not designed to change attitudes directly, but rather to stimulate debate in ways that would lead to more positive views of Middle Eastern refugees.

Communication Objectives and Message Strategies

The broad aim of both campaigns was to provide inclusive, positive and inspiring images to counter negative stereotypes.

From viewing the *Faces in Crowd* advertisement (see description below), the following specific communication objectives can be inferred.

- To broaden people's concept of refugees by referring to those who have been accepted into Australia in the past (e.g.,, Jewish refugees from the Second World War; South-East Asian refugees from the mid-late 1970s; Bosnian refugees from the 90s), and that refugees come from a range of cultural backgrounds. [Presumably, this was intended to counter the negative images of refugees generated through the year].
- To promote acceptance of refugees in the post-Tampa environment by emphasising Australia's acceptance of refugees in previous eras.
- To show how refugees in the past have now become positive members of the community – thereby inferring that recent refugees would follow the same path.
- To state that refugees require our assistance and given our past history of supporting them we should not turn our backs on them.

The communication objectives of *Sisters Daughters Australians* can be discerned from the following statements in the campaign's webpage:

> The image and message is designed to evoke the common ground we all share. A sense of identification and familiarity with people from a Muslim background will generate a better response to them in everyday life. People often fear and reject what they don't know - this billboard campaign aims to increase awareness and challenge those feelings. (http://www.australiansagainstracism.org/, "Billboards" page).

Basic Features of the Campaign

Faces in the Crowd consisted of a television advertisement.

The *Sisters Daughters Australians* campaign involved a billboard poster that was also reproduced in posters and postcards. It was also used as a cinema slide in at least one cinema in Melbourne.

Mass Media Materials

The *Faces in the Crowd* television PSA (Public Service Announcement) focused on a street/sidewalk scene in a seemingly busy urban environment. Close-up shots are shown of four people as they are walking down the street with an accompanying soft female voiceover: a smiling young woman of South East Asian background: "Maybe she arrived by boat in her mother's arms"; a South East European man in a business suit: "Maybe he arrived from Croatia a few years ago"; an old couple of central/eastern European descent: "Maybe she came from Poland, a holocaust survivor"; and a young child (whose ethnic origin is not totally clear and perhaps deliberately left ambiguous) who is looking somewhat lost and uncertain: "How can we say no to refugees? How can we say no?" (with this question written on the screen). The Australians Against Racism website is provided on the screen at the end of the PSA. The PSA was set to the background of warm, reflective and gently uplifting music.

The *Sisters Daughters Australians* billboard, viewable on the campaign webpage, focuses on two smiling Middle Eastern women looking into the camera, with the main caption "sisters daughters australians" and a smaller caption "religion is not the only label they wear".

Black and white images were chosen supposedly to promote the seriousness and thought-provoking nature of the subject (although the smiles may dilute such an intention). The juxtaposition of the two women in the image indicates a warm interpersonal relationship between

them (a real sense of sisterhood), potentially giving the billboard a strong humanising, personalising and de-objectifying feel.

Community Organising, Community Development and Other Accompanying Interventions

The television and billboard campaigns were conducted as stand alone activities within Australians Against Racism's ongoing community development and advocacy initiatives focused on challenging racism. The advertising campaigns also appeared to generate some unpaid media advocacy time.

Outcomes and Evaluation

No evaluations of the campaigns were conducted other than assessing the movement of the postcards and posters in the *Sisters Daughters Australians* campaign.

Contact Information

Australians Against Racism website: http://www.australiansagainstracism.org.

Comments

Faces in the Crowd employed a warm and positive emotional tone and an essentially logical argument that given our past acceptance of refugees, the contributions they have made to our society, and their needs for support, there is a moral obligation for us to provide support to them. The final scenes of a confused and lost looking girl to the words "How can we say no?" represents a strong emotionally-laden moral appeal to viewers. This approach would reinforce existing positive attitudes and may influence people with ambivalent or mildly negative attitudes, who had not thought much about the issues before becoming swayed by the recent harsh political and media representations of refugees. It is unlikely that the ad would have much influence on people with strongly held negative attitudes. For those with strong negative attitudes the ad could be seen as a direct attack on their attitudes on moral grounds and hence rejected outright. Similarly, the logic of the approach could be rejected on the simple counterargument that Muslim refugees "are different".

However it is unknown who precisely constituted the target audience in terms of prior attitudes and beliefs.

2.1.2 National Harmony Day

March 21 – the United Nations International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, has been marked in Australia as Harmony Day since 1999. Some states mark the day as part of a week of activities (e.g., Harmony Week in WA; Celebrate our Cultural Diversity Week in Victoria).

Background

National Harmony Day commenced in 1999 as the federal government's Living in Harmony initiative to challenge racism. The initiative involves a community grants program, a partnerships program and a public information strategy focusing on Harmony Day on March 21. Of these, the first two components form the cornerstone of the initiative, as the low budget of *National Harmony Day* does not permit the use of paid advertising. Nevertheless, television, radio and print CSAs (Community Service Announcements) are made available, and participants are encouraged to generate publicity via events leading up to and on Harmony Day.

The Living in Harmony initiative arose in the wake of the federal government's deliberations over a national anti-racism advertising campaign in the mid-late 90's. While the campaign was promised in 1996, it was delayed until 1998, and consisted of five former prime ministers speaking about the evils of racism.

The overall campaign focuses on the following as shared Australian values that underpin the campaign and its messages:

> **'Commitment -** Uniting for Australia's future and gaining a greater understanding and awareness of our dynamic multicultural society, our democratic system, and our freedoms, language and laws.
> **Goodwill -** The bonds that hold us together; celebrating community harmony and our commitment to embracing traditional Australian values – justice, equality, fairness and mateship.
> **Understanding -** It starts with you; upholding your culture and traditional heritage while embracing respect for and appreciation of others.
> **Diversity -** Australians have been born here or migrated here; we come from around 200 different backgrounds.
> **Community -** The spirit of cooperation; taking a stand against racism, prejudice and intolerance.
> **Harmony -** Bringing all together to celebrate the many faces of Australia and treating those around us with consideration and dignity'.

Target Groups and Behavioural Objectives

The campaign's objectives are stated as:

- To take a stand against racism, prejudice and intolerance;
- To help build a peaceful and productive future for our children by setting an example of how to live in harmony, making the most of our racial, cultural, social and religious diversity; and
- To put into practice the best of traditional Australian values - justice, equality, fairness and friendship.

(http://www.harmony.gov.au/aboutus.htm)

The main behavioural objectives of the media campaign were to encourage people to (i) wear an orange ribbon, and (ii) become involved in National Harmony Day.

Communication Objectives and Message Strategies

A key message for *National Harmony Day* is "You, me, Australian", with the "...us..." in Australian highlighted to give a second message of "You, me, us".

The campaign describes its main objectives as:

- to celebrate our many successes as a diverse and harmonious multicultural society;
- to re-commit to our common values of respect and goodwill towards our fellow Australians of all backgrounds; to
- to say 'no' to racism;
(http://www.harmony.gov.au/what-is-hd/index.htm, original bolds)

Basic Features of the Campaign

National Harmony Day focuses predominantly on community-based activities to encourage face-to-face and word-of-mouth delivery of the messages.

Mass Media Materials

Mass media advertising represents only a minor component of the campaign. However, one of the television networks has produced its own CSA to accompany the campaign in recent years. The 2006 CSA simply shows still images of a range of cultural groups, with a male voiceover commenting in very general terms about this diversity and that "together we have made Australia one of the world's most successful multicultural countries ... You plus me equals Australia. Get involved with people in your neighbourhood, at work, wherever you are, to say no to racism". The commercial also has a call for people to wear an orange ribbon on Harmony Day and to visit the website.

Four radio CSAs with the sounds of a cover of Men at Work's "Down Under" were developed, and are downloadable at http://www.harmony.gov.au/media-room/index.htm. All four consist of people from the street from diverse cultures, including many from an Anglo background, making a wide range of statements about multiculturalism, with comments by a female voiceover providing information about Harmony Day. The statements made by the various people in the radio CSAs include: "All people are beautiful doesn't matter where they come from or who they are"; "This country is great, I've been good to the country and this country has been great to me"; "It's a great place to be, it's very multicultural and you can fit in very easily"; "We've become much more broad-minded since I was young"; "I think it gives us an opportunity for us to understand other cultures, understand different traditions, it makes us more worldly and more sophisticated"; "Just learn to accept our differences and take what's good out of it"; and "Accept

people for what they are" (many of these types of statements are made by Anglo-sounding voices).

A series of newspaper filler ads were also developed (see http://www.harmony.gov.au/media-room/index.htm), featuring an image of the Australian map made out of cartoon characters of people representing cultural diversity, with text such as "Now Australia's most significant multicultural event, Harmony Day embraces a fair go and respect for all people ... no matter their background or religion."

Community Organising, Community Development and Other Accompanying Interventions

By far the greatest share of the budget of the Living in Harmony initiative focuses on its partnership and community grants programs.

The partnerships program:

> "... enables the Australian Government to work with major organisations and peak bodies who contribute resources to projects of national or strategic significance. The Living in Harmony partnerships explore ways of improving social cohesion, tackling racism and generating better understanding, respect and cooperation among Australians of all backgrounds ... The program plays a catalyst role by bringing together relevant stakeholders to explore issues and progress a range of possible solutions; encourage stakeholders to jointly identify factors that encourage racism and threaten community harmony; and mobilise stakeholders to develop practical solutions to tackle these impediments". (http://www.harmony.gov.au/partnerships/index.htm)

Many or all of the 19 current partnerships are co-funded by the Australian government.

The community grant scheme (which may not be running in 2006 as the whole initiative is currently under review) provided $1.5 million to 42 successful applicants in 2004. It has funded a wide range of activities across a range of community settings. For example, four television CSAs were developed in 2001 in Tasmania, primarily for Tasmania but one was reportedly used nationally in 2002 and others were expected to be used as CSAs by SBS in 2003 (http://www.harmony.gov.au/grants/grants1999/grant94.htm).
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Each commercial uses hand drawn animation and a story to ask questions about racism. Accompanying the four commercials is an activity kit for schools and the community and a web site: 'In a captivating and entertaining way the concept uses animated musical instruments from different countries and cultures, as well as backyard Australia, to cover issues relating to not just Australia's immigrant past and present and indigenous people but racism at its core. ... The concept, using animation, takes a non-threatening and humorous approach in communicating the benefits of "people who dance to a different tune" and the need for tolerance. The project is aimed at mainstream Australian audiences'.
(http://www.mrcltn.org.au/living_in_harmony/full_release.htm)

These commercials revolved around animated musical instruments created to represent (or hint at) different cultural groups:

- A trombone moves to various parts of an orchestra, trying to play as if it was different instruments but not able to reproduce the different sounds. A male voiceover at the end states "Wouldn't it be boring if we were all the same".
- An interaction between two drums and a piano accordion / bagpipes. During the course of the interaction, one of the drums leaves the scene and the other is shown to develop a romance with the bagpipes. The exact sequence of events is unclear, but it appears that the drums initially joined in to laugh at the bagpipes, but one starts to see the bagpipes in a different light and becomes won over. The other drum does not like this and leaves. The voiceover at the end says "If you're racist, you could lose a lifelong friend".
- The instruments start to pick on each other and end up in a big fight, leaving all battered, bruised and in a sorry state, with the voiceover saying "Racism: What's the point?"
- A range of instruments of different colours come together in humorous fashion to play Waltzing Matilda, with the male voiceover at the end stating "Living in Harmony: What a good idea".

Print material, a video and a website were also constructed to accompany these commercials.

National Harmony Day also operates an events calendar where community groups can register their event, and be supported through a series of free resources to help them plan and publicise their events. A campaign newsletter is also produced.

PR (public relations) is a key part of the overall communication component. This is facilitated in part by a campaign story bank, consisting of 60 or so stories of people who are living out the

messages of the campaign. The rationale for this is that people (and the media) are more interested in stories than in policies.

The campaign is also trialing a system of word-of-mouth promotion of the messages through linking with and supporting key influencers who can help organise key events and obtain media exposure. The intention is for these key influencers to adapt the messages of the campaign to the type of language and concepts that are most suited to their networks.

Outcomes and Evaluation

There has been no evaluation of the mass media component of the Harmony Day campaign, nor is there available an overall evaluation of the impact of the Harmony Day initiative on beliefs, attitudes and behaviour. However, the initiative as a whole is reportedly currently under review.

The campaign has built steadily since its inception. In 1999 it commenced with 2 community events and 60 media items. By 2005, this grew to 2,750 and 1500 respectively.

The Tasmanian grant recipients referred to above claimed "from evaluation focus groups and anecdotal evidence that: 30-40% of the Tasmanian population saw the Harmony commercials and could identify them clearly; even very young students (8 years) were very quick in grasping the meaning of the messages; and young people grasped the message much quicker than older people". They also claimed that "many people in its community are now thinking more consciously about multicultural harmony and coming forward as volunteers to help achieve multicultural goals" (http://www.harmony.gov.au/grants/grants1999/grant94.htm). However no information was provided on research methods nor was there an evaluation report available on the website.

Comments

The Living in Harmony initiative is mostly a community development program with limited mass media support. As such, it works by attempting to change attitudes through fostering grass-roots intergroup contact. Given that positive intergroup contact – provided that it occurs under certain circumstances / conditions – can have some success in reducing prejudice, the community-based component of the campaign would seem to have merit. Although their reach is more limited than that of an advertising campaign, they potentially afford much greater opportunities for attitudinal and behavioural shifts to occur over time in people's everyday settings.

However, while a positive, celebratory approach may encourage people to become involved in National Harmony Day, some messages in the media components have the potential to reinforce beliefs that Australia has already evolved into a society where racism is not a major problem. For example, a comment in one of the radio CSAs – "[Australia] it's very multicultural and you can fit in very easily" might imply that our society is much more supportive of diversity and much less racist than it actually is. Reinforcing beliefs that racism is not a problem might lead to people moving away from taking responsibility to address racism in their community, and to conclude that the problems faced by minority groups are not due to relative disadvantage and racism but rather due to other factors (e.g., 'that they refuse to fit in' or are 'given too much special treatment'). On the other hand, such messages can reinforce a belief that the social norm is

indeed acceptance of diversity, and the *say no to racism* secondary message may serve to remind the audience that '*not* everyone is happy with our multicultural society'. What is needed is research to understand how different people would process these various messages.

Community events and partnerships are seen by the Living in Harmony initiative as an important strategy to deliver messages through grass-roots, word-of-mouth processes involving direct communication between people. The initiative has been particularly focused on encouraging schools, local councils and community organisations to become involved, and is developing an approach of grass-roots marketing through working with key influencers. The partnerships program encourages large organisations to endorse the messages, while going further by engaging in projects that promote diversity within their fields of influence. Consequently, while the strength of the Living in Harmony initiative is its community development basis, a probable weakness is its public information component. Although positive images and creating social norms of valuing diversity are important, this needs to be done in a way that does not present an unrealistic picture of the extent of harmony in the community.

Another possible weakness is that these sorts of government initiatives perhaps cater only to those already positive. While reinforcing already positives is important, it appears that insufficient attention is paid or resources allocated to how to get (mildly) negative individuals or groups to participate in Harmony initiatives. Furthermore, while initiatives such as Living in Harmony attempt to address racism, other government policies and initiatives – such as the off-shore processing and detention of refugees (labeled "queue jumpers") can reinforce racism.

Contact Information

http://www.harmony.gov.au

2.1.3 Harmony Week: Western Australia

Background

Western Australia marks the 15-21 March annually as Harmony Week (rather than just one day). This outline will focus predominantly on the 2006 campaign.

While most or all of the other states and territories in Australia participate in *National Harmony Day* as the main set of activities around the March 21 International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Western Australia has conducted a week long campaign named *Harmony Week* since 2003. One of the main reasons for the Western Australian government choosing to focus on their own campaign is their stance that March 21 should not be a day of celebration (as emphasised in *National Harmony Day*), given that the day represents the anniversary of the South African Sharpsville massacre and was designed for more solemn reflection. Consequently, *Harmony Week* focuses on six days of positive activities that celebrate multiculturalism – backed by a media advertising campaign – and has a more subdued presence on the seventh day (March 21).

While *Harmony Week* commenced in 2003, the campaign has recently been influenced by the WA Charter of Multiculturalism that was developed by an Anti-Racism Strategy Steering Group, and endorsed by the WA Cabinet in 2005. The Charter provides the context for the 2006 campaign, and will be influential in next year's campaign and possibly also in future years. As this Charter provides the guiding philosophy for the campaign, it is worth considering in depth. (see http://www.omi.wa.gov.au/Publications/wa_charter_multiculturalism.pdf)

The Charter conceptualises multiculturalism as:

> "... not cultural pluralism but democratic pluralism that recognises difference as a hallmark of democracy, both at an institutional and individual level. It takes into account the varying needs that may arise from this pluralism. The Charter signals the necessity to adopt different approaches to respond appropriately to these varying needs in order to ensure that all people can participate fully in society" (p 3).

The Charter recognises that confusion over varying definitions of multiculturalism has impeded community support for multiculturalism. It attempts to correct the lack of recognition of Aboriginal people as First Australians in previous policies of multiculturalism, and calls for the need to correct a series of myths such as that cultural uniformity is needed for a successful society; that multiculturalism is about giving special treatment to minorities; and is associated mainly with the traditional cultural practices of minorities; etc.

The Charter focuses on four key principles:

- Civic values, which are conceptualised by the Charter as the "glue" that binds people together – rather than cultural values. By stressing civic values in this way, the Charter attempts to move away from defining a society based on particular cultural values (in effect, those of the dominant group), and towards the principles that guide public life.

- Fairness, not in the sense that each person should be treated exactly the same, but rather according to the person's particular circumstances (based in part on any experiences of disadvantage).

- Equality, recognising that some people may need to be treated differently to ensure that they have equality in terms of the ability to fulfill and achieve their rights as citizens.

- Participation, including the ability (of both groups and individuals) to participate in the decisions that affect them, and in the dismantling of structural and other inequalities.

The 2006 campaign focused on the equality principle, with the intention of campaigns in future years to also focus on a particular principle. It focused on the theme of *substantive equality*, which is described by the Equal Opportunity Commission in Western Australia as "If you want to treat me equally, you may have to be prepared to treat me differently" (Equal Opportunity Commission, 2004).

Formative research was not conducted to develop the message themes of the campaign.

Target Groups and Behavioural Objectives

Harmony Week targets both adults and children with the main objective being to encourage their support for cultural diversity.

The behavioural objectives of this year's campaign includes facilitating acceptance of the need for people to be treated differently in order to ensure equality in the context of their different starting positions in society.

Communication Objectives and Message Strategies

The campaign aimed to create awareness of the Charter and to encourage acceptance of the government's position to treat people differently according to their circumstances.

A key aspect of this year's campaign was to promote a strong framing of equality (or reframing, given the ways in which the term can be used to support racist attitudes and practices) as meaning that:

1. Everyone has equal rights.
2. People differ in how easy it is for them to achieve and enjoy these rights, as some people and groups come from a position of social disadvantage in our society – they face more hurdles than others as a result of their visible, religious, language and other differences.
3. Given the absence of a level playing field, we can't treat everyone the same in order to ensure equality.

4. Everyone is entitled to a fair go, through being treated according to their particular circumstances so that they have an equal chance to achieve their rights.

Basic Features of the Campaign

Community development, mass media and media advocacy strategies are concentrated in the week of the campaign.

The 2006 mass media materials involved a TV and radio CSA, newspaper advertising, a posters, brochure, flyers and stickers.

Mass Media Materials

The television CSA used in last year's and this year's campaign shows a series of scenes involving women from diverse cultural backgrounds: a doctor; a woman receiving a tertiary degree; a police officer; and a fire officer. The CSA then shows three of these women going out together for dinner, greeted warmly by staff in the restaurant and interacting with an Anglo-Australian waitress. The emphasis is on happy and positive interactions among all involved. While these scenes are played, a female voiceover (probably not very audible in a typical household setting) says: "Western Australia is enriched by the contribution of our culturally diverse community. We all have different needs, but we have the same right to have our needs met, regardless of our backgrounds. Harmony Week, which runs from March 14 to 21, enables Western Australians to recognise our shared rights as citizens, and take a stand against racism and discrimination". The ad ends with a set of corporate sponsors' logos and the voice stating the ad was authorized by the Western Australian government.

The 2006 *Harmony Week* poster shows a hurdle race involving a number of people beginning to jump over hurdles. Some of the hurdles have captions written into them, such as "Visible Difference", "Language Difference", "Religious Difference", etc. One man with dark skin, however, is running in a lane without hurdles and is considerably ahead of the others. The title is "Overcoming the Barriers" and in one of the running lanes is written "Whatever our differences, we are all entitled to a fair go!" What messages target audiences would 'take out' of this poster is unknown. It might well be that the dark skinned man with no hurdles is seen to have an advantage over the other runners because of his skin colour – thereby reinforcing beliefs amongst some people that Indigenous Australians have advantages not available to non-Indigenous people.
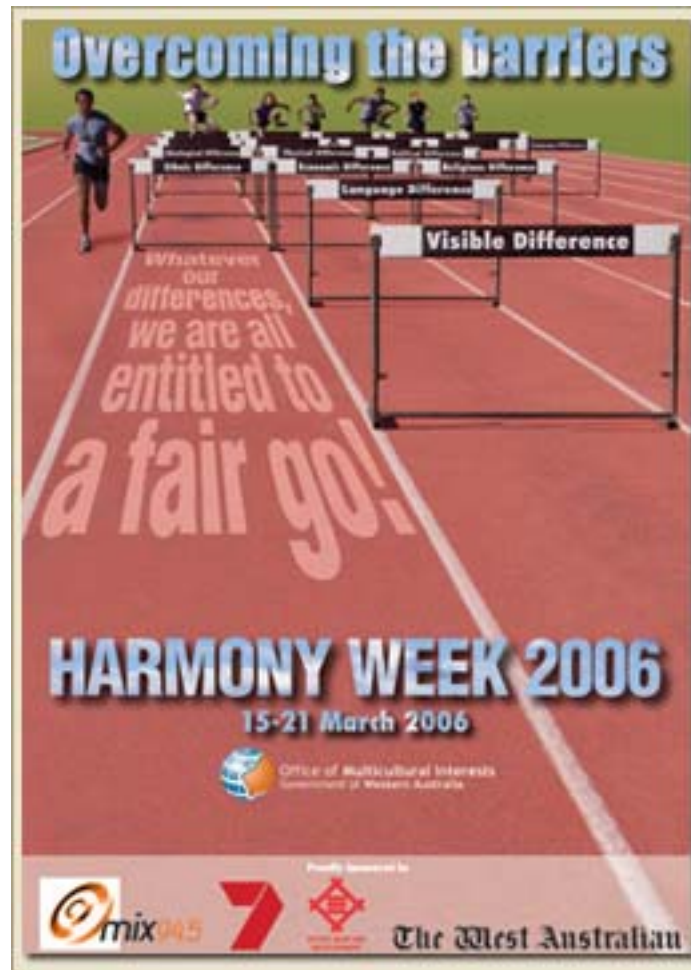
Community Organising, Community Development and Other Accompanying Interventions

The campaign has a calendar of pro-diversity community events and activities related to Harmony Week, some organised centrally by the campaign but most by various community groups, including multicultural festivals and gatherings, community arts projects, school-based activities, anti-racism / pro-diversity workshops, etc. There are also resources for schools, such as newsletters and an activity pack.

Grants are provided to community groups to conduct activities consistent with the campaign theme.

The campaign also generates a considerable amount of media interest, including in some regional areas of the state.

Outcomes and Evaluation

A formal evaluation has not been conducted of the campaigns.

Previous Campaigns

We have obtained some print materials used in Harmony Week campaigns of previous years. but were not able to obtain previous years' television and radio PSAs. The main themes of recent years were:

- 2005: "Shared Rights. Diverse Culture", with captions such as "Acknowledge our right as Australian citizens to live free of racism and discrimination by taking an active part in Harmony Week 2005". The campaign poster showed people from a range of cultural groups superimposed on an image of Parliament House.

- 2004: "See the big picture: We are all part of it" and "WA: Valuing our diversity", with a colourful image of Western Australia as a jigsaw puzzle made out of people from a range of cultural groups, including a black-and-white piece of an outline of a person's head with the words "You're here".

- 2003: "Towards mutual respect" and "Put your foot down against racism!", with an image of Western Australia made of up of faces of people from diverse cultural groups.

Comments

Harmony Week takes a proactive approach towards redefining key terms that are often used to support racial prejudice and discrimination – such as equality and fairness – and to reconceptualise them in ways that could potentially facilitate support for diversity. While the Charter of Multiculturalism was designed in large part around the changes needed to government services in order to ensure that disadvantaged groups receive different treatment, the conceptualisations of themes adopted by *Harmony Week* such as equality and fairness have potential for community education campaigns in this arena.

In a sense, this represents an attempt to reclaim some of the language that has been used to support new/modern patterns of racism – from 'equality' meaning that everyone should be treated the same, to that people may need to be treated differently to ensure that everyone has an equal ability to benefit from the rights that we all have as citizens. In this reframing, recognising the disadvantaged positions of some groups becomes part of ensuring equality, rather than 'special treatment' being viewed as inequality.

Occurring over only a limited period and relying largely on donated air time for its CSAs, it is unlikely that the *Harmony Week* campaigns would result in the widespread reframing of a key pillar of new/modern racism such as individualistic notions of equality. However, it is an example of a campaign that bases its communication objectives and message themes on an attempt to think through some of the 'big picture' issues concerning cultural diversity, multiculturalism and racism, with this conceptualisation provided by the Charter.

Harmony Week also offers a different perspective on the 'different yet the same' theme that many anti-racism / pro-diversity campaigns have adopted. Differences between cultural groups are celebrated as in some other campaigns (and highlighted more than in *Know Racism*, for example,

section 2.4.1), but what is of particular note is that these differences are portrayed partly in terms of the different hurdles that groups face in being able to exercise their rights as citizens. The campaign strongly suggests that *difference matters*, in the sense of the need for people to be treated differently according to their circumstances.

Furthermore, the Charter refers to the "glue" that binds diversity as being *civic values*, rather than a particular national or state identity (as implied in the CSA and even more so in some previous *Harmony* Day campaigns highlighting the identity of being a West Australian) or set of cultural values or practices. While the 2006 *Harmony Day* campaign did not focus on civic values as the core principle of focus, it will be interesting to see how any future campaign unfolds that does focus on this principle of the Charter. It appears that the aim could potentially be to steer away from conceptualisations of sameness that invoke the cultural beliefs and practices of the dominant group.

Contact Information

Office of Multicultural Interests (Western Australia), (08) 9222 8800; harmony@dpc.wa.gov.au

http://www.omi.wa.gov.au/hw_2006/index.asp

2.1.4 Just Like You: Victoria, 2006

Background

Just Like You was an initiative of several Victorian government departments: Department for Victorian Communities; Victorian Multicultural Commission; Equal Opportunity Commission Victoria; and the Department of Premier and Cabinet. It was launched during Victoria's fourth annual Cultural Diversity Week (March 17 – 23). The media campaign will conclude in July 2006.

The campaign was conceptualised as targeting ordinary Victorians (especially those of an adult age) who may, in recent years, have become (increasingly) nervous and insecure about cultural diversity.

Focus group research was conducted to refine the campaign theme and various implementation strategies.

Target Groups and Behavioural Objectives

The primary audience segment was characterised as people who would not consider themselves to be racist, who have strong attitudes against overt displays of prejudice, and who are not strongly opposed to multiculturalism. The main intention was to encourage these Victorians to feel more comfortable about people from diverse cultural groups.

People with very strong attitudes concerning diversity – positive or negative – were not targeted by the campaign. The campaign did not explicitly focus on any specific behaviour changes other than to visit the website.

A second target group consisted of people from Culturally and Linguistically Diverse backgrounds.

Communication Objectives and Message Strategies

Just Like You focused on highlighting Victoria's cultural and social diversity and how much this diversity is valued (supposedly by the wider community). It aimed to focus on what people have in common, by concentrating on valued aspects of people's lives such as leisure, sports/outdoors, food, family and friends, and how diverse Victorians all share in their love for and commitment to these activities.

Basic Features of the Campaign

Mass media campaign featuring one television CSA and four posters/postcards. The campaign budget was relatively small, with media space generally obtained free or heavily discounted. Approximately $1.25 million of airtime was donated, and much of the paid advertising component focused on buying time/space on ethnic media.

Mass Media Materials

The television CSA contains a series of still shots of people from a range of cultural backgrounds, to the sounds of fairly uplifting background music, with people from these various groups making a range of statements: "Just like you, I love my kids"; "Just like you, I play, I work, I celebrate"; "Just like you, I worship"; "And just like you, I want to feel safe in my own home"; "This is my home, This is where I live, I am a Victorian".

