Building on our strengths
A framework to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity in Victoria
Full report

Addressing the social and economic determinants of mental and physical health
Building on our strengths

A framework to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity in Victoria

Full report
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**Further resources**
A list of further resources for planning activity to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity can be found at: http://www.vichealth.vic.gov.au/preventingdiscrimination/resources.

A Summary Report based on this detailed full report can be found at: www.vichealth.vic.gov.au.
Reducing race-based discrimination and supporting diversity*: A framework for action

Addressing the social and economic determinants of mental and physical health

### Key factors contributing to race-based discrimination

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>Organisational</th>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Societal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Belief in racial hierarchy and racial separatism</td>
<td>• Organisational cultures that do not recognise discrimination or value diversity</td>
<td>• Limited relationships and interaction between people from different groups</td>
<td>• Institutional, media, cultural and political support for, or weak sanctions against, discrimination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Belief that some groups do not fit into Australian society</td>
<td>• Organisations that support or have weak sanctions against discrimination</td>
<td>• Neighbourhood, family and peer cultures that are supportive of, or have weak sanctions against, discrimination</td>
<td>• Limited connections between people from different groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Fear, anxiety, discomfort, avoidance or intolerance of diversity</td>
<td>• Policies, practices and procedures that favour the majority group</td>
<td>• Resource competition</td>
<td>• Impacts of colonisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Denial that discrimination occurs and/or that it is serious</td>
<td>• Inequitable recruitment, evaluation, training, remuneration, turnover or promotion of staff</td>
<td>• Local demography, historical context and community identity</td>
<td>• Inequitable distribution of material, informational and symbolic resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Negative stereotypes and prejudices</td>
<td>• Limited opportunities for positive inter-group relationships and interactions</td>
<td>• Leadership that supports, fails to recognise or has weak sanctions against discrimination or does not value diversity</td>
<td>• A national identity that excludes certain groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to recognise own negative attitudes/behaviours and/or a belief that they are ‘normal’</td>
<td>• Leadership that supports, fails to recognise or has weak sanctions against discrimination or does not value diversity</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Leadership that supports, fails to recognise or has weak sanctions against discrimination or does not value diversity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Poor conflict resolution skills</td>
<td>• Limited positive inter-group relationships and interaction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Increasing empathy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Raising awareness</td>
<td>• Providing accurate information</td>
<td>• Increasing personal accountability</td>
<td>• Increasing organisational accountability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Recognising incompatible beliefs</td>
<td>• Breaking down barriers between groups</td>
<td>• Promoting positive social norms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Themes for action

- Increasing empathy
- Raising awareness
- Providing accurate information
- Recognising incompatible beliefs
- Increasing personal accountability
- Breaking down barriers between groups
- Promoting positive social norms

### Actions to reduce discrimination and support diversity

- Organisational development
- Communications and social marketing
- Research, evaluation and monitoring
- Legislative and policy reform
- Direct participation programs
- Community strengthening
- Advocacy

### Settings for action

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Hospitality and retail</th>
<th>Media and popular culture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New technologies</td>
<td>Public space</td>
<td>Public transport</td>
<td>Corporate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public sector</td>
<td>Arts and culture</td>
<td>Justice</td>
<td>Health and community services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports and recreation</td>
<td>Workplace and labour market</td>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>Local government</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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* The use of the word ‘discrimination’ should be taken to mean discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnicity, culture and/or religion. The same grounds are implied when the terms ‘diversity’, ‘group’ or ‘background’ are used. Acceptance of diversity encompasses recognising and valuing the contributions and heritage of Indigenous Australians.
## Intermediate outcomes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>Organisational</th>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Societal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individuals who:</td>
<td>Organisations that:</td>
<td>Environments that:</td>
<td>A society that:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Recognise the prevalence and impact of discrimination</td>
<td>• Have policies, practices and procedures to reduce discrimination and ensure fair and equitable outcomes for clients and staff from varied backgrounds</td>
<td>• Encourage and facilitate positive relationships between people from varied backgrounds</td>
<td>• Has strong legislative and regulatory frameworks and appropriate resource allocation to reduce discrimination and support diversity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Have accurate knowledge about and are comfortable with people from varied backgrounds</td>
<td>• Have strong mechanisms for responding to discrimination when it occurs</td>
<td>• Recognise the potential for discrimination and inter-group conflict and have strong mechanisms for reducing and responding to it</td>
<td>• Demonstrates pride in a diverse population and promotes diversity as a national asset</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Believe that people from varied backgrounds are equal as human beings</td>
<td>• Are accessible, safe and supportive for clients and staff from varied backgrounds</td>
<td>• Respect and value diversity as a resource and demonstrate pride in a diverse community identity</td>
<td>• Recognises and takes action to address the legacy of historical discrimination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Recognise the benefits of cultural diversity, support multiculturalism and feel pride in a diverse community</td>
<td>• Have strong internal leadership in the reduction of discrimination and support of diversity and model this to other organisations and the wider community</td>
<td>• Are welcoming, safe and supportive for people from varied backgrounds</td>
<td>• Has policies, programs and resource allocation to facilitate positive contact between groups from varied backgrounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Interact with people from varied backgrounds in respectful and just ways</td>
<td>• Model, promote and facilitate equitable and respectful inter-group relationships and interactions</td>
<td>• Have strong leadership in the reduction of discrimination and support of diversity</td>
<td>• Has strong and proactive leadership in the reduction of discrimination and support of diversity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Respond constructively to conflict</td>
<td>• Respect and value diversity as a resource</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Long-term benefits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>Organisational</th>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Societal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Reduced experiences of discrimination and improved sense of belonging for people from varied backgrounds</td>
<td>• Improved productivity and creativity</td>
<td>• Improved health outcomes</td>
<td>• Improved health outcomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Improved health outcomes</td>
<td>• Improved health outcomes and inter-group conflict</td>
<td>• Reduced discrimination and inter-group conflict</td>
<td>• Strong societal norms against discriminatory behaviours and institutional practices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Reduced socio-economic disadvantage</td>
<td>• Improved organisational outcomes</td>
<td>• Reduced social isolation and improved relationships and interactions between diverse groups</td>
<td>• Improved productivity and creativity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Increased productivity and participation</td>
<td>• Organisations that reflect a diverse community</td>
<td>• Improved distribution of power, resources and opportunities between diverse groups</td>
<td>• Improved international relations and international trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Improved quality of life</td>
<td>• Reduced discrimination and inter-group conflict</td>
<td>• Support for strong, distinctive and interconnected racial, ethnic, cultural and religious communities</td>
<td>• A society that acknowledges and values the unique contribution of Indigenous people and culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Positive racial, ethnic, cultural and religious identity for all</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• An inclusive, welcoming and tolerant national identity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| | | | • Improved distribution of power, resources and opportunities between diverse groups |
Building on our strengths

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## Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Discrimination</strong></td>
<td>Behaviours or practices that result in unequal power, resources or opportunities across different groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Direct discrimination</strong></td>
<td><em>Unequal treatment</em> that results in unequal power, resources or opportunities across different groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indirect discrimination</strong></td>
<td><em>Equal treatment</em> that results in unequal power, resources or opportunities across different groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interpersonal discrimination</strong></td>
<td><em>Interactions between people</em> that result in avoidable and unfair inequalities across different groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Systemic discrimination</strong></td>
<td>Also called institutional, organisational, societal or cultural discrimination. This occurs when <em>requirements, conditions, practices, policies or processes</em> result in avoidable and unfair inequalities across different groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Internalised discrimination</strong></td>
<td>When an <em>individual accepts attitudes, beliefs or ideologies</em> about the superiority of other groups and/or the inferiority of their own group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Race-based discrimination</strong></td>
<td>Behaviours and practices that result in avoidable and unfair inequalities across groups in society <em>based on race, ethnicity, culture or religion</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Anti-discrimination</strong></td>
<td>Behaviours or practices that result in equal power, resources or opportunities across different groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Direct anti-discrimination</strong></td>
<td><em>Equal treatment</em> that results in equal power, resources or opportunities across different groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indirect anti-discrimination</strong></td>
<td><em>Unequal treatment</em> that results in equal power, resources or opportunities across different groups. Positive discrimination, special measures and affirmative action are all forms of indirect anti-discrimination that serve to combat indirect discrimination that would occur in the presence of equal treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Assimilation</strong></td>
<td>Where minority groups give up their distinctive linguistic, cultural and social characteristics and become indistinguishable from the majority of the population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Multiculturalism</strong></td>
<td>Policies and practices that seek to recognise, manage and maximise the benefits of diversity with the intent of developing a culturally diverse society that is harmonious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Racism</strong></td>
<td>A phenomenon that results in avoidable and unfair inequalities in power, resources or opportunities across groups in society. It can be expressed through beliefs, prejudices or behaviours/practices and can be based on race, ethnicity, culture or religion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Executive summary and implications for policy and planning

Building on our strengths: a framework to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity in Victoria has been developed through a partnership between the Victorian Health Promotion Foundation (VicHealth), the Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission, the McCaughey Centre: VicHealth Centre for the Promotion of Mental Health and Community Wellbeing and the Onemda VicHealth Koori Health Unit. The McCaughey Centre and Onemda are both in the School of Population Health at the University of Melbourne.

Drawing on the best available evidence in Australia and internationally, this report outlines themes, strategies and priority settings for the development and implementation of activity to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity.

Although recognising that discrimination has a specific meaning in law, this report takes a broader approach, being concerned with behaviours and practices that result in avoidable and unfair inequalities across groups in society based on race, ethnicity, culture or religion.

Despite widespread support for diversity among Victorians, the data presented in this report indicate that race-based discrimination remains unacceptably high.

The findings of a survey commissioned by VicHealth in 2006–07 (referred to in this report as the VicHealth Survey) showed that 90% of Victorians think it is a good thing for society to be made up of people from different cultures. However, existing side-by-side with this apparent tolerance:

- nearly 1 in 10 respondents agreed with the statement that not all races are equal;
- nearly 1 in 10 respondents said that it is not a good idea for people of different races to marry one another;
- more than 1 in 3 respondents believed that ‘Australia is weakened by people of different ethnic origins sticking to their old ways’; and
- more than 1 in 3 respondents agreed with the statement that there were groups that did not belong in Australia [VicHealth 2007]

These findings are of particular concern given increasing evidence that race-based discrimination impacts negatively on both individuals and the community. This includes evidence of links with ill-health and reduced productivity, social inclusion and community cohesion. Reducing race-based discrimination will be critical if the Victorian and Australian governments are to meet their commitments to achieve equitable health for all Australians and, in particular, to eliminate the gaps in health, social and economic status between people from Indigenous and non-indigenous backgrounds.

Building on our strengths is driven by the goal of achieving sustainable reductions in race-based discrimination, with associated medium- and long-term benefits to individuals, organisations, communities and society. It is intended for broad usage across government, corporate, non-government and community sectors as a useful resource in policy and program development, implementation and evaluation.

The Framework

The Framework has been developed on the basis of an extensive review of Australian and international literature on theory and interventions to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity. This review was conducted by the project team in consultation with a panel of Australian discrimination experts and the Cochrane Public Health Review Group. The evidence suggests that although the causes of race-based discrimination are varied and complex, there are good prospects for reducing the individual, organisational, community and societal factors that contribute to it through comprehensive strategies implemented at multiple levels.

Building on this evidence and drawing from an ecological model of health, the Framework recognises the complex interactions between deeply held stereotypes, prejudices and race-based discrimination in the form of everyday acts as well as systemic discrimination embedded within current ideologies and structures. It recognises that a complex interplay of factors operating at four levels – individual, organisational, community and societal – contribute to race-based discrimination.

Levels of race-based discrimination are determined to some extent by underlying economic and social forces. In particular, there is evidence of a link between increased education and more tolerant attitudes toward diversity and difference (e.g. Paradies
2005). This is especially the case where approaches to education that encourage complex and critical thinking are adopted (‘liberal education’ approaches). Similarly, more tolerant attitudes have been found to be associated with non-authoritarian parenting styles (Paradies 2005). There is also some evidence that race-based discrimination increases in conditions of heavy competition for resources such as jobs and housing (Pettigrew 2006).

While some of these structural factors lie beyond the scope of this report, there remains considerable scope for targeted anti-discrimination programs and activities.

In recognition of this, the Framework has six layers:

- Key factors contributing to race-based discrimination
- Themes for action
- Actions to reduce discrimination and support diversity
- Settings for action
- Intermediate outcomes
- Long-term outcomes

Importantly, the Framework highlights eight themes or underlying principles that are critical to the implementation of a theoretically sound and effective set of interventions to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity. These are:

- increasing empathy;
- raising awareness;
- providing accurate information;
- recognising incompatible beliefs;
- increasing personal accountability;
- breaking down barriers between groups;
- increasing organisational accountability; and
- promoting positive social norms.

Only a limited number of rigorous evaluations have been conducted in relation to activities to reduce race-based discrimination. The actions and specific strategies proposed in the Framework are those that either have evidence of their effectiveness in rigorous evaluations or that show promise of effectiveness on the basis of sound theory and/or less rigorous evaluation and evidence of implementation.

The priority settings for action are those in which reported incidences of race-based discrimination are highest and those where race-based discrimination contributes to intense social disadvantage (for instance, the education sector and the criminal justice system). Also important is an understanding of geographic variations in attitudes towards diversity, as such knowledge will help to guide governments and communities making determinations on where effort is best spent.

**Implications for policy and planning**

The contribution to discrimination made by deeper cultural and structural forces suggests the importance of continued support for general social policy initiatives to improve access to education, in particular liberal education. Ongoing initiatives to support positive parenting skills, especially those facilitating democratic parenting styles, are also important. Particularly critical will be continued policy support for measures to reduce social and economic disadvantage (which has a range of negative impacts for all Victorians, among them the inter-group tension that may arise from competition for scarce resources).

At the same time, however, there are a number of initiatives and activities with a specific focus on reducing discrimination and supporting diversity that could be supported by government.

Analysis of the evidence regarding such actions raises a number of implications for policy and planning.
Overall, it is clear that the optimal approach to reducing race-based discrimination would comprise multi-faceted activities incorporating a range of strategies implemented across a range of settings. Where resources allow, individual programs would be developed in an integrated and coherent manner to reinforce effectiveness and to contribute to more sustainable outcomes.

Implementing such an approach to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity in Victoria will require:

- state-level leadership and planning;
- universal or ‘society-wide’ interventions, emphasising the importance of a whole-of-population approach to embedding social change;
- interventions at a local level coordinated by local governments;
- multi-level, multi-strategy interventions in priority settings. Particular emphasis will be required on those settings through which young people can be reached and that have a strong influence on their life chances;
- multiple and reinforcing organisational development strategies;
- engagement of Indigenous and culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) community leadership; and
- research, evaluation and monitoring, reflecting the ongoing need for evidence on ‘what works’.

Each of these is discussed further below.

**State-level leadership and planning**

Clearly much work remains to be done by governments and others to address the impacts of discrimination once it has occurred, and in particular to address disadvantage affecting Indigenous and some CALD communities. This work is also important for its symbolic value and its potential to deter future discriminatory behaviours. However, there is considerable potential to complement these efforts by strengthening measures to address the factors that contribute to discrimination. The Victorian Government has a clear commitment to this, manifest in a number of policy frameworks addressing disadvantage experienced by Victorians from Indigenous and CALD backgrounds and through its commitment to protect human rights under the *Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities Act 2006*. There would be benefits in a high-level planning framework to guide this work.

Since the focus for change when addressing discrimination affecting Indigenous and CALD communities is the whole community and mainstream organisational contexts, this would best be achieved through a common planning framework that recognises both the similarities and differences in race-based discrimination affecting these groups.

Many of the factors contributing to discrimination cross traditional boundaries between government and non-government sectors, government departments, disciplines and settings. It would therefore be beneficial for government to invest in a state-wide planning process to coordinate efforts to address the factors that contribute to discrimination and help ensure these efforts support and reinforce one another and are guided by the evidence.

State-wide leadership and planning will be especially important as the State Government has primary responsibility for many of the policy settings in which discrimination occurs. State Government policy and program development will also be required to support efforts by organisations and communities at the local level.

**Implications for policy and planning**

1. A state-wide plan should be developed to guide activities aimed at reducing discrimination affecting Indigenous Victorians and those from CALD backgrounds.

**Universal interventions**

As discussed later, the evidence indicates that there are some benefits in targeting efforts to particular local communities and in particular settings or sectors. However, universal or society-wide interventions, such as social norms campaigns and policy and legislative reforms, will be crucial to the success of an overall plan to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity.

There are a number of reasons for this, including:
Evidence shows that discriminatory behaviour is influenced by broader social norms. How an individual behaves is likely to be influenced not only by their individual attitudes and contexts but also by their perceptions of how their behaviour will be viewed by others and the likely consequences of that behaviour. At a societal level, race-based discrimination is evident in cultural and ideological expressions that underlie and sustain majority values and beliefs. It is evident in a whole range of concepts, ideas, images and institutions that provide the framework of interpretation and meaning for seeing society in terms of ‘us’ and ‘them’, ‘local’ and ‘foreigner’, ‘Australian’ and ‘un-Australian’. Shifting these broader norms is important to reduce discrimination and support diversity across the population.

Policy statements and laws act as moral exemplars or declaratory statements, embodying the values, norms and standards of acceptable behaviours in society. They provide the social foundations needed for altering deep-seated stereotypes, prejudices and discriminatory practices, as well as serving deterrent, remedial, prescriptive, proscriptive and punitive functions.

A society-wide approach recognises that while race-based discrimination occurs more commonly in certain localities and settings, and among certain social groups, it is not confined to them. Rather, it is evident across a broad range of institutions and settings and transcends socio-economic, age, cultural and gender boundaries. With the exception of poor education, which is a strong and consistent predictor of intolerance, the strength of the association between demographic factors such as age and gender is modest. While such associations suggest the need to ensure that strategies reach across a range of demographics, they are generally not sufficient to warrant specifically targeting interventions to particular demographic groups.

The Victorian Equal Opportunity Act 1995 has recently been reviewed. The preferred model outlined in the review report proposes the Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission (VEOHRC) be allowed to issue guidelines, create action plans and assist public and private organisations reviewing their policies and practices. It also proposed that VEOHRC be required to collect and analyse data on systemic discrimination and to initiate enquiries, enter into enforceable undertakings and issue compliance notices. This model would provide a crucial foundation for the approach proposed in this report.

Implications for policy and planning
2. A state-wide plan should support diversity by strengthening relevant policy and legislation across settings and sectors and include whole-of-population social marketing strategies.
3. The preferred model proposed in the review of the Victorian Equal Opportunity Act should be implemented to build on the current Victorian legislative framework and strengthen activities to reduce discrimination and support diversity.

Interventions at a local level
The VicHealth Survey found that although both tolerant and intolerant attitudes are found in all locations, there are variations in attitudes toward diversity and experiences of race-based discrimination across Victoria. In particular:

- Victorians living in rural areas generally hold less tolerant attitudes than people living in metropolitan Melbourne, although there are important exceptions to this.
- There are some areas on the fringes of the Melbourne metropolitan area that show above average levels of intolerance toward diversity and discomfort with difference. Some of these are areas where there is rapid population growth and increasing diversity. This provides an opportunity to support the development of positive inter-group relations at an early stage.
- There are some areas with high levels of diversity and substantial Indigenous communities. These areas require ongoing support to ensure positive inter-group relations are maintained.

This suggests that although strong state government leadership and a supportive legislative context are vital, there would be benefits in complementary efforts at the local level.

Other reasons for supporting local-level interventions include:

- Implementing a range of strategies (such as media campaigns and community development activities) in an integrated way is more readily achieved within a confined geographic area.
- Small-scale local initiatives can be carefully managed, supported and monitored to help to avoid negative impacts.
Locally targeted strategies can be tailored to the characteristics of particular communities.

This suggests that local government has an important role to play in efforts to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity. This is particularly the case as:

- race-based discrimination can be addressed through a range of settings and processes over which local governments exert influence (e.g. public spaces, the retail sector, recreation services);
- local governments are visible and accessible to local populations and have a democratic mandate to implement change; and
- local governments have well-established track records in supporting diversity.

VicHealth is currently working with a number of funding and implementation partners to trial a locally-based approach to reducing race-based discrimination and supporting diversity in two local government areas. The Localities Embracing and Accepting Diversity (LEAD) program has been funded for three years [2009–12]. Evaluation is being conducted and will provide information for future planning.

Implications for policy and planning

4. Local government should be identified in a state-wide plan as having an important role to play in the development and implementation of multi-level, multi-strategy approaches to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity. Particular emphasis should be placed on localities with high levels of diversity and rural, regional and outer-suburban areas in which there are significant Indigenous communities and/or increasing diversity.

5. Information from the evaluation of the Localities Embracing and Accepting Diversity (LEAD) demonstration sites should be considered in determining the nature and extent of program support required by local governments in fulfilling this role.

Multi-level, multi-strategy interventions in priority settings

Locality is not the only issue to be considered when determining priorities for action. People may experience discrimination in settings outside their home localities, such as in their workplaces or in educational contexts. Further, many of the factors that influence the experience of discrimination lie outside local areas. For example, local branches of large companies may have their policies set by central offices, sometimes in other states or off-shore. In such cases, addressing discriminatory practices is best achieved by working with sector or settings-based organisations, such as employer organisations, trade unions and state anti-discrimination authorities. When planning takes place at the local level, consideration will also need to be given to particular settings.

There are a number of settings in which discrimination can occur, can have a particularly negative impact, and where there are good prospects for reducing its occurrence. Six of these – education, workplaces/the labour market, sports and recreation, justice, housing and local government – have emerged as being particularly important.

There are also compelling arguments for targeting interventions to settings through which young people can be reached and that have a strong influence on their life chances. These include:

- evidence of young people’s particular vulnerability to the impacts of discrimination; and
- the greater prospects for success when intervening early in the life-cycle, both in terms of reducing exposure to discrimination and in shaping positive responses to diversity.

Implications for policy and planning

6. A state-wide plan should complement universal and locally targeted actions with actions in settings where high rates of discrimination have been observed and where effective or promising strategies are available. In addition to local government, these should include education, workplaces/the labour market, sports and recreation, justice and housing.

7. A state-wide plan should consider processes for identifying and implementing the best available programs to reduce discrimination and support diversity in each of the priority settings.

8. A state-wide plan should give particular priority to settings through which young people can be reached, with the aims of:
   - reducing discrimination affecting young people; and
• reducing discriminatory behaviour and supporting acceptance of diversity among young people.