The posters are based on some of the scenes in the television CSA. One shows an Indian man playing cricket with a boy (presumably his son), with the caption "I want to bring back the Ashes. Just like you." A second shows two young children in martial arts uniforms from different cultural backgrounds. A third shows an Aussie rules footballer from Lebanese background with the caption: "I hate losing. Just like you." A fourth shows a beach scene with a dark-skinned father and daughter smiling at each other, with the caption: "I love my kids. Just like you".

Each of the posters has the copy:

> **Victorians** [original bold] come from all over the world. Some of us have been here for 2,000 generations. Others have just arrived. We work. We celebrate. We want a future for our kids. And we never forget our friends. We want to feel safe in our own homes. This is our home. This is where we live. We are Victorians. Just like you.

This is followed with a 1300 number and the campaign website 'for more facts and figures about Victorians'.

Community Organising, Community Development and Other Accompanying Interventions

Just Like You commenced during Cultural Diversity Week in Victoria when there were numerous events across Victoria (particularly school initiated) under that banner. The Just Like You communication materials did not specifically refer to these events and the campaign itself did not focus on stimulating community development activities.

Outcomes and Evaluation

Other than recording web and phone traffic, no evaluation of the campaign was undertaken.

Comments

Just Like You is an example of a campaign reacting to a perception that there has been a weakening of pro diversity sentiment in the community. It focuses specifically on people whose attitudes may have changed in recent times, and who may have adopted or strengthened negative stereotypes (e.g., of Muslim and Arabic groups) due to concern about terrorism and the political climate regarding asylum seekers.

The campaign's inclusion of a range of individuals (the campaign components featured 31 individuals including some from an Anglo background), appears to be an attempt to personalise people from diverse groups and to decategorise them from the negative stereotypes attributed to

their cultural groups. These individuals' stories come out most strongly on the campaign's website, with a page devoted to their portrayal. Unfortunately, the need for brevity and simplicity in the television CSA and the print materials provide little room for this sense of story.

The campaign appears to deliberately include stories of people from an Anglo background. In this sense, diversity is framed as something that includes us all rather than accepting the differences 'among them', or the differences between 'them' and 'us'. By positioning members of the dominant (Anglo) culture as part of diversity, the campaign appears to subtly aim to challenge processes of 'othering' whereby white Anglo culture remains the reference point through which to view (and judge) other cultural groups. However, whether the campaign materials have this sort of impact on the audience is unknown.

Focus group research conducted to guide the campaign's development reportedly resulted in suggestions that the campaign's delivery could be 'improved' if there were some scenes / images of two-way cultural exchanges (e.g., of people from Anglo descent participating in the cultural practices of other groups). Such exchanges are included in the One Scotland campaign where, for example, an Anglo woman learns Indian dancing and a caucasian man is described as a Chinese martial arts expert. However few images of interaction between cultural groups were presented in the Just Like You campaign. While the ads show people from diverse cultural groups participating in a range of endeavours that are cherished by many Victorians – therefore indicating a sense of interaction and shared activity – direct visual images of interaction might have been useful to further reinforce this 'sharedness', and to model appropriate behaviours. Whether such interactions are indeed more 'effective' requires empirical verification. Furthermore, the activities shown were generally those of the dominant group – and hence may not be fully acceptable to some ethnic individuals.

The campaign's simple theme may lack credibility anyway, and particularly among people with strong attitudes in either direction. However, the campaign was devised specifically to counter negative beliefs and rising discomfort that some cultural groups represent a threat to people's basic way of life, and its simple message was designed to reduce this sense of threat and difference. *Just Like You* at least adopted limited objectives among a clearly defined target group, something which some of the other campaigns reviewed in this report appeared not to do.

Contact Information

The campaign website is http://www.justlikeyou.vic.gov.au (also at http://www.dvc.vic.gov.au/Web14/dvc/dvcmain.nsf/AllDocs/84E60C9D3A15E09FCA25712C00 13ED84?OpenDocument). The mass media materials can be downloaded from http://www.dvc.vic.gov.au/Web14/dvc/dvcmain.nsf/AllDocs/84E60C9D3A15E09FCA25712C00 13ED84?OpenDocument or http://www.justlikeyou.vic.gov.au

2.1.5 Equal Opportunity Commission: All Anybody Wants is a Fair Go: Aboriginal Employment Week in Bunbury: Western Australia 1985

Background

Donovan & Leivers (1993) reported a study carried out to determine the feasibility of using paid advertising to modify beliefs underlying employment discrimination against Aborigines in a small country town in Australia. The project was commissioned by the Equal Opportunity Commission (EOC) of Western Australia who wished to explore strategies that reduced discrimination (and hence would lessen the number of complaints received by the EOC). Although this campaign was concerned with negative stereotype beliefs about Indigenous people, it is included in this report because it is one of the few reports we could find of an anti-racism campaign that employed formative research, psychological communication concepts and attitude change models to guide the campaign development, and was also evaluated.

Qualitative research with opinion leaders, employers, townspeople and local Indigenous people informed the development of the advertising. Both the research and the content and execution of the print and television advertising were guided by models of attitude change and various communication principles – primarily the concept of 'latitude of acceptance'.

Target Groups and Behavioural Objectives

From the EOC's point of view there were two primary target groups: all non-Indigenous adults in the town; and employers and employed persons in the town. From a broader perspective another primary target group was all Aboriginal people in the town.

As a pilot campaign, there were no specific behavioural objectives other than for non-Indigenous people to reconsider their beliefs about Aboriginal people and employment.

Communication Objectives and Message Strategies

The research showed that negative attitudes to employing Indigenous persons were based on beliefs that:
- very few Aborigines had a job
- very few Aborigines with jobs hold them for a long time
- very few Aborigines have skilled jobs

These 'objective' beliefs were identified as the basis for subjective stereotypical beliefs that Indigenous people "are lazy", "don't want to work", and "can't handle responsibility".

In fact 60% of local Indigenous people were employed and many had held their jobs for a considerable time. However, given the beliefs of the non-Indigenous population, promoting a 60% employment rate would have met considerable scepticism from a large percentage of the

non-Indigenous population. To accommodate people's different 'starting points', the advertising communication objective was defined as '<u>increasing</u> people's beliefs about …

- the percentage of Indigenous people employed,
- the percentage who remain in employment for long periods, and
- the percentage who are in skilled jobs …

… regardless of what percent they currently thought fell into these categories'.

With respect to Aboriginal people, implied communication objectives related to generating feelings of pride in seeing members of their community portrayed positively in the local media.

Basic Features of the Campaign

A two week television, print and radio advertising campaign in a regional centre in Western Australia.

The formative research indicated that any campaign sourced to a government organisation that simply asked people to employ Indigenous people, or extolled their virtues, and did not indicate that Indigenous people themselves were involved, would be greeted with scepticism. That is, the campaign per se also had to be acceptable. To provide a rationale for the campaign to the non-Indigenous population, the ad promoted an "Aboriginal employment week", was sourced to a local Indigenous group, and ended with the slogan, (valued in Australian culture and hence minimising counter-arguing): "All anyone wants is a fair go".

Aboriginal groups were key partners in the campaign. The campaign strategy and advertising components were developed in conjunction with the Aboriginal people in the town.

Mass Media Materials

Mindful of 'not telling people more than they would believe', the advertising avoided any statistical information and made no specific claims about Indigenous employment. Instead, each advertisement simply presented the occupational details of four locally employed Indigenous persons. The television ad for example pictured four persons one at a time, in their workplace. As each person was pictured, their name, occupation, place of work and length of time employed appeared in print on the screen. Length of employment varied from 2 years to 12 years. In short, this was a 'cool' message that left the audience to draw their own conclusions from the information given. A total of 12 different individuals appeared in various combinations of four across three tv ads, three press ads and three radio ads.

Community Organising, Community Development and Other Accompanying Interventions

The relevant organizations were informed that the campaign would be running in the town.

Outcomes and Evaluation

The campaign was evaluated by a pre-post independent samples design survey. Funding precluded a comparison town and it was felt that the short duration of the campaign obviated the need for such anyway. The evaluation is noted for the fact that not only were belief changes measured, but also whether there was any negative reaction to the campaign per se and whether the campaign had any unintended negative effect on beliefs.

Press Ad: Aboriginal Employment Week*

Peter Michael.
Peter is a plant operator with the Bunbury City Council. He has been with the Council for twelve years.
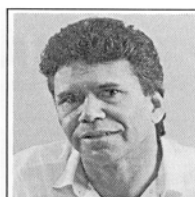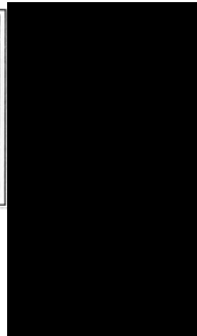
Arthur Slater.
Arthur has been the Officer in Charge of the Bunbury District Office of the Department of Community Services for five years.

Mervyn Hardie.
Mervyn is a fitter and turner at Geograph Enterprises. He completed his four year apprenticeship three months ago.

ALL ANYONE WANTS IS A FAIR GO.

Bunbury Aboriginal Employment Week. August 23 to 30.
Bunbury Aboriginal Progress Association
Contact the Bunbury CES for employment information.

* One person is now deceased and the family preferred that her image not be shown.

The post campaign survey showed that the campaign reached 90% of respondents (88% prompted recognition for television ads; 49% for press ads; & 30% for radio ads). Of those aware of the campaign, 68% supported it, 28% had no feelings either way, and only 4% opposed it. The vast majority of those reporting that the campaign 'changed their mind about Aboriginal employment' (18% of those aware of the campaign), reported changing in a positive way (89%; 16% of those aware); 1% of those aware of the campaign reported changing to a neutral position and 1% of those aware reported changing in a negative way.

The campaign had a significant impact on people's beliefs on the three key questions. The proportion of 'don't knows' declined substantially for all three questions, and the perceived percentages increased significantly in the desired direction. For example, prior to the campaign, 40% stated that they did not know what percentage of employed Aborigines would remain in a job for more than 1 year. This declined to 21% in the post survey. Prior to the campaign, only 8% of respondents considered that 50% or more of employed Aborigines would remain in a job more than one year. After the campaign, 29% believed that 50% or more of employed Aborigines would remain in a job more than one year. Not unexpectedly the campaign was most impactful on those beliefs where there was a high proportion of don't knows prior to the campaign. For perceptions of the type of job employed Aborigines would hold, only 5% stated don't know in the pre survey (1% in the post survey), but there was still a substantial increase in the perceptions of how many Aborigines would hold skilled jobs: 7% in the pre survey up to 12% in the post survey.

Comment

Combining Donovan & Leivers' (1993) formative research findings, their campaign development principles and post campaign conclusions, the following guidelines can be considered further for anti-racism and pro diversity campaigns:

1. Use a variety of individuals from the depicted ethnic group and, where possible, provide factual personal details rather than simply depicting individuals who could be dismissed as paid actors.
2. Target objective beliefs that underlay negative 'emotive' beliefs where such relationships can be established.
3. To allow a dialogue, begin by demonstrating that the ethnic group in question shares at least one of the dominant groups's key values (in the above case, having a job).
4. As a corollary to 3., avoid emphasizing exotic or superficial characteristics of the ethnic group that are not part of the dominant group's core values (e.g., dancing; crafts; foods; etc).
5. Do not use single celebrities (unless to gain attention). These are too easily dismissed as 'exceptions' to the rule.
6. Do not overclaim. Stay within the target group's latitude of acceptance.
7. Identify possible counterarguments and pre-empt them in the strategies. Do not leave them unanswered.
8. Focus on a particular area of discrimination (i.e., employment) rather than global affect. Simple requests to 'like' or 'accept' others in a positive mood message execution will have little lasting impact on beliefs and attitudes.
9. Ensure that the target ethnic group is part of the campaign development and, where an integral part of the strategy, is clearly identified as one source of the campaign.

2.2 Canada

The organization in Canada that engages in public communication campaigns to promote diversity and anti-racism is the Department of Canadian Heritage (or Canadian Heritage Multiculturalism; CHM). Canadian Heritage is responsible for national policies and programs that promote: Canadian content; cultural participation: active citizenship and participation in Canada's civic life; and strengthen connections among Canadians. However, the Canadian Race Relations Foundation (CRFF) was instituted in 1996 and also engages in public anti-racism campaigns.

2.2.1 Heritage Canada March 21 Program: 1988 continuing …

Background

The Heritage Canada annual March 21 Anti-Racism program was set up in 1988 by the Canadian government in response to the United Nations' International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. Canada is apparently the only country in the world to have a permanent program devoted to achieving anti-racism in commemoration of this day (Madill & Abele, 2004).

The campaign for the period 1988-2000 is summarized in the following Tables extracted from Madill & Abele (2004). It appears that the campaign is now focused on a video competition for youth: The *Racism. Stop It!* National Video Competition. Heritage Canada also promotes an annual Black History Month but this doesn't seem to have the same resources behind it as the video competition.

The following is taken directly or adapted from the website: 'The March 21 Campaign was initiated in response to the need to heighten awareness of the harmful effects of racism on a national scale and to demonstrate clearly the commitment and leadership of the federal government to foster respect, equality and diversity. Every year, to mark the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, numerous activities aiming to raise public awareness on the issue of racism take place across Canada. *The Racism. Stop It* National Video Competition is one of the means by which the federal government mobilizes thousands of youth across Canada to rise up and take a stand against racism'.

Target audience and behavioural objectives

It appears from Table 1 that the campaign primarily targeted the general population from 1988 – 1993 with the aim of encouraging participation in events to mark March 21. From 1996 the campaign appears to have shifted to a youth focus and that appears to be its main focus today. Teachers are therefore a primary target group also.

The behavioural objectives are for youth and teachers to enter the video competition. Across the country, youth are encouraged to create the scenario, write the script, direct, shoot and edit a one-minute video story that expresses their feelings about racism. End objectives would involve reductions in expressions of racism.

According to the website, youth (and their teachers) are the primary target of the annual March 21 Campaign because 'they are considered to have the energy, commitment and creativity to advance the struggle against racism, and to be among the most exposed to racism in their schools and on the streets. In villages, towns and cities across Canada, the March 21 Campaign engages youth to transcend the boundaries of race, ethnicity and religion and to embrace diversity. *The Racism. Stop It!* National Video Competition allows individuals to move beyond the recognition of the problem and take action to Stop It!'

All those who enter the *Racism. Stop It!* National Video Competition receive participation certificates. The 10 winning videos are selected by a tiered process in which entries are judged for originality, audio/visual quality and the 'effectiveness' (undefined) of the *Racism. Stop It!* message. The winners are invited to an award ceremony. The videos are edited and made available as CSAs.

Communication objectives and message strategy

The overall strategy is to involve youth in making anti-racism videos on the presumed assumption that doing so will lead to the internalisation of anti-racism attitudes and beliefs. Furthermore, it appears to be assumed that the CSAs will be more impactful on youth because they are made by their peers. [Each video ends with the message that the ad was created by Canadian youth].

At a broader level, the promotion of and publicity surrounding the competition, along with the resulting CSAs are designed to increase awareness of racism issues and create favorable attitudes towards taking action against racism.

Basic features of the campaign

Information and the entry form on the National Video Competition are sent to schools across Canada. The video competition is heavily promoted throughout Canada via a comprehensive Marketing Plan.

Media materials

The website contains the video winners from 2001 to 2006 (see http://www.pch.gc.ca/march-21-mars/hands-mains/10videos_e.cfm).

Community activities

The March 21 campaign is essentially a community based campaign supported by media publicity and promotion of the video competition. Extensive community activities accompany the competition as noted above.

Evaluation

Although the campaign has reportedly been evaluated, none of the evaluations appears available on the website. Madill & Abele (2004) state that from 1988 – 1992 only process evaluations were done, with 'external evaluations' being done in 1992 and 1999. Neither was accessible via the website. The Madill & Abele (2004) report suggests that awareness and understanding of the "March 21" brand was low in the 1999 evaluation – which perhaps is why the campaign was rebranded "Racism. Stop It!" A 2002 review of the CRFF states that Canada Heritage was evaluating the effectiveness of its campaign at that time.

Given that the campaign has targeted young people over the past decade, it would be expected that any effects of the campaign would be demonstrated in Canadian adults in the age range 25 – 35 years. We are not aware of any evaluation that has attempted to demonstrate such effects in this cohort.

2.2.2 Canadian Race Relations Foundation (CRFF): "See People For Who They Really Are – Unite Against Racism"

The Department's Canadian Race Relations Foundation (CRFF) was established in 1996 as part of the redress agreement with the Japanese Canadian community. The CRFF's mandate is 'to foster racial harmony and cross-cultural understanding and help to eliminate racism'. It serves as a clearing house on race information, stimulates papers and discussion on racial issues, and initiates and funds anti-racism programs (Initiatives Against Racism).

In November 1999, the CRFF launched the Unite Against Racism campaign, supposedly the then largest and most diverse anti-racism campaign of its kind in Canadian history. The aims included 'raising public awareness about the importance of breaking down stereotypes and eliminating racism, and asking Canadians to examine their biases and value diversity.'

The campaign involved 30 and 60-second television ads on CBC/Radio Canada, cfmt, TVO/tfo and Aboriginal Peoples Television Network in the period December 1999 – March 2000. Posters, stickers, a study guide and a 30-minute video were distributed throughout Canada. A campaign song "Our Song" was written and a soul/fusion group performed the campaign song at the launch which involved more than 20 campaign partners and appearances by celebrity guests and other entertainment.

CRFF ran a bus shelter campaign in 2001 (see next page). At first glance this poster appears to be an attempt to override a race categorization: that the woman could be any of those categories – not just a black person. However, the questions simply don't make much sense when followed by "take another look" and the statement "See people for who they really are": which could lead to the response "she is not any of them; she is a black person"! Furthermore, the additional statement that "In Canada, there is unequal access to employment for visible minorities and Aboriginal peoples, even given the same levels of education" could be construed as implying that the woman is unemployed – or is at best, a non-sequiter.

We are not aware of any formal evaluations of the above campaigns. However, the abovementioned review of the CRFF noted that the campaign had attracted some criticism from stakeholders because of its youth target group overlapping with the March 21 campaign. The campaign also was not apparently well recalled even by stakeholders. The website gives no indication that there have been any further media campaigns by CRFF.

Interestingly, the use of the phrase "unite against racism" is similar to earlier themes of the March 21 campaign (i.e.,, "together we're better – let's eliminate racial discrimination in Canada"; "together we can stop racism"; see Table 1).

Comment

In the New York Times of June 6, 2006, the phrase "see people for who they really are" is attributed to an 8 year old boy's poem. The Times reports that the poem was read by a Mr Dixon to a meeting of people who suffered from a mental illness talking about the labels that others attached to them.

> *"My glasses are amazing,*
> *You can see things real far.*
> *I wish you could see people*
> *For who they really are."*

The article continued: *"To see people for who they really are", Mr. Dixon repeated, looking around the room. "They're all human. They're all human".* [The Western Australian Cerebral Palsy Association ran a campaign in the 1990s called "See the person, not the problem"]. We have no information about how the CRFF came to select this slogan.

Table 1: Phase 1 – Getting Started 1988-1993

Product *(Program Elements)*	Promotion		Pricing	Distribution Channels
	Messages	Media/ Communication		
Product Description A major emphasis on information kits, public service announcements and posters and booklets. **1988-89** Booklets and posters suggesting activities - A creative writing contest on eliminating racism - Regional offices organizing displays and discussion groups - Speeches and interviews by Minister of Multiculturalism - Minister presented eight awards for Excellence in Race Relations - Billboards and transit posters ran in 8 cities - Televised public service announcement aired on 95 stations - Distribution of information kits to community groups, institutions and opinion leaders 30 municipalities proclaimed March 21 and held special events **1990-91** - Minister presented eight awards for Excellence in Race Relations - English and French general commercials featuring the slogan, "Racism Hurts" - Department developed information kit for students to get involved with essays and poster contests, workshops, displays and debates around the theme of combating racism 90 municipalities proclaimed March 21 and held special events 80 federal institutions organized activities in both headquarters and regions to commemorate the day 60 NGOs provided support to the March 21 Campaign by organizing activities to commemorate the day **1991-92-93** - Public awareness events were slightly modified from the previous years. Similar activities continued.	Messages not actionable - primarily were for education and information. Analysis showed inconsistencies in messages used via different media, i.e.,, broadcast messages were not always congruous with print campaign. Slogans and messages changed almost every year – little consistency over time. Slogans: **1989** Together We're Better - Let's Eliminate Racial Discrimination in Canada **1990** Same as 1989 **1991** Together We Can Stop Racism **1992** Same as 1991 **1993** Together We're Better – Let's Stop Racism	Engaged an ad agency for professional communications Information Kits sent to schools across country Posters distributed: - schools - government agencies - departments various partners Media campaign included radio and television broadcast messages.	Assessment of written materials and interviews indicated that no understanding of price in a social marketing context existed no mention of it in the public education campaign. No recognition that organized activities required effort by each government agency and community group that chose to organize. Price was not part of the campaign at this point.	Distribution included channels for getting the information kits, posters and booklets to the targeted publics. Distribution concentrated on public sector, educational institutions and NGOs. The private sector was not emphasized.

Target Market	Strategic Plan	Relationships Partnerships	Explicit Exchange	Was Evaluation done?	Findings of Evaluations
No formal research conducted on a target market or group. No specific delineation of target markets. However focus tended to be youth, community organizations and opinion leaders.	No strategic plan. 1992 external evaluation recommended a strategic planning process to: • identify issues of program ownership • assist with resource allocation • identify constraints • develop specific targeting	**General** • NGO's • Other government agencies • Educational Ministries **Specific** • Smith Corona (but no emphasis on private sector partnerships) • Canadian Advertising Foundation of Canada • Canadian Association of Broadcasters • Canadian Association of Police Chiefs • Canadian Ethno cultural Council • Boys and Girls Club of Canada • Federation of Canadian Municipalities	There was no explicit exchange. The 1992 evaluation report notes that within a context of an awareness campaign, March 21 was successful. It was ***not considered as a social marketing campaign.*** The terminology of social marketing is beginning to appear in the programs' nomenclature. During 1993, vocabulary of social became more prevalent. Also, during this time there were rapidly evolving increased expectations and demands on the programs reach and grasp. During this time, March 21 is referred to as a 'campaign'.	Internal evaluations were done annually. These consisted of fairly informal assessments of how many posters, information kits etc. were distributed, how many media messages developed and used. The first external evaluation was done in 1992.	**Need for:** • Strategic Planning • Business planning (match resources to priorities and objective) • Need for use of marketing research – a formalized approach to program testing and assessment (e.g., use evidence to assess effectiveness of programs components • Need for more partnerships and sponsorships to help with resources needed to reach program goals. • Need for tailoring the program to the target group • Need for improved distribution especially in logistical control, to move the materials out to targeted markets

Table 2: Transition to Social Marketing

Product *Products began to be developed to meet the needs of target markets*	Tools	Promotion		Pricing	Distribution Channels
		Messages	Media/ Commun- ication		
1994-96 Evidence in planning and strategy documents that beginning to recognize a more social marketing definition of product as stopping racist behaviours among Canadians. Still considerable carry over from previous approach that products are booklets, posters etc. ***1996-97*** Stop Racism video competition targeted to youth target market (with Panasonic). Product encouraged youth to demonstrate anti-racist behaviours in a tangible way – through video. ***1997-98*** Information kits targeted **to teachers** to use in curriculum suggesting activities for school-aged youth to make anti-racist behaviours tangible in the classroom. ***1998-1999*** Cyberpetition was launched – asking youth as key target market to demonstrate anti-racist support by supporting petition. ***1997-2000*** Explicitly began asking for a behaviour change *"Racism Stop It"*. Supported by visual imagery in all communications materials. March 21 is being treated and described as a brand - supported by consistent promotional and visual images.	***1994-96*** Booklets and posters for school aged youth continued Public awareness events continued Web Site introduced in 1996 ***1996-97*** Booklets and posters suggesting activities for school aged youth continued T-shirts - Benetton provided risk capital and sold them ***1997-98*** Posters **targeted to teachers** to use in curriculum suggesting activities for school aged youth Introduction of events to increase awareness of anti-racism message to target groups (Raptors, Roots Against Racism etc.) ***1998-1999*** Youth-focused campaign **targeted teachers** with activity suggestions to engage students in an ongoing dialogue in issues of racism (requests for these materials increased 32% over previous year) Development of Web Site - Web site is visited by users in 13 countries, received 786,900 hits	Messages becoming more consistent over time – are now more consistent between different media types Verbal and visual messages are more hard hitting. The messages were not actionable but becoming more so in 1997. ***1996*** The verbal message: ***'Together to Change the World'*** – accompanied by visual imagery - ***the crocuses*** ***1997-2000*** The verbal message – becoming more a request for action from the target market - ***Racism. Stop It!*** The visual imagery – ***Hand used in support of the Racism Stop It verbal message.***	New ad agency was hired Initiatives from previous years continued (booklets, posters, information kits) ***1997-2000*** Stickers of "the Hand" supporting the March 21 brand were introduced and distributed Radio and television messages developed and broadcast reflecting more consistent messages and March 21 brand. Much/Music and Musique Plus aired commercials and 30 second edited versions of the winning entries from the video competition	Still no indication that the target markets pay a price in order to adopt the product was recognized in the program design and implementati on.	Distribution grew from public sector, educational institutions and NGOs to include the private sector - extending the reach of the program. Distribution channels became more intensive including 1-800 phone and web site. Private sector partners used to support the development and distribution of promotion items (i.e., Benetton re: t-shirts, Royal Bank re: posters, Roots, etc.) ***1997 -2000*** Internet became much more important way of distributing tools intended to encourage anti-racist behvaiours Toll-free phone and fax lines for orders for promotion items, kits and information

Target Market	Strategic Plan	Relationships Partnerships	Explicit Exchange	Was E evaluation Done?	Findings of Evaluations
Target groups were specifically defined as: • The media • Community organizations • Teachers • Youth 13-17 • The general public While the general public is not a specific target market, the transition to specifically targeting media, community organizations and teachers and youth show movement toward more of a social marketing approach	No strategic plan. However, both the researchers' evaluation and an external evaluation of the program conducted in 1999 noted that implicit objectives were observable and could be identified throughout various internal documents. -March 21 is beginning to be referred to as a program/ brand rather than a campaign.	*This period was marked by an increased emphasis on relationships and partnerships. A number of these are listed below.* **General** • NGO's • Government agencies • Educational ministries • The private sector **Specific** • The Canadian Association of Broadcasters • Canadian Association of Police Chiefs • Canadian Teachers' Federation • CBC • Much Music • Musique Plus • The Royal Bank • Benetton • Roots Panasonic • Sympatico (not after 1998) • Tribute Teen • Famous Players • Vik Recording • Canadian Film Centre	There was little explicit exchange between the target and the government agency **but there was an exchange** between private organizations and the government agency. The private organization received advertising opportunities with the target in exchange for financial contributions to the program.	Internal evaluations were done annually. The second external evaluation began in 1997 and was published in 1999.	Analysis by the research team as well as the external evaluation published in 1999 noted the following: • Need to address logistics in getting the material out to target markets • Increased use of marketing research resulted in a shift in the promotion messages - members of ethnic groups felt the softer images were inappropriate and idealistic. This led to change in the product and the accompanying images which became much harder (Stop Racism and the Hand as compared to the previous softer images). • It is important that the message leads to action • Market research also showed need for stronger branding (e.g., the mention of March 21 Campaign confuses people. People don't know what the date stands for and they don't know if it is a one-time or annual event)

2.3 Europe

2.3.1 European Union: "For Diversity, Against Discrimination" 2003-2007

Background

For Diversity, Against Discrimination is a general anti-discrimination campaign, focusing on racism and other forms of discrimination. The campaign website introduces the campaign as follows:

> 'As part of its Action Programme to combat Discrimination, the European Commission is running a five-year pan-European information campaign on combating discrimination on the grounds of racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, age, disability and sexual orientation.
>
> With the slogan "For Diversity, Against Discrimination", the first year of the campaign will focus primarily on promoting diversity in the workplace. Measures for the second year of the campaign include, for example, the "Run for Diversity", a Journalist Award and an information truck tour through EU Member States, including the ten new Member States. These activities were maintained in the third campaign year and extended by measures targeting youth like for example a mobile photo contest and local events.
>
> ... Measures for the fourth year of the campaign will continue the "Run for Diversity", the Journalist Award and the European Truck Tour through all 25 EU Member states and will introduce some new activities such as an international poster contest'.
> (http://www.stop-discrimination.info/29.0.html)

The campaign was developed to create awareness of new European Union directives designed to stop discrimination of various forms, including in workplaces. It was designed in the context of a Eurobarometer study "Discrimination in Europe" which found that only one out of three Europeans knew their legal rights to protect themselves in situations of discrimination (http://www.media-onsulta.com/index.php?id=998&backPID=998&begin_at=10&tt_news=125). It will run from 2003-2007.

Although the campaign has not utilised extensive paid mass media advertising, we have included it here as an example of a campaign that focuses on more than one form of discrimination. The description involves a contraction of the usual headings we have employed to outline the campaigns.

Target Groups and Behavioural Objectives

The campaign aimed to reduce levels of discrimination in the European Union. To do so it targeted employers, victims of discrimination (particularly at work), employees, government institutions, unions, NGOs, youth and to some extent the general community, to increase

awareness of new legislation combating discrimination and protecting victims, and to promote the value of diversity.

Communication Objectives and Basic Features of the Campaign

The campaign has involved a mix of several strategies.

One or more television PSAs or commercials have been developed. For example, a recent PSA/commercial encourages young people to send in photographs depicting diversity for a photographic competition (see "Media Consulta and MTV putting Diversity in the Picture", http://www.media-consulta.de/mc_engl.html). The commercial:

> ... starts with a series of close ups of cameras of all shapes, sizes and styles and is accompanied by a soundtrack of cameras clicking. This is followed by flashes of many different people representing MTV's diverse audience who take photos with the cameras. A voiceover invites viewers to send in their photographs and to visit the competition website. (http://www.stop-discrimination.info/31.0.html)

The competition aimed to investigate how young people view diversity both through the photographs that were submitted and how young people voted to select the winners. Images from the winners of this photographic competition will be used in a television commercial in the summer (northern hemisphere) to promote the campaign.

Early promotional images for the campaign (e.g., through billboards – we are not sure if these were also depicted through television PSAs/commercials) showed test crash dummies who have no individual features and who look and act the same. The heading is "Differences make the difference". The images are designed to highlight the dullness of a workplace without diversity, and the futility of believing that a workplace without diversity could exist. The images and language were made deliberately simple so that they could be applied across the various cultures of the European Union (http://www.mediaconsulta.com/index.php?id=998&back PID=998&begin_at=10&tt_news=125).

A set of three postcards was developed recently targeting youth. Each consists of an image of a modern piece of technology (i.e., portable CD player; television; mobile phone), with the respective headings: "Imagine a world with only one song"; "Imagine a world with only one TV program"; and "Imagine a world with only one ring tone".

The campaign's other activities have included the following:

- An annual journalism award to recognise journalism that values diversity and challenges discrimination.
- A Breaking Stereotypes Poster Competition among art and design students across Europe.
- An information and education truck touring across the European Union, with the truck of sufficient size to incorporate a stage.
- A Run for Diversity program, with the campaign having a presence at marathons across Europe.

The campaign website, designed in a number of languages (http://www.stop-discrimination.info), is an important component of the campaign. In addition to providing information about the campaign, those who are concerned that they may have been victimised can use the website to communicate with someone to ask questions about their situation and what to do about it. The website also contains a press kit, flyers, brochures and a toolkit that employers can use to implement pro-diversity policies and to avoid discrimination in the workplace.

The campaign also involves events, seminars, conferences and a range of other activities, including ongoing public relations. In 2004 the campaign achieved over 860 print and on-line articles and over 100 television and radio broadcasts. A range of country-specific events consistent with the campaign's goals are also promoted by the campaign.

Outcomes and Evaluation

We are not aware if any impact evaluations have been conducted. However, the website reports that in 2005 the truck tour visited 15 countries with 22 stops, the run for diversity attracted 7000 people through nine cities, 310 entries were received for the journalist award, the website attracted 106,000 visitors in November 2005 (highest ever monthly figure, and, overall, that "the campaign reached almost 300 million people across the EU". This figure is based on the previous activities plus estimates of audience exposure to media articles and reports about the campaign.

Contact Information

http://www.stop-discrimination.info

Media Consulta (the agency involved in developing the campaign) http://www.media-consulta.com

2.4 Ireland

Two campaigns are described here, the first – "Know Racism" - was implemented in 2001-2003 and the second – the National Action Plan Against Racism (NAPAR) - was launched in March 2006. The NAPAR states that the earlier Know Racism campaign was to be integrated into the NAPAR.

2.4.1 "Know Racism" 2001-2003

Background

This campaign developed as a national anti-racism awareness program run by a steering group appointed by the government and in partnership with the Department of Justice, Equality and law Reform. The program's aim was to help build the conditions that would work towards an inclusive society where racism would be effectively addressed and cultural diversity would be valued.

Initial work in 2001 focused on reviewing existing research on racism attitudes in Ireland, initiating community grants, designing an emblem, conducting a launch and commencing some partnership activities. A six phased national newspapers and billboards mass media campaign was conducted in 2002 – 2003 after *Know Racism* had begun to establish itself.

Target Groups and Behavioural Objectives

While the various community development activities facilitated by the campaign would have their own target groups, the advertising component appeared to target Irish adults in general.

It is likely that the national advertising campaign helped to provide a favourable context for the various community development and partnership activities, which would have provided opportunities to further the above aims and to work on challenging racism in local communities.

Communication Objectives and Message Strategies

The advertising component appeared designed to:

    (i)   Increase awareness of racism and prejudice; and
    (ii)   Facilitate acceptance of people from diverse cultural backgrounds in Ireland.

One overall aim was to increase the salience of the need for people to deal with racism and prejudice, and, from its branding logo, to declare that the state would not tolerate racism and that people should be more informed about racism. The *Know Racism* logo was constructed in a way such that both "Know Racism" and "No Racism" stood out, implying that the community needed to know more about the racism that is occurring in order to challenge it.
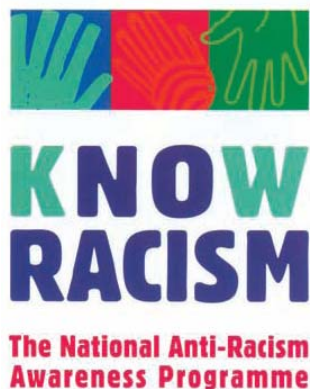
A basic message strategy of the campaign was that despite the obvious differences between cultural groups, if you "just look around" you'll find that we all have considerable things in common (such as through the ordinary things we do in our lives and the valuable ways we contribute to our community), and that these similarities are what really count.

Some of the campaign materials appeared to focus on the communication objective of promoting the valuable roles that skilled immigrants offer to Irish life.

A further communication objective was to infer that racism and prejudice are learned behaviours, that can be challenged through focusing on the above-mentioned factors.

Basic Features of the Campaign

Billboards, newspaper ads, posters and a radio advertising campaign, embedded within a multi-pronged community development approach.

Mass Media Materials

Posters were designed that could be placed as newspaper ads and as billboards, and were rolled out in a series of stages. Examples of some of the posters and the text or partial text are provided below:

- A photo of a famous soccer or rugby player with the caption "He's part of a small ethnic minority. Dubs with All-Ireland medals", and text "If you want to see the difference in people, they're there. But if you want to see how much we have in common, just look around. Because in Ireland today you'll see people from many ethnic backgrounds, working, raising families, getting on with their lives. And occasionally winning All Irelands for their country. It's a measure of how Ireland is changing." This was launched in March 2002.

- An image of three devoted soccer fans of different ethnic backgrounds, with the caption "In the green army, colour isn't an issue". Launched in June 2002.

- An image of three children smiling into the camera with the caption "Kids know nothing about racism". Launched in August/September 2002.

- An image of an Asian doctor and an elderly female patient, with the caption "Which do you see – a foreigner or your doctor?" with text "... it's easy to see how much we have in common. The differences matter less as we all get on with our lives". Launched in December 2002.

- An image of a light-skinned man and a dark-skinned man talking at a building site, with the caption "Does prejudice colour your thinking?" The text refers to the positive benefits that immigrant workers bring to Ireland and that they get involved in the local community. This was also launched in December 2002, to occur simultaneously with the previous poster to build on other advertisements as part of Anti-Racist Workplace Week in November.

- Forty faces of diverse ethnicities presented with a greenish tint, titled "Forty Shades of Green". Launched in March 2003, the poster text positions the March 21 International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination together with St Patrick's Day of the same month as "Two great days for Ireland to value what we have in common and respect what makes us different. A chance for us all to reflect and ask ourselves what we can do to stop racism".

Two further posters encouraged readers to be welcoming of visitors from different cultural backgrounds during the Special Olympics World Games in June 2003, and to keep this positive spirit of welcoming after it ended. A radio advertising campaign was also conducted to accompany a mail-out of a leaflet to Irish households.

A direct mail leaflet was distributed to 1.3million homes in March/April 2002 supported by a radio advertising campaign.

**Which do you see –
a foreigner or your doctor?**

These days, more and more people from different backgrounds are coming to live
and work in Ireland. Bringing with them skills, professions and experience that this
economy needs.

As we get to know new people in the workplace, it's easy to see how much we
have in common. The differences matter less as we all get on with our lives.
It is Ireland today - a good place to live, no place for racism.

KNOW RACISM
The National Anti-Racism
Awareness Programme

An Clár Náisiúnta Feasachta Frith-Chiníochais.
www.knowracism.ie

Community Organising, Community Development and Other Accompanying Interventions

The campaign was associated with a range of community development initiatives:

- Grants totaling 1.3 million euros were made to support a range of local anti-racism awareness raising initiatives, including local anti-racism training, intercultural events, information booklets, interactive drama workshops, etc.
- A Myths Fact Sheet was developed specifically on misperceptions about asylum seekers.
- *Know Racism* worked in partnership with the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism and the Equality Commission for Northern Ireland to develop events for the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the European Week Against Racism, as a joint initiative between Ireland and Northern Ireland.
- Co-funding of the intercultural television series "Mono" (see http://www.rte.ie/tv/mono/index.html) and the production of a video for secondary schools stemming from the series.
- Participation in Anti-Racism Workplace Week and Traveller Focus Week.

- Launch of a Charter Against Racism in Sport.
- Involvement in a range of other special events and activities (St Patrick's Day parade, 2003 Special Olympics, etc).

A public relations strategy was conducted to obtain free media during the campaign's launch and subsequent stages, involving interviews on regional and national television, radio and print media. Information packs and media packs were developed, and by the end of 2003 the website had attracted almost 1.4 million hits.

Outcomes and Evaluation

Know Racism included qualitative and quantitative research investigating racial attitudes in Ireland. This was conducted during the campaign, but apparently not to evaluate campaign effectiveness. Rather, the research was designed to obtain data on existing attitudes. However, this research did find that after two years of the campaign only 23% of respondents claimed to be aware of the campaign and only 19% recognized the campaign logo (the national advertising budget was approximately 1 million euros; the direct mail leaflet was 0.5 million euros; PR and launches was 0.3 million euros). In spite of substantial research funding and the overall funding, the published 'evaluation' of the program appears to have been simply impressionistic (NAPAR, 2005).

An evaluation was conducted of the first two rounds of community-based grants in order to inform subsequent grant rounds.

Comments

This campaign used the common anti-racism theme that acknowledges differences, but stresses that the similarities are more important than the differences (e.g., "Different but the same: All Victorian" , Cultural Diversity Week in Victoria; "One Scotland. Many Cultures"; "More Alike than Unalike", USA). People from different cultural backgrounds are shown in socially valued roles (through work, sports, etc), and having the same ordinary interests in getting on with life.

A feature of this campaign is its mix of media advertising, media advocacy and community development initiatives. While the Living in Harmony initiative involved a predominantly community development approach with some (limited) media advertising support, and while other campaigns such as *Just Like You* operated mainly as a media campaign, *Know Racism* appeared to involve significant levels of both components. However, the low awareness of this campaign (and others) suggests that campaigns not supported by paid television advertising have difficulty in reaching a substantial proportion of the population. Given that media have a sensitizing effect to local community-based activities, it is likely that the community activities would have had more impact if supported by a greater paid media presence.

Know Racism was a branding for a *program* that weaved together a range of strategies – including an advertising strategy – over three years. While *Know Racism* did not have the longevity, organisational status or government independence of the *Zero Tolerance* campaign (http://www.zerotolerance.org.uk) that we reviewed in our earlier report for VicHealth on

campaigns regarding Violence Against Women, it appeared to have a similar status in terms of being an entity with its own branding that conducted a range of activities over time – with these activities arising and evolving over the course of the program rather than being pre-determined. In this sense, the program was a 'living entity' in which activities were strategically and opportunistically determined along the way, with some ongoing components (branding, media advertising campaign, grants program, etc) providing consistency across time. Indeed, it was several months after the launch of the program and the commencement of its initial activities that the advertising campaign began, and it appeared that community development activities continued for a while after the program's funding was greatly reduced and the media campaign ended.

Contact Information

The campaign website (http://www.knowracism.ie) has recently become redirected to http://www.diversityireland.ie.

The National Action Plan Against Racism contains information about *Know Racism* from pages 138 and from 157, at http://www.justice.ie/80256E010039C5AF/vWeb/flJUSQ696JJX-en/$File/NPARen.pdf

2.4.2 National Action Plan Against Racism (NPAR) campaign: March-April 2006

The National Action Plan Against Racism developed in 2005 followed and subsumed the Know Racism program. Here we review the advertising campaign that launched the Plan.

Background

A six-week national radio advertising campaign was conducted as part of NAPAR, a three-year multi-pronged (2005-2008) plan to tackle racism in Ireland by the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform. This comprehensive plan focuses on: protection for people subjected to racism; economic inclusion and equality of opportunity (including through measures to address poverty); accommodating diversity in service provision; recognition and awareness of diversity; and promoting full participation in Irish society. This coordinated and multi-sectoral approach to challenging racism provides the context within which this national advertising campaign sits.

Target Groups and Behavioural Objectives

According to the advertising campaign's press release, the campaign aims to "reflect the new multicultural Ireland in which we now live and to place inclusion and diversity in its proper modern context as an everyday reality." No specific behavioural objectives are evident in the campaign materials or the advertising content. The target audience appears to be all members of the population, including ethnic groups. (http://host2.equinox.ie/diversitynews/procontent/News/upload/File/ Radio%20Marketing%20Release.doc)

Communication Objectives and Message Strategies

From listening to the radio commercials, the main communication objectives appear to be consistent with creating a social norm of acceptance of cultural diversity. The main messages appear to:

1. Demonstrate that modern Ireland has become a culturally diverse society, and that previous attitudes of intolerance or prejudice are now out-of-date.
2. Encourage people to acknowledge the positive contributions that immigrants are making to Irish society.

Basic Features of the Campaign

Five radio commercials, each featuring a different ethnic group: African; Brazilian; Chinese; Indian; and Polish.

Mass Media Materials

The radio commercials are as follows:

- A teacher commences class through a roll call, involving names and accents (in terms of the children's replies of "here") from a range of cultural groups.

- A brother and a sister (or possibly two friends) have a conversation. The female starts talking about a Brazilian guy she is starting to see, and the male starts to interrupt her. She immediately begins to think that he is criticising her by virtue of the guy's race, saying quite strongly "Oh stop it, you're as bad as Nanna, this is 2006 you know!" The male continues by saying he was going to refer to him being "way out of your league", to which she responds with an indignant sound.

- An air hostess talking to a woman who's going to visit her son's in-laws in China, with the air hostess fumbling to understand that her son is married to a Chinese.

- A dinner or breakfast table conversation where a female doctor discusses with her family a new female doctor of Indian descent at her practice who wears a 'wrap around' garment. A male (assumedly her partner) assumes incorrectly that the new doctor isn't a local. Later in the conversation a young voice informs her mother that the 'wrap around' garment is called a Sari. This suggests to listeners that children are more multiculturally aware than their parents as they are growing up in a more diverse society than did their parents.

- A Polish woman helps another Polish woman with directions to the post office in English, and they then close off the conversation in Polish.

Each commercial ends with background music and a male voiceover saying: "Ireland 2006 is a changed place. Our society now has a welcome diversity as others are attracted to live here and to

make a real contribution. The National Action Plan Against Racism: promoting inclusion and embracing diversity." The words "promoting inclusion and embracing diversity" are then translated into a non-English language according to the ethnic group mentioned in the ad. Each commercial also gives the website address www.diversityireland.ie.

Community Organising, Community Development and Other Accompanying Interventions

The campaign was conducted in the context of NPAR, and was designed in part to promote the plan.

Outcomes and Evaluation

We are unaware whether an evaluation is planned.

Comments

This campaign, like many others, is consistent with a social norms approach. The campaign attempts to position pro-diversity attitudes as normal, almost natural phenomena occurring as Ireland diversifies. The theme of "Ireland in 2006" contemporizes pro-diversity attitudes, and the ads model pro-diversity attitudes and behaviours, contrasting them with the occasional more negative or uncertain attitude. In one of the commercials, the character who appears most 'with it' in terms of understanding another culture is a young girl, suggesting that children (who are often 'most with it' in terms of modern culture) are going with the flow in terms of how Ireland has been changing. This is likely to reflect the reality of intolerance towards some cultural groups being more frequently expressed by older populations, who were raised with different values than the multiculturalism of the more modern era.

Overall, the commercials suggest to people that attitudes are already changing, and that support for diversity is the inevitable direction that society is heading. Intolerant attitudes are positioned as 'old-fashioned' and 'behind the times'. Two of the commercials portray characters having some awkwardness in adjusting to the new attitudes, showing empathy for listeners who are in a similar position. This executional device merits further consideration as to its effectiveness in engaging viewers who might otherwise reject the message as a way of dealing with uncomfortable (dissonant) feelings stimulated by the ads.

Contact Information

http://www.diversityireland.ie/News/Current/New__Radio_Advertising_Campaign.html

2.5 Scotland

2.5.1 One Scotland: No Place for Racism: 2002 continuing

This campaign has been conducted over three phases to date. The first phase commenced in September 2002, the second in February 2004, and the third from February-April 2005. This review concerns mainly the third phase, though some of the campaign materials and evaluation results of earlier phases are incorporated.

Background

One Scotland is a Scottish Executive campaign that aims to "raise awareness of racist attitudes, highlight its negative impact and recognise the valuable contributions that other cultures have made to our society" (http://www.onescotland.com, "The Campaign"). The rationale for the campaign is represented as:

> 'Most Scots believe they are not racists and would like to live in a country free from prejudice. But racist incidents are still continuing to rise, currently standing at nearly 4,000 a year. This is unacceptable'. (http://www.onescotland.com, "The Campaign").

The latest phase of this campaign was launched in 2005 and aimed to highlight "how unacceptable racist language and behaviour is, how it affects people's lives, and to encourage more people to challenge racism." (http://www.onescotland.com, "Scotland Urged to Keep on Tackling Racism").

One Scotland is an explicitly anti-racism campaign that also focuses on promoting respect for cultural diversity. The campaign's website directly acknowledges the racism that exists in Scotland:

> 'Scotland prides itself on being a friendly country, welcoming of strangers. In reality however, alongside this culture of hospitality, there has also existed a long history of racism in Scotland'. (http://www.onescotland.com, "Racism in Scotland").

The campaign has been known as *One Scotland. Many Cultures* but appears to have been shortened (at least in recent promotional materials) to *One Scotland*, with a new logo of four hands of different skin colours joining together in a pattern and colour scheme that mimics the Scottish flag. However, the longer version may still be its official title. The most recent ads use the slogan: *One Scotland. No Place for Racism.*

Formative research was conducted to assist the development of the campaign, and tracking research of the campaign's effectiveness has occurred after each major phase of the campaign.

The campaign also has webpages specifically designed for youth, as part of a youth website that covers a range of issues (http://www.youngscot.org/onescotland/?a=d&s=142&sr=407&ss=426). There is also a campaign website designed for 3-8 yr olds - http://www.kiddiesvillefc.com – which explores multiculturalism through a fictitious football team containing players from diverse cultural backgrounds.

Target Groups and Behavioural Objectives

The third phase of the campaign appears to target mainly the adult community, with some secondary media (e.g., websites) targeting children and youth.

The main behavioural objectives are to decrease expressions of racist language and behaviour in Scottish society, and to encourage acceptance and valuing of cultural diversity.

Communication Objectives and Message Strategies

From viewing and listening to the mass media materials, communication objectives for the third phase of the campaign appear to focus on increasing awareness that:

- Diverse cultural groups have become part of the fabric of Scottish society, engaging in socially valued roles and contributing things of value to each other.
- Scots from diverse cultural groups lead similar lives, participate in similar activities, and make important mainstream contributions to society; people from other ethnocultures are still "an average Scot".
- A successful nation is one free of racism; indeed, racism lets Scotland down.
- Racist behaviours, including verbal racism, have significant negative consequences for the victims.
- Racism can spread quickly and 'infect' society, and hence everyone needs to take responsibility to stop it.

Basic Features of the Campaign

Television/cinema and radio commercials, bus-side advertising, posters and merchandise (e.g., mouse pads, pens).

Mass Media Materials

The following television commercials were used in the 2005 phase of the campaign:

- *Canada*: A commercial with scenes of a South Asian male migrant accompanying his son on the way to school, with the male saying "When we arrived in this country, we weren't sure what to expect. We wanted to play our part, learn about the culture, but also retain our own. People were unsure at first [this statement is accompanied by a scene of the two

receiving a strange look from a passerby, with the son responding by looking up with concern at his father], but before long, we settled down, and we've never looked back" (to scenes of his son being welcomed by others at school). A statement then appears on the screen that the words were actually originally spoken by a Scottish immigrant to Canada some 50 years ago. The campaign ends with a page that contains the campaign website's URL.

- *Virus*: To somewhat tense and pensive background music, a man (seemingly in an internet cafe) is shown typing up racist comments / jokes and emailing them to others, grinning and looking smug afterwards. A series of scenes then occur in which people from diverse cultural groups in various professional / occupational settings (a vet, teacher, etc) who use a computer screen in the course of their work, find that the screen blacks out. The commercial closes with the man who sent the email looking around and expressing concern/worry as the computer screens of others in the internet cafe are also affected, while the words "Racism is a virus. Don't spread it" appear on the screen. Merchandise linked to this commercial is a mouse pad consisting of an image of a finger that's about to touch a keyboard, with the caption "Racism is a Virus. Don't spread it."

- *Different*: A series of scenes of people from diverse cultural backgrounds perform a range of occupation, sporting or artistic roles presumably valued by most Scots (one of the scenes features a Scottish woman of Anglo descent taking Indian dance lessons). The scenes are associated with tag lines noting the person's name and a short (around 2-3 words) description that frames them as Scottish and as a local. The commercial also provides some intercultural expressions such as a South Asian man being shown as a Chinese martial arts expert. A poster used in the campaign consists of various images from this commercial with the title: "No place for racism".

We came across other television commercials but are unsure of when and if they were used by the campaign. One consisted of a scene of a man buying something in a shop owned by people of Pakistani culture, saying over the mobile phone "I'm in the Pakis". The commercial then shows a range of consequences resulting from this comment, in terms of harming relations between white and Pakistani Scots (involving anger and suspiciousness), including graffiti against the shop owners. The commercial ends with "One word many consequences". A second commercial replays these events without the racist comment being initially made, showing positive and harmonious relations between the groups.

Another commercial that might have also been produced during this time, shows people from different cultural backgrounds involved in a tug of war, with the end of the commercial revealing that they are tugging against a giant Scottish flag.

A radio commercial used by the campaign in 2006 in the northern hemisphere spring consists of people from different cultural backgrounds taking turns in reading lines from a poem. Two similar commercials used in 2005 consisted of people from diverse backgrounds each making a statement indirectly/abstractly connected to the previous statement, concluding with the voiceover: "Five million individuals. One Scotland: No place for racism".

Other radio commercials used in phase three of the campaign are described as follows.

- Two Scottish people from different cultural backgrounds toggling between their descriptions of the things they like to do, eat, etc, often referring to things that are usually associated with the other person's culture. Both people then simultaneously refer to themselves as being "an average Scot really". A female voiceover ends with "Scotland's rich diversity is something to celebrate. No place for racism: One Scotland".

- A Scottish woman introduces herself, referring to herself as an ordinary girl, and then mentions that her family is Chinese. The voiceover ends with "We have more in common than you think. Keep an open mind, and don't let Scotland down".

- A Scottish man starts by asking "Listen to my voice, what do you see?" He continues by describing some things that he likes doing (ordinary, typical things like football). He then says "Do you need more? Ok. My name is Mohammed Anwar. Now what do you see?" Then a female voiceover says "We have more in common than you first think. Keep an open mind. No place for racism: One Scotland".

- "Sticks and stones may break my bones but names will never hurt me" is stated sequentially by three children with different accents. A female voiceover then says "If only it were true. Racially abusing someone with words can leave scars that never heal. Words can be weapons. Words can also heal wounds. Keep an open mind. Don't let Scotland down. One Scotland, many cultures."

We also found two radio commercials that appear to have been used in an earlier phase of the campaign:

- A Scottish man talks about labels (e.g., in reference to clothes), and then describes how he's acquired a new label recently that has caused considerable social costs for him (e.g., falling out with his girlfriend), due to a comment that he made which he now regrets. A female voiceover says "Racist. It's one label nobody wants. Racism. Don't tolerate it. One Scotland, many cultures".

- To the sound of crowd roars, a host show introduces a Scottish person Alex, , initially in a positive fashion but then refers to him as someone who likes to tell racist jokes, saying "he likes to make people feel small, because he's too small-minded to accept them". The commercial finishes with the female voiceover "Racism. Don't tolerate it. One Scotland, many cultures."

Interestingly, although the ads include people from different cultural backgrounds, they virtually all (at least to our ears) have Scottish accents and are identified as 'different' primarily by their names or an explicit statement about their background.

Posters used for the campaign (that seem to have been produced prior to the most recent phase) include:

- An image of a necklace made of the word "Racism", with the title "One weight you won't want around your neck".
- Three lollies with love hearts on them and the words "respect", "fairness" and "equality" engraved on the lollies.
- A t-shirt with the word "Racist", with the heading "One label you don't want".
- A mobile phone with the campaign emblem on top and the words "no place 4 racism" on the screen, and the heading "Send the right message".
- A delete key (of the kind that's on a keyboard) that forms the first word of the title "Delete racism at work".

The main campaign website is also an important communication component of the campaign (in addition to the campaign's webpages on the Young Scott and Kiddiesville FC sites). In addition to providing information on the campaign and educational information including the different types of racist behaviours and the history of migration across different ethnic groups. The Speak Up! page contains a range of stories of people from diverse cultural backgrounds living in Scotland. Some stories focus on people's experiences of being the victims of racism and the effects that this has had on their lives. Others focus on people's disgust at racism and support for cultural diversity, and others on success stories concerning immigration. These are real life stories drawn from invitations for people to write to the campaign to share their experiences of migrating to Scotland.

Community Organising, Community Development and Other Accompanying Interventions

One Scotland appears to be primarily a mass media based campaign, though it is conducted in the context of the Scottish government's broader efforts to challenge racism. The "Making Race a Reality" under the "Campaign News" section of the campaign's website provides further information about these policy and other initiatives. The government also contributes funding to anti-racism activities conducted by non-government organisations, including the *One Workplace Equal Rights* campaign by the Scottish Trades Union Congress (http://www.oneworkplace.co.uk), and photographic exhibition projects (e.g., in schools) by the voluntary organisation Heartstone.

Outcomes and Evaluation

One Scotland has been subject to evaluations since 2002 and two waves of research were conducted before the campaign commenced. References for these evaluations are: http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/76169/0019421.pdf and http: //www.onescotland. com /onescotland/files/Racism%20in%20Scotland%20Apr04%20TNS%20System%203.pdf

Most of the *One Scotland* campaign materials reviewed in this report came from the third phase of the campaign. We outline the effects of the first two phases on attitudes compared to baseline levels, and then compare the effects of the third phase to attitudes after the second phase.

The first two phases of the campaign resulted in no real change from the baseline level assessed before the campaign in the proportion of survey respondents who self-reported racist views.

By the end of the second phase of the campaign:

- Approximately one-quarter felt it is justified to verbally abuse asylum seekers who get housing and benefits in Scotland.
- 43% believed that using terms such as "Chinky" or "Paki" is not racist, 28% felt that negative comments about people from other cultures are not racist if made in private.
- Approximately one-half were concerned about more people from other ethnic backgrounds coming to Scotland.
- 38% thought that race riots would occur 'soon' in Scotland.
- 62% thought that people from different ethnic or cultural backgrounds in Scotland expect too much help from the government.
- 45% believed that many complaints of racism are an over-reaction to "a harmless bit of name-calling", a percentage that increased from previous waves of the research (perhaps an unintended effect of the "Paki" ad).
- Approximately two-thirds believed that people from ethnic minority groups needed to do more to fit in with the Scottish way of life.

Some of the above attitudes had shown minor shifts after the first phase of the campaign compared to pre-campaign levels, but had returned to pre-campaign levels by the end of the second phase.

The research also showed negative shifts in the numbers of respondents who believed that Scottish people needed to do more to stop racism occurring and to respect cultures based on different ethnic groups.

It is important to note that this evaluation occurred after a phase of the campaign that focused on radio advertising and outdoor posters, and was targeted towards the workplace and to young people. Consequently, it may not have had the reach or impact of the higher budget first phase which had three television commercials.