High priority organisational development strategies

While a number of effective and promising strategies were identified in the course of the review, the evidence for those involving organisational development was particularly strong. The case for strengthening such approaches is compelling given the influence of organisations such as hospitals, schools and workplaces in our day-to-day lives. The relatively small scale of many organisations also makes them amenable to change.

Organisations also lend themselves well to ecological approaches where multiple and reinforcing strategies can be used at different levels of influence. This is best illustrated in ‘whole-of-school’ approaches to anti-discrimination, where programs involve activities targeted to individuals (teachers and students) as well as to school policies and procedures and the wider school community.

Three organisational development strategies warrant particular consideration:

• measures to improve organisational accountability;
• measures to increase inter-group contact; and
• diversity training among key workforces.

Achieving organisational accountability involves a conscious, planned and appropriately resourced process of reform to incorporate non-discrimination as a standard across a range of functions, including leadership and governance, strategic planning and policy development, operational processes and practices, training, communications, auditing and reporting. Organisational accountability strategies are vital since the effectiveness of the other two strategies (increased inter-group contact and diversity training) is dependent upon the existence of a wider organisational context in which diversity is supported. Although no evaluations of the impact of organisational accountability strategies were found, they have been implemented across a range of settings in countries around the world and are well established in a number of sectors in Victoria.

Measures to increase inter-group contact are based on the ‘contact hypothesis’, a psychological model that suggests stereotyping and prejudice can be reduced through positive contact between groups (Allport 1954; Pettigrew 1998). The effectiveness of the approach has been well established in a number of cross-national studies (Pettigrew 2006). Much inter-group contact occurs naturally in organisations. However, there is potential to strengthen this, identify new opportunities and take steps to optimise the conditions under which it occurs. This is important as the evidence specifies a number of conditions that should be met when different groups are brought into contact for this approach to be most effective. These conditions include that:

• there is equal status between groups;
• competition is avoided;
• participants are engaged in collaborative activity, working toward a common goal;
• contact takes place in an environment in which diversity is valued and supported; and
• opportunities are provided for participants across groups to form personal acquaintances and friendships.

There is a risk that contact will be ineffective or counterproductive if these conditions are not met.

Although diversity training is a well-established practice in many public and private sector organisations, there is variability in the quality and approach of training, with evidence suggesting that many contemporary programs:

• tend to focus on old-fashioned forms of prejudice;
• are confined to achieving change in individual attitudes, with very little content on behavioural, cultural, organisational or sector wide change; and
• lack clarity in their philosophy, targets, aims and objectives; and
are focused on acquiring knowledge and awareness about the ‘other’, with very few seeking to increase awareness of participants’ prejudices and discriminatory beliefs or of discrimination in society and what can be done to combat it (Ungerleider & McGregor 1993). The most effective training appears to incorporate both these approaches.

These findings suggest there may be benefits in taking a more systematic and planned approach to organisational development in general and to diversity training in particular. The public sector has the potential to play a leadership role in this regard, both in its own workforces and program delivery as well as by supporting such approaches in its funded agencies.

Implications for policy and planning
9. A state-wide plan should identify key settings in which organisational development strategies should be implemented and consider a systematic approach for ensuring implementation and associated resourcing, support and monitoring.
10. A state-wide plan should include measures to review and build on existing diversity training initiatives to ensure that such training provided in public sector settings is appropriately coordinated, planned and resourced, and that it is based on evidence-informed approaches.
11. A state-wide plan should consider measures for supporting and mandating its funded agencies to implement evidence-informed organisational development approaches to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity.

Engagement of affected communities
Arguably, the responsibility for addressing discrimination lies primarily with mainstream organisational environments and the wider community. Nevertheless, Indigenous and CALD communities have a pivotal role to play in shaping overall approaches. Strong leadership in these communities will be important to facilitate this input as well as to support the capacity of communities to participate in efforts to highlight and address discrimination and to build linkages across groups.

Implications for policy and planning
12. Leaders of affected groups should be involved in the development and implementation of a state-wide plan to reduce discrimination and support diversity.
13. Supporting the development of leadership in affected communities should be a key goal of a state-wide plan to reduce discrimination and support diversity.

Evaluation and monitoring
As with any other investment of resources, rigorous evaluation of interventions that develop out of the proposed Framework will aid future planning and build the knowledge base for reducing race-based discrimination and supporting diversity. Monitoring of the overall impact of the Framework and associated interventions will also be critical for accountability and ongoing review and adjustment.

Implications for policy and planning
14. A state-wide plan should include means of evaluating implementation of the plan as a whole as well as specific strategies, with a view to assessing the impact and promoting learning, continuous improvement and skills and knowledge transfer.
15. Indicators and measures should be developed against agreed intermediate outcomes of a state-wide plan to enable progress to be assessed.

Summary of implications
1. A state-wide plan should be developed to guide activities aimed at reducing discrimination affecting Indigenous Victorians and those from CALD backgrounds.
2. A state-wide plan should support diversity by strengthening relevant policy and legislation across settings and sectors and include whole-of-population social marketing strategies.
3. The preferred model proposed in the review of the Victorian Equal Opportunity Act should be implemented to build on the current Victorian legislative framework and strengthen activities to reduce discrimination and support diversity.

4. Local government should be identified in a state-wide plan as having an important role to play in the development and implementation of multi-level, multi-strategy approaches to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity. Particular emphasis should be placed on localities with high levels of diversity and rural, regional and outer-suburban areas in which there are significant Indigenous communities and/or increasing diversity.

5. Information from the evaluation of the Localities Embracing and Accepting Diversity (LEAD) demonstration sites should be considered in determining the nature and extent of program support required by local governments in fulfilling this role.

6. A state-wide plan should complement universal and locally targeted actions with actions in settings where high rates of discrimination have been observed and where effective or promising strategies are available. In addition to local government, these should include education, workplaces/the labour market, sports and recreation, justice and housing.

7. A state-wide plan should consider processes for identifying and implementing the best available programs to reduce discrimination and support diversity in each of the priority settings.

8. A state-wide plan should give particular priority to settings through which young people can be reached, with the aims of:
   - reducing discrimination affecting young people; and
   - reducing discriminatory behaviour and supporting acceptance of diversity among young people.

9. A state-wide plan should identify key settings in which organisational development strategies should be implemented and consider a systematic approach for ensuring implementation and associated resourcing, support and monitoring.

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15. Indicators and measures should be developed against agreed intermediate outcomes of a state-wide plan to enable progress to be assessed.
1 Introduction

While Victoria has often led the nation in protecting its residents from discrimination and vilification on the grounds of race, ethnicity, cultural or religious background, there is evidence [presented in Section 3] that race-based discrimination continues to be experienced by far too many Victorians.

Race-based discrimination is a preventable problem with serious health, social and economic consequences. The Victorian Health Promotion Foundation (VicHealth) has identified reducing race-based discrimination and supporting diversity as a priority in its program of activity aimed at improving health and wellbeing through increasing social and economic participation. This decision is underpinned by strong new evidence on the consequences of discrimination on health and wellbeing [Paradies 2006; Pascoe & Richman 2009; Williams & Mohammed 2009].

A 2007 VicHealth report, More than tolerance: embracing diversity for health, noted there had been a number of initiatives to address race-based discrimination but they tended to be ‘one-off’ activities, with very few including rigorous evaluation. The report identified the need for a better understanding of how to effectively address race-based discrimination. A partnership between VicHealth, the Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission (VEOHRC), the McCaughey Centre: VicHealth Centre for the Promotion of Mental Health and Community Wellbeing and the Onemda VicHealth Koori Health Unit, both located within the School of Population Health at The University of Melbourne, was established to develop a framework to inform action to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity.

Building on our strengths: a framework to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity in Victoria is the result of this partnership. Based on a rigorous review of Australian and international literature, it summarises the theory, experimental research and other evidence related to strategies being implemented around the world to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity. It is intended as a resource to support and shape future activity in Victoria, within government, corporate, non-government and community sectors.

This section positions the Framework within the background of Australian and Victorian policy responses to diversity and race-based discrimination. It outlines the scope of the report, the method that was adopted and an overview of the Framework itself.

1.1 Australia’s policy responses to diversity

Addressing race-based discrimination is a multifaceted process that is increasingly intertwined with efforts to address the challenges of diversity [Putman 2007].

In the early years of European settlement, Australia’s responses to Indigenous and non-European Australians were based on the allegedly inherent ‘racial superiority’ of so-called ‘White’ Australians. In this period, Aboriginal Australians were murdered, exploited and dispossessed of their lands by European settlers, resulting in a dramatic decline in the Indigenous population. This was further compounded in later years through policies of protectionism, where Indigenous people were confined on reserves and missions.

Between 1901 and the 1960s Australian immigration policy (often referred to as the ‘White Australia Policy’) had the effect of excluding non-European migrants. Those that were accepted into the country were required to give up their distinctive linguistic, cultural and social characteristics and to become indistinguishable from the majority population¹, an approach referred to as ‘assimilation’. The goal of assimilation was also adopted for Indigenous Australians in the post-protection era. This was most graphically illustrated in the practice of removal of Indigenous children from their parents with the aim of ensuring that they became assimilated into the majority culture.

From the late 1960s in Australia, as in many other countries, there was growing recognition that assimilation was failing migrants, refugees and Indigenous Australians. In Indigenous policy there was increasing emphasis on the importance of engaging Indigenous people in civic and economic processes and a commitment to overcoming Indigenous social and economic disadvantage. In migrant and refugee settlement, a policy of integration was adopted. In this approach the retention of distinctive linguistic, cultural and social characteristics was seen as a private matter and not the business of government. The shift away from assimilation was further cemented in the early 1970s with the official adoption of ‘multiculturalism’ as an approach to managing diversity and facilitating migrant and refugee settlement. In this approach, diversity was positively valued and

¹ Largely made up of those who identify as Anglo-Australian, Anglo-Celtic and Anglo-Saxon.
Building on our strengths

supported with the aim of migrants becoming part of a culturally diverse and harmonious society bounded by democratic values. A similar evolution took place in Indigenous affairs, with greater emphasis being placed on self-determination and self-management.

Since the 1990s, policies have placed increasing focus on acknowledging the history of Indigenous-European contact and conflict, the place of Indigenous people in Australian society and the need for committed acts of both symbolic and active reconciliation. At the symbolic level, reconciliation includes respect for Indigenous identity and spiritual beliefs, an acknowledgement of the tragic history of Indigenous experience since colonisation and recognition of the rights that stem from Indigenous people’s status as the original occupants and custodians of the land. Its active forms involve committed acts that lead to greater social justice and address the serious and ongoing disadvantage of Indigenous people (Brahm Levey 2007; Gardiner-Garden 1999).

Australian government policies now reflect an acceptance that diverse cultural groups should express, enjoy and celebrate their cultures.

1.2 Victorian policy and legislative context

The Victorian Government has shown strong leadership in responding to the challenges of diversity. Even when polices such as multiculturalism and reconciliation have been under attack in the national arena, Victoria has continued to display a strong bipartisan commitment to these principles.