Research conducted after the third phase of the campaign showed that the re-introduced television advertising did not substantially increase awareness of the campaign: 53% claimed to be aware of anti-racism advertising after the third phase, compared to 46% after the second phase (when television advertising was not used), and 68% after the first phase (when television was used). Furthermore, the percentage of respondents who were able to recall unprompted any of the specifics of the television commercials was very low: 18% recalled the 'Canada' commercial, but only 4% and 3% recalled the 'virus' or 'difference' commercials respectively. Prompted recognition for having seen or heard at least one of the Virus ad, or two of the bus posters or the radio ad was only 51%, suggesting that media weight was not high. Prompted recognition for the 'virus' commercial was 21%. However, the evaluation does not relate these awareness levels to media expenditure across the different phases. Hence the comparisons and absolute levels are difficult to assess in terms of effective reach.
Approximately 21% were aware of any of the radio advertising of the campaign, and of these, about one-half were able to recall an aspect of the radio advertising.

Concerning attitude change, the impact of the third phase of the campaign resulted in:

- No change in the proportion of people who self-identify as racist.
- Only 9% perceived racism to be a very serious problem in Scotland, compared to 23% at the end of the previous phase, and 15% before the campaign started.
- There was an increase in the proportion of respondents who believed that using terms such as "Chinky" or "Paki" is racist from the previous research wave (conducted after the second campaign phase).
- The proportion who believed that using physical violence against people from different ethnic backgrounds and their property is not racist increased from 9% (reported both prior to the first phase of the campaign and after the second phase) to 14%. The evaluators speculated that this result was related to the decrease in the number of people who perceive racism to be a very serious problem, in that physical violence towards ethnic minorities may be increasingly seen as *not* an issue of race. This speculation is not convincing. The difference may simply be due to sampling error.
- There were some positive shifts in attitudes: 78% compared to 73% at the previous wave of research thought that people in Scotland ought to do more to stop racism; 21% compared to 25% agreed that people are justified in verbally attacking asylum seekers who receive housing and benefits; 56% compared to 62% that people from different ethnic or cultural backgrounds in Scotland expect too much help from the government; 31% compared to 38% that there's a real danger of race riots occurring soon in parts of Scotland; 45% compared to 52% were worried about more people from other ethnic backgrounds coming to Scotland; and an increase from 53% to 61% that people from different ethnic backgrounds enrich Scottish culture.

The evaluators compared attitudes among those who had seen or heard a commercial from the campaign with those who had not. Exposure to the campaign was generally associated with more positive attitudes, but not to a significant degree.

Comments

There were a number of limitations to the research. Attitudes were measured before the commencement of the first phase of the campaign (indeed on two occasions), but at subsequent times were measured only after the campaign phases. With a gap of 12 months or more between waves, it is possible that attitudinal changes between the two measurements might have been as much to do with other social and political events that occurred during this period than the two months or so of the actual campaign. Some of the 'agree-disagree' attitudinal measures that fluctuated widely may simply be unreliable. It is our opinion that such measures may be useful for constructing anti-racism scales, but not for single item interpretation. Furthermore, the evaluation does not specifically measure social norms where some change might be expected given the nature of the campaign.

One Scotland is the largest-scale anti-racism / pro-diversity campaign reviewed in this report. Unfortunately, the evaluation design has several weaknesses and the results are too mixed to provide a definitive answer of whether the campaign across its three phases has been successful in changing attitudes. The campaign also targeted only broad, global statements about racism and

diversity, and hence may simply have reinforced already existing positive attitudes and had no effect on negatives.

Overall, the evaluation appears of limited value in attempting to gauge the impacts of the various campaign phases or elements. The overall impression is that the campaign has had no discernible impact on the measures taken. Perhaps a set of measures based on the specific messages in the communication components would have demonstrated some campaign impact.

Another point of note is the use of Scottish accents for virtually all of the ethnic groups portrayed in the ads. A sub-text here might differentiate between ethnic individuals born and raised in Scotland versus immigrants and refugees, such that the former are acceptable, but the latter are not (as they are absent from these ads).

Contact Information

http://www.onescotland.com;
http://www.youngscot.org/onescotland/?a=d&s=142&sr=407&ss=426
http://www.kiddiesvillefc.com/

2.6 United Kingdom

2.6.1 British Commission for Racial Equality: Racism – Condemn or Condone, There's No In Between: 1998-1999

Background

The Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) website states that the CRE has statutory powers under the Race Relations Act 1976 to:
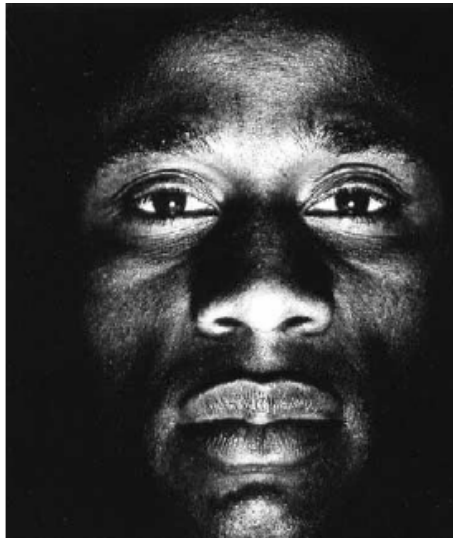
> * advise or assist people with complaints about racial discrimination, harassment or abuse
>
> * conduct formal investigations of companies and organisations where there is evidence of possible discrimination; if the investigation does find discrimination, the CRE can oblige the organisation to change the way it operates
>
> * take legal action against racially discriminatory advertisements, and against organisations that attempt to pressurise or instruct others to discriminate — such as employers instructing employment agencies not to send them applicants from ethnic minorities, or companies instructing their workers to discriminate in the way they provide goods or services
>
> * assist individuals to take judicial review action in order to challenge decisions made by public bodies, including their compliance to the general duty to promote race equality

The CRE developed the *Condemn or Condone* campaign as part of its ongoing series of campaigns at that time. This included its *Uniting Britain for a Just Society* launched in the mid-90s. We describe the *Condemn or Condone* campaign and then briefly mention a 'tease and reveal' campaign that was conducted in early 1998. Information on the campaigns was obtained indirectly via descriptions in two journal articles, and consequently the detail is scarce (Murji 2006; Vrij et al 2003).

We have not been able to determine whether the CRE continued to conduct campaigns of a substantial nature into the current decade, but it does make various posters, post cards and t-shirts available through its website and office. However, none of the currently available materials was used in the two campaigns described below. It may well be that the controversial nature of these two campaigns (Murji 2006) has led to the images from these campaigns not being available any more. In fact, the currently available images appear to have been used in campaigns prior to those described below.

Target Groups and Behavioural Objectives

The general adult population appears to be the target audience. The broad behavioural objective of the CRE is for people to identify racism as a problem and to actively take a stand against it.

(From Murji 2006)

Communication Objectives and Message Strategies

The communication objectives are inferred from the campaign posters shown here. The overall aim appears to have been to challenge negative stereotyping by presenting what appears to be the negative stereotype, but on closer inspection, is not.

The ads appear to have been designed to build tension in the viewer through the large heading and the nature of the images – such as in the poster of a close up of the black man in a way designed to accentuate his race. The tension is then relieved through the punchline. The ad assumedly invites the viewer to make sense of her/his initial reactions to the image and the heading, and to draw conclusions about what this means about her/his attitudes (and of others likely to have had a similar initial response). Humour is used to encourage this self-questioning, rather than confrontation as in the 'tease and reveal' campaign.

Basic Features of the Campaign

Billboard campaign covering about 900 sites.

Mass Media Materials

The campaign employed at least the three posters shown here:

- A black man's face is presented with the very large and imposing heading "SCARED?", and the text (in relatively very small font) "You should be. He's a dentist."

- An Asian boy looking somewhat forlorn with the heading "NO-ONE RESPECTS ME" , and the text "I'm an Arsenal fan".

- An Indian woman with the heading "IMPROVE YOUR ENGLISH", and the text "Perhaps this headteacher could help".

The posters were reproduced from the article by Murji (2006). All three are set against a dark background, with the heading in very large red lettering and the much smaller 'punch line' in white.

Community Organising, Community Development and Other Accompanying Interventions

It appears that the campaign was not accompanied by any community activities specific to these posters.

Outcomes and Evaluation

A 1999 public opinion survey reported by Murji (2006) showed that 70% of respondents thought that the campaign did help people to think about race equality. However, over half the respondents in Scotland and about half of those in Wales thought that the message was not obvious, as did about 27% of respondents in England. Furthermore, while one in four

respondents in England and Wales thought the ads were 'effective' (undefined), only one in 10 Scots did.

2.6.2 The 'Tease and Reveal' Campaign: 1988

The article by Murji (2006) also contains information on a campaign run in 1998 that was deliberately aimed at provoking reactions/complaints from the community through employing negative images of black men. This campaign exposed three posters on 150 high traffic sites for four days. The strategy was to deliberately expose people to seemingly real ads that contained offensive negative racial stereotypes and to gauge the extent to which people complained about the ads. The ads were:

- A scene of the upper deck of a bus, with a black man shown slightly out of focus in one corner and a white female behind him looking slightly anxious, with the caption "Because it's a jungle out there" (an apparent reference to black men as potential rapists).
- A mock ad for an executive recruitment company showing a white man on a ladder stepping on the hand of a black man.
- An apparent mock ad for sports footwear, showing the similarities between a leaping monkey and the body shape of a black basketball player.

The mock ads were intended to be replaced by a poster with the message that racism can't be ignored and that people need to take personal responsibility to not tolerate it: "What was worse, this ad or your failure to complain about it?" However far fewer people telephoned to complain about the campaign than expected (about fifty), suggesting that the posters were largely unattended to and hence the 'reveal' stage would not be understood. In fact the ads later attracted considerable media attention – most of it undesirable.

2.6.3 Current Communication Materials

The CRE website currently offers a number of posters and postcards (below) that explicitly target racists and racist beliefs, and several that promote acceptance of diversity. For example, the 'brain' poster clearly denigrates racists (and racism) while the "215,000 people …" poster promotes diversity.
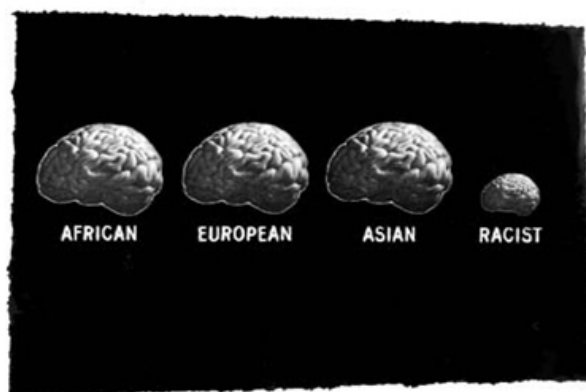
THERE ARE LOTS OF PLACES IN BRITAIN
WHERE RACISM DOESN'T EXIST.

AFRICAN   EUROPEAN   ASIAN   RACIST

HERE   HERE   HERE   HERE   HERE

AND YOU GET ANNOYED ABOUT JUNK MAIL.

MOVE.

DON'T LIKE YOUR
NEIGHBOURS?

Comments

Vrij et al (2003) criticise the *Condemn or Condone* campaign because it does not include positive similarities between the in-group and out-group, and presents images in an overall negative context – two factors that they found important in a field/laboratory study using systematic modifications of ads previously used by CRE. This controlled study by Vrij and Smith (1999) showed that people exposed to some previous CRE posters prior to *Condemn or Condone* (and still on the CRE website) had increased prejudice scores.

Murji (2006) also critiques the *Condemn or Condone* campaign's use of ads that present negative images and racial stereotypes. Murji argues that viewers may not perceive the ads in the ways that the campaign developers intended, and if so, the process in which the negative stereotypes are negated may not occur among all viewers. In fact, there is the danger that the ads could actually reinforce the stereotypes they are attempting to counter (for example of dark skin colour being associated with criminality).

We agree. The authors have previous experience pre-testing communications about Aboriginal land rights issues. Although the report is no longer available from the then government client, these pre-tests showed that presenting negative images of Aboriginal people simply reinforced existing

215,000 people, 40 languages, 14 faiths, 1 city.

Abdul, Bedford Place

Diane, Sholing

Angelica, Upper Shirley

Yalcin, Coxford

James, Lordshill

Shemia, Newtown

Charlotte, Millbrook

Abdi, Northam

Victoria, City Centre

Ian, Millbrook

David, Highfield

Catherine, Bitterne

Philip, Shirley

Charanjeet, Newtown

Carol, Lordswood

Tony, Bedford Place

Gosia, Shirley

Sandra, Woolston

Phillip, Shirley

Minnie, Millbrook

Nicola, Lower Shirley

Abdul-Aziz, Newtown

Angie, Freemantle

Marilyn, Regents Park

Gurdial, Newtown

Lucy, Lower Shirley

Michelle, Shirley

George, Thornhill

Terence, Sholing

Hazel, Woolston

Mohamed, Newtown

Southampton has always been a multi-cultural city and we value the diversity of our local communities. These communities and the individuals within them have always shown understanding for one another. This is one of our city's greatest strengths. By working together we will ensure that the co-operation which exists between all communities in our city is sustained.

SOUTHAMPTON CITY COUNCIL

Based upon a concept by
COMMISSION FOR RACIAL EQUALITY

negative images that people held – and distracted from (or led to rejection of) the message that granting land rights could help remove the causes of these negatives.

We note that the CRE relied on pro bono work by advertising agency creatives for their campaigns and apparently did not engage in any pre-testing of their strategies or the ads themselves. We note that pro bono work in other sensitive areas can also result in ads that have potentially damaging unintended effects (e.g., domestic violence). It is noteworthy that although Vrij & Smith (1999) showed that the existing Brains, Crime and Jobs posters had either no or a negative effect relative to controls, the CRE ads are still available in their original form on the CRE website. The modified posters tested by Vrij & Smith are shown below. The rationale behind their modifications is discussed in Section 3.

Contact Information

British Commission for Racial Equality http://www.cre.gov.uk

AFRICAN
IQ=100

EUROPEAN
IQ=100

RACIST
IQ=50

(U.N. STATISTICS)

CRIMINAL ISN'T IT?

WHITE
Car theft
9 months
Drug Dealing
3 years
GBH
2 years

BLACK
Car theft
18 months
Drug Dealing
6 years
GBH
4 years
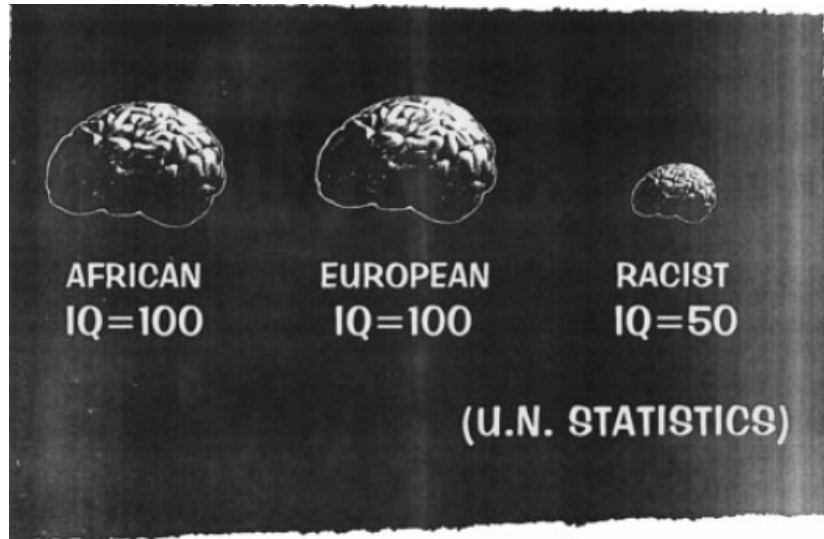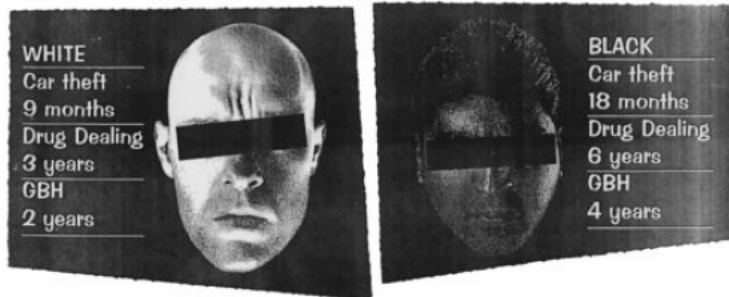
Black people get longer sentences for the same crimes.

(HOME OFFICE STATISTICS)

GIVE BLACK PEOPLE AN OPPORTUNITY

AND THEY WILL BE SUCCESSFUL

Figure 6.   Alternative 'jobs' (Card 6)

From Vrij & Smith (1999, pps 203-205).

2.7 USA

2.7.1 More Alike than Unlike, 2002

Background

This apparently one-off campaign was developed by the National Conference for Community and Justice (NCCJ) and launched in 2002. The broad aim of the campaign was to "encourage a dialogue among family, friends and community members about their own experiences and what their community is doing to join the fight against bias, bigotry and racism" (http://www.nccj.org/nccj/_nccj.nsf/articleall/4552?opendocument&1). The intention was to promote open discussion about prejudice and discrimination in ways that would challenge people's fears of others who are perceived to be different (because of race, gender, sexual preference, etc), and to therefore work towards a society that is more accepting of diversity, inclusive and socially just. The focus of the campaign was broader than racism, being inclusive of other forms of prejudice. This breadth, and the fact that it focused on prejudice (of various forms) exhibited by all ethnic groups, make this campaign different from the other campaigns reviewed.

The campaign was extended in a second phase to encourage dialogue among Latino communities on these issues. Our review will consider only the first phase.

Target Groups and Behavioural Objectives

The target audience included all adult Americans from a range of cultural backgrounds – not just white Americans – with the aim to encourage them to reduce their prejudice and to "fight against prejudice" in their communities. The target audiences were encouraged to visit the NCCJ website.

Communication Objectives and Message Strategies

The campaign attempted to motivate audiences to visit the NCCJ website through the following key message themes:

- Everyone learns to discriminate against people who appear different to them, and that this fear and distrust starts in childhood.
- We are really more alike than unlike.
- You can make a choice to change if you are willing to, and you can make a choice to fight against prejudice in your community.

From viewing the campaign's PSAs it appears that the campaign was trying – in a sense - to *normalise* prejudice in that it was saying that it is something all people learn at an early age and across cultural groups. By doing so it appeared to attempt to establish empathy with the audience, establish credibility, and pre-empt counter arguing to later messages by making it non-threatening for people to admit to their own prejudiced behaviours and that of others.

Basic Features of the Campaign

Television, radio and print PSAs

Mass Media Materials

The television commercial ("School pictures") shows four young children (aged approximately 5-6, two of each gender) of different ethnic backgrounds (including one from an Anglo background) having their picture taken. As each child sits and smiles at the cameras, a single word is flashed on their image (similar to a police 'mug shot) as we hear the click of the camera shutter, one for each child: "bigot", "homophobe", "anti-Semite" and "sexist". Noted poet, author, actress and activist Dr Maya Angelou provides the voiceover beginning at the second child: "We all learn to discriminate at an early age. The question is, are we willing to change. Lead the fight against prejudice. To learn how, visit n-c-c-j dot org. My name is Maya Angelou".

The radio PSA consists of a monologue of Dr Angelou similar to the voiceover of the tv PSA. The poster appearing on the campaign's web page consists of a young smiling boy, with boxes next to the four labels mentioned above, along with "racist" and "none of the above".

Community Organising, Community Development and Other Accompanying Interventions

It can be assumed that the NCCJ website at the time provided information on how people can act against prejudice, given that the campaign's main call to action was to visit the site. There may have been other activities but there is little further information on the website.

Outcomes and Evaluation

There appears to be no evaluation of the campaign's impact. However it is claimed that the campaign had 'reached' 26 million people by 2004 (http://www.nccj.org/nccj/ nccj.nsf/subarticleall/428?opendocument; accessed 4 June 2006).

Comments

This campaign attempts to focus on a range of prejudices expressed by a range of cultural groups. One of the potential problems of having such a wide focus is the potential for the audience to attune to only certain aspects of prejudice, and to possibly reinforce inappropriate beliefs. For example, while the word "bigot" was flashed in front of a White American girl, given the message that people from all groups are prejudiced (including the image of a Black American boy), it is possible that the campaign could stimulate beliefs among White Americans that "see, blacks are prejudiced against us too".

By stressing that *we all* become prejudiced and that we do so through *learning prejudice at an early age*, the campaign assumedly was attempting to reduce the negative self-perceptions that can occur when one admits to being prejudiced, and the social criticisms that can arise if one raises issues of prejudice within one's natural settings. While we do not know if this was an intentional strategy of the campaign, by reducing the barriers to admitting one's own prejudice and discussing how it occurs in one's environments, the campaign would make it easier for people to notice prejudice and to act to make changes.

The campaign's apparent normalising of prejudice – whether intentional or not – presents an interesting dilemma. While this may make it easier for people to think and talk about prejudice, it could have the effect of enhancing people's perceptions that many other people feel the same away about (the minority group) too, hence inferring that the social norm is to have negative beliefs about the out-group. However, in these executions, the use of quite strong terminology ("bigot", "homophobe", etc), may act to reduce this tendency as only a minority would want to associate themselves as part of a group where overt bigotry is explicitly the norm.

The campaign also raises the issue of how to stimulate productive thinking and action around prejudice by reducing the personal and social costs of doing so. In the current Australian context, the personal and interpersonal barriers to admitting racism are considerable. To allege that someone has conducted an act of racism has become so equated with attacking their personal character that it is likely that many people are quite defensive and closed about their own racist behaviour, in order to not have to self-identify as (or being) 'racist'. Strategies that make it easier for people to admit to their own racist behaviour (as per positioning racism as something that we've all learned rather than as a manifestation of 'bad character'), should be investigated to assess whether they could be effective if delivered carefully and in a way that minimises backlash.

Contact Information

The National Conference for Community and Justice: http://www.nccj.org
See http://www.nccj.org/nccj/nccj.nsf/articleall/4552?opendocument&1 for the media materials used in the campaign.

2.7.2 Akron Ohio: The Akron Beacon Journal 'Coming Together' Project: 1993-1994

Background

Following the riots that occurred in Los Angeles in 1992 after the Rodney King verdict, a journalist with the *Akron Beacon Journal* decided to do something personally about race relations in the Akron-Canton area (and surrounding counties). For the resulting series of articles aimed at improving race relations in Ohio, the *Akron Beacon Journal* won the 1994 Pulitzer Prize gold medal for public service journalism. After the initial series of articles the paper employed two people half-time (one black, one white) to stimulate interracial community activities. This campaign is included because it is a rare case of using public (or 'civic') journalism to challenge negative racist stereotypes and promote 'non racism'. The current website states that "even before the final stories were printed, dozens of community groups responded. As the newspaper started Coming Together, more than 60 civic, social, religious and educational organizations joined in the process. Within two years, there were 200 member organizations participating, and in December 1995 Coming Together was chartered as a tax-exempt, non-profit corporation". The organization continues in that form.

Target Audiences and Behavioural Objectives

The overall aims of the newspaper were initially very broad: to stimulate discussions of racial issues by readers of the paper. The initial behavioural objectives were to encourage people to contact the newspaper and to participate in 'Coming Together' activities. Right from the start, the Journal's readers were invited to "Tell us what you think" about race relations and "how blacks and whites can better understand each other", by faxing, phoning or writing to the newspaper. The newspaper periodically printed readers' contributions.

One specific behavioural objective was to sign and return a (1994) new year pledge to improve race relations in Akron (over 25,000 pledges were received).

Communication Objectives and Message Strategy

The communication objectives of the articles prepared by the journalists were: to provide reasons behind statistical differences between African Americans and whites (e.g.,, that when controlling for race, neighbourhood crime rates were similar across white and black areas of similar

socioeconomic status); to acquaint each group with the other's views; and to move people's beliefs and attitudes - and hence behaviours - towards some common ground. In the spirit of 'civic journalism' the idea was to present middle rather than extreme views, and to promote agreement rather than division and conflict (the normal fodder for journalists).

Basic Features of the Campaign

The series of articles, entitled "A Question of Colour", dealt with five issues: racial attitudes; housing; education; economic status; and crime over a period of a year. Each topic was presented over three or four consecutive days, covering several pages each day, and including a number of graphics and people photos. The amount of space devoted to the series was a clear indicator to the reader of the importance placed on the issue by the newspaper.

Mass Media Materials

The articles contained a mix of statistical information (e.g., percent home ownership by colour; percent occupational status by colour; etc); traditional journalism reporting and interpretation of past and current events; the identification of major changes and non-changes over the decades; reports on the results of focus groups amongst both blacks and whites that probed beliefs and attitudes held by the two groups towards each other (and post-group interviews with participants); and reports on survey research of the extent to which people in the community held various beliefs and attitudes. The result was articles containing strong personal components expressing attitudes and beliefs that readers could identify with. For example, the issue on schooling commenced with a quote from a 16 year old black student whose parents bus him to a nearby, predominantly white, school: "I think the teachers put more effort into teaching because they have more white students in their classrooms. They probably feel more comfortable with white students than with a lot of black students in a class". Next came a map of school attendance zones, statistics on race of students, race of teachers, and percentage of students in different grades passing proficiency tests. Then followed an article on the discrimination experienced by black children both inside and outside of schools, with quotes from students, families, and school staff. Finally, an opinion piece titled "Who's learning in integrated schools?" looked at the impact of colour on how students are treated, what is taught, what is learnt, and who benefits from the education process. The article was personalised by focusing on the prejudice experienced by two black students in a predominantly white school, and included a large photograph of the two boys with their mother.

Community Organising, Community Development and Other Accompanying Interventions

Following consultations with various community groups, the second in the series of articles was accompanied by a form inviting people and groups who wanted to become more involved in improving race relations, to register with the Journal. This involvement of the community evolved into the 'Coming Together' community project which continued after the Question of Colour series finished in December 1993. The Journal continued to support the project by providing office space and salaries of two part-time community coordinators to the end of 1995, when it was hoped that other funding would be obtained to continue the project. The role of the community coordinators (one black, one white) was to assist organisations get together for various one-off or continuing events, and to produce a monthly newsletter.

Outcomes and Evaluation

There was no formal process or impact evaluation reported. However there were numerous intergroup activities over the two primary campaign years and at the end of the first year, over 25,000 people sent in a new year's pledge to improve race relations in Akron.

Comment

The first author visited Akron and interviewed key people involved in the campaign. This 'evaluation' is summarized in Appendix 2. He (Donovan, 1996) argued that one of the major points of this project was that it encouraged people to express views and fears that they would not normally have expressed for fear of being labelled 'racist' or 'alarmist'. If such views are continually internalised and repressed they become more difficult to challenge and change. Expressing such views in an atmosphere of cooperation rather than confrontation is a first stage to changing negative attitudes. By the reporting of views and the reasons behind these views, the project also began to provide a greater understanding of each group's situation with respect to racial views. Apparently one of the key outcomes of the project was that whites - some of whom rarely interacted with blacks, and most of whom had never experienced discrimination of any sort and had no appreciation of blacks' experiences, became far more aware that race *was* an issue for blacks - an issue they face every day in virtually all areas of their lives. Similar ignorances exist among most non-Indigenous Australians.

Research for the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation (Donovan 1992) predicted a potential backlash on Indigenous issues around some slogan such as "Enough is enough" (which was in fact used by one Queensland One Nation candidate). A Civic Journalism approach was suggested to the Council as a potentially effective way to counteract or pre-empt this anticipated backlash, and for Reconciliation issues generally. Perhaps the impact of Pauline Hanson's One Nation may have been defused somewhat had a Civic Journalism approach been promoted by the Council and adopted by willing newspaper publishers.

Most campaigns have used paid or unpaid advertising to deliver their messages. Civic (or public) journalism offers another way of using mass and narrow media to deliver messages. Given that civic journalism is far less costly than media advertising, we recommend that VicHealth consider this methodology as part of any campaign in the future. Civic journalism also has the potential to have issues dealt with in some depth, and to encourage community activities. It is also likely to lead to improved reporting that does not reinforce existing negative beliefs and attitudes that are prevalent in the media.

Perhaps even more importantly, it appears to lead to sustainable actions – at least in the case of Coming Together. An organization still exists 13 years on with the following mission:

Coming Together Akron *is a* diverse community-based organization *dedicated to the principles* that every individual has *equal worth* that promoting an appreciation for diversity will build a strong sense of *community* and, that by bringing people together through *creative innovative mechanisms,* will ensure **racial harmony** *and* **cultural awareness.**

Contact

http://www.comingtogetherproject.com/index2.html

2.8 Other Campaigns in Brief

Several campaigns are described briefly below. These are not outlined in detail for a number of reasons: either because such detail cannot be obtained; or the campaigns were too limited in nature to justify inclusion; or they use mainly internet-based media; or are limited to particular groups and hence have limited exposure to the general population or even substantial sub groups within the population.