The most recent policy statement of the Victorian Government in this area is All of us: Victoria’s multicultural policy (VMC 2009), which clearly affirms the Government’s commitment to a whole-of-government and whole-of-community approach to supporting cultural diversity. The importance of encouraging shared values of respect, fairness, equality and freedom from discrimination for all Victorians and the need to promote equality in justice, health, education and workplaces are also identified. The policy gives particular attention to the negative impact of discrimination on physical and mental health, with express Government commitment to reducing discrimination in all its forms. Within this commitment, reducing racial and religious discrimination is specifically identified as a key policy objective. Priority strategies identified include: educating people from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds about their human rights; encouraging workplaces to respect cultural and religious practices and eliminate discriminatory hiring practices; and building the cultural competency of health and education workers and institutions to ensure equity of access and culturally appropriate services.

The Victorian Equal Opportunity Act 1995 has recently been reviewed. The preferred model detailed in the final report (Gardner 2008) aims to build upon the current Victorian legislative framework by increasing the range of duties and powers of the Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission (VEOHRC). The proposed model would allow the Commission to issue guidelines, create action plans and, upon request, review public/private organisations. It would also require the Commission to collect and analyse data on systemic discrimination and provide it with the power to initiate enquiries, enter into enforceable undertakings and issue compliance notices.

Table 1.1 sets out a range of critical policy and legislative initiatives that currently address diversity and discrimination in Victoria.
Table 1.1: Victorian current policy and legislative initiatives relating to race-based discrimination and diversity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initiative</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Equal Opportunity Act (1995)</strong></td>
<td>Aims to promote recognition and acceptance of everyone’s right to equality and to eliminate discrimination (including race-based discrimination) as far as possible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities Act (2006)</strong></td>
<td>Sets out and protects freedoms, rights and responsibilities for all people in Victoria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A Fairer Victoria (2009)</strong></td>
<td>Victoria’s social policy action plan to tackle disadvantage, promote participation and create opportunity for all Victorians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>All of Us: Victoria’s Multicultural Policy (2009)</strong></td>
<td>Sets out a framework for continuing to strengthen and promote multiculturalism across the state.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the whole-of-government and whole-of-community approach to supporting diversity and reducing race-based discrimination outlined in *All of us*, there are a number of sector-specific policies and other instruments that reflect a similar intent. These include the:

- Refugee Health and Wellbeing Action Plan 2008-2010 (2008);
- Multicultural Education Strategy (2009);
- Blueprint for Education and Early Childhood Development (2008);
- Wannik Education Strategy for Koorie Students (DEECD 2008);
- Future Directions: Action Agenda for Young Victorians (2006);
- Justice Statement 2 (2008);
- Working Victoria – Victoria’s Workforce Participation Strategy (2008);
- State Services Authority Victorian Public Service Indigenous Employment Strategy; and

In its February 2009 Annual Statement of Government Intentions, the State Government also announced a plan to promote respect. Prompted by concern about the rise in binge-drinking, violence and inappropriate behaviour, the agenda is targeted particularly to young people. Among the strategies identified are school-based programs, recognising the important role that schools play in teaching young people to value themselves, their families and communities. Strategies to promote inter-group respect and reduce discrimination have considerable potential to integrate into this and other aspects of the respect agenda.

While these policy and legislative initiatives provide an excellent basis for further effort across the state to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity, it is argued in this report that much more can be done. The *Building on our strengths* Framework, based on sound theory and evidence from implementation of strategies, provides strong guidance on what actions can be taken in a range of legislative, policy and practice settings to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity.
1.3 Scope of this report

1.3.1 Primary prevention

The focus of this report is on reducing race-based discrimination by addressing the factors that contribute to it occurring in the first place. Although concerned with discrimination affecting particular populations (most notably those from CALD and Indigenous backgrounds), it focuses on strategies to build positive attitudes and behaviours in the whole community and on reorienting the cultures, policies and procedures of organisations within it. That is, it focuses on strategies that aim to prevent both interpersonal and systemic discrimination from occurring.

Nevertheless, it is recognised that discrimination is a problem that will take many years to eliminate. Although not the focus of this report, continued efforts to deal with the impacts of discrimination will remain important. This includes initiatives such as complaints handling systems and counselling for victims as well as programs to address the disadvantage that results from discrimination.

1.3.2 Race-based discrimination in its broadest sense

The Victorian Equal Opportunity Act provides that some types of race-based discrimination are unlawful. This law applies to public behaviour rather than private conduct. Public areas covered by the Act include accommodation, clubs, disposal of land, education, employment, goods and services, sport and local government (VEOHRC 2007). Race-based discrimination is also unlawful under the Commonwealth Racial Discrimination Act 1975.

Under the Victorian Racial and Religious Tolerance Act 2001, racial and religious vilification is also against the law. Vilification is public behaviour that incites hatred, serious contempt, revulsion or severe ridicule against another person or group of people because of their race or religion. Incitement is about more than just holding a view or expressing an opinion – it is about taking action to encourage or promote hatred towards others (VEOHRC 2006).

Thus, while it is against the law to refuse to employ someone on the basis of their ethnicity, or to incite others to hate a person because of their religious views, it is not against the law to refuse to sit next to the same person on a tram or to not invite them to a social function in your home.

Everyday forms of race-based discrimination, which are typically not against the law, can also impact on people’s health and wellbeing, constrain future life chances, and in some circumstances infringe upon their human rights.

Building on our strengths therefore takes a broad approach to discrimination, being concerned with behaviours and practices that result in avoidable and unfair inequalities across groups in society based on race, ethnicity, culture or religion, irrespective of whether these behaviours or practices are against the law.

1.3.3 Taking a ‘whole-of-community’ approach

Building on our strengths focuses on strategies to build positive attitudes and behaviours in the whole community and on reorienting the cultures, policies and procedures of organisations within it. In the case of interpersonal discrimination, the strategies are designed to reduce race-based discrimination regardless of the racial, ethnic, cultural or religious background of the person behaving in a discriminatory fashion.

This approach recognises the complexity of living in a culturally diverse society. In this context, race-based discrimination may be practiced not only by those who are part of the so-called dominant or majority culture but also by those from racial, ethnic, cultural or religious minorities, some of whom may be affected by discrimination themselves. People who are targeted by race-based discrimination respond in varied and complex ways. Some internalise these experiences and endorse discriminatory beliefs about their own group and even feel that they deserve such treatment. Others turn race-based discrimination against members of their own groups or those who are more maligned than them, or lash out at the dominant group through retaliatory discrimination.

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2 A phenomenon sometimes referred to as lateral violence (Gallaher 2008) or intra-racial discrimination (Paradies 2006).
Nevertheless, within this report’s whole-of-community approach it is recognised that decisions about where interventions are most effectively targeted should take account of the particular potential for discrimination to cause harm when it occurs in mainstream organisational environments and when it is practiced by people who are relatively more powerful than those being subject to it.

1.3.4 Addressing discrimination affecting Indigenous Australians and CALD communities

*Building on our strengths* focuses, in particular, on discrimination affecting those from Indigenous and culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds as these groups have been found to be most affected by race-based discrimination.

In Australia, scholarship and policy aimed at supporting diversity and addressing disadvantage has largely maintained separate approaches for Indigenous communities and those from CALD backgrounds. This separation has arisen out of a need to avoid conflating the circumstances facing Indigenous Australians [as first nation peoples] with others affected by race-based discrimination. It is acknowledged that patterns of discrimination affecting Indigenous Australians are both similar to, and distinct from, those affecting people from CALD backgrounds (see, for instance, Pedersen et al. 2005). Nonetheless, as mentioned earlier, when undertaking work to reduce race-based discrimination the target is the *whole community* rather than just the affected groups. For this reason, this Framework is based on the position that effective anti-discrimination must have the flexibility to address race-based discrimination against people from all backgrounds while continuing to highlight the importance of specific strategies to address race-based discrimination against particular communities. Some scholars have adopted a similar position (see Allbrook 2001; Vasta & Castles 1996). *All of us: Victoria’s multicultural policy* (VMC 2009), the most recent multicultural policy statement by the Victorian Government, also includes reference to Victorians from both Indigenous and CALD backgrounds.

1.3.5 Minimising the impacts of historical disadvantage through organisational change

In some cases, unequal outcomes in institutional settings may occur, not because of the prevailing institutional culture or the way an institution is organised, but rather because a person or group has experienced race-based discrimination earlier in their life. Historical experiences of race-based discrimination [for instance, in the education sector] put individuals at a disadvantage in their interactions with institutions in the present [for instance, when seeking employment].

The impact of historical discrimination on Indigenous Australians is particularly pronounced. For example, Indigenous families may delay seeking health care because they fear their children may be taken from them. This is in turn a legacy of the practice of forced removal of Indigenous children from their families that persisted in various guises until well into the 20th century (HREOC 1997).

*Building on our strengths* is based on the understanding that institutions have a *positive obligation* to address disadvantage caused by historical experiences of race-based discrimination. They can do this by:

- adjusting the way they operate so that equal outcomes are more likely [for example, a hospital training its staff to provide culturally-appropriate services to Indigenous families]; and /or
- developing a specific program or initiative designed to rectify disadvantage caused by historical discrimination [for example, setting up a special ‘outreach’ clinic in a familiar community venue that is tailored to address the concerns of Indigenous patients].

Both approaches are vital to address the unequal contemporary outcomes caused by past race-based discrimination. However, in keeping with its focus on the factors contributing to discrimination, this report focuses on the first response (that is, strategies for reorienting organisational cultures, policies and procedures).

1.3.6 Focusing on interventions with the primary purpose of reducing discrimination and supporting diversity

There is evidence that deeper structural forces [mainly those at the societal level] make a contribution to discrimination. In particular, there is some evidence to suggest that discrimination, or factors increasing the risk of discrimination, may be associated with:
Building on our strengths

- social and economic deprivation and resulting competition for resources such as jobs, housing and community resources;
- lower educational attainment and educational approaches that fail to encourage complex and critical thinking; and
- highly authoritarian parenting styles.

The importance of these factors and efforts to address them through broader social policy initiatives is recognised. However, the Framework has a focus on interventions that are specifically focused on reducing discrimination and supporting diversity.

1.4 Methodology

This report has been developed on the basis of an extensive review of Australian and international literature. The aim of this review was twofold: first, to build a strong theoretical base for interventions to reduce race-based discrimination, including the development of underlying themes to guide action; and second, to identify evidence of interventions that are effective in the reduction of race-based discrimination, including strategies and settings for actions.

Several strategies were utilised to identify relevant literature for this report. Initially, the project team identified key resources from their own citation databases, professional contacts and email alerts. In addition, a number of Australian anti-discrimination experts were consulted.

To systematically capture evidence on interventions to reduce race-based discrimination, a search of available electronic databases was developed by the Cochrane Public Health Review Group in consultation with the project team. The search was limited to items published in English from 1990 until September 2008. In total, this review identified 2808 journal articles, monographs and conference abstracts. Non-relevant resources were then excluded using a sequential process where the title, abstract and then full text were read. Resources were excluded at each of these stages if they did not relate to the broad topic of anti-discrimination. Combining the resources selected by the two reviewers, 75 were identified as relevant to this review.

Following this, a separate internet search was conducted supplemented by a search of literature available from the websites of key organisations publishing in this area.

This research indicates there have been few rigorous evaluations of interventions designed to reduce race-based discrimination. Rigorous evaluation refers primarily to those studies that have involved comparison between implementation and control groups. There are, however, a number of strategies that have been evaluated using less rigorous methodologies. The strategies included in this report (outlined in detail in Section 6) are based on one of the following two levels of evidence:

- **Effective strategies**: those with a sound theoretical basis, evidence of implementation and evidence of effectiveness.
- **Promising strategies**: those with a sound theoretical basis and evidence of implementation (but no rigorous evaluation of effectiveness).