2.8.1 European Commission: All Different, All Equal

This campaign was conducted by the European Commission Against Racism, focusing on European youth. It involved the production of a cartoon book, a "passport against intolerance", educational materials, and an anti-racism video competition producing images that may have been used more broadly in the campaign (see http://www.coe.int/T/e/human_rights/ecri/3-Educational_resources/). It is mentioned in this review as it's theme of "all different, all equal" runs the risk of reinforcing the racism facilitating belief that prejudice is becoming (or has become) a thing of the past, and that affirmative action therefore provides an unfair advantage for some.

2.8.2 Children's Websites: Britkid and EuroKid

These are web-based animated interactive sites for 10-16 yr old children in the U.K and Europe to explore issues concerning racism (see http://www.britkid.org and http://www.eurokid.org). The sites contain a range of dialogues among cartoon characters representing everyday young people from various cultures, in ways that open up the issues for thought and discussion. The British site, which is the more advanced of the two, contains resources for teachers on how to use the site as part of classroom activities. The site is particularly created for young people who live or go to school in areas that are not ethnically mixed. [For further descriptions, see http://www.comminit.com/experiences/pdskdv42003/experiences-1324.html].

An Australian anti-racism site for teachers – *Racism. No way* – can be found at http://www.racismnoway .com.au, and has a more conventional approach as it is not designed as a direct site for students (see also http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au, an Australian resource for teachers on cultural diversity).

2.8.3 UK/Europe: Football Anti-Racism Campaigns

These campaigns include *Show Racism the Red Card* and *Kick it Out* (http://www.srtrc.org, http://www.theredcardscotland.org, http://www.kickitout.org). These campaigns involve public statements by star football players (including those who are victims of racism on the soccer field), and a range of educational (e.g., in schools) and community development activities using the medium of football and football clubs to get anti-racist messages across. These campaigns appear to have quite a degree of support among football clubs and take advantage of the general recognition that football would better-off without racism.

These campaigns and more general attempts to respond to racism in UK football, while welcomed, have come under some criticism (Bradbury & Williams 2006; Long 2000; Garland & Rowe 1999). While able to respond to the more blatant and conspicuous forms of racism, these campaigns are possibly less suited to challenging the more subtle everyday forms of racism that can easily go unnoticed. Furthermore, they are possibly limited in their ability to address institutionalised racism at more systemic levels. Nevertheless, they probably do contribute to and reinforce a social norm against prejudice.

2.8.4 USA Ad Council: I Am an American

This television PSA campaign was devised by The Ad Council quickly after September 11 2001. The ad can be viewed at http://www.adcouncil.org/default.aspx?id=141. The PSA consists of a diverse range of people (across age, race, religion and cultural background) looking proudly into the camera and saying "I am an American". It ends with the phrase "E Pluribus Unum", meaning "out of many, one". The patriotic feel of the campaign was designed as a counterpoint to the expected backlash against Arab Americans and other ethnic cultures after September 11. Some US$14 million of media air time was donated in the first three months of the campaign. We could find no reported evaluation of the ad's impact.

Although an understandable response to the events of September 11 in the U.S. context, in general we do not recommend 'patriotic campaigns' given that invoking nationalism might in fact intensify 'us' vs 'them' comparisons (as in the Cronulla riots in Sydney under the Australian flag).

2.8.5 UK: Love Music Hate Racism

This is an explicit anti-racism campaign (http://www.lovemusichateracism.com) with the objective of stopping the extreme right gaining a foothold in British politics. The campaign follows the successful Rock Against Racism campaign in the late 1970s, that helped develop a mass movement against neo-Nazism. In addition to supporting a movement against racism among rock and pop musicians, the campaign also involves posters, flyers, a magazine and other initiatives.

A similar organization exists in the USA: "Artists for a Hate Free America":

2.8.6 USA: Speak Up

Speak Up is a web-based resource that contains a range of tips and strategies to encourage people to respond effectively to racist and intolerant comments, statements, jokes, etc, in a range of settings (school, work, among family, friends). While racial bigotry is a prime focus of the site, other forms of prejudice are also referred to. Speak Up positions itself as a toolkit of resources, an online pledge to respond to bigotry, and a mechanism to support community groups and organisations to encourage responses to bigotry (http://www.tolerance.org/speakup/ index.html). The website's range of strategies for responding to prejudiced comments and jokes could be expanded by adopting Guerin's (2003) suggestions to counter the use of racist language by majority group members to regulate everyday social relations (see section 4 of this report).

2.8.7 Australia: United Nations 'Unite' Campaign CSA

This tv ad (made in 2003 or 2004) shows a series of persons making statements about members of their own group. The shots of the person alternate between close ups of the individual's mouth and broader head/shoulder views of the person [to show head/dress styles for group identification].

- An Aboriginal man begins with "Abos? Laziest bunch of no goods I've ever met" and then refers to them getting the dole, going to the pub and getting "pissed".
- A Muslim man states (in a 'foreign' accent) that: "You can't walk down the street without bumping into them", that they are the enemy and are "probably building bombs in their mosques right now".
- A Chinese woman states that: "You know the biggest problem with the Asians is you can't tell one from another. They come here in leaky boats and steal our jobs" and you don't know if it's "Chin, Chong or Wong".
- A Jewish man begins in a heavy European accent: "Money. Money. Money. The jews own everything" and states that it is a "conspiracy".
- A young man of middle eastern appearance says: "Lebos. Hate 'em. They just want to start fights and intimidate …". He adds "I don't know why they come here".

- An apparently gay man says: "You can't say anything about faggots these days" and continues "They are sick, dirty perverts. I think AIDS is the best thing that's ever happened to them".

The ad is then silent with the following words appearing on a white screen for 2-3 seconds: *It doesn't make sense coming out of their mouths,* and then fading to be replaced by *Does it make any more sense coming out of yours.* The final scene shows the UN logo and the word "Unite" on the bottom of the screen.

This ad was apparently untested and uninformed by any experts on racism and communication. We believe that it would be counterproductive in that it would reinforce the stereotypes that it portrays amongst already prejudiced viewers, and perhaps even amongst non-prejudiced viewers.

2.8.8 Malaysia

This campaign was conducted in 1998. It is included because it was sponsored by a corporation: Petronas. There was apparently no evaluation of the campaign and we believe it ran only for that year when the major festival for Malays (the Muslim Idul Fitri) and the Chinese New Year fell in the same week – hence an ideal opportunity to promote joint festivities. There may well be other one-off campaigns when these festivals coincide.

One tvc (television commercial) features a young Chinese male student whose studying is disturbed by music from next door. He knocks on his neighbour's door which is opened by a beautiful Malay girl of the same age. He is invited in and under the approving eye of an older woman the two start to interact.

2.8.9 Northern Ireland

As part of the peace agreement in the 1990s that saw a ceasefire and the establishment of a parliament in Northern Ireland, a series of ads were aired around several issues. Some of these promoted a 'confidential telephone line' for people to call in suspicious activity and hence threats to the peace. Others illustrated the effects of 'terrorist' activities (from both sides) on the families of both the victims and the perpetrators, and how the cycle of violence was passed from generation to generation, and stated that "Now's the time to Stop".

Several ads attempted to promote tolerance between the two main 'religious/political' groupings in Northern Ireland (catholic republicans; protestant unionists). For example one ad shows two young boys (about 11-13 years old) on a beachfront – running, chatting and exploring. The background song has the words "every day is like this".

While attitudinal tracking studies were conducted, the results are confounded by the multiple ad themes and general political activities. Nevertheless, it appears that the ads served to enhance optimism about the future amongst Catholics but reduced optimism amongst protestants.

2.8.10 Holland

Vrij & Smith (1999) report that several television campaigns to counteract ethic prejudice and discrimination were conducted in The Netherlands. However, the original articles are in Dutch and hence we have no information on the messages and executional styles of these ads. However, what is important, is that these campaigns had unintended negative effects in that they reportedly increased beliefs that 'ethnic minorities ate strange food, were criminals and made trouble' (Vrij & Smith, 2003, p 195). We cite these unintended effects findings to reinforce that pre-testing of communication materials is essential in this area.

3:   Review of the Literature

We undertook a limited review of the diverse literature on the topics of discrimination, racism and cultural diversity. We first present comments on various theoretical and conceptual issues, then discuss issues arising from research and how these might guide developing anti-discrimination/pro diversity campaigns. Much of the literature uses the term 'anti-racism'. Hence we use the terms 'anti-racism' and 'anti-discrimination' interchangeably in this section.

3.1: Theoretical and Conceptual Considerations

This appendix focuses on a range of theoretical and conceptual issues relevant to racism/discrimination and challenging racism/discrimination, highlighting the practical consequences for developing social marketing campaigns that encourage anti-discrimination and promote cultural diversity. Perspectives and research from sociology, social psychology and discourse analysis, among other disciplines, are drawn upon to highlight issues and complexities that are worthy of consideration when constructing such campaigns.

We have not conducted an extensive review of the literature. We have selected only a relatively small number of the available articles, books and research studies in the area. Despite this limited approach, a number of important considerations are raised by our review.

3.1.1 The relationship between anti-racism and pro-diversity strategies

While emphasizing an Indigenous context, Paradies (2005) argues that there are two broad types of anti-racism strategies:

1. Those that aim to ultimately eliminate the notion of "race" from society (therefore removing the power differentials between races), involving the transformation of the dominant racial group to form a new society.
2. Those that retain the notion of differences between races, but within a context of more equal power relations - an approach of "equality within difference".

The first is an assimilationist view that focuses on reducing (perceived) group differences and treating everyone equally - thereby attempting to make ethnicity and skin colour irrelevant. The second approach includes pro-diversity campaigns that positively promote different cultural identities in ways that reduce their marginalisation. An anti-discrimination strategy promoting cultural difference has the potential to affirm the positive social identities that people obtain from cultural group membership while challenging the hierarchy of privilege between groups (Kerchis & Young 1995). Paradies argues that "equality within difference" is the more desirable strategy because the first approach might reinforce "colour-blind" beliefs that racism does not exist to any significant degree or that race no longer matters in our current society - beliefs that are used by some people to justify attitudes and behaviours that are in fact racist. We would comment that both strategies could be constructive; that it is the execution of strategies that determine whether

or not they would be successful, and hence the need for thorough and comprehensive pre-testing of proposed strategies and their execution.

Campaigns reviewed in this report include both approaches, with some stating that people from different cultures – *with culture defined according to ethnicity* – have important similarities across them (e.g., Scotland; Victoria), and others emphasising the benefits of diversity (e.g., Ireland). However, the emphasis in many campaigns seems to be on stressing superordinate similarities '*in spite of specific cultural differences*'.

At a broader level, the choice of strategy reflects assumptions – articulated or not - concerning the nature of racism, and what an absence of racism actually means and would look like, how racism is perpetuated or maintained, and hence which anti-racism approaches or strategies are best employed to reduce it. These assumptions form a model or big picture story of how racism operates across a range of levels – intrapersonal (values, beliefs, emotional reactions, etc), interpersonal, intergroup and societal. They might be revealed in answers to questions such as:

> *Will the absence of racism be achieved when minority cultures in a society harmoniously assimilate to the basic lifeways and worldviews of the majority culture?*

> *Can racism be significantly reduced under conditions of strong nationalism and patriotism?*

> *To what extent are socio-structural factors in society – such as the power relations between different groups – responsible for the continuation of racism? To what extent is racism used by a majority group to maintain its privileged access to resources, and to maintain control over society's ideological beliefs and basic cultural meanings?*

> *What is multiculturalism? Is it about different cultures living side-by-side, or about learning from each other in significant ways that affect people's self- and collective identities?*

> *To what extent is racism subtly embedded in people's everyday language?*

> *Is the most powerful way to challenge racism to bring different groups together to have positive contact with each other?*

> *What does the phenomenon of symbolic or modern racism mean for anti-racism strategies?*

> *Is racism a singular phenomenon, or are there different patterns of racism made up of different combinations of particular attitudes and beliefs?*

> *What are the 'invisible' and unspoken processes through which campaign developers from the dominant/privileged group might unintentionally reflect or reinforce institutionalised and other forms of racism in how they go about developing and implementing the campaign?*

That is, the basic constructs that a campaign's developers have about racism and multiculturalism – whether explicitly articulated or not - greatly affect the brief that is constructed to guide the choice of target groups, behavioural objectives, communication strategies and message styles.

It is important to note that we consider anti-racism and pro-diversity strategies as separate strategies but with a common goal: the reduction of negative beliefs about and discriminatory behaviours towards CALD groups by the dominant group. From this review it appears that pro-diversity messages as a strategy to neutralize negative racist/ethnic/cultural stereotypes and prejudices are based on the (seemingly untested) assumption that if people's tolerance or acceptance of diversity in general is increased, this will generalize to acceptance of specific diverse groups.

The following sub-sections touch upon some of the political (in the sense of the power relations between groups), ethical, conceptual, theoretical and research-based considerations that designers of cultural diversity and anti-discrimination campaigns may need to contemplate before campaign development.

3.1.2 The multi-level nature of racism and anti-racism strategies

Racism is a multilevel phenomenon that is unlikely to be significantly reduced unless addressed at the institutional level (Carol 2000). Psychological interventions may be ineffective and even detrimental when the processes involved in maintaining power differences and inequalities remain unchallenged (Oakes & Haslam 2001). Indeed, Derman-Sparks and Phillips (1997) define racism as any act where the outcome is to reinforce an institutionalised system of power and privilege inherent in economic, social and political relations – even if this objective is unintentional.

Duckitt (2001) and Paradies (2005) emphasise the multilevel nature of racism by reviewing a range of feasible interventions at a range of levels:

- Perceptual-cognitive - changing the social categorisations used by the in-group to refer to out-groups.

- Individual – changing the individual's susceptibility to prejudice (e.g., parenting styles that teach empathy and nonviolence conflict resolution), correcting false beliefs, invoking cognitive dissonance, etc.

- Interpersonal –mass persuasion, supporting norms of tolerance, positive media images of minorities, multicultural educational curricula, creating favourable intergroup contact.

- Social-intergroup – social action, public policy, anti-discrimination legislation and other means to change the social conditions through which minority groups are discriminated against and marginalised.

In another useful framework, Stephan and Stephan (2000) argue that racism is caused by a series of threats experienced by the in-group:

- Realistic threats to the in-group from the out-group.[1]
- Symbolic threats due to the in-group feeling that its morals, attitudes, beliefs, values and standards are threatened by the out-group.
- Intergroup anxiety, where people feel discomfort and unease in intergroup interactions.
- Negative expectations of the behaviour of the out-group resulting from negative stereotypes, creating a fear of negative consequences and conflict.

The authors argue that these threats will be felt more strongly by people who particularly identify with the in-group. An implication of this model is that racism can consequently be increased through processes that highlight in-group identity and threats on one or more of these levels.

The Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC, 2001) conducted consultations across Australia on the issues concerning contemporary racism, and found that the causes of racism were ascribed to the following factors:

- Australia's legacy of colonialism, resulting in public institutions and structures that still predominantly take a monocultural approach. This was seen as the major cause of racism in Australian society, entrenching racism as systemic.
- Ignorance, fear and lack of understanding of cultural difference.
- The continuation of historical relations of power and privilege, with racism being a rational attempt to maintain the patterns of privilege.

Racism as involving "racialised social systems"

Bonilla-Silva (1996) presented a framework of "racialised social systems", arguing that social systems are structured hierarchically in ways that favour some races over others. The placement of people in racial categories develops and maintains unequal social relations, in which some cultural groups obtain economic, social, political and other forms of privilege at the expense of others. Groups at or near the top of the hierarchy are able to use their power inherent within this system of social relations to maintain their privileged positions.

Bonilla-Silva argues that racial categories (e.g., the term "Indians" in the USA) have been historically developed in order to justify exploitation, with the development of an intense focus on the "other" by members of the dominant group. He suggested that racism occurs when racialised social systems become entrenched and develop a life of their own, providing the "common sense" and "rational" rules of how to perceive and relate to the "other". Stereotypes of minority groups persist because they help to maintain the privileged position of the majority group.

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[1] These could occur through efforts by the out-group to change the nature of power relations that discriminate against them, resulting in possible threats to the in-group's patterns of privilege.

The conceptualisation of racism as systemic led Bonilla-Silva to stress the limitations of anti-racism strategies that focus primarily on individual-level factors. He argues that the relatively narrow view that racism results from irrational or uneducated beliefs can lead to unrealistic expectations that racism can be reduced through education. He concluded that ultimately racism will only be reduced through tackling its systemic roots.

However, as was the case with tobacco and other health promotion campaigns, targeting individuals initially can provide a positive context within which upstream regulatory changes can be promoted to legislators and policy makers at a later time. We would argue that sustained publicly visible anti-racism/pro-diversity campaigns targeting individuals would have a similar facilitating effect on attempts to achieve systemic change.

3.1.3 Difference vs Sameness

Several campaigns attempted to stress similarities over differences (e.g., USA; Victoria). However, Kerchis and Young (1995) outline several reasons why a broad strategy that positively promotes cultural diversity is advantageous over an assimilationist strategy that emphasises the sameness between groups and de-emphasises differences:

- Applying similar standards across all cultural groups would disadvantage minority groups who have historically been marginalised from participating in various social, educational, occupational and public spheres of life.

- In practice, assimilation forces minority groups to adopt the values, beliefs, norms, ideals, standards and practices of the dominant group. This results in the norms and practices of the dominant group being the "neutral" comparison point for all others. Groups that do not 'measure up' are seen as deviant, inferior or unwelcome. Furthermore, the norms and practices of the dominant group become seen as "universal" rather than as group specific (i.e., as norms and practices that all should aspire to). Consequently, members of the dominant group do not get to critically reflect upon their cultural norms and practices as choices that could be modified through learning from other groups.

- Assimilationist strategies reinforce the rugged individualism inherent in our society, by emphasising individual merit, skill and effort and de-emphasising the different starting positions that groups have by virtue of historical and continuing unequal power relations and systems of privilege. Assimilationist strategies may overlook the disadvantage of most members of a group if a few individuals from that group are seen to succeed (with the others blamed for 'not trying hard enough'). [Hence we do not recommend relying on celebrities from minority groups being used in anti-discrimination campaigns – they are too easily classified as "exceptions to the rule" by those with racist attitudes.]

- A strategy promoting diversity encourages marginalised cultural groups to be proud of their values, norms and practices, and does not pressure them into trying to be something that they are not. By affirming their identities, it helps to expose the norms, values and practices of the dominant group as culturally specific rather than as universal (and as having both weaknesses and strengths), thereby reassessing the dominant group's position

as the "neutral" comparison point. "Difference" can then become expressed in how the dominant group differs from minority groups – not just the other way around. Furthermore, these differences can be seen to benefit society through offering a range of contributions far richer than what the dominant group could offer alone.

- A strategy promoting difference opens the door for the perspectives of minority groups to be respected and listened to, as part of the dominant group reflecting upon its own norms, practices and institutions. In this ideal, the dominant group would not only welcome differences, but would appreciate and learn from the particular perspectives of different groups as part of a process of change.

Australia is far from the ideal expressed in the latter two of the above points. In addition to its policies towards Indigenous people and asylum seekers, the federal government is openly questioning the value of multiculturalism, and has publicly declared that people who come to this country who do not follow "Australian values" should "go home".

In this context, pro-diversity campaigns need to be sensitive to the particular climate that they operate within and not aspire to achieve overly ambitious goals. The primary objective of the 2006 Victorian *Just Like You* campaign, for example, was to emphasise some of the similarities between cultural groups given the increasing hostility directed towards Islamic and other cultures over the past five years because of increasing perceptions that they are different in negative ways.

Kerchis and Young (1995) attempt to address this dilemma of how to emphasise differences between groups in ways that do not reinforce negative stereotypes. They focus on the concept of *variation*: that groups have both similarities and differences, and that no group (not even the dominant one) should become entrenched as the comparison point for all others (who then become excluded when they do not meet the norm). Pro-diversity campaigns operating from within this conceptualisation would emphasise the similarity of different cultural groups within a superordinate theme used to unite diverse groups, for example, that all groups are working towards a positive future for society as a whole, and subtly decentering dominant Anglo-centric culture through portraying stories and images of what different cultural groups (including Anglo Australians) have to learn from each other. Many campaigns that we reviewed tend to not have a superordinate theme, or, if they do, it is a nationalistic one that might be counterproductive.

The dangers of reinforcing assimilationist attitudes

Many of the campaigns reviewed in this report seemed to go beyond promoting *tolerance* of racial/ethnic minority groups to the more positive theme of appreciating and celebrating *cultural diversity*. However, despite the language shift towards cultural diversity, the campaigns reviewed in this report appeared to give little attention to highlighting what this diversity actually means. It is likely that many people associate cultural diversity simply with outward symbolic and consumption-based displays of culture, such as cuisine, literature, art and clothing, or in some cases particular religious or spiritual practices and ceremonies. People probably have more difficulty appreciating the diversity between cultures through factors such as ways of relating and thinking about the world, and patterns of family and community connectedness.

It is possible that some people who appreciate cultural diversity in terms of the richness of opportunities it presents them for entertainment and food, simultaneously feel that they would not like people from certain cultural groups to live next door. In this NIMBY (Not In My Backyard) effect, 'multiculturalism' is valued to the extent that it provides opportunities to consume the exoticness and richness of other cultures, but without involving deeper and more local contact.

Lugones and Price (1995) argue that *structural multiculturalism* occurs when the ways in which members of a society make decisions, view the world, develop desires and ideals, and so on, are informed by a number of cultural perspectives - and when the structures of society (educational, government, other public institutions, etc) are informed by these various cultural practices. They suggest that a more *ornamental* form of multiculturalism (such as what is largely found in Australia today) that focuses on things such as food, literature and art, is insufficient to challenge the cultural domination by the dominant group. In this sense the dominant group positively defines other cultures predominantly through these ornamental features rather than through a deep valuing of their ways of perceiving, relating and being in the world. In this version of multiculturalism, people become fully accepted only if they assimilate to the values and norms of the dominant culture, with their differences defined narrowly through the above-mentioned ornamental features.

The more substantial differences between cultures are often not highlighted by anti-racism campaigns, presumably because such differences are thought to be too complex to represent in simple messages. Instead, the focus of many of the campaigns we reviewed emphasised *sameness* between various cultures and ethnicities. For example, some of the campaigns highlighted that individuals from minority groups perform valued roles in society (e.g., through reputable employment roles) in much the same way that members of the majority group do. An unintended but nevertheless implicit message behind this theme of 'the similarities are much more important than the differences' is that "we should think positively about members of other cultures to the extent that they do and act just like ordinary (in our case) Australians," that is, where members of minority groups are accepted to the extent that they "act like us" – with the 'us' meaning the dominant Anglo Australian culture. While the intention may be to appeal to sameness in a way that encourages people to expand their view of what 'us' means – that is, to have a more multicultural definition of an Australia made up of vital cultural diversity – it is possible that many people may view members of minority groups in terms of how well they assimilate.

Strict assimilation occurs when a minority group gives up its language and much of its culture in order to live in the dominant culture. What proportion of Australians today would wish that minority cultures assimilate to this extent is unknown, although some relevant data suggest a significant minority. In a study of the racial attitudes of over 5,000 Australians in NSW and Queensland, Dunn et al (2004) found that while approximately 85% of Australians support cultural diversity and are comfortable with cultural differences, 45% agreed with the statement that the Australian nation is weakened when ethnic groups 'stick to their old ways'. Furthermore, 45% of the respondents felt that there are groups that do not belong in Australian society. The majority (83%) of respondents agreed that racial prejudice exists in Australia. However, only 39% agreed with the proposition that Australians from a British background are privileged, thereby suggesting that a large proportion of respondents are unaware of the benefits that racism brings to the majority group. Almost 12% believed that there is a natural hierarchy between races (thereby expressing overtly racially supremacist views), with just over 13% believing that it is

important to keep races sexually separate (i.e., not to intermarry). Despite the majority agreeing that racial prejudice exists in Australia, 80% felt that they themselves weren't prejudiced against other groups.

The authors argued that representations of Australia and "Australian-ness" are potentially exclusive of non-Anglo cultural groups. The authors reviewed other research showing that quite significant proportions of Australians have relatively strict criteria for whether they consider someone to be Australian (e.g., that the majority would require someone to have lived in Australia for most of her/his life).

Unless communication campaigns provide an opportunity to highlight what people can learn from each other at deeper levels – including what members of the dominant culture can learn from minority groups – there is the danger that superficial appeals to diversity may result in people continuing to value other cultures in terms of how well they fit in with the values and beliefs of the dominant Anglo culture. Highlighting diversity in a more substantial way would need to be done carefully so as not to elicit the perception among members of the dominant culture that their values and beliefs are being attacked (see Stephan & Stephan 2000). [2] This dilemma is particularly relevant for campaigns designed to challenge symbolic or modern forms of racism.

3.1.4 Symbolic, New or Modern Racism

Sanson et al (1998) argue that it has become less socially acceptable to publicly make negative judgments based on race or ethnicity. They argue that this is now seen to contradict a sense of fairness or egalitarianism, and consequently a more subtle form of racism termed "symbolic" or "modern" racism has become more prevalent.

Sanson et al (1998) suggest that subtle racism, like old-fashioned or blatant racism, operates across a range of levels – individual, interpersonal, inter-group, institutional. However, rather than ethnic and racial minority groups being overtly criticised for who they are, the racism is expressed in terms of values and ideology. This racism, for example, calls upon traditional values of individualism, self-reliance and the work ethic to explain why racial and ethnic minorities should not be provided with affirmative action policies, as to do so, it is argued, would result in these values being subverted.

Sanson et al (1998) describe research demonstrating that many white Americans have ambivalent attitudes towards black Americans, holding both positive and negative attitudes. The positive attitudes focus on equality, social justice and humanitarian and egalitarian values, while negative attitudes are based on values such as individual achievement, self-discipline, etc. Sanson et al (1998) argue that while individuals from the majority group might increasingly support the principles of equality and egalitarianism, they might still hold negative attitudes towards minority groups by comparing them unfavourably according to cherished non-racial values. This racism is not overt because minority groups aren't being criticised by virtue of their race or ethnicity, but

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[2]   This sense of threat to 'Australian values' and to 'ordinary Australians' is often used by right wing parties to campaign against multiculturalism, immigration, etc (Mellor 2004).

because they are considered to hold different values (e.g., poor work ethic; little concern for education; etc) to those of the majority culture.

In the U.S., McConahay (1986, reported in Brief et al 2000) describes modern racism as the following set of beliefs:

- Discrimination no longer occurs as Black Americans have equal opportunities to other American citizens.
- Black Americans are "pushing too hard" into places where they are "unwanted", and are using unfair tactics and demands.
- The recent gains made by Black Americans are therefore undeserved and they are being given too much attention.
- Racism is bad, but the above are "empirical facts" and do not represent racism.

McConahay argues that this system of beliefs allows white Americans to maintain racist attitudes and behaviours while simultaneously believing that they are not racist.

Sears et al (2001) summarise symbolic racism as consisting of the following beliefs about minority ethnic/cultural groups:

- They are no longer disadvantaged through discrimination.
- They do not conform to the traditional values of mainstream society (e.g., they do not value hard work or discipline in sexuality, drugs, money, etc).
- They undeservedly continue to make demands for special treatment and receive such treatment from the government and other authorities.
- Affirmative action policies and other similar measures represent "special treatment" (rather than equaling the playing field from a position of disadvantage).

The authors stressed how the liberal values of equality and egalitarianism – combined with a strong sense of individualism – can in fact result in people holding positions that maintain racism, in that people employ these principles to argue that no individual should be disadvantaged through policies or processes that provide "special treatment" to a particular group – and that this gets in the way of egalitarianism (or in Australia, giving everyone "a fair go").

Furthermore, Sears et al found that symbolic racism develops from a combination of this value system *and* negative feelings/affect (prejudice) towards the particular out-group. That is, the theory of symbolic racism argues that negative affect towards an out-group is still an important factor in racial attitudes.

Dovidio et al (2000) focus on a similar concept termed *aversive racism*. They describe this as racism by people with egalitarian values of fairness and equality, who do not perceive themselves as racist, but who will nevertheless discriminate against minority groups when (i) it is not obvious to them that such behaviour would be discriminatory, and (ii) when they can rationalise or justify a negative behaviour based on one or more factors other than race. At the same time they attempt to suppress more blatant racist reactions.

Australian evidence points to the role that concepts of "special treatment" play in helping people justify negative attitudes towards particular groups. Pedersen et al (in press) found that a significant minority of their respondents spontaneously reported that Indigenous Australians receive special treatment in one or more of a range of areas (handouts, education, legal, housing, etc), and that these beliefs correlated with negative attitudes towards Indigenous Australians in general. The authors argue that values of egalitarianism – that everyone should be treated the same and equally – results in people having negative attitudes towards what they perceive as special treatment given to Indigenous Australians. McGarty et al (2005) found that only 36% of Western Australians saw non-Aborigines as advantaged, whereas 43% perceived Aborigines as advantaged.

In a discourse analysis of two focus groups of Australian undergraduate psychology students, Augoustinos et al (2005) found that principles of egalitarianism, merit (that people's effort and determination should be the main factors determining how far one succeeds) and individualism were used to express their opposition to affirmative action for Indigenous people within the University. The students were able to explain their position while perceiving and presenting themselves as fair and lacking in prejudice. While there was some acknowledgement of the disadvantage that Indigenous Australians faced, these were referred to only vaguely and were not well understood. This vagueness left open the possibility that the disadvantage faced by Indigenous people is due to the individuals themselves rather than the conditions they face as a social group, and that responsibility to overcome this disadvantage rests with them through their own application of determination and effort. A similar 'they need to help themselves' belief amongst adults in general was found by Donovan (1992).

Furthermore, students still argued against affirmative action (and for the principles of merit and individualism) even though on occasions they were able to understand the privilege that came with their own social position, and the limitations of individual agency in overcoming disadvantage (i.e.., the difficulty that Indigenous Australians face in getting ahead in Australian society). The authors highlighted how the ability to hold racist positions in a complex and contradictory web of beliefs is one of the major features of modern racism.

Pedersen et al (in press) found in their study that many of the comments made about the 'special treatment' provided to Aboriginal people were based on incorrect information (as did Donovan 1992; Donovan & Leivers 1993). They speculated whether public education campaigns could have a role in promoting the message that there isn't a level playing field and that some groups start from well behind the starting line in terms of full participation in public life. This rationale forms the basis of the *Harmony* Week campaign in Western Australia, though the general concept of the absence of a level playing field is promoted rather than corrective information to dispel myths about special treatment.

Challenging symbolic racism presents considerable complexities for anti-racism campaigns. Messages that invite people to hold positive attitudes towards minority groups based on appeals to egalitarianism, equality and fairness (such as the Australian euphemism that "everyone deserves a fair go") may backfire if they reinforce beliefs that everyone should be treated the same, thereby devaluing the social and historical context through which racial exploitation has become entrenched. Furthermore, they have the potential to reinforce beliefs that minority groups should be criticised if they are perceived to be threatening the values of the dominant culture

(e.g., in the form of asylum seekers 'subverting fairness' by 'jumping queues'; Pedersen et al, 2006). However, the slogan "*all anyone wants is a fair go*" was used without any backlash by the WA EOC campaign (Donovan & Leivers 1993). It is likely that the context would have considerable influence on its impact.

Limitations of the new/modern racism concept

Some authors have criticised the move to embrace theories of "modern" or "new racism", suggesting that current manifestations of racism are not necessarily more subtle than they have been in the past.

Mellor (2003) interviewed 34 Koori Aborigines and found that they were the victims of a pervasive array of racist behaviours from others, including name-calling, insults (particularly in relation to skin colour), harassment, being watched and being talked about. They reported discrimination in a wide variety of arenas, including employment, education and housing. They also reported that the dominance of white culture interfered with their cultural practices and community integrity. Mellor concluded:

> In sum, the racism reportedly experienced by the participants in this study ... constitutes a coherent complex of different kinds of verbal and physical behaviors, discrimination, and cultural domination and rejection that are experienced in diverse situations. In effect, these situations encompass all those that constitute everyday life: school, sport, shops, employment, public places, hotels, entertainment venues, transport, traffic, accommodation, and the socio/political environment. The racism is experienced to be present everywhere in society: It is experienced in ordinary contact with White people, including those who are in positions of relative authority and power (such as the police, teachers, service providers, government bureaucrats, and so on), those who without the benefit of cultural and institutional advantages would theoretically be in a position of equal power (such as peers, competitors in sport, the general public), and in the few instances in which participants are in a position of relative power, from clients, customers, or workers. This pattern implies that Aboriginal Australians can potentially experience racism every day.
> (Mellor, 2003, pp 482-483)

Mellor (2003) argued that the Koori experience of racism is far from subtle, and that it is clear that Aborigines continue to experience 'old-fashioned' blatant and intentional racism. He suggested that while newer and more subtle, unintentional and unconscious forms of racism may well exist, they are additional to old-fashioned racism rather than a replacement of it. He further argues that political correctness and the development of social norms against overt expressions of racism have not resulted in a reduction of blatant racism against Aborigines.

In a similar study of the experiences of 50 Vietnamese people living in Australia, Mellor (2004) again found evidence of both overt and more subtle racism, though of a less frequent and less prevalent nature than that experienced by the Kooris he interviewed in the earlier study. He concluded that the tradition of racism towards non-Anglo immigrants is still present in Australia.

Mellor's studies highlight the importance of researching the direct experiences that minority groups have of racism as an essential part of understanding how racism works in a given context. His studies also confirm that attitudes towards different cultural minorities are likely to differ, and that it may be difficult for a single campaign to focus both on Indigenous Australians and non-Anglo immigrants given the different patterns of racism they experience.

A 2005 study reported this year in The Age newspaper of year 10 and 11 Victorian schoolchildren's attitudes towards Muslims provides further support of the continuing existence of more overt forms of racism. This study found that two out of five schoolchildren agree that they are "unclean", and just over half that they "behave strangely". Some 62% agreed that Christians were smart, compared to only 36% for Muslims. Similarly, Poynting and Noble (2004) found that Arab and Muslim Australians report a disturbingly high frequency of blatant forms of racism expressed against them, and that this has increased since September 11, 2001. The authors argued that gender is an important issue that interacts with racism, given that Arab and Muslim females reported greater levels of racism than males, and that males were more likely than females to be the perpetrators.

The study by Dunn et al (2004) cited earlier found that Australian expressions of blatant or old racism were associated with forms of new or symbolic racism. For example, they found that separatist attitudes (e.g., that people from different races should not intermarry) were associated with beliefs that nationhood is weakened by cultural diversity, and that some cultural groups do not belong in Australia.

Furthermore, in a broad review of quantitative and qualitative studies from a range of fields, Leach (2005) argues that there is much more historical continuity to racism than what the theories of new racism suggest, and that the features of new racism are not especially recent evolutions. Walker (2001) in a review of the Australian literature similarly found that 'modern' racism has existed at least since 1945, and is therefore not so much of a recent development.

Virtanen and Huddy (1998) suggest it is important not to jettison the concept of a different form of racism to blatant, old-fashioned racism. While their study results created doubt on the ways in which new racism has been conceptualised, they found the existence of at least two expressions of racism – one based on more blatant racist prejudice, and the other on a resentment for the special treatment given to Black Americans, and on beliefs that they do not work hard enough and are unpatriotic. The authors argued that that corrective information about the disadvantage faced by Black Americans may have some potential to reduce opposition to affirmative action policies.

3.1.5 The problems involved with invoking nationalism

Some campaigns reviewed in this report have appealed to people's sense of national or state identity, encouraging them to think positively about various cultural groups in the sense of them being just as much an 'Australian' or 'Scot' (etc) as anyone else. These campaigns have essentially followed the theme of "one country, one people", using state or national identity as a

superordinate category to encourage a more inclusive in-group identification that incorporates out-groups.

As explained elsewhere in this report, the danger in this approach is that the majority group will simply extend its own cultural norms and practices to define national identity, perceiving out-groups favourably only to the extent that they comply with these norms and practices. Australian social commentator Hugh Mackay in one of the articles featured on the Racism: No Way website writes about the dangers of discourses relating to "Australian-ness", reinforcing myths of what it means to be Australian and "un-Australian" (http://racismnoway.com.au/classroom /Mackay.html). Pedersen, Attwell & Heveli (2005) also found a significant link between prejudice and nationalism with a community sample concerning attitudes towards asylum seekers, as did Pedersen and Walker (1997) concerning Indigenous Australians.

In focus group research with non-Indigenous university students, Augoustinos, Tuffin and Raply (1999) found that Aboriginal people were considered more favourably when they were perceived as not emphasising their Aboriginal identity and focusing more on an Australian identity instead. The students wished to de-emphasise the differences between groups and to stress the similarities, as part of everyone in the country being "Australian".

Augoustinos and Every (in progress) argue that this presents a very difficult situation for minority groups. On the one hand, they are excluded by the majority group and therefore undeniably categorised as the "other" that is distinct from the majority group. At the same time they are pressured to show allegiance to the national identity and to adopt the cultural norms and practices of the majority group. The authors argue that by invoking a sense of national identity and belonging, members of the majority group feel able to legitimately criticise and disadvantage out-groups without appearing to be racist, calling upon socially sanctioned discourse such as the "need to protect our national identity".

The authors suggest that this desire to perceive everyone as belonging to a national identity and to feel negatively towards those who hold on to or express their cultural differences undermines policies of multiculturalism and the expression of cultural diversity. Campaigns which focus on a "one country, one people" theme thereby have the potential to strengthen attitudes against cultural diversity by reinforcing a superordinate, national identity goal that places sameness above difference.

This puts the designers of anti-racism / pro-diversity campaigns in a difficult situation. Simultaneously focusing on similarities and differences would appear to be important – yet appeals to national identity could potentially worsen racism. Consequently, campaign designers need to find other ways of stressing the similarities between culturally diverse groups that do not stimulate the in-group to apply their own cultural norms and practices as the measuring stick for the extent to which particular out-groups are accepted.

Jayasuriya (2004; 2007) provides a multiculturalism framework for the superordinate theme. He states that the shared (superordinate) identity should be derived from an acceptance of a common set of social and political institutions, including a common language, rather than a core set of values (in our case core values of an Anglo-Celtic heritage). This common societal culture is that of a liberal, secular democracy. It acknowledges pluralistic lifestyles accommodating different

religious and other social groups. Nevertheless, developing communication strategies to enhance identification with this 'common societal culture' needs to be very carefully done.

3.1.6 The importance of language

Several authors and researchers have demonstrated how racism is produced and maintained through the everyday language that people use to refer to minority and other cultural groups (e.g., Van Dijk 1987). These studies highlight the vital importance of formative research into the ordinary language that people use to hold racist (and anti-racist) positions.

In their analysis of racism in New Zealand, Wetherell and Potter (1992) argue that too much emphasis has been placed in the anti-racism literature on individual psychological factors (cognitions and emotions) as explaining the existence and maintenance of racism. They suggest that racism is better explained by the social construction of ordinary discourse that enables justification and legitimacy of the oppression of one group(s) by another. They found that Pakeha (white) New Zealanders drew upon a range of concepts to legitimise racist practices, including (p. 177):

1.   Resources should be used productively and in a cost-effective manner
2.   Nobody should be compelled
3.   Everybody should be treated equally
4.   You cannot turn the clock backwards
5.   Present generations cannot be blamed for the mistakes of past generations
6.   Injustices should be righted
7.   Everybody can succeed if they try hard enough
8.   Minority opinion should not carry more weight than majority opinion
9.   We have to live in the twentieth (or 21st) century
10. You have to be practical.

Raply (2001) demonstrates how this is applied in the Australian context, using a discourse analysis of comments concerning Indigenous issues in the political arena. Raply demonstrates how direct criticisms of Indigenous Australians on the basis of race are generally avoided, thereby avoiding criticism of "racist". Rather, non-racial criteria are used to justify discrimination. For example, in the reaction against the Wik decision, Indigenous people were described as having an "affinity" to the land, whereas pastoralists and minors were constructed as active people who have *worked* for the land. Having positioned pastoralists and minors as more deserving of the land through highlighting values of the Protestant work ethic, the value of "a fair go" was then emphasised to stress that because of their hard work on the land it is only fair that Wik is overturned to ensure that pastoralists maintain their full rights to the land. This not-so-subtle use of language thereby continues the structural dispossession of Indigenous people, through calling upon the everyday values of the dominant culture to create a hierarchy of deservedness among different social groups. Augoustinos et al (2002) show similarly how concepts of 'togetherness', nation, practicality, equality, justice and progress are used to legitimise the relative disadvantage of Indigenous people in Australia.

Augoustinos and Every (in progress) describe a range of ways in which everyday discourse is used to support racist positions. These include:

- Denying that one is making a prejudiced comment (e.g., "I am not racist, but ..."; "I have absolutely nothing against them, but ...").
- Positioning their negative views as the natural consequence of the situation (along the lines of 'this is what happens when ...') rather than as their own particular attitudes.
- Using arguments other than race to present rational, commonsense reasons to make (actually racist) comments (e.g., "that taxpayers' money needs to be well spent").
- Presenting oneself and one's own cultural group positively (e.g., of being fair and tolerant), and perceiving other cultures as a threat that could potentially lower these standards (e.g., the majority group's generosity being taken advantage of by 'bogus' refugees).

Communication strategies therefore need to be very careful of the language used in communication activities, both in terms of the explicit messages and the reactions that the messages induce. Messages need to be tested in terms of the discourses that target audiences would use to make sense of them, or to dismiss or argue against them. There are a range of prevailing socially constructed discourses that target audiences can draw upon to dismiss or minimise anti-racism messages, both within their own minds and when talking with others. Careful formative research is required to elicit these potential reactions, and to develop messages that do not provoke them - or which anticipate them and provide acceptable and credible counter-arguments.

Pro-diversity discourses

On the positive side, Dunn (forthcoming; Dunn 2004) argues that there are a range of anti-racism or pro-tolerance discourses that Australians draw upon to form favourable attitudes. In a study of attitudes towards hijab wearing, Dunn found that four main discourses were used by people to explain their tolerance for hijab-wearing (in decreasing order of frequency expressed):

- The rights and entitlements for people to have freedom in religious beliefs and expression, and to follow their own religious practices. This was expressed by approximately one-half of the respondents who were unconcerned about Islamic women wearing a hijab.
- The need for people to have personal liberty and individual choice in their beliefs and how they dress.
- A much smaller number of references to Australia being a democratic nation that supports the rights of citizens to follow their choices (e.g., that "it's a free country").
- A small minority referred to Australia as being a multicultural country, and a rare few explicitly mentioned that supporting women to wear a hijab was part of challenging racism in this country.

Dunn concluded that Australians draw upon some very traditional and old discourses to support their positions of tolerance, based on the need for a society to ensure the basic human, civil and individual rights and freedoms of people. While spontaneous discussion of multiculturalism was

much less frequent, the results offer hope for the existence of pro-tolerance discourses that pro-diversity campaigns can build upon.

Approximately four-fifths of the respondents in Dunn's study stated that they were not concerned with hijab-wearing in Australia. Those that were concerned generally drew upon essentially assimilationist discourses to explain their position, such as that Muslim women should adopt the dress standards to suit the country they are living in (Australia). There was some evidence that those who expressed concern about the hijab saw it as a violation of what they perceived as the basic Christian nature of Australia.

In a further study of pro-diversity discourses, Thomas and Witenberg (2004) presented three short stories, each focusing on an event of intolerance/tolerance, to 11-12, 14-15, and 16-22 year old young people. The stories focused on discrimination based on cultural background – an Aboriginal person not being allowed to move into a street, an Asian person not being allowed to join a sports club, and a person from an English background being denied work – all based on negative stereotypes of the particular culture.

The authors reviewed different definitions of *tolerance* as part of developing the context for their research. They critiqued the concept of tolerance in its everyday meaning as *endurance*, whereby people can be prejudiced towards a cultural group yet still be tolerant out of a sense of enduring the group and deciding not to act according to one's prejudiced beliefs. This is quite a negative use of the term in that the majority group practices 'patience' as part of being tolerant to other groups. The authors therefore preferred the term *reflective tolerance* to stress a form of tolerance that involves being open in one's beliefs as well as behaviours, and the conscious rejection of prejudice in one's beliefs and practices (Thomas & Witenberg 2004).

Reviewing research from previous studies of tolerance among children and young people, the authors suggested that people hold both tolerant and intolerant attitudes, and that people's judgments about other groups depend considerably on context. They found in their study that young people rejected discriminatory behaviour more than rejecting prejudiced beliefs or talking about these beliefs. Furthermore, the main justification used for speaking about or holding prejudiced beliefs was the need to ensure freedom of speech as part of living in a democratic country. It seemed that this concentration on freedom of speech (in a relatively simplistic way) was a stronger impediment to tolerance than prejudice against others.

Thomas and Witenberg (2004) found that racial tolerance – which was supported by the majority of the students – was justified most commonly through a sense of fairness, equality, diversity, rights and merit. Within this theme, the youngest age group tended to justify tolerance on the basis of the similarities between groups; the middle age group in terms of the need for fairness to apply to all groups; and the oldest age group in terms of everyone deserving the same rights. This sense of fairness, expressed somewhat differently across the age groups, was by far the most common discourse used to argue for racial tolerance.

The second theme of justifications supporting racial tolerance was expressed as the need to be rational and reasonable, that prejudiced ideas are "silly", "stupid" or illogical. There was a strong emphasis here on challenging the basic stereotypical generalisations inherent in the stories.

The third theme of justifications – used by about 5-10% of the students - related to empathy for the victims of racial intolerance, taking their perspective, and acknowledging the harm that intolerance can do both to particular groups and to society.

Everyday social functions of racist language

Guerin (2003; 2005) argues that people's use of racist language does not necessarily only reflect underlying racist attitudes. He suggests that racist language can serve the function of helping people to maintain social relationships. Making a racist joke or comment can help the person to get attention, gain status or be admired, create laughter, or to keep social groups together. The use of politically incorrect jokes may gain particular prestige, with the person minimising the risk of social castigation by distancing himself from the content through means such as "I've got a funny story to tell. Look, I'm not racist, but the other day ...", or by using other means (e.g., "I heard somewhere that ..."). Guerin argues that frequent subtle displays of racism in everyday social situations could potentially do more to maintain racism than more blatant expressions of racism from a relative minority.

Guerin argues that strategies seeking to challenge racism through correcting myths and false beliefs – while they have an important role in some contexts - may not work in situations where racism serves a strong function to regulate social relationships. In this context, a racist comment expressing a false belief is less about the person trying to seriously argue the facts, and more about fitting in with the social group or regulating how s/he is viewed by others (e.g., to promote social acceptance). Guerin suggests that training people to respond to racist comments by *arguing the facts* could be quite a difficult ask, as it could result in the flow of conversation being stopped and the person losing status in front of her/his peers. This is a consequence that many would not be prepared to risk, and which may only result in the person needing to leave the social group if the challenges are repeated.

Consequently, Guerin argues that anti-racist strategies need to challenge the social functions of racist language rather than just the content. He suggested that people need new positive stories that they can weave into ordinary conversations to challenge racism that don't cause them to lose face and to receive ostracism from the group. Guerin provided some examples of these positive statements with respect to retorts about refugees arriving with inadequate English, such as "Many refugees speak a number of other languages and are helpful in translating for others" (Guerin, 2003, p. 39), and, as an example of someone interrupting a peer joking about being nervous when an Asian person was standing behind him in the queue: "That's strange; I hear everyone saying the same thing about you – they get worried when you're standing behind them in the queue!" (Guerin 2003, p. 40). Guerin argued that messages promoted in mass and other media could provide people with stories, jokes, urban legends, etc to use in response to racist talk, and that high-status individuals in everyday settings (e.g., teachers) could model these responses (e.g., when a student makes a racist joke).

Guerin argues against seeing his suggestions as *the* approach to challenging racism, emphasising that they do not replace the need for a structural analysis of racism and for interventions to occur at a deeper level. However, he suggests that anti-racism strategies can broaden their effectiveness if they also consider the everyday social functions that racist talk performs, and model

opportunities for people to change the course of these conversations in ways that gain them social acceptance.

3.1.7 Whiteness and diversity

As discussed previously, racism is perpetuated when members of the in-group see their own cultural practices or norms as "universal" or as somehow the default option of what it means to be part of a superordinate category (e.g., to be Australian). This process places the norms and practices of the in-group away from view and critical reflection, resulting in in-group members making judgments about the "other" but rarely critically reflecting upon their own culture. Indeed, members of the in-group rarely consider themselves to comprise a particular cultural group. While "others" are ascribed a particular culture (e.g., "Vietnamese") and possibly membership of the superordinate national identity ("Australian") if they are considered to follow "the Australian way", members of the in-group rarely have this double definition. It is possible that many Anglo-centric Australians take for granted that they are Australian, but rarely also describe themselves as part of a white Anglo cultural group. In this sense, they define themselves as model examples of the superordinate category, but their particular cultural group remains invisible. Whiteness[3] becomes the norm of "humaneness" through which "otherness" is evaluated (Saxton 2004).

Through this invisibility of white culture(s), the treatment of minority cultures becomes framed as 'non-racial'. By ascribing one's position as stemming from "what it means to be a true Australian" or from some universal sense of "humaneness", majority group practices that disadvantage minority groups are not seen to be a result of race relations, but as "rational" responses to the current situation, justified according to values such as egalitarianism, merit, etc.

Riggs and Selby (2003) argue that this invisibility of whiteness supports the continuation of colonisation practices, as it results in the dominant group uncritically applying their own worldviews and ways of being when dealing with out-groups – including when trying to help them. They suggest that it is vital that whiteness be seen as a part of cultural diversity – as a culture or set of cultures in itself that is both similar and different to others – rather than whiteness being the normative standard and with diversity limited to that between or among "others".

Support for this concept was provided by Saxton (2004) who conducted semi-structured interviews with Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians around the issue of reconciliation. The author found that while race was a concept strongly associated with Indigenous people and which strongly affected their lives, "whiteness" was not visible as a racial identity. Saxton argued that for reconciliation to be a liberating process for Indigenous Australians, it needs to acknowledge what it means to be white in Australia and how whiteness comes with systems of power, control and privilege that disadvantage Indigenous people.

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[3] Note that "whiteness" is not defined just in terms of skin colour, but also in terms of class, status, language and other characteristics (Colic-Peisker, 2005).

Schech and Haggis (2001) argue that the construction of the Australian national community in terms of whiteness makes it difficult for Australians to include diversity as part of their vision for Australia. It would seem therefore that the invisible yet powerful influence of whiteness is an important consideration for efforts to promote widespread community support for cultural diversity.

Moran (2003) agrees and suggests that the colonial history of subordinating migrant / cultural diversity through placing whiteness at the centre of nation-building continues to this day. Moran asks:

> ... who is doing the imagining of this national community? Whose interests are being equated with national interests? What are the relations of power and privilege that are impacting on the national imaginings, and being legitimated and reproduced through them? And conversely, who is being excluded from these processes? (Moran 2003)

Learning from each other: Contact strategies

The hegemony of whiteness is a complex and subtle issue that a single campaign would be unlikely to address or change. A campaign encouraging the target audience to critically evaluate what it means to be white could be too complex and might result in backlash. However, it is possible to develop a campaign that helps to move deeper and underlying issues in a favourable direction. While not a public education campaign, a community development initiative will be briefly described to highlight this point.

In the late 1990s the North East Health Promotion Centre in Melbourne developed a proposal titled "Babymoon", to encourage mothers and other community members to learn from the birthing practices of local women and families originating from the Horn of Africa.[4] These cultural practices include considerable nurturing and respect for mothers in the post-partum period through the provision of intense support for mothers by extended family members and other women in their community. This support includes a strong intergenerational component, and is generally far more intense than the support usually provided to new mothers in Anglo-centric cultures.

The proposal involved two main components:

- The creation of multicultural spaces for women in the local community to experience and learn from each other's birthing practices.
- Support for maternal and child health nurses to value and learn from the birthing practices of Horn of African women and their families, and furthermore, to promote these practices to women from other cultures (including those from the Anglo- majority).

A key feature of the proposal was to invite members of the majority group (and those from other cultural groups) to learn from the actual practices of another culture (or group of cultures)

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[4] Unfortunately this proposal was unable to obtain funding and so did not eventuate into an actual project.

through a relatively non-threatening topic. Focusing on *practices* in an area that is universally cherished (mothering), and building on people's positive desire to be the best parent they can (and their recognition of the huge job involved in parenting and that there is always something more that a new parent can learn), could be a particularly safe way to promote relatively deep support for cultural diversity in terms of what one can learn from other cultures. It could also be more productive than focusing on the more difficult/contentious area of values.

While this was a proposed community development initiative and not a public education campaign, it nevertheless provides an example of a theme that could be employed in a broader sense. Focusing on non-threatening universal practices in valued areas of people's lives – particularly areas in which people recognise that there is always something new to learn – could be one way of encouraging people to value what they can learn from other cultures. The acknowledgement that one can learn important things from other cultures would then presumably open the way for increased acceptance, respect, valuing and welcoming of other cultures and what they have to contribute towards our common future.

Importantly, this theme also has the potential to encourage in-group members to critically evaluate their own practices. It is likely that many Anglo mothers would admire (and perhaps even envy) the support that the Somali community provides to help women adjust to the transition to motherhood, but would recognise how a range of factors may be making this difficult to implement in their own lives (the busyness of family members, lack of strong extended families, lack of community, etc).

This theme of "learning from each other" has the potential to slowly shift society away from "ornamental" multiculturalism (Lugones and Price 1995) where people value and *consume* the exotic expressions of other cultures (eating food from other cultures, enjoying multicultural festivals, etc) provided that they aren't seen to threaten "the Australian way" (in the case of Australia), to a deeper form where 'being white' becomes part of the overall cultural diversity, rather than an invisible comparison point that sits outside this diversity. While a single pro-diversity campaign is very unlikely to produce this shift, it could be part of a multi-level approach including public policy and community development initiatives that focus on what different cultural groups – including the Anglo-centric majority – can learn from each other.

This approach could involve a progression from *learning about and experiencing other cultures* (the focus of most current campaigns and community development strategies that aim to promote multiculturalism) to the theme of *learning from other cultures*, and could indeed combine elements of both themes. As noted elsewhere, the approach lends itself to film and incorporation in entertainment vehicles.

3.2 Potential lessons from applied research

It is clear that any campaign focusing on promoting cultural diversity would need to be conducted very carefully. Indeed, Paradies (2005) has argued (and vrij & Smith (1999) have demonstrated), that anti-racist messages can produce racist outcomes despite good intentions.

The complex web of issues that result in racism means that anti-racism / pro-diversity strategies need to take into account how they may strengthen or weaken a range of factors on a range of levels – internalised attitudes and social categorisation processes, interpersonal behaviours, everyday discourse/language about the "other", institutional factors, and systemic power relations between groups.

There has been extraordinarily little evaluation of the effects of past or current anti-racism public education campaigns involving a mass media component on attitudes and behaviours. Recent reviews of anti-racism strategies at a range of levels have uncovered few studies of the effectiveness of such campaigns (Duckitt 2001; Paradies 2005; Pedersen et al 2005), and few of the campaigns reviewed in this report attempted to measure their effectiveness. This is problematic given the potential for well-intentioned campaigns to do harm.

Millbank (1998) expressed pessimism about the potential of anti-racism campaigns to change attitudes towards racism. She cited a 1997 survey of European countries after a year of anti-racism campaigns that showed that Europeans' willingness to openly declare themselves as racist had actually increased. Reporting on the Australian context at that time, she wrote:

> Attempting to change a person's world-view or values is a complex challenge at the best of times. In the current politically charged environment, demands and expectations that an anti-racism campaign would resolve concerns and anxieties about immigration and multiculturalism and national identity, and would check apparently rising support for the One Nation party, appear unrealistic. (http://www.aph.gov.au/library/pubs/cib/1997-98/98cib20.htm)

Millbank's comments attest to the importance of an anti-racism / pro-diversity campaign having realistic expectations and achievable objectives. (However, see previous comment under 2.7.2 re an alternative view on checking support for One Nation).

This section, outlines some of the research we have encountered that may have implications for the design of anti-racism / pro-diversity campaigns. What follows is by no means a comprehensive review of the relevant literature, but rather incorporates several studies that we encountered in our general literature searches.

3.2.1 The potential to do harm

Empirical evidence demonstrating the need to take care when constructing public education campaigns in the anti-racism and pro-diversity arena is provided by Vrij and colleagues (Vrij et al 2003; Vrij & Smith 1999; Vrij et al 1996), who reviewed research showing that several campaigns challenging racial prejudice and discrimination in The Netherlands and the UK

produced negative results. For example, television campaigns in The Netherlands reinforced beliefs that ethnic groups 'eat strange foods', 'are criminal' and 'make trouble'. The authors argued that this may have occurred because these campaigns did not implement relevant social psychological insights such as:

- Campaigns will generally only be successful if they focus on positive similarities between groups and are presented in a positive context, rather than drawing attention to them being part of a different group, that is, if they promote out-group members as an 'us' and not 'them'.

- Campaigns should not focus on one or a small number of out-group members, as members of the in-group may tend to ascribe the positive representations of one or two out-group individuals as due to situational factors (luck, etc) rather than being inherent to the out-group. Consequently, campaigns should show the positive similarities across a number of out-group people so that their success or positivity can't be easily explained away.

- There are dangers in using obtuse messages in anti-racism campaigns. They provided an example of a television show which was meant to ridicule an explicit racist, yet it had the opposite effect as many viewers identified with him.

- As people hold different stereotypical beliefs towards different minority groups, campaigns could be more effective if they focus on one particular minority group. [In the Australian context, for example, a general pro-diversity campaign may have difficulties in being relevant to Indigenous people, asylum seekers, immigrants and second or third generation Australians all at the same time].