The study of anti-discrimination is undoubtedly one of the most broad-ranging topics of scholarly investigation, spanning disciplines as varied as psychology, sociology, anthropology, geography, public policy and education, as well as international studies, media studies and peace studies. As such, locating and keeping abreast of key research in this area is an ongoing challenge. We do not claim that the above search strategy constitutes an exhaustive list of all relevant research on anti-discrimination. Rather, we have sampled a range of quality research that broadly captures the current state of publicly available scholarship and practical knowledge on anti-discrimination in relation to race, ethnicity, culture and religion.

1.5 Overview of the Framework

The philosophy behind this report (and the Framework itself) underlines the need for comprehensive strategies to combat race-based discrimination at multiple levels. Drawing from an ecological model of health (Stokols 1992), it recognises the complex interactions between deeply held stereotypes and prejudices, race-based discrimination in the form of everyday acts, and systemic discrimination embedded within current ideologies and structures. It recognises that a complex interplay of factors operating at four levels (individual, organisational, community and societal) contributes to race-based discrimination. Accordingly, efforts to reduce race-based discrimination must also be targeted at these four levels.
This ecological approach is useful because it accounts for the complexity of factors that contribute to race-based discrimination and support diversity and shifts the focus away from single-factor explanations to comprehensive strategies (McKown 2005). Furthermore, by understanding that these factors operate across a number of levels, it demands a correspondingly complex approach to reducing discrimination. An ecological approach emphasises the need for many different types of action operating at multiple levels and across a range of settings in a mutually reinforcing manner.

The Framework comprises six layers. The first layer identifies factors that contribute to race-based discrimination at the level of the individual, the organisation, the community and society.

The second layer outlines eight themes for action:
- increasing empathy;
- raising people’s awareness of their own beliefs, attitudes and behaviours;
- providing accurate information;
- assisting people to recognise incompatible beliefs;
- increasing personal accountability;
- breaking down barriers between groups;
- increasing organisational accountability; and
- promoting positive social norms.

These themes are key elements for the implementation of a theoretically sound and effective set of interventions to reduce race-based discrimination.

The third layer of the Framework outlines seven broad actions for reducing race-based discrimination and supporting diversity:
- organisational development;
- communications and social marketing;
- legislative and policy reform;
- direct participation programs;
- community strengthening;
- advocacy; and
- research, evaluation and monitoring.

These actions have been widely deployed in relation to other significant health and social issues.

Within these broad actions, specific promising strategies were identified in the Australian and international literature that could be implemented by practitioners and policy makers across the themes for action.

It is important to bear in mind that the primary reduction of race-based discrimination is an emerging area of practice. In order to capture the rich range of activity that is taking place to reduce race-based discrimination, this report also draws on practical knowledge, experience and evidence indicating that specific strategies are promising and deserve further exploration and testing. All of the strategies presented in this Framework require careful pre-testing in the contexts where they will be implemented. Even when strategies have been rigorously evaluated elsewhere, such testing is crucial to ensure that they are appropriate to their new context and do not have unintended negative effects.

Race-based discrimination occurs in a range of settings in which we live our day-to-day lives, such as our homes, schools, sporting clubs, retail facilities, communities and workplaces. Many of the opportunities for reducing the problem must also lie in these environments. The fourth layer of the Framework identifies the key settings for action for reducing race-based discrimination and supporting diversity.

The fifth layer provides a series of intermediate outcomes that can be used to measure success in reducing race-based discrimination and supporting diversity. They have been designed to measure shifts in the factors that contribute to race-based discrimination. These intermediate outcomes highlight the types of changes that would be expected to result from primary
prevention activities. The **sixth layer** outlines the longer-term benefits that could be achieved through implementation of the Framework.

This format emphasises the importance of integrated, cross-sectoral and mutually-reinforcing strategies to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity.
2 Definitions and key concepts

2.1 Race-based discrimination

Discrimination encompasses behaviours or practices that result in avoidable and unfair inequalities in power, resources and opportunities across groups in society. This is distinguished from a narrower legal definition, where discrimination is defined as behaviours and practices that are unlawful. Discrimination may be based on a range of characteristics, including sexual preference, ethnicity, culture, gender, religion, disability, age, relationship status, social class, religion and race. Individuals may simultaneously experience multiple discriminations on the basis of two or more of these characteristics.

Race, ethnicity and culture are all characteristics upon which discrimination can be based. Discrimination on the basis of religion is often considered as a separate but related form of discrimination. For example, it is treated separately in legislation (such as in the Victorian Racial and Religious Tolerance Act and Equal Opportunity Act) and international convention. For the purposes of this report, however, while recognising religious discrimination as a distinct phenomenon, the increasing conflation of race, ethnicity, culture and religion for those experiencing discrimination warrants the inclusion of all four concepts within this Framework (see Table 2.1).

This report therefore focuses on discrimination that occurs on the basis of race, ethnicity, culture and/or religion. This is referred to as race-based discrimination (or simply discrimination).

In Australia, those groups most vulnerable to race-based discrimination are Indigenous Australians and those from non-English speaking backgrounds (especially migrants and refugees). Patterns of race-based discrimination affecting these groups and their outcomes are discussed in greater detail in Section 3.

The behaviours and practices that result in race-based discrimination, along with the beliefs and prejudices that underlie them, are sometimes collectively referred to as racism. Racism can be expressed through beliefs (e.g. negative and inaccurate stereotypes), prejudices (emotions/attitudes) or behaviours/practices [Berman & Paradies, in press].

Table 2.1: Social characteristics related to race-based discrimination

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>Religion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most people think of ‘race’ as a biological category – as a way to divide and label different groups according to a set of inborn biological traits (e.g. skin colour, shape of eyes, nose or face). Despite this popular view, there are no valid biological criteria for dividing races into distinct categories. Rather, different cultures classify people into racial groups according to a set of characteristics that are socially significant, such as physical appearance, dress, manner, language, accent, biological and social relationships, and self-identification.</td>
<td>Ethnicity refers to a common cultural heritage shared by a particular group. Heritage includes similar history, language, rituals and preference for music and foods. In practice, the term ‘race’, when defined as a social category, overlaps with ethnicity. Many people now use terms like race/ethnicity, ethnoracial and racio-ethnicity to capture the interrelated nature of these two concepts.</td>
<td>Culture is broadly defined as a common heritage or set of beliefs, norms and values. It refers to the shared, and largely learned, attributes of a group of people. Anthropologists often describe culture as a system of shared meaning. A key aspect of culture is that it is dynamic: culture continually changes and is influenced both by people’s beliefs and the demands of their environment.</td>
<td>Religion can be defined as a particular collection of ideas and/or practices that involve issues of personal conviction, conscience or faith that: • relate to the nature and place of humanity in the universe and/or the relation of humanity to things supernatural; • encourage/require adherents to observe particular standards or codes of conduct or to participate in specific practices having supernatural significance; • are held by an identifiable group; and • are seen by adherents as a religion or system of belief.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adapted from: US Department of Health and Human Services 2001 and HREOC 1998

2.2 Variants of race-based discrimination

Race-based discrimination can be openly manifested in differential treatment, racial slurs, jokes or hate crimes. It can also be deeply rooted in attitudes, emotions, values and stereotypical beliefs. In most cases these attitudes are unconsciously maintained by individuals and have, over time, become deeply embedded in the systems and institutions of society. Three levels
of discrimination can be distinguished: interpersonal, systemic and internalised. The nature of discrimination in Australia also appears to have changed over time.

2.2.1 Interpersonal discrimination

Interpersonal discrimination is discrimination that occurs in interactions between people. Common everyday practices of interpersonal race-based discrimination – both active and passive (see Table 2.2) – affect people in many different ways and in all areas of their lives.

Table 2.2: Forms of interpersonal race-based discrimination

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bullying, harassment, rudeness, name-calling, extra checking, frequent stopping, verbal/physical abuse, providing bad service, following around shops, hiring/firing biases in employment, jokes/teasing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ignoring, staring, excluding, refusing to rent, segregating, discouraging, failing to help, avoiding touch, not sitting next to</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adapted from: Guerin 2003

Interpersonal race-based discrimination can also take the form of apparently ‘positive’ and ‘well-intentioned’ behaviour that nonetheless results in inequalities in opportunity, resources or benefits. In a workplace, for example, this may take the form of unrealistically positive feedback, overzealous helping or assignment of easy tasks to members of particular groups or tokenistic inclusion due only to membership of a particular race, ethnicity, culture or religion. Such workplace behaviour results in reduced opportunity to acquire further competence, knowledge, skills and abilities (Dipboye & Colella 2005).

Except in the most obvious circumstances, such as where individuals clearly intend to engage in discriminatory behaviours, it is more appropriate, and more useful in interventions, to label actions rather than individuals as discriminatory.

2.2.2 Systemic discrimination

Systemic discrimination is evident in organisational and government policies, practices, procedures and ‘normal’ ways of doing things that may directly or indirectly, consciously or unwittingly, promote, sustain or entrench differential advantage for some people and disadvantage for others (Tator 2005).

Systemic discrimination in education, employment and housing leads to social disadvantage for those experiencing it. Systemic discrimination can persist in institutional structures and policies in the absence of interpersonal discrimination at the individual level. Its operation is often unrecognised by those practising it.

At a societal level, discrimination is evident in cultural and ideological expressions that underlie and sustain dominant values and beliefs. It is evident in a whole range of concepts, ideas, images, and institutions that provide the framework of interpretation and meaning for seeing society in terms of ‘us’ and ‘them’, ‘local’ and ‘foreigner’, ‘Australian’ and ‘un-Australian’. It is communicated and reproduced through agencies of socialisation and cultural transmission such as schools, universities, religious doctrines and practices, art, music, literature and the mass media in general (in which Indigenous or CALD Australians are sometimes portrayed as different from the norm, as problematic, or are simply absent).

The complex and subtle nature of systemic discrimination means that the role it plays can be less apparent than that of interpersonal discrimination (as highlighted by the examples in Table 2.3). As a result, the existence of systemic discrimination can be denied and effective action against it can be neglected.
Table 2.3: Definitions and examples of interpersonal/systemic discrimination

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interpersonal discrimination</th>
<th>Systemic discrimination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interactions between people that result in avoidable and unfair inequalities across racial,</td>
<td>Requirements, conditions, practices, policies or processes that result in avoidable and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ethnic, cultural and/or religious groups</td>
<td>unfair inequalities across racial, ethnic, cultural and/or religious groups</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Example:** When walking or driving in the street someone will wind down their window and say ‘why don’t you go back to your own country’ or will call you a terrorist

**Example:** Indigenous Victorians are less likely to be cautioned and diverted from the [justice] system, more likely to be remanded when awaiting trial, more likely to be sentenced to prison than non-custodial sentences, more likely to be held in maximum security facilities and more likely to be returned to prison within two years of release (DPCD 2007)

**Example:** A school requires all students wanting to play in its basketball team to wear a uniform of shorts and a sleeveless vest. This means that young women from ethnic backgrounds with dress codes requiring them to cover their arms and legs are excluded from the team

Source: Definitions adapted from Paradies, Harris & Anderson 2008.

2.2.3 Internalised discrimination

This form of discrimination is being increasingly recognised. It occurs when an individual accepts attitudes, beliefs or ideologies about the superiority of other groups and/or the inferiority of their own group. This can then have an effect on how they regard and behave toward themselves, members of their group, and those from other groups.