- Campaigns should use a central persuasion model that encourages in-depth thought and high involvement from the observer, rather than relying on the more peripheral route of selling the message through superficial cues (e.g., sympathy-inducing photographs, attractive or famous endorsers of the message).

The authors attempted to apply these theoretical considerations across three studies. The first found that a video-based intervention incorporating those considerations studied resulted in more positive attitudes towards ethnic minorities than among participants in a control condition. The second involved modifying a British poster campaign to be more consistent with the above principles (Vrij & Smith 1999). Participants were randomly assigned to the original campaign, the modified campaign, or to a control group. They found that exposure to the original campaign resulted in increased prejudice scores, while the modified campaign didn't reduce prejudice compared to the control group.

In a further controlled study (Vrij et al 2003), participants were exposed to one of 15 cue cards containing a different representation of a poster campaign, or to no cue card at all. The cards were varied so that the researchers could test the effects of the above-mentioned theoretical considerations on attitudes.

Participants exposed to cue cards which took into account the theoretical considerations outlined above had lower blatant and subtle prejudice scores than those exposed to non-recommended versions of the cue cards. This effect, however, was found only among participants living in all-White areas and not for those in racially mixed neighbourhoods. Furthermore, the effect was caused by the non-recommended campaign increasing prejudice scores, whereas there was no decrease in prejudice in the recommended campaign condition.

Participants exposed to non-recommended cue cards showing the differences between ethnic groups or which were presented in a negative context had significantly higher blatant prejudice scores than the control group. The authors stressed the counterproductive nature of constructing campaigns that focus on differences and which present images in a negative context. They concluded that anti-racism campaigns can "easily elicit unwanted effects" (p. 297) if they are not thoroughly tested before they are launched.

3.2.2 Invoking changes in social categorisation

One of the popular areas of anti-racism research among social psychologists is concerned with the categorisation processes people use to construct group identities and to develop attitudes towards the "other". Summarising this research, Duckitt (2001) argues that anti-racism strategies can draw upon four broad approaches towards changing social categorisations (several of the campaigns we reviewed employed one or more of these approaches):

1. *Decategorisation* - encouraging members of the in-group to see an out-group member as an individual rather than through the lens of the out-group category.
2. *Recategorisation* - creating a superordinate category so that in-group members see both themselves and out-group members as part of a new, over-arching category.
3. *Cross-cutting categorisation* – stressing to in-group members that they share category membership with out-group members in valued ways. An example would be a campaign focusing on the valuable employment roles that out-group members perform in society, so that in-group members can feel a sense of shared membership as workers.
4. *Sub-categorisation* – highlighting the diversity of the out-group. If campaigns focus only on one example of the out-group it is possible that any positive attitudes elicited may not generalise across the whole group.

Given our previous discussion on the dangers of invoking nationalism as a superordinate category, a recategorisation approach would need to use both theoretical considerations and formative research to carefully select the superordinate category/categories used. We recommend against appeals to national identity, for example, due to "Australianism" being such a strong part of the majority group's definition of the in-group. Attempts to invoke nationalism are therefore at risk of reinforcing this in-group categorisation rather than creating a superordinate one – potentially resulting in a strengthening of "othering" of out-groups who are not perceived to follow "the Australian way".

Brewer (2000) argued the importance of invoking cross-cutting categorisations, claiming that racism could be reduced through in-group members categorising themselves and others across a

number of non-overlapping categories, thereby resulting in a system of multiple group identities. She argued that seeing out-group members as fellow workers, community members, parents, etc has the potential to reduce the importance of race as the basis for social categorisation. However, she also cautions against getting too optimistic about the power of cross-cutting categorisations with respect to challenging racism, arguing that:

- Other cross-cutting categorisations will make little difference if the race categorisation is strong.
- The approach may not produce generalisations across domains, with cross-categorisation in terms of work, for example (e.g., a theme of "we are all colleagues at work") having the potential to reduce discrimination at work but perhaps not in other community settings.
- Cross-categorisation may result in the splintering of out-groups into more intensely discriminated sub-categories (e.g., black *and* unemployed), increasing their experience of marginalisation.
- The invoking of multiple group identities can lead to a sense of uncertainty, resulting in vulnerability to efforts by stakeholders to induce threats as a means of reaffirming the original in-group category.

While it is the role of careful formative research and not this review to derive possibilities for processes that change social categorisations, one possibility would be to highlight that all cultural groups desire to work towards a positive society for themselves and their families. This sense of "learning from each other to create a shared, positive future" could encourage in-group members to recategorise both themselves and out-group members as having a shared identity in working towards a common future, while also valuing the rich contributions and learnings that cultural diversity and cultural differences facilitate. Cross-cutting categorisations could be facilitated through showing people from diverse cultures performing socially valued roles, with sub-categorisations invoked through scenes of intra-group diversity. As mentioned previously, a central theme of what cultures can learn from each other could be employed, centred around widely valued and non-threatening practices such as post-partum support for mothers. It is important to stress, however, that such speculative ideas must be subject to appropriate formative research.

3.2.3 Social norms

Social norms approaches are based on the assumption that people's perceptions of the norms concerning a particular attitude or behaviour exert an influence on their own beliefs about an issue. In particular, over-estimations of the extent to which one's peers exhibit the attitude or behaviour in question can influence one to adopt that attitude or behaviour to a level or extent that s/he may otherwise have not (Berkowitz 2004). The issue of social norms raises the potential for campaigns to produce changes in attitudes and behaviours through providing factual information that correct normative misperceptions.

Pedersen et al (in press) surveyed respondents from Perth, Kalgoorlie and Albany in Western Australia concerning attitudes towards Indigenous Australians and asylum seekers. They found that the more prejudiced participants significantly over-estimated the degree of community

support for their views towards both Indigenous Australians and asylum seekers. The authors concluded that if people with the most negative views believe they represent the majority, it is likely that they will be more open and vocal about their attitudes, and less likely to change. They suggested that strategies attempting to correct their misperceptions about the general community's views could have some potential to induce positive changes in attitudes.

Pedersen et al speculated about the potential influences of both cognitive and motivational factors in contributing towards these overestimations. Specifically, those with more positive attitudes might overestimate community support for their views due to their selective exposure to friends and colleagues who share similar views (therefore resulting in these views coming more easily to mind). Those with more negative attitudes might be motivated to overestimate the degree of support for their views due to awareness - at least on some level - that their views may be interpreted as being racist. They may therefore try to convince themselves that their views are morally acceptable through being commonly held by others.

Duckitt (2001) suggested that a social norms approach highlighting the general community norms of tolerance may be appropriate as an anti-racism strategy, including for highly prejudiced individuals. Duckitt suggested that even if highly prejudiced individuals didn't agree with tolerance, they may still act with tolerance in order to comply with community norms.

Hogg and Blackwood (2001) reviewed studies showing that if participants perceive group norms to be ethnocentric, this results in their own ethnocentric attitudes becoming legitimised. This legitimacy becomes a vital condition in translating their prejudiced attitudes into discriminatory behaviour. The authors conducted laboratory studies showing that people are more likely to translate their intergroup attitudes into actual behaviour if the attitudes are supported by a self-relevant reference group, provided that the norms have salience to the participants. They found, for example, that presenting information that 80% of Australians supported multiculturalism only had an effect if participants watched a video beforehand that promoted national identity.

Stangor et al (2001) (described in Pedersen et al, under review) manipulated social norms by informing some of their participants that most others held more positive views of African Americans than themselves. These participants later changed their views to become more positive (with these changes remaining at one-week follow-up), whereas those who were told that the majority held more negative views became more negative themselves. Furthermore, when participants were informed that most others supported their own racial stereotypes, they were more resistant to changing their views.

The possibly strong influence of hate literature and explicitly racist authority figures on community attitudes could in part operate through shifting people's perceptions of social norms around racist attitudes and beliefs. The mass media could potentially perform a powerful influence here. Strategies to limit the influence of factors that suggest social norms of racist and intolerant attitudes whether they be of the old/blatant or new/modern forms should be a vital part of a broad anti-racism approach.

Developing a campaign based on explicitly correcting misperceptions of community norms around intolerance would need to be done carefully. While community norms against blatant racism are likely to be very high, a range of racist attitudes under the umbrella of new/modern

racism are likely to be widely held. Furthermore, a campaign highlighting that the majority of Australians support multiculturalism or cultural diversity may mean little, given the research by Dunn et al (2004) indicating that many who express support are still likely to harbour suspicions and negative beliefs about diversity.

Campaigns need to be designed in ways that do not activate the negative attitudes of those who are relatively more prejudiced, especially if they believe that their views are widely held and therefore feel comfortable in expressing them in vocal and public ways.

On the other hand, some social norms may be changed indirectly. For example, WA's EOC campaign could be viewed as changing the perceived norm that "most Aboriginal people don't want to work" (Donovan & Leivers 1993).

3.2.4 Value Confrontation

Oskamp (2000) suggested the potential effectiveness of strategies that highlight to people how their beliefs and behaviours are inconsistent with their underlying values such as fairness and equality. Some studies, however, have produced mixed findings and the strategy may not work for all (Oskamp 2000). This value-confrontation or self-confrontation approach maximises the creation of dissonance between people's values and their attitudes/behaviours, encouraging the development of internal motivations to reduce this dissonance through making changes to their attitudes and behaviours (Devine et al 2000).

The value/self-confrontation model has some potential, therefore, to enable people to draw their own conclusions and make changes to their attitudes and behaviours. This could minimise the rejection of messages from the experience of "somebody else telling me what I should think and do". This is particularly noteworthy given the potential for anti-racism strategies to backfire among individuals with high levels of prejudice, who may feel that these strategies are impinging upon their freedom (Devine et al 2000).

Formative research would need to carefully test the meanings that different target audiences ascribe to any values under consideration to become a focus in a pro-diversity campaign, including how they operate with ordinary discourses to justify particular attitudes and behaviours concerning minority groups. Meanings attributed to egalitarianism, fairness and equality could vary greatly across different target audiences, and could be used by different people (and by the same person across different circumstances) to legitimise anti-racist or pro-racist positions.

3.2.5 The importance of the person's pre-existing level and pattern of racist attitudes and behaviours

The attitude change literature suggests that anti-racism campaigns may be more successful in changing the attitudes of people who hold relatively moderate racist attitudes compared to those who are particularly intolerant (Duckitt 2001)., This also makes sense intuitively. The finding by Pedersen et al (under review) that those with the most negative attitudes towards Indigenous Australians and asylum seekers were the ones who most overestimated the degree to which their

views are held by others, suggests that they are perhaps quite likely to be defensive about their attitudes - as they believe these are held by the majority.

However, Maio et al (2002) argued that changing ambivalent attitudes towards a particular minority group may not necessarily be easier than changing more strongly held attitudes. They hypothesised that when people with ambivalent attitudes are presented with an anti-racism message, they tend to scrutinise the message more closely than those with more strongly held attitudes, possibly to reduce the tension they feel through not having a strong attitude in either direction. The authors conducted a controlled study exposing one group of psychology undergraduates to anti-racism advertisements featuring people from different ethnic groups. They found that exposure to the advertisement increased prejudice among people with ambivalent attitudes towards ethnic minority groups, and decreased prejudice among those with non-ambivalent attitudes, for both implicit and explicit measures of prejudice.

Citing three other studies with similar results, Maio et al concluded that 'typical' anti-racism messages – those that contain an image of ethnic diversity and a caption appealing for people to respect diversity or to acknowledge the need for egalitarianism – may backfire on people with ambivalent attitudes. They also expressed caution about concluding that anti-racism messages are likely to reduce prejudice among individuals who are not ambivalent, citing one study conducted by the authors which showed no such positive effects.

The authors concluded that two-sided messages may be needed to reduce the possibility of backfire among people with ambivalent attitudes towards ethnic minorities. Two sided messages would give some acknowledgement of their negative concerns, but also present a strong case that these are outweighed by the benefits of responding positively to the group.

What is clear is that the objectives of a particular pro-diversity strategy depend on the pre-existing attitudes of the target audience. Devine et al (2000), for example, argue that for people with relatively low levels of prejudice who are already internally motivated to overcome prejudice, an appropriate strategy would be to:

1. Highlight their standards so that they come to mind more frequently – rather than invoking the stereotypes that they are trying to move away from.
2. Teach them how to recognise that they are at risk of behaving in a prejudiced manner.
3. Support them to develop skills to behave in ways that are consistent with their standards.

Furthermore, the previous discussion on different types of racism (old/blatant vs. modern/symbolic/aversive/new) demonstrates that target audiences cannot simply be divided according to different levels of a singular concept of "racist attitudes". It would be more accurate to refer to people's existing levels of *racisms*, or of different patterns of racism, though acknowledging that in some contexts they may be moderately or even highly correlated with each other.

The WA EOC campaign provides a good demonstration of staying within the target audience's latitude of acceptance where there was a wide variety of beliefs in the target audience. People differed widely in the proportion of Aboriginal people they thought would be employed and in the proportion they thought would stay in a job more than a year (i.e., from 'don't know', to 0%

and points in between to more than 50%). The campaign aimed to increase people's perceptions regardless of their starting point. Hence the campaign did not promote the fact that 60% of Aboriginal people in the town were employed as this would have been rejected by the majority of the target audience (i.e., outside their latitude of acceptance). Hence the campaign used the 'cool' messages described in section 2.1.5 and Donovan & Leivers (1993) that simply featured the pictures, names, places of employment, and number of years employed of several Aboriginal people in the town.

3.2.6 Localised messages

Pedersen et al's (2005) concern about the need to develop campaigns according to the local context and conditions in which racism is maintained is supported by possibly Australia's most substantial study on racist attitudes in recent years. Dunn and his colleagues from the University of NSW conducted a 2001 telephone survey of racial attitudes of over 5,000 respondents in NSW and Queensland (Dunn & Geeraert 2003).

The study found that the level and nature of racist attitudes varied considerably on a regional basis, to such an extent that the popular conception of rural areas containing more racism than urban environments was not a consistent pattern. They stressed the importance of anti-racism strategies taking a strongly local and regional focus, as each region differs in its cultural mix, migration history, nature of inter-cultural relations, education levels, vulnerabilities in the housing and labour markets, and other factors.

The study found geographical differences in the patterns of racism even within the same city (Geeraert 2003). Within Sydney, for example, three main patterns emerged:

- A pattern in inner Sydney of relatively low levels of racist attitudes, high tolerance for cultural diversity, opposition to attitudes comprising 'new' racism, high awareness of 'the racism issue' in Australia and that Anglo Australians enjoy a privileged position.
- A second pattern among some suburbs also with high cultural diversity, but with feelings of insecurity, racial separatism, and the belief that cultural diversity weakens the nation.
- Areas of low cultural diversity and relatively high levels of cultural prejudice and a denial of the existence of racism in Australia.

A more detailed representation of this typology based on the same study was made by Dunn et al (2005) with recommendations for the most ideal anti-racism strategies for five of the typologies:[5]

1. Tolerant, inner and affluent Sydney – capitalise on local diversity and celebrate the local support for diversity.
2. Ambivalent Sydney.
3. Poorer, Anglo, pro-diversity, deny racism – build upon the recently expanding nature of cross-cultural contacts and ensure they are positive so that negative stereotypes do not develop; expand upon the slight yet positive support for cultural diversity.

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[5] The authors did not suggest that the other three groups should not be targeted by anti-racism strategies, but rather did not provide details of these.

4. Intolerant, poorer, outer suburban white normalcy who have negative attitudes towards cultural diversity and who experience relatively little cross-cultural mixing – develop positive external representations of other cultures such as through the media and popular culture; interactions with sporting clubs from other cultures in other areas; school excursions to multicultural sites in other areas, etc.

5. Diverse, younger, negotiating diversity.

6a. Affluent, older, mixing, expanding levels of tolerance but with some old/blatant expressions of racism – challenge pre-multicultural beliefs around nationalism, racial separation, etc; demonstrate positive examples of inter-cultural interactions.

6b. Relatively young, non-tertiary educated, less affluent or mixed in socioeconomic status, considerable cultural diversity or diversifying, yet show intolerance (especially through new racism attitudes), low mixing, unease with mixing, but with potentially malleable views – demonstrate the strength of diversity in terms of how it contributes to the local institutions that people value (e.g., through sporting clubs), and challenge the notion that cultural diversity is a weakness; provide positive cross-cultural interactions.

6c. Intolerant, diverse, unease with mixing, internally differentiated.

The authors argued that group 6b should be the priority in a city-wide anti-racism effort, in the sense that the future of racism "hangs in the balance" in the geographical areas comprising the group. The study also found that patterns of racist attitudes also varied in relation to the particular out-group being considered (e.g., towards Asian or towards Islamic people). For example, some geographical areas were more tolerant towards one particular out-group than towards another (Dunn et al 2005).

With respect to neighbourhood differences, Leigh (2006) analysed data from 6,500 respondents to the 1997-98 Australian Community Survey with respect to predictors of localized trust and generalized trust ("Generally speaking, you can't be too careful in dealing with most people in my local area/most Australians" respectively). He found localized trust higher in affluent areas and lower in ethnically and linguistically (especially) diverse communities. These data are consistent with Punam's (2004; cited in Soroka et al 2005) claims that actual contact with diversity does not necessarily lead to greater tolerance, and might even lead to greater intolerance.

However, whether there are differences in the prevalence of different patterns in different areas, it is important to remember that most if not all patterns are found to at least some extent in all areas – it is only the relative prevalence that differs. Hence while the data on geographical differences are useful for prioritising and choosing local strategies, they are not as helpful for choosing statewide communication strategies.

3.3 Conclusions for the development of a communication campaign

Our limited review of literature in the anti-racism field demonstrates that developing social marketing campaigns in this arena is not a simple process. Some important 'big picture' thinking needs to occur before the basic objectives and strategies of the campaign are developed, in order

for the campaign to fit within a story about what racism (and the absence of racism) means, how it is perpetuated it, and how to reduce it.

Given these complexities, and the research we reviewed showing that anti-racism messages can strengthen prejudiced beliefs in certain circumstances, it is clear that pro-diversity and anti-racism campaigns need to be developed with considerable care. Given that beliefs and attitudes concerning race, multiculturalism, racism, affirmative action, etc are likely to have high emotional resonance among many members of the community – resulting in the potential for backlash – it is perhaps not surprising that we have found relatively few campaigns in this arena.

Consequently, we propose that considerable attention needs to be given to early conceptualisation in addition to subsequent steps such as careful market testing and evaluation. The previous review suggests four general requirements:

1. Multi-level and multi-field mapping

Ideally the process should begin with collecting information from a range of sources to determine factors such as:

- Current media representations of different cultural groups.
- The role of the national and local political contexts in influencing local social norms concerning attitudes and behaviours towards cultural diversity.
- Existing research in the specific region (and in similar areas elsewhere in Australia) of contemporary attitudes and practices of racism along both old and new/modern forms, and of pro-diversity attitudes and behaviours.
- How patterns of racism and pro-diversity attitudes differ across different geographical areas and other sociodemographic-spatial groupings in the general population, and how they differ according to which particular cultural group(s) are the focus of attention.
- Conceptualisations of the various factors contributing to and maintaining patterns of racism and pro-diversity attitudes - at the individual, interpersonal, discursive and institutional/systemic levels - drawing from research in social psychology, sociology, geography, other social sciences and political science.

2. Big picture model or vision

As outlined earlier, all pro-diversity campaigns operate within the parameters of a 'big picture' vision or story of what racism is about, why it occurs, what a society with significantly reduced racism would look like, and how broadly to get there. A campaign would have only a small role in the broader context of long-term efforts to work towards such a vision. However, because of the complexity and interconnected nature of the factors which perpetuate racism across a range of levels, consideration of this bigger picture is required in order to ensure that the campaign does not inadvertently do more harm than good.

This require campaign developers to construct a model or vision of what factors ultimately need to be strengthened (and those that need to be weakened or at least not stimulated/invoked) in order for the campaign to be "heading in the right direction". While the campaign would not

overtly focus on many of the underlying factors that comprise such a model or vision, it could address some subtly. It would also take care not to strengthen those factors that might accentuate the disrespect and devaluing of diversity over time.

While somewhat ideal, the development of such a model or vision would be a vital part of ensuring that campaigns ultimately do not result in more harm than good. Stages in the campaign's development can continuously be referred back to this model to ensure that the specific, achievable and context-specific objectives and communication messages of the campaign do not inadvertently strengthen the long-term factors that perpetuate racism.

3. Campaigns should have specific, achievable and context-specific objectives

Components 1 and 2 are used to select target audiences for a campaign. For each of these target audiences, specific behavioural and attitudinal objectives need to be defined. These objectives would need to work within the 'latitude of acceptance' of target audiences with respect to current attitudes, and given the complexity of the issues should not be overly ambitious.

This phase would also set some parameters for the initial formative research required to develop the campaign's basic communication strategy and messaging. While the actual messages could eventuate as relatively simple, they (and the concepts and meanings that comprise the messages) would need to be tested against the range of factors highlighted in the first two phases to ensure that they do not strengthen racism-facilitating factors.

4. Conduct formative research to develop the communication objectives and message strategies

It is crucial that formative research be used to develop and to pre-test the campaign's specific communication objectives and message strategies. For example, messages such as "learning from each other" or "we're all working towards a common future" would need to be checked among the target audiences to determine if they reinforce assimilationist or nationalist attitudes, intensify the gaze on out-groups or move Anglo Australians further away from reflection upon their own culture. To do so might only strengthen the underlying roots of racism.

3.3.1 A brief note on accompanying community development interventions

Several of the campaigns reviewed in this report were (or are, in the case of ongoing annual campaigns) accompanied by community development interventions. In some situations this has taken the form of providing community grants to create grass roots opportunities for multicultural contact and exchanges, and/or using other means to stimulate the development of on-the-ground activities. For the *Living in Harmony* initiative, for example, community development programs form the central core, with the limited mass media component serving mainly to support the activities occurring on the ground.

Components one and two of the above-mentioned process can be used also to determine the guiding principles for the construction (or selection, in the case of the provision of grants) of

community development activities. For example, if promoting self-reflection among white Anglo groups is considered to be one of the underlying factors that will decrease racism in the long-term, cultural exchange activities that encourage the dominant group to learn deeply from other cultures could be focused upon.

More generally, promoting contact between diverse cultural groups won't necessarily in itself improve attitudes to a large degree – although it is an important anti-racist strategy as a general principle. While not the scope of this review, certain conditions may need to occur for such contact to produce desired outcomes (Pedersen et al 2005). The contact hypothesis suggests that tensions between groups can be reduced if they have contact with each other in ways that conform to the following four principles (Pedersen, Walker & Wise 2005, pp. 23-24): "(1) Conflicting groups must have equal status within the contact situation; (2) There should be no competition along group lines within the contact situation; (3) Groups must seek superordinate goals within the contact situation; (4) Relevant institutional authorities must sanction the intergroup contact and must endorse a reduction in intergroup tensions."

In a meta-analysis of intergroup interventions based on the contact hypothesis, Pettigrew and Tropp (in press, cited in Blink et al, in preparation) found that these interventions had on average a small effect in reducing prejudiced attitudes. While the effect was greater (though still small) for interventions when the four conditions emphasised in the contact hypothesis were met, those interventions that did not provide these conditions still generally had a small and positive effect (Blink, personal communication). On the other hand, some contact interventions in other areas of discrimination have been found to be quite successful (see next section).

The community development components of a campaign, therefore, need to be designed thoughtfully rather than just assuming that promoting contact between different groups will help to significantly reduce prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviour.

3.3.2 Comment on Mass Strategies Challenging the Stigma of Mental Illness

In the context of challenging the stigma of mental illness, Corrigan & Gelb (2006) describe three overall strategies for changing individuals' beliefs and attitudes. They term these: protest; education; and contact.

Protest refers to activism efforts to confront and publicly protest against expressions of prejudice and discrimination. These protests are mainly targeted to organizations, such as negative media portrayals of people with mental illness or discriminatory hiring practices. The main aim of the protest is to achieve a behaviour change – regardless of whether attitudes change also. At a broader level we would include in this strategy, advocacy for regulatory or policy changes that attempt to eliminate undesirable discriminatory or prejudicial behaviours – for example, sporting codes classifying racist comments about opposition team members as misconduct and attracting a penalty. A number of the organizations whose campaigns were reviewed for this report also have an advocacy component in their activities.

Educational approaches are defined as information-based. The aim is to change negative inaccurate stereotypes with accurate information on the assumption that more positive beliefs will result in more positive attitudes and behaviours. Most of the campaigns in this report would be defined in this 'educational' category.

Contact refers to the use of positive face-to-face interactions between members of the stigmatized group and the stigmatizing group. Under the right conditions, Corrigan & Gelb (2006) claim that interpersonal contact has the greatest capacity of the three strategies to achieve substantial and lasting attitude change.

Educational approaches clearly rely on mass media advertising and publicity to reach large numbers of people. Attracting media interest also brings protest activities and the underlying issues to a mass audience. Furthermore, some policy & regulatory changes can impact on large numbers of people – for example when journalists adopt a specific code with respect to reporting of mental illness. However, increasing interpersonal contact remains limited in its reach. Nevertheless, there may be ways of adapting what goes on in contact programs to media vehicles that can reach a wider audience. Short films on specific areas of discrimination may be one avenue, or the inclusion of discrimination issues in soap operas is another. Using people who are the targets of prejudice in advertising materials is another method. Campaigns in Western Australia promoting understanding of people with a disability use a range of people with a disability who urge the audience to "see the person, not the problem" and to "open your mind, count us in".

The WA EOC campaign used a variety of Aboriginal people in the ads but the campaign did not explicitly challenge racism as the disability campaigns explicitly challenge negative attitudes to people with a disability. Subject to formative research, it may well be that anti-racism campaigns could use a variety of individuals in the same way that disability campaigns do to directly confront people's attitudes.

4. Developing Guidelines for Communication Components of Anti-Racism Campaigns

Constructions of racism have implications for measurement of racist beliefs, attitudes and behaviours, and how one might approach an anti-racism intervention. We take an eclectic view of racism constructs in that we accept the many constructions of racism, but do not believe that one or the other view is exclusively 'correct' or 'valid'. We believe that the various views all have something to offer to provide a more complete picture. We also believe that too involved a construction of racism can impede both measurement and the development of anti-racism campaigns. Hence we have attempted below and later to present a simplified construction to guide program development. Essentially this construction focuses on specific beliefs that are identified by research as underlying racist expressions, and that require countering or neutralizing to take steps along a path to acceptance of the ethnic group in question. Consistent with Guerin (2003) we do not believe that a single campaign on a single campaign message will be effective. Rather, given the constellation of beliefs that often drive racist attitudes, neutralizing these will require a multiple campaign interventions for a cumulative effect.

Finding the key to unlocking closed minds is the first step of a journey where new doors are encountered along the way – each door representing a 'belief' barrier and each requiring a new key. We feel that many well-intentioned campaigns use the wrong key at the first door and hence 'lose' the target audience. (A 'key' in this analogy is a 'key message'). We also feel that the choice of keys is crucial: some keys simply don't fit but don't do any harm to the lock; others that don't fit can trigger an alarm that leads to a complete shutdown so that all subsequent keys cannot even be inserted – even if one can open the door. Research is needed to identify which 'keys' are effective, which are ineffective but harmless, and which are not only ineffective, but counterproductive.

In this section we first present a construction of racism that attempts to include the essential elements of various constructs but without over complicating the issue. We then delineate a list of guidelines based on our own experience, constructs of racism in the literature, and field/laboratory studies in the area.

4.1 Racism: One Perspective

There are many constructions of racism varying from individual orientated psychological constructs, to sociological constructs of power and other relationships in societies whereby dominant groups retain positions of economic and political power and privilege over 'other' or 'out' groups. Furthermore, some writers distinguish between 'old' or 'blatant' racism (e.g., negative attitudes toward out-groups based simply on being different or on beliefs about inherent biological inferiorities and explicitly expressed as such), and 'subtle', 'new' or 'symbolic' racism (e.g., negative attitudes – regardless of 'real' basis, expressed as beliefs about the 'deficient' cultural values or habits of the 'other' group, a defense of the in-group's traditional values, and exaggeration of differences between the in- and out-groups on the in-group's core values) (Pettigrew & Meertens 1995).

Current psychological studies and evolutionary psychology suggests that racism may have a biological basis: an automatic affect arousal and categorization by the 'old brain's' limbic system of other groups as 'good' or 'bad'. This was clearly originally a biologically advantageous adaptive function as strangers were indeed often dangerous. Hence this system evolved to quickly categorise others as 'friend' or 'foe'.

Today's psychologists refer to 'categorisation processes' and studies in this area show that even a simple 'in-group'-'out-group' labeling can result in negative out-group evaluations (i.e., an automatic response) (see Tajfel's studies reported in Vrij & Smith 1999). However, the categorizations that early hominids had to make would not have been made on race (for most groups), but on markings, war paint, clothing, ornaments, hair styles, etc (Cosmides & Tooby 2004). Nevertheless, this neural system appears set to look for similarities and differences and to send 'alarm bells' when the differences are sufficient to indicate an 'other' group. Such categorizations still occur because although much has changed in social interactions in the last 10,000 years, brain adaptation has not had time to adjust to changes in social conditions.