2.2.4 The changing nature of race-based discrimination

The nature of race-based discrimination in Australia (and elsewhere) has changed over time. For example, the ‘White Australia’ policy and the policies that led to the Stolen Generations were underpinned by notions of biological difference and inferiority (Dunn et al. 2005; Hollinsworth 2006). This form of discrimination is characterised by a belief that different groups should be separated from one another (e.g. intermarriage between people from different groups is strongly opposed). Although race-based discrimination of this kind is now broadly considered to be socially unacceptable, it has not disappeared entirely.

A more recent form of race-based discrimination is based on a belief in the insurmountability of cultural differences (Markus 2001). Particular groups are not identified as ‘inferior’, but rather as ‘different’ – with this difference being perceived as threatening to the cultural values and norms of the dominant ‘host’ society and to social cohesion. Rather than being fundamentally hierarchical, this form of discrimination is closely linked to what it means to be ‘Australian’ and who does and does not belong. Race is fundamentally dichotomised between ‘us’ (Australians from the majority or dominant culture) who represent what is ‘normal’ and ‘taken-for-granted’ and the ‘other’: Australians who are often identified as not belonging (e.g.
Asian, African, Middle Eastern and Muslim Australians). This form of discrimination is prominent in contemporary immigration debates. Claims that certain groups do not fit with the ‘Australian way of life’ or national identity are also commonly heard. It is easy for people to hold such beliefs without recognising them as a form of discrimination and without realising that they have negative impacts on the groups concerned. These expressions of discrimination are often referred to as ‘covert’ discrimination.

2.7 Covert, indirect and subtle forms of discrimination

While contemporary race-based discrimination, in particular systemic discrimination, may be manifest in subtle and covert ways, this does not necessarily mean that it is less serious. Indeed, there is some evidence to suggest that, in some situations, covert forms of race-based discrimination may have a more detrimental effect on health than blatant race-based discrimination (Bennett et al. 2004; Noh, Kaspar & Wickrama 2007; Salvatore & Shelton 2007). This is because action can be more readily taken when behaviours and practices are unambiguously discriminatory, with evidence suggesting that taking action can help to reduce the risk of suffering negative health consequences (Paradies 2006). Experiences of covert discrimination are also more likely to be dismissed by others (Sechrist, Swim & Stagnor 2004; Stangor et al. 2002). This denial may lead an affected person to question their observations and perceptions, which in turn may be stressful over and above their original experience (Brosschot, Gerin & Thayer 2006).
3 The case for action

Racial, ethnic, cultural and religious diversity is a reality of daily life in Victoria. There is strong evidence to indicate that negative attitudes towards such diversity are widespread in this state and throughout Australia. Race-based discrimination, which is also a reality of daily life for many people, impacts negatively on affected individuals and communities. Importantly, race-based discrimination can be reduced, and this report presents a powerful case for prioritising this issue.

3.1 The Victorian context

Census data starkly highlight the diversity of Victoria’s population:

- Victorians come from more than 200 nations, speak more than 200 languages and dialects and follow more than 120 religions (VMC 2009).
- There are over 30,000 Indigenous Victorians living in the state, representing over 30 distinct local Indigenous communities based on location, language, cultural groups and extended familial networks. The proportion of Indigenous Victorians aged between five and 19 years grew by more than 50% over the last decade (DEECD 2008).
- Almost one-quarter of Victorians were born overseas. The majority (73%) of these migrants and refugees were born outside of the main English speaking countries (ABS 2007; VMC 2009).
- One in five Victorians speak a language other than English at home (ABS 2007; VMC 2009).
- In 2007 there were 133,454 international students enrolled in Victoria, a 25% increase on the previous year (AEI 2008). International students are temporary migrants (Deumert et al. 2005) who contribute substantially to the diversity of the state, particularly in those areas where university campuses are located.

This diversity is without doubt one of the state’s greatest strengths, but it also comes with challenges for addressing race-based discrimination and supporting diversity. If this diversity is not managed (or is poorly managed) it can lead to a host of problems, including reduced ‘social solidarity’ (Putnam 2007). Recent changes in the political and economic climate will undoubtedly impact on Victoria’s ability to effectively and positively manage this diversity:

- There is a renewed political will across the country to improve the living conditions of Indigenous Australians. In August 2008 the Victorian Premier signed a Statement of Intent on behalf of the Victorian Government to close the gap in life expectancy between Indigenous and non-indigenous Victorians by 2030.
- The number of people migrating worldwide is expected to reach 230 million by 2050, compared to 75 million over the past four decades. This ‘globalisation of migration’ is already visible in the changing mix of settlers to Victoria (see Table 3.1).
- Although the most diverse local government areas of the state continue to be located in metropolitan Melbourne, both the Australian and Victorian governments have pursued a policy of settling new arrivals in regional and rural areas. As communities in some of these areas have traditionally had limited contact with diverse groups, new challenges are expected to arise.
- The uncertainty caused by climate change and the global financial crisis highlights the need for strong policy settings to ensure particular groups are not made scapegoats for wider socio-economic problems. During periods of intense competition for resources (including jobs), inter-group tensions are likely to rise.

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3 The main English speaking countries (MESC) include: the UK, Ireland, New Zealand, Canada, USA and South Africa.
Table 3.1: Top 10 countries of birth for settler arrivals with intended state of residence Victoria by financial year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1986-87</th>
<th>1996-97</th>
<th>2006-07</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>Mainland China</td>
<td>India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>Mainland China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>Former Yugoslav,a</td>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Hong Kong (SAR of China)</td>
<td>Vietnam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>Sudan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Babacan & Ben-Moshe 2008, p. 4

3.2 Attitudes toward diversity and evidence of race-based discrimination

3.2.1 Attitudes toward diversity

The VicHealth Survey and the Scanlon Foundation Survey (Markus & Dharmalingam 2007) found there was considerable support for diversity among Victorians and within Australian society more generally. The VicHealth Survey reported that 90% of Victorians think it is a good thing for society to be made up of people from different cultures. In the national Scanlon Foundation Survey, 69% of respondents agreed that ‘accepting immigrants from many different countries makes Australia stronger’ (Markus & Dharmalingam 2007).

Existing side-by-side with this apparent tolerance, were some worrying trends that emerged from the VicHealth Survey:

- Nearly 1 in 10 respondents agreed with the statement that ‘not all races are equal’.
- Nearly 1 in 10 respondents said it is not a good idea for people of different races to marry one another.

In relation to intermarriage, respondents were also asked whether they would be concerned if a close relative were to marry somebody from a range of national, cultural or religious backgrounds. The highest levels of concern were expressed in relation to a close relative marrying a Muslim person (43% of respondents who expressed concern), an Indigenous person (25% of those expressing concern), a Jewish person (24% of those expressing concern) and an Asian person (20% of those expressing concern). It is important to note that the response categories available to respondents in this survey did not include ‘African’. Subsequent surveys undertaken by the same researchers in other parts of Australia (including ACT, NT, SA, TAS and WA) that included this response category found similarly high rates of concern surrounding intermarriage with African people (Dunn et al. 2008). It is likely that similar attitudes would exist in Victoria.

The Victorian survey also found attitudes reflecting some of the new forms of race-based discrimination discussed earlier in this report. A considerable number of respondents in the VicHealth Survey indicated they were uncomfortable with expressions of cultural difference:

- 37% of respondents felt that ‘Australia is weakened by people of different ethnic origins sticking to their old ways’.
- 36% of respondents believed that there are some groups that do not fit into Australian society. The most common groups mentioned were Muslim, Middle Eastern and Asian Victorians. Again, the response categories available did not include

\[4\] Throughout this report, the term ‘VicHealth Survey’ is used to refer to a 2006-07 survey of more than 4000 Victorians that was funded by VicHealth and led by Professor Kevin Dunn (University of Western Sydney) and Associate Professor Jim Forrest (Macquarie University). The survey investigated Victorians’ attitudes toward cultural diversity and their experiences of race-based discrimination. The findings are reported in VicHealth (2007) More than tolerance: embracing diversity for health.
African Victorians. The data from other states again shows that Australians commonly identify Africans as a group that does not ‘fit in’.

Almost 85% of respondents in the VicHealth Survey agreed that racial prejudice exists in Australia, although only 12% admitted to being personally prejudiced.

### 3.2.2 Race-based discrimination experienced by Indigenous Australians

As the number of Indigenous respondents to the VicHealth Survey was small, it was not possible to present data on Indigenous Victorians’ experiences of race-based discrimination. In lieu of Victorian data, the information presented here relates to a recent South Australian study (Gallaher et al. 2009). The data suggest that race-based discrimination against Indigenous Australians is commonplace across a range of institutional and everyday settings (see Figure 3.1). Further research is required to determine the extent of such experiences in Victoria.

**Figure 3.1: Indigenous Australians’ experiences of race-based discrimination across settings**

Adapted from: Gallaher et al. 2009.

* These data are based upon self-reported incidents of race-based discrimination by 153 respondents. The data in this figure combine those respondents who indicated that they ‘often’, ‘very often’ or ‘sometimes’ experience race-based discrimination in these settings.

On the basis of the data collected, Gallaher et al. (2009) concluded that only 7% of the Indigenous people surveyed had never experienced race-based discrimination in any of the settings listed.

In addition, the data presented in Figure 3.2 indicate that experiences of race-based discrimination are much higher for Indigenous than non-indigenous Australians across a range of institutional and everyday settings.
Figure 3.2: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (ATSI) and non-ATSI experiences of race-based discrimination across settings

Adapted from: Dunn et al. 2005

* These data are based upon self-reported incidents of race-based discrimination by 5056 respondents in Queensland and New South Wales (94 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (ATSI), 4957 non-Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (non-ATSI) and the remainder ‘other’ or ‘no response’). In this figure non-ATSI respondents includes both Anglo-Celtic and non-Anglo-Celtic Australians/migrants, so rates of discrimination are higher than they would be for Anglo-Celtic respondents alone.

These findings parallel observations that have been made in a substantial body of literature (Dunn et al. 2005; Paradies, Harris & Anderson 2008). A recent review of studies on race-based discrimination and Indigenous health suggests that nearly three out of four Indigenous Australians regularly experience race-based discrimination (Paradies, Harris & Anderson 2008). Several official reports have documented Indigenous Australians’ experiences of race-based discrimination in policing and the criminal justice system. For example:

- a Department of Justice study found that when apprehended by police, Indigenous youth are two to three times more likely to be arrested and charged with an offence than non-indigenous youth [DoJ 2005];
- the rate of juvenile detention of Victorian Indigenous youth aged 10–17 years for the period 1994–2003 was 169.1 (per 100,000 of the relevant population) compared to 12.6 for non-indigenous youth [Charlton & McCall 2004];
- the Department of Planning and Community Development’s Indigenous Affairs Report for 2006–07 shows that Indigenous Victorians are 12 times more likely to be placed in an adult prison than non-indigenous Victorians [DPCD 2007]; and
- Indigenous Victorians are three times less likely to be cautioned and 23% more likely to be remanded in custody after being charged than other Victorians [DPCD 2007].

A study undertaken by Cunningham (2002) found that Indigenous patients are one-third less likely to receive appropriate medical care across all conditions when compared to non-Indigenous patients with the same medical needs. In the case of kidney transplants, Cass et al. (2004) found that Indigenous Australians are three times less likely to receive transplants than other patients with similar needs.
3.2.3 Race-based discrimination experienced by people from CALD backgrounds

In the national Scanlon Foundation Survey, 47% of respondents born in countries in which English was not the main language spoken reported experiencing discrimination because of their ethnic or national background at some time in their lives (Markus & Dharmalingam 2007). As indicated in Figure 3.3, these rates were far higher than those for migrants from English speaking countries or for the Australian born.

Figure 3.3: Experiences of race-based discrimination by place of birth

Evidence from the VicHealth Survey revealed that race-based discrimination occurs in a range of institutional settings (e.g. workplaces, educational institutions) and everyday settings (e.g. shops, restaurants, sporting venues). The data indicate that respondents born in non-English speaking countries were substantially more likely than those born in New Zealand, the United Kingdom or Australia to report experiencing race-based discrimination across all settings (see Figure 3.4). Levels of race-based discrimination against people from non-English speaking countries were highest at sporting or other large public events, in the workplace, in restaurants and shops, and in educational settings.
3.2.4 Race-based discrimination experienced by international students

In a 2004 study, half of the international students surveyed reported experiencing race-based discrimination. The labour market and private rental market were the two main sites of this discrimination (Deumert et al. 2005). Some students also experienced systemic race-based discrimination as a consequence of their temporary residence status. The absence of most citizenship rights for international students can affect not only day-to-day living – for example, difficulties in opening a bank account or securing subsidised medicine or children’s education – but also students’ career opportunities and academic development.

3.2.5 Common types of race-based discrimination experienced

The VicHealth Survey asked respondents to indicate which specific types of everyday race-based discrimination they had experienced. The most commonly identified were disrespect, distrust, name calling and insults (Figure 3.5). Respondents born in non-English speaking countries were much more likely to report these than those born in English speaking countries or in Australia.
Figure 3.5 Types of race-based discrimination experienced, by place of birth

Adapted from: Dunn, K & Maeder-Han, K 2007, VicHealth Survey
*MNESC (main non-English speaking countries), **MESC (main English speaking countries). These data are based upon self-reported incidents of race-based discrimination by 4016 respondents (2937 Australian born, 252 MESC born, 564 MNESC born and the remainder ‘other’ or ‘no response’). The category ‘often’ includes respondents reporting experiences ‘often’ and ‘very often’.

In focus group discussions with Muslim women conducted by the Islamic Women’s Welfare Council of Victoria, participants reported experiences of insults and ridicule, verbal abuse, intimidation and threats, discrimination and, in some cases, physical violence [IWWCV 2008, p. 7].

Indigenous participants in Gallaher et al.’s study similarly reported experiencing both verbal forms of race-based discrimination (name calling, teasing, taunting and put-downs) and non-verbal forms (ignoring, staring, gesturing and physical contact) [Gallaher et al. 2009]. Dunn et al. (2005) reported that Indigenous survey respondents experienced various types of race-based discrimination at far higher rates than non-indigenous respondents [Figure 3.6].
Everyday forms of race-based discrimination (such as name calling and insults) warrant concern because they can undermine the sense of belonging of individuals and their communities as well as leading to poor health outcomes. There is also evidence from both qualitative and survey research to suggest that racially motivated violence remains a continuing problem, particularly affecting Muslim Australians (IWWCV 2008; HREOC 2004; Poynting & Noble 2004), Australian-Sudanese youth (VEOHRHC 2009) and, more recently, people from the India and its neighbouring countries.

### 3.3 The negative effects of race-based discrimination

The data presented in this section indicate that race-based discrimination remains disconcertingly widespread in Victoria. This is of particular concern given evidence that it impacts negatively on both individuals and the broader community.

At a personal level, race-based discrimination has negative outcomes for both targets and those practicing it. For those who are targeted, it can ‘traumatise, hurt, humiliate, enrage, confuse, and ultimately prevent optimal growth and functioning of individuals and communities’ (Harrell 2000, p. 42). Race-based discrimination may also have negative effects on individuals who perpetuate it, distorting their personalities and their perceptions of the world. Survey data indicate a significant association between reported levels of unhappiness and prejudiced attitudes against people from different cultural and racial backgrounds (Borooh & Mangan 2007).

#### 3.3.1 Ill-health

There is strong evidence of a link between race-based discrimination and ill-health. In particular, there is a risk that targets of race-based discrimination will develop a range of mental health problems such as anxiety and depression (Paradies 2006; Pascoe & Richman 2009; Williams & Mohammed 2009). One study found that race-based discrimination accounted for a third of...
depression among a group of Indigenous Australians (Paradies, Harris & Anderson 2008). In a West Australian study, 40% of Indigenous respondents reported recent incidents of race-based discrimination that were so severe as to produce a strong emotional or physical response (Larson et al. 2007).

Race-based discrimination is understood to have a negative impact on health for a number of reasons (adapted from Paradies et al. 2009):

- It restricts access to resources required for health (such as employment, housing and education) and increases exposure to risks to health (such as unnecessary contact with the criminal justice system).
- Affected individuals internalise negative evaluations and stereotypes of their own group, leading to poor self-worth, self-esteem and psychological wellbeing.
- Stress and negative emotions/thoughts produced may have negative psychological and physiological effects.
- It can result in individuals disengaging from healthy activities (such as, exercise, taking medications and maintaining good sleep patterns) as well as attempting to cope by engaging in behaviours that impact negatively on their health (such as smoking, excess alcohol consumption and drug use).
- It can lead to injury through racially motivated assault, resulting in negative physical and mental health outcomes.

Race-based discrimination can have a particularly strong impact on the health and wellbeing of young people as it has the potential to negatively affect their psychological adjustment (Brody et al. 2006; Caughey, O’Campo & Muntaner 2004; Mossakowski 2003; Wong, Eccles & Sumeroff 2003) and thereby their wellbeing into adulthood. Children of parents affected by race-based discrimination are at higher risk of developing behavioural and emotional problems (Mays, Cochran & Barnes 2007; Caughey, O’Campo & Muntaner 2004).

In contrast, there is evidence to suggest that conditions in which diversity is supported are associated with better health outcomes (VicHealth 2007). There are clear benefits for all of us (including those in the majority group) in being able to relate competently across cultures. Similarly, it is important that people from Indigenous and CALD backgrounds are able to access and negotiate ‘mainstream’ resources and systems. There is evidence to suggest that there are health benefits in people being able to do this at the same time as retaining a positive ethnic identity and connections to their cultural communities and institutions (Ward, Bochner & Furnham 2001).

Both cultural community support (Harrell 200; Noh & Kaspar 2003) and a positive ethnic identity (Caldwell et al. 2004; Greene, Way & Pahl 2006; Mak & Nesdale 2001; Mossakowski 2003; Szalacha et al. 2003; Wong Eccles & Sameroff 2003) have been shown to provide people with a ‘buffer’ against the health impacts of discrimination.

### 3.2.2 Economic impacts

Race-based discrimination can impact on individual productivity, with consequences for achievement in both education and employment (Nicholas et al. 2005). Although there are no Australian studies quantifying the financial costs of race-based discrimination to society as a whole, they are likely to be substantial. Reasons for this include:

- Race-based discrimination can reduce organisational productivity, increase absenteeism and affect overall workplace morale (Nicholas et al. 2005). An estimated 70% of workers exposed to race-based and other forms of discrimination take time off work as a result (EEO NSW 1999).
- In workplaces, race-based discrimination can contribute to higher rates of staff turnover and the associated costs of recruiting and inducting new staff (Blank, Dabady & Citro 2004).
- Responding to grievances through formal complaints mechanisms is expensive – averaging at $55,000 per case in 1999 (EEO NSW 1999).
- Considerable resources are required to deal with the consequences of race-based discrimination through health care and social services (VicHealth 2007).
- There are direct economic costs associated with the impacts of race-based discrimination on individuals, such as unemployment, early school-leaving, poor educational outcomes and involvement in the criminal justice system (Dusseldorp Skills Forum & BCA 2005).
On the other hand, there is evidence that cultural diversity is associated with improved productivity (Pérotin, Robinson & Loundes 2003; Putnam 2007), including increased sales revenue, more customers, greater market share and greater relative profits (Herring 2009). Diversity has also been associated with creativity and innovative thinking (Adler 1997; Burton 1995; McLeod, Lobel & Cox 1996; Richard 2000), greater employee commitment, larger market share and better customer satisfaction (Bertone & Leahy 2001) as well as improved student wellbeing in schools (Juvonen, Nishina & Graham 2006).

The Victorian Government’s new multicultural policy, All of us, explicitly recognises that multiculturalism ‘boosts our economic advantage by providing the state with a competitive edge through our diverse, innovative, highly skilled and internationally connected workforce’ [VMC 2009, p. 16].

Both the economic costs of race-based discrimination and the economic benefits of reducing race-based discrimination in Victoria require further exploration.

### 3.3.3 Reduced social inclusion

To be socially included, individuals need the opportunity to ‘secure a job; access services; connect with family, friends, work, personal interests and local community; deal with personal crisis; and have their voices heard’ (Commonwealth of Australia 2008).

Race-based discrimination has a broad impact on understandings and experiences of social inclusion and exclusion by individuals and groups, profoundly affecting their sense of belonging. In the focus group discussions conducted by the Islamic Women’s Welfare Council of Victoria, 80% of the participating Muslim women indicated that they felt unsafe and unwelcome in Australia as a result of ongoing experiences of race-based discrimination (IWWCV 2008).

Race-based discrimination, by limiting an individual’s or group’s access (or equal access) to housing, healthcare, employment and education, is a driver of social exclusion. Because of their race, ethnicity, culture or religion, affected individuals encounter barriers resulting in incomplete citizenship, undervalued rights and a lack of recognition and participation.

Research shows that minorities experience lower rates of employment and higher rates of unemployment [Table 3.2] and are over-represented in low-end jobs with less favourable rates of pay, types of work and working conditions. People from refugee backgrounds have been found to be allocated the lowest level jobs, regardless of their formal qualifications or skills and work experience [Colic-Peisker & Tilbury 2005]. In the first two years after arrival, 47% of all highly qualified migrants to Australia are in low or medium skilled jobs – compared with 23% of Australia-born workers. This rate is still 40% after five years [Liebig 2007, cited in Berman & VEOHRC 2008].

Given the significant role these factors play in contributing to cycles of disadvantage, reducing discrimination is important for current and future generations.
Table 3.2: Victorian unemployment statistics for selected birthplace and ethnicity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birthplace or ethnic group</th>
<th>% unemployed (2006 Census)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victorian total(^2)</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous(^3)</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseas born</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudanese</td>
<td>38.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somali</td>
<td>32.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraqi</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eritrean</td>
<td>19.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghan</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopian</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iranian</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) General population data and data for birthplace groups were sourced from the Victorian Multicultural Commission’s community profiles based on the 2006 Census. Only the top 75 overseas birthplace groups in Australia are profiled.

\(^2\) Includes all residents of the state, regardless of birthplace. Percentages are calculated on the basis of the total labour force in each group not the total population.

\(^3\) Source for Indigenous data is DPCD 2007.