Furthermore, this automatic good-bad categorization process is exacerbated by a negativity bias mechanism that ensured a 'foe' response was likely when there was incomplete information (i.e., a 'better safe than sorry' mechanism). Such a mechanism occurs say when we see an object, jump back in fright and then discover it was only a stick. This automatic 'possible danger' reaction is a more adaptive response than proceeding until one is absolutely sure whether it is a snake or not. The 'snake' categorization occurs reflexively and the more considered analysis follows. The negativity bias also says that "responses to threats and unpleasantness are faster, stronger, and harder to inhibit than responses to opportunities and pleasures" (Haidt 2006, p 29). From a broader perspective, this negativity bias is a major barrier to countering and neutralizing negative beliefs: some PR experts estimate that one negative image or story in a newspaper for example requires 10-20 good images or stories for balance once the negative images are established. [Hence it is crucial that the media be a prime target for any anti-racism campaign to minimize if not eliminate media depictions that reinforce prejudicial beliefs about members of CALD communities.]

Given an automatic negative affect arousal, if there is no intervention, confabulation occurs to 'explain' these negative feelings. That is, various beliefs would be brought to mind consistent with negative feelings. These beliefs could be self-generated, or, more likely, absorbed from family members (particularly parents) and the wider society. The major overt societal influences are depictions of ethnic groups in the news and entertainment media, and government statements and policies that publicly objectify and de-humanise/depersonalize particular groups (e.g., labeling asylum seekers pejoratively as "queue jumpers" or "illegals"). Less overt influences are institutional racist policies and procedures that pervade most societies. These are generally invisible to the dominant group but clearly obvious to the 'other' groups both in everyday life and when they need to interact with institutions.

While various beliefs may be absorbed from wider societal influences, we would also argue that these 'automatic' negative affect arousals to 'out' groups can be easily exploited by those with a vested interest in fostering prejudice against various out-groups. While 'hate' groups are a clear and visible example of such exploitations, we would argue that many other ostensibly

'respectable' groups exploit people's fears of others. In Australia in the past decade we have seen the discourse on Indigenous people, asylum seekers and Muslims for example manipulated by politicians, religious leaders and others (e.g., from Aboriginal Reconciliation meaning a recognition of past injustices and their impact on the present, to meaning 'improving Aboriginal living conditions'; from refugees as fleeing tyranny to harbouring sleeper/secret potential terrorists).

4.2 Guidelines and Principles for Communication Strategies

4.2.1 Recommendations for Anti-Racism Campaigns From Donovan & Leivers' (1993) & Psychological Principles of Attitude Change

The following specific recommendation – presented in the Campaign section - were derived from Donovan & Leivers' (1993) formative research findings, their campaign development principles and their post campaign conclusions. We now re-present these and include reference to psychological principles where relevant, based primarily on the work of Vrij and colleagues in their systematic study of potential campaign communication materials (Vrij, Van Schie & Cherryman 1996; Vrij & Smith 1999; Vrij, Akehurst & Smith 2003), but including Pederson's recommendations also (Pedersen et al 2005).

The work of Virj and colleagues is particularly noteworthy, as, using materials actually used in campaigns, they found that these materials were counterproductive: that is, persons exposed to some campaign materials registered more racist attitudes than people not exposed to any campaign materials. They also found, that for many of their 'improved' campaign materials, individuals exposed to these materials generally showed no reduction in racist attitudes to control groups - but – fortunately – significantly lower racist attitudes than those exposed to the 'real' materials. It is likely that if Vrij et al developed their own materials rather than adapting given materials, they might have been able to develop significantly better materials (as evidenced by the WA Equal Opportunity Commission's (EOC) campaign; 2.1.5). (Interestingly, the successful WA EOC campaign referred to Aboriginal people in jobs and seeking employment; the most 'successful' of Vrij's campaign materials was the one that referred to 'giving black people an opportunity and they will be successful (in getting a job; see poster in 2.6))

Before presenting these guidelines we comment on two major psychological principles, the *categorization process* and *attribution error*, and the use of positive or negative similarities in anti-racism campaigns. These three issues have been discussed and systematically studied by Vrij & colleagues for specific anti-racism materials. Their focus on whether positive or negative similarities are shown is based on their interest in the UK CRE campaigns in Section 2.6 which used negative similarities (e.g., white and black criminals receiving different prison terms for the same offense).

As stated earlier, the *categorization* process states that a 'them'-'us' categorization automatically generates a negative affect response to a 'them' categorization, which would be exacerbated by

then showing differences between the dominant and other groups. Vrij appears to argue that similarities should be presented to reduce the 'them'-'us' categorization and that these similarities should be positive, such as all have similar jobs or hobbies, etc, rather than negative -- as in the crime example above. [We argue below – as does Vrij elsewhere, that negative images are unhelpful and potentially counterproductive anyway.]

Attribution error refers to the assumption that when members of the in-group are exposed to negative similarities between them and the out-group, they will explain the in-group negatives to external or situational factors, but the out-group negatives to internal factors – hence strengthening negative beliefs. On the other hand, when confronted with positive similarities between the in- and out-groups, in-group members will attribute *their* positives to internal factors (i.e., reinforcing own group perceptions), but attribute the out-group positives to external factors (i.e., luck; exceptional circumstances; the exceptions) (see below). Hence, while showing negative similarities can lead to more racist attitudes, showing positive attitudes does not necessarily lead to improved racist attitudes.

Attribution error assumptions

	Similarities Shown	
	Positive	**Negative**
In-group attribution	External	Internal
Out-group attribution	Internal	External

Vrij and colleagues state that using several rather than one individual in positive similarity executions can help overcome these external attributions. This was done by the WA EOC campaign (2.1.5) and was also a feature of the Akron Beacon Journal campaign (2.7.2). Vrij et al also refer to the use of explicit messages being preferable to implicit messages to counter attribution error, as implicit messages are open to misunderstanding. We would agree as per our comment on the UN ad in 2.8.7 and the CRE ads in 2.6.1 – which not only depict negative images but require an understanding of the 'satire' or underlying text in the ads. The WA EOC campaign used explicit messages, a number of individuals, and concrete information about the individuals. It also deliberately chose not to use Aboriginal celebrities (such as state league footballers) as the formative research showed these would be classed as 'exceptions'.

Overall, Vrij et al suggest that the aim of anti-racism campaigns should be to show positive similarities in explicit messages that cannot be explained away by external attributions. Citing Petty & Cacioppo's, (1986) central vs peripheral routes to persuasion, they imply that simply showing positive images of out-groups or using celebrity figures without reasoned arguments would not be effective. The WA EOC campaign deliberately avoided positive images per se and included factual information about the people presented, which, along with the number of people presented, reduced the capacity for the messages to be 'explained away by external attributions'.

The following guidelines are re-presented from 2.1.5 with supporting references or principles in parentheses:

1. Use a variety of individuals from the depicted ethnic group and, where possible, provide factual personal details rather than individuals who could be dismissed as paid actors. *(Fiske & Taylor 1984; Vrij & colleagues).*

2. Target objective beliefs that underly negative 'emotive' beliefs where such relationships can be established. *(Vrij & colleagues citing McGuire and Winkel).*

3. To allow a dialogue, begin by demonstrating that the ethnic group in question shares at least one of the dominant groups's key values (in the above case, having a job). *(show similarities; Vrij and colleagues).*

4. As a corollary to 3, avoid emphasizing exotic or superficial characteristics of the ethnic group that are not part of the dominant group's core values (e.g., dancing; crafts; foods; etc). [That is, avoid reinforcing 'ornamental multiculturalism'].

5. Do not use single celebrities (unless to gain attention). These are too easily seen as 'exceptions' to the rule. (*Vrij & colleagues; attribution error).*

6. Do not over claim. Stay within the target group's latitude of acceptance.

7. Identify possible counterarguments and pre-empt them in the strategies. Do not leave them unanswered. [With reference to 6 and 7, the execution elements in the Ireland and USA campaigns that attempted to create empathy with mildly negatives could be considered for pre-testing and inclusion in message strategies.]

8. Simple requests to 'like' or 'accept' others in a positive mood message execution will have little lasting impact on beliefs and attitudes. *(i.e., use central not peripheral processing).*

9. Ensure that the target ethnic group is part of the campaign development, and, where an integral part of the message strategy, is clearly visible as one source of the campaign.

4.2.2 Broad Recommendations for Pro-Diversity/Anti-Racism Campaigns

The above sections suggest the following:

1. Anti-racism campaigns need to accept that tolerance needs to be learned and must overcome a perhaps 'natural' tendency of any group members to feel negative feelings about members of an 'other' group.

2. Anti-racism campaigns need to deal with specific negative beliefs used by the in-group when they rationalize their negative feelings for the other group or when they simply

describe members of the out-group. Simply attempting to generate positive feelings to other groups will be far less effective and perhaps be counterproductive as the target audience's system stimulates negative feelings to counteract these attempts - thus strengthening the original negative attitudes (a harmful 'key').

3. Given the basic premise of assumed difference underlying negative reactions to other groups, anti-racism campaigns should not only counter negative beliefs but attempt to build perceived valued similarities between groups – especially where the negative beliefs are based on ignorance of such similarities (Pedersen et al's (2005) 'false beliefs'). Note the key word here is 'valued' differences. The WA EOC campaign and the most persuasive poster in Vrij et al above, both were concerned with having a job: a basic value for the vast majority in developed countries.

4. Anti-racism campaigns must simultaneously attempt to change the way negative beliefs are reinforced by the news and entertainment media. Given that these depictions both inform and reinforce negative beliefs, campaigns targeting publishers, editors, journalists, writers and producers are crucial.

5. Anti-racism campaigns must include advocacy and activism to gain adoption by institutions of anti-racist policies and procedures.

6. Anti-racism campaigns must not be contradicted by statements and actions of political and other persons in power positions.

7. Given that negative beliefs (confabulations) are often specific to specific ethnic groups (Donovan 1992; also the basis of the UN ad in 2.8.7), anti-racism campaigns should focus on one group at a time in communication materials (Vrij & Smith 1999 agree). Hence campaigns that attempt to promote broad concepts of 'inclusion', 'multiculturalism' or 'diversity' with non specific rationales may do little to lessen anti-racism views about specific groups.

8. Campaigns to promote diversity therefore require considerable thought. They appear from one view to be an anti-racism strategy on the assumption that if people endorse diversity they cannot be negative to 'other' groups without experiencing cognitive dissonance. However, this assumption is not necessarily valid; people can readily hold apparently contradictory beliefs as it is always possible to rationalize why some groups are 'acceptable' and others are not.

9. Age, sex and race appear to be spontaneously and automatically coded by people when they come into contact with others (Cosmides & Tooby 2004). While coding age and sex have direct evolutionary value, coding by race is a by-product of coding for friend or foe. Hence, processes that can divert race coding could be part of anti-racism campaigns. These might constitute part of 'similarities' or appeals to 'oneness' campaigns where the viewer is encouraged to code the depicted person on a 'friend' dimension. However, by the very nature of a campaign being about ethnic groups, race is coded by the viewer anyway. Hence such campaigns could be effective only if the overriding categorization leads to a weakening of the racial coding and its connections in memory. Such

communications would therefore require sophisticated testing procedures. Hence campaigns that attempt to use nationalism or state membership in particular require careful consideration and extensive testing.

10. Age, education, nationalism and political conservatism/liberalism have been found by various researchers in all parts of the world to be related to racism. A further variable perhaps of greater interest is that contact with other groups is also a significant predictor of attitudes. However it is the type of contact that is important – and, in geographical areas, is also likely to be mediated by education and/or social status (as in Dunn et al's mapping of attitudes in Sydney's local government areas and Vrij & colleagues' findings).

11. However, even if we could target campaigns at local suburban levels (which could be done by posters and letter drops), the campaign must be based on the identified beliefs underlying the racist behaviour or expression being targeted. These beliefs are likely to be the same beliefs regardless of geographical area – it is simply that they are less prevalent in some areas and more prevalent in others. That is, target audience segmentation should first be based on the underlying beliefs. Holders of these beliefs can then be profiled to determine the relative proportions of various demographic groups so that appropriate communication styles can be developed and media selected to reach the major groups. As always, the opportunity to develop multiple targeted materials will depend on available resources. In most cases this means targeting the identified beliefs in a manner that reaches and impacts regardless of demographic grouping.

12. There appears to be a tension between increasing awareness of the pervasiveness of racism in society and attempting to create a social norm against racism. Perhaps the answer lies in increasing the public's perceived seriousness of racism when it occurs while working 'upstream' to change systemic racism. This requires far more consideration. At the very least we see a benefit in promoting racism as a proscriptive norm (i.e., 'thou shalt not'; even illegal) and anti-racism activities as a prescriptive norm ('thou shalt' - be proactive). Vrij et al (2003) attempted to examine the impact of stating the illegality of racism, but reported no finding. This area should be examined in depth as the law can be a valuable tool to bring about social change.

13. Few campaigns we identified used formative research, and, where this was done it was unclear whether the ethnic groups depicted were involved in the campaign development or pre-testing (other than the WA EOC). It is crucial that this be done. As noted by Vrij & Smith (1999), this is necessary where the campaign stresses similarities because the depicted ethnic groups may reject such claims, and may even suffer an 'identity crisis' (p 214).

14. Anti-racism campaigns should be accompanied by opportunities for people to discuss the issues and to interact with members of the out-groups. The key here is how to entice those with negative attitudes or 'neutral' apathetic to such activities. Opportunistic initiatives are one method (i.e., providing interactive activities at public events such as sporting or arts events where people can be engaged without being fully aware that the activity is

concerned with racism); work sites and schools are another opportunity to gain a 'captive' audience.

15. Anti-racism campaigns should be guided by a management group that consists of behavioural scientists with expertise in campaigns in complex areas, communication professionals, attitudinal measurement experts, and experts in research design and subtle methods for measuring complex effects. It is likely that the research budget in the development phases would be disproportionately large. This is a crucial ethical issue given the maxim of: "First, do no harm".

16. As noted a number of times in this report, research is essential – for developing the campaign strategies, for pre-testing communication messages and their execution – including visual images used and the specific language, for assessing delivery of the campaign, and for measuring outcomes. Early assessment of campaign impacts is strongly recommended to further check for any unintended negative effects.

17. In 7 above we recommended that separate campaigns for different CALD groups would be far more effective than attempting to promote diversity in general and rely on a positive generalization across all groups. This is not to say that general pro-tolerance campaigns cannot be effective, but rather that they should accompany single target group campaigns rather than be the sole campaign. In fact it is likely they could enhance single target campaigns. Following Guerin (2005) and consistent with Donovan & Leivers (1993), we also recommend that campaigns be specific to the particular contexts within which racism & discrimination arise.

In Guerin's figure below (from Guerin 2005, p 48), the top model (A) assumes that a single core racist stance is expressed across all the domains of housing, language, employment, etc. Hence interventions that target racism in general will result in reduced racist expressions in all of these domains as in B in the figure. However, Guerin argues – and we agree – that because of the various contexts, interventions will be most effective when they are context specific. Guerin also argues that by targeting specific domains, there can be less emphasis on 'racism' in campaign materials, and hence less likelihood of rejection by various target audiences. This was the case with the WA EOC campaign that focused on Aboriginal employment with no reference to racism. We recommend that although far more resource intensive and expensive, that campaigns be consistent with Guerin's framework wherever possible.

Figure: Traditional ways of viewing racism (A) and interventions against racism (B) versus recommended interventions (C)*
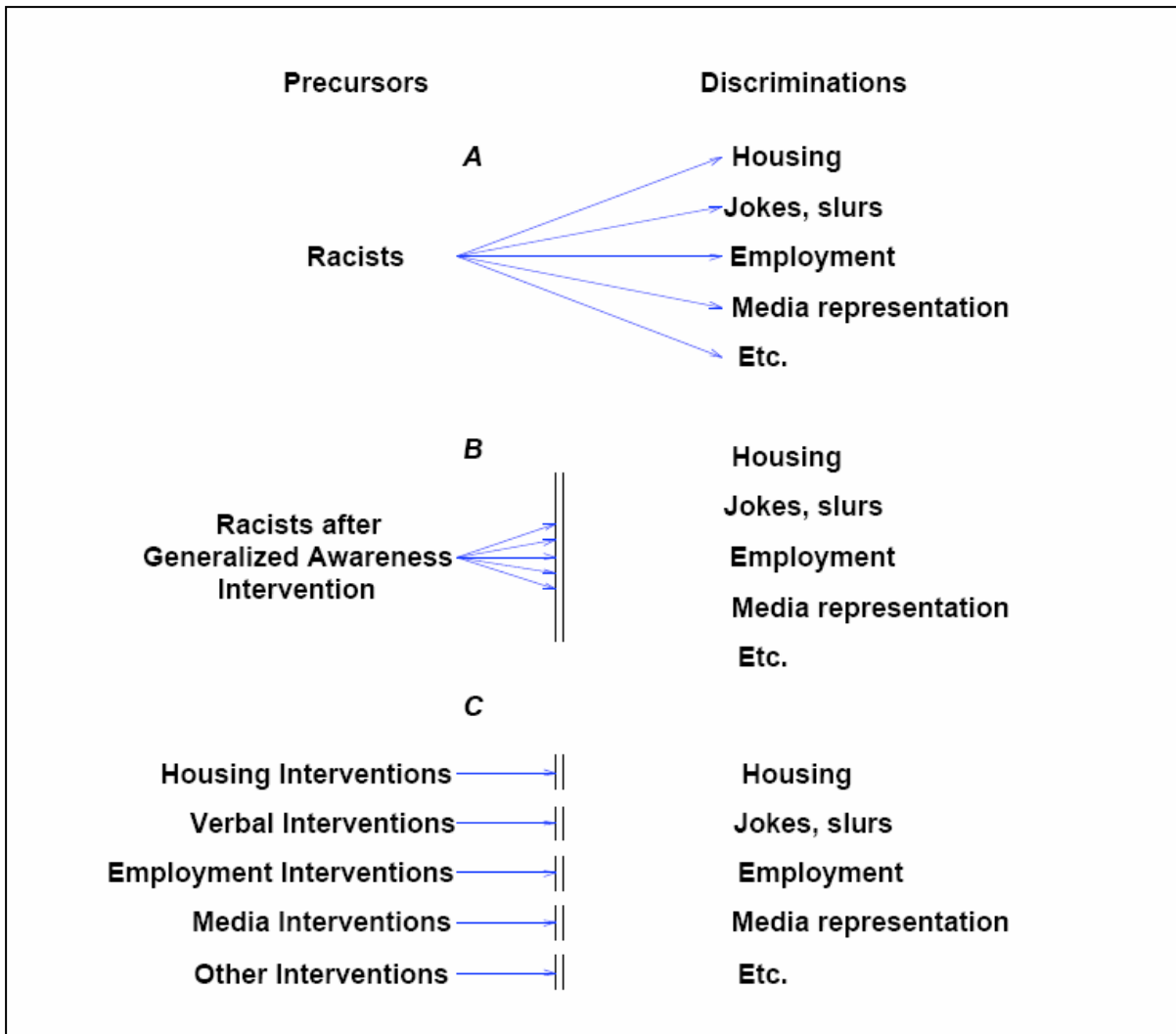
(Guerin 2005, p 48)

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Summary Table of Campaigns

This section will summarise the campaigns that we have reviewed in detail in this report. Due to space limitations within the table, it will only highlight some of the key features of each campaign, omitting a range of information that can be found through viewing the detailed outlines. For example, not all of the communication objectives for each campaign will be outlined (and furthermore will be summarised in the table in simplistic fashion), and the Outcomes & Evaluation column will generally not include evaluation data concerning exposure to and understanding of campaign messages.

CAMPAIGN NAME, LOCATION & TIME	TARGET AUDIENCES	BEHAVIOURAL OBJECTIVES	COMMUNICATION OBJECTIVES	MASS MEDIA MATERIALS	OTHER INTERVENTIONS	OUTCOMES & EVALUATION
Australians Against Racism Campaign, 2001 & 2004-05	General community; People who feel uncomfortable about Muslims	Reduction of negative stereotypes towards and increased community acceptance of refugees	Induce positive beliefs about newly arrived refugees by stressing society's support for previous refugees; Highlight the "common ground"	TV (2001) ad; billboard / poster / postcard / cinema slide (2004) ad	Designed as stand alone PSAs but conducted to compliment the organisation's other advocacy activities	Not evaluated
For Diversity, Against Discrimination, Europe, 2003-2007	Employers, workers, victims of discrimination, youth, general adult community	Reduction of discrimination and greater protection for workers	Differences make the difference; Diversity creates considerable benefits	Billboard / poster, TV commercial(s), postcards	Photographic competition, poster competition, journalism award, Run for Diversity, seminars, etc	Unaware whether evaluations have been conducted or are being planned
Harmony Week, Western Australia, annually in March	General community, both children and adults	Encourage support for cultural diversity; Increase acceptance of the need for agencies to treat people differently according to their needs	Treating people equally means treating people differently according to what barriers they need to overcome to exercise their rights and to participate fully in society	TV & radio PSAs, newspaper advertising, posters, brochures, flyers, stickers	Events calendar of pro-diversity activities; resources for schools; grants for local events consistent with the campaign theme; media advocacy / PR	No formal evaluation conducted

CAMPAIGN NAME, LOCATION & TIME	TARGET AUDIENCES	BEHAVIOURAL OBJECTIVES	COMMUNICATION OBJECTIVES	MASS MEDIA MATERIALS	OTHER INTERVENTIONS	OUTCOMES & EVALUATION
Just Like You, Victoria, 2006	Adults without very strong attitudes to cultural diversity in either direction; CALD communities	To encourage people to feel more comfortable with cultural diversity	Cultural diversity is a strong characteristic of Victoria, and that people from different cultures base their day-to-day lives on similar things	TV CSA and four posters / postcards	Campaign commenced during Cultural Diversity Week	Evaluation not planned
Know Racism, Ireland, 2001-03	General adult community	To increase awareness of racism; Facilitate acceptance of diversity	Racism can be challenged when we understand that similarities count more than the differences	Billboard and newspaper posters; radio PSA(s)	Grants for local initiatives; co-funding of a TV series; leaflets & fact sheet; participation in various community events & partnerships	After 2 years, 23% recall of the campaign
More Alike than Unlike U.S.A., 2002	General adult community, including Americans from various cultural backgrounds	To reduce prejudice and discrimination, not only with respect to race	You can fight against the prejudice that we all learn at an early age, by visiting the organisation's website	TV, radio & print PSAs	Information not available	Unaware of any evaluations of the campaign
National Harmony Day, Australia, annually since 1999	General community, though specific target audiences are the focus of particular partnerships and community events	To encourage and highlight positive experiences of cultural diversity	Celebrate our diverse society; Re-commit to our shared values such as respect and goodwill; Say 'no' to racism; Become involved in National Harmony Day	TV and radio CSAs and newspaper filler ads	Community grants and partnership programs, events calendar, resources to assist community groups, story bank	No evaluations conducted of the public information component

CAMPAIGN NAME, LOCATION & TIME	TARGET AUDIENCES	BEHAVIOURAL OBJECTIVES	COMMUNICATION OBJECTIVES	MASS MEDIA MATERIALS	OTHER INTERVENTIONS	OUTCOMES & EVALUATION
NPAR advertising campaign, Ireland, 2006	General adult community	To encourage acceptance and positive support for cultural diversity	Ireland in 2006 is a changed society, and acceptance of cultural diversity is becoming the norm	Radio commercials	Conducted in the context of the National Action Plan Against Racism (NPAR)	Unaware whether an evaluation is being planned
One Scotland, 2002-ongoing	General adult community	To encourage understanding of the seriousness of racism, reduce its acceptance, and promote cultural diversity	Scots from diverse cultural backgrounds are still just 'an average Scot'; A successful Scotland is one that would be free of racism; Racist behaviour, including verbal, has significant effects.	Latest phase consists of TV ads, radio ads, bus-shelter ad(s), convenience media	Conducted in the context of various anti-racism strategies by the Scottish government	Evaluations conducted after each campaign phase; Mixed results across the life of the campaign
Racism – Condemn or Condone, There's No In Between UK, 1999	Adult community	To encourage people to identify racism as a problem and to take a stand against it	To invoke tension by initially portraying negative stereotypes, and then rebutting them, thereby encouraging viewer self-reflection	Posters for billboards	Unknown	Opinion poll of people's perceptions of the campaign

Appendix 1: Civic Journalism

As yet there is no specific agreed upon definition of civic journalism. Jay Rosen describes public journalism in the United States as "an unfolding philosophy about the place of the journalist in public life" which "has emerged most clearly in recent initiatives in the newspaper world that show journalists trying to connect with their communities ….. by encouraging civic participation or regrounding the coverage of politics in the imperatives of public discussion and debate" (Rosen 1994). This is not all altruistic. Media organisations hope to make themselves more valuable to their consumers by deepening their connections to the community. Nevertheless, whilst they may not have called it "civic journalism" or recognised the outcome as "increasing social capital", journalists claim to have been using mass media to improve society for as long as they have been reporting news.

Civic journalism primarily differs from standard journalism in that standard journalism thrives on conflict and disagreement, whereas civic journalism attempts to build community consensus and cooperation. For example, whereas standard journalism seeks to emphasise differences and seek interviews with those known to have extremely opposing views on a topic, civic journalism emphasises similarities and seeks to emphasise more moderate views. USA examples of civic journalism appear to be based primarily on attempts to involve citizens more in political life. For example, in one of the first - and perhaps only - attempts to evaluate a civic journalism campaign, a field experiment supported by the Pew Center for Civic Journalism, was designed to measure directly the impact of a multimedia civic journalism project in Madison, Wisconsin. The researchers wanted to find out whether a deliberate media campaign and related activities (e.g., town hall meetings), could interest people in the elections, cause them to learn more about the candidates and the issues, and inspire them to get involved, particularly to vote. The attitudes and knowledge of the citizens were measured before, during and after the campaign. The outcomes of the project (see Denton and Thorson 1995) included:

- a high level of awareness of the program;
- an increased interest in public affairs;
- people felt more knowledgeable;
- people aware of the program felt more able to decide between the candidates;
- people felt encouraged to vote;
- political cynicism did not increase (despite increased awareness of how campaign publicity can be used to distort issues); and
- a substantial increase in positive feelings towards the media outlets involved in the campaign.

These results show a clear positive change in civic involvement and "are very encouraging for those who want to improve the democratic process and to those who believe the news media can take a more active role in facilitating these processes" (Denton and Thorson 1995).

Appendix 2: Akron Coming Together Project: Case Study Evaluation

Following interviews with many of those concerned with the Coming Together project, Donovan (1996) came to the following conclusions as to factors that facilitated this project:

- The personal commitment and enthusiasm of a number of *individuals.*
- A supportive newspaper culture. The *Journal* has a history of involvement in community issues.
- The newspaper ownership supported this community orientation with resources.
- A commitment to a *long term* project (initially a year-long series of articles), not just a one-off, ad hoc approach.
- The extensive use of focus group research that allowed 'ordinary' people and the so-called 'silent majority' (of both races) to express their views and fears without being 'labelled'; and the personalisation of stories.
- The comprehensive background research for the articles, and the presentation format of the articles (i.e.,, use of graphics; photos).
- The timing was right: The Rodney King verdict and subsequent events resulted in an awareness throughout the United States that the racial question had to be confronted.
- There was a recent release of extensive census data providing a rich source of material for the articles.
- *The Journal* acted only as facilitator, requiring the community organisations themselves to develop and implement community interactions. The journalists also remained impartial in their articles, and ensured that both sides' views were published. Extreme views on either side were not included.
- The project members and advisory council members deliberately kept the project from being 'taken over' by any particular organisation wishing to promote a specific agenda. This was done by clearly positioning the project in a *race relations* context, not as a movement against institutional or other expressions of racism (though these are end goals). This facilitated the participation of people and groups who might otherwise have been deterred by the perceived dominance of some particular groups.
- Other media became involved as a result of community responses (e.g.,, talk-back radio).
- There were no unrealistic expectations. Most of those interviewed referred to 'moving slowly', with the first goal relating to increasing 'familiarity' between the two groups, then establishing 'trust' before moving on to more concrete objectives. This principle was stated as 'learning before doing'. It was stated that 'whites are *task* orientated and don't take time to develop relationships, whereas blacks required the building of trust before acting'. A similar cultural divide operates in Australia.
- In keeping with others' recommendations for civic journalism, the articles were written in a down-to-earth style and dealt primarily with concrete issues rather than abstract concepts. This made the articles comprehensible.
- Perhaps most importantly, the project told people what they could personally do to have an impact, and, furthermore, facilitated this involvement. This is crucial where people generally feel powerless or feel that their contribution would have no impact.