Although poor employment outcomes among people from particular backgrounds cannot be entirely attributed to race-based discrimination, it does play a key role. A study conducted in Melbourne, Brisbane and Sydney in 2007 that submitted 5000 job applications with fictitious names showed the existence of race-based discrimination in hiring practices. The study found that applicants with Chinese, Middle Eastern, Indigenous and Italian sounding names had to submit 68%, 64%, 35% and 12% more job applications respectively to get the same number of interviews as an Anglo-Australian applicant with equivalent experience and qualifications (Booth, Leigh & Varganova 2009).

This confirmed the results of an earlier Australian study conducted in 1986 in which virtually identical job applications from fictitious applicants with Greek, Anglo-Celtic and Vietnamese names were sent to employers. The study found that Vietnamese and Greek applicants had to submit 38% and 10% more job applications respectively to get the same number of interviews as an Anglo-Australian applicant with equivalent experience and qualifications (Riach & Rich 1991).

In general, race-based discrimination impoverishes and socially deprives people who are subjected to it. Poverty and social disadvantage are then cited as evidence to confirm and justify pre-existing racial prejudices. Statistics on crime, ill-health, illiteracy and so forth are often seized upon as evidence that groups are less capable or are responsible for their predicament. The role of race-based discrimination in creating that predicament is often ignored.

There is no community more socially excluded than Australia’s Indigenous people. School retention rates to Year 12 for Indigenous students are 38% compared to 75% for their non-indigenous counterparts; 71% of Indigenous Australians have no non-school qualifications compared to 50% of non-indigenous Australians. Labour force participation rates for Indigenous Australians are almost 20% lower than for the non-indigenous population.

Source: An Australian Social Inclusion Agenda (Gillard & Wong 2007)
3.3.4 Reduced inter-group harmony and community cohesion

Harmony has long been a central goal of multicultural policy in Australia. Victoria’s multicultural policy, All of us, has the explicit aim of promoting harmony by facilitating intercultural understanding and highlighting common human rights (VMC 2009).

Race-based discrimination can undermine positive intercultural relations and harmony. Among young people it has been linked to peer violence (Refugee Health Research Centre 2007). At its worst, it can lead to large-scale community conflicts, as seen in the case of the December 2005 ‘Cronulla riots’ in Sydney, NSW (Poynting 2006). Internationally, there are numerous examples of situations in which race-based discrimination has led to extreme violence – as in the case of the ongoing humanitarian crisis in the Darfur region of Sudan, the Rwandan genocide and the Holocaust.

3.3.5 Breaches of human rights and the law

Race-based discrimination profoundly affects how minority communities experience human rights in Victoria today. Some types of race-based discrimination are unlawful under the Victorian Equal Opportunity Act. Discrimination laws apply to public behaviour rather than private conduct. Public areas covered by law include accommodation, clubs, disposal of land, education, employment, goods and services, sport and local government (VEOHRC 2007). Thus, while it is against the law to refuse to employ someone on the basis of their ethnicity, it is not against the law to refuse to sit next to the same person on a tram or to refuse to invite them into your home on the basis of their ethnicity.

Under the Racial and Religious Tolerance Act, racial and religious vilification is also against the law. Vilification is public behaviour that incites hatred, serious contempt, revulsion or severe ridicule against another person or group of people because of their race or religion. Incitement is about more than just holding a view or expressing an opinion – it is about taking action to encourage or promote hatred towards others (VEOHRC 2006). The types of behaviours covered by the Act include statements made in publications, at meetings or on the internet and ‘serious vilification’, including intimidation, threats of physical harm and damage to property (VEOHRC 2008).

Everyday forms of race-based discrimination, which are typically not against the law, can nonetheless offend people’s fundamental human rights, impact on their health and constrain future life chances. The information presented in this section demonstrates the need to combat all forms of race-based discrimination – those that are against the law and those that are not.

3.3.6 ‘Gaps’ in outcomes between Indigenous and non-indigenous Australians

In February 2008 the Australian Prime Minister made a commitment to work in partnership with Indigenous Australians to close the gap in health, social and economic status between Indigenous and non-indigenous Australians. This commitment has since been formalised in Australian government policy (FaHCSIA 2009). The Victorian Government is similarly a signatory to a formal statement of intent to close the gap in health outcomes and life expectancy between Indigenous and non-indigenous Victorians (Brumby, Calma & Mohamed 2008). This statement recognises that this will involve action on social and economic factors influencing health.

Taking action to reduce discrimination affecting Indigenous Victorians and its health, social and economic consequences will be key to realising these commitments.

3.3.7 Victoria’s commitment to multiculturalism

In 2008 the Victorian Government released its multicultural policy All of us. The policy re-affirms the government’s commitment to multiculturalism as an approach that advances equality and human rights, supports cultural, linguistic and religious diversity; fosters unity; promotes community harmony; and boosts our economic advantage. Racial and religious discrimination is identified as a barrier to multiculturalism, with one of the objectives of the policy being to continue to work to reduce such discrimination in Victoria.
3.3.8 Other policy agendas

The Victorian Government is investing approximately $200 million toward health promotion in workplace settings in the coming five years through the WorkHealth initiative. Workplace stress has been identified as a problem to be addressed through this initiative. Efforts to reduce discrimination will be an important part of an overall strategy to reduce this problem.

In its February 2009 Annual Statement of Government Intentions, the State Government announced a plan to promote respect. Prompted by concern about the rise in binge-drinking, violence and inappropriate behaviour, the agenda is targeted particularly to young people. Among the strategies identified are school-based programs, recognising the important role that schools play in teaching young people to value themselves, their families and communities. Strategies to promote inter-group respect and reduce discrimination have considerable potential to integrate into this and other aspects of the respect agenda.

3.4 Potential to reduce race-based discrimination

Although the causes of race-based discrimination are varied and complex, there is emerging evidence that it can be reduced. Anti-discrimination strategies seek to eliminate [or modify] discriminatory beliefs and/or discriminatory behaviours of institutional and societal structures [Pedersen, Walker & Wise 2005]. Drawing upon this emerging evidence, we now present a Framework for reducing race-based discrimination and supporting diversity.
Reducing race-based discrimination and supporting diversity*: A framework for action

Addressing the social and economic determinants of mental and physical health

### Key factors contributing to race-based discrimination

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<td>• Belief that some groups do not fit into Australian society</td>
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<td>• Fear, anxiety, discomfort, avoidance or intolerance of diversity</td>
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<td>• Impacts of colonisation</td>
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### Themes for action

- Increasing empathy
- Raising awareness
- Providing accurate information
- Recognising incompatible beliefs
- Increasing personal accountability
- Breaking down barriers between groups
- Increasing organisational accountability
- Promoting positive social norms

### Actions to reduce discrimination and support diversity

- Organisational development
- Communications and social marketing
- Research, evaluation and monitoring
- Legislative and policy reform
- Direct participation programs
- Community strengthening
- Advocacy

### Settings for action

- **Academic**
  - Education
  - Hospitality and retail
  - Media and popular culture
- **New technologies**
  - Public space
  - Public transport
  - Corporate
- **Public sector**
  - Arts and culture
  - Justice
  - Health and community services
- **Sports and recreation**
  - Workplace and labour market
  - Housing
  - Local government

* The use of the word ‘discrimination’ should be taken to mean discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnicity, culture and/or religion. The same grounds are implied when the terms ‘diversity’, ‘group’ or ‘background’ are used. Acceptance of diversity encompasses recognising and valuing the contributions and heritage of Indigenous Australians.
### Intermediate outcomes

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<td>• Encourage and facilitate positive relationships between people from varied backgrounds</td>
<td>• Has strong legislative and regulatory frameworks and appropriate resource allocation to reduce discrimination and support diversity</td>
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<td>• Demonstrates pride in a diverse population and promotes diversity as a national asset</td>
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<td>• Respect and value diversity as a resource and demonstrate pride in a diverse community identity</td>
<td>• Recognises and takes action to address the legacy of historical discrimination</td>
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<td>• Recognise the benefits of cultural diversity, support multiculturalism and feel pride in a diverse community</td>
<td>• Have strong internal leadership in the reduction of discrimination and support of diversity and model this to other organisations and the wider community</td>
<td>• Are welcoming, safe and supportive for people from varied backgrounds</td>
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### Long-term benefits

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</table>
4 The Framework

4.1 An ecological approach

The Framework is based on an ecological approach. This approach was originally developed in the 1970s (Bronfenbrenner 1979) to understand child development and behaviour, and has since been adapted by a number of organisations, including the World Health Organisation (WHO), to guide understanding of, and action to address, a range of health and social problems with multiple and complex causes (WHO 2002).

The Framework is based on the understanding that there is a need for comprehensive strategies to combat race-based discrimination at multiple levels – individual, organisation, community and society. It recognises the complex interactions between deeply held stereotypes and prejudices, discrimination in the form of everyday acts, and systemic discrimination embedded within ideologies and structures.

The effectiveness of ad hoc initiatives can be undermined if policies, procedures and organisational cultures that are barriers to people from certain groups accessing positions and progressing in the workplace remain unchanged or if local opinion leaders make negative comments about inter-cultural relations.

Even smaller-scale initiatives can work at multiple levels. For example, a school-based initiative adopting this approach might seek to reorient individual attitudes as well as addressing organisational procedures and norms about race and diversity in the broader school community.

The benefit of using the ecological approach in this context is that it brings together four sets of theories for understanding discrimination:

- Individual: describing the behaviour of individual people.
- Interpersonal: describing the relationships between people.
- Community, group and organisational: stressing the dynamics of community structures or institutions.
- Societal: describing ideologies and structures that underpin societies.

4.2 Factors contributing to race-based discrimination

Understanding the factors that contribute to race-based discrimination is important as this can help focus initiatives and improve their effectiveness. The literature highlights the following broad themes that frame interpersonal and systemic race-based discrimination:

- Interpersonal discrimination is generally underpinned by a belief in the superiority of one’s own group and is reinforced by weak sanctions or discriminatory social norms at the organisational, community and societal levels.
- Systemic discrimination is often the result of entrenched policies and practices that can operate in the absence of interpersonal discrimination.

As well as helping us to understand the complex factors leading to interpersonal and systemic race-based discrimination, this approach also helps us to understand the interactions between different levels of discrimination, including the influence of interpersonal discrimination on systemic discrimination and vice versa.

The Framework highlights how these broad contributing factors manifest at the individual, organisational, community and societal levels.
Key factors contributing to race-based discrimination

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4.3 Themes for action

Drawing on insights provided in the literature, we have identified eight themes for action to guide the planning of initiatives. These are discussed in detail in Section 5.

An understanding of these is important for policy-makers and practitioners as there is no ‘one size fits all’ package that can be used uniformly. Different circumstances and contexts require distinct approaches.

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4.4 Actions to reduce discrimination and support diversity

There are seven broad actions identified in the Framework. Section 6 discusses these actions and provides examples of specific strategies that have been implemented. There are overlaps between action areas. For example, direct participation programs (such as activities supporting or promoting inter-group contact) can:

• help foster knowledge and understanding via awareness-raising and the provision of accurate information; and
• increase contact and build constructive relationships between groups by breaking down group barriers.

In designing initiatives, it is important to set aims and objectives (and hence use strategies) that meet the needs of particular situations and settings.

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</table>
4.5 Settings for action

Race-based discrimination occurs in a range of the settings in which we live our day-to-day lives, such as our homes, schools, sporting clubs, retail facilities, communities and workplaces. This means that many of the opportunities for reducing the problem must also lie in these environments. Taking action on race-based discrimination will require a collaborative approach involving professionals, organisations, individuals and communities from different backgrounds and with different skills and experiences.

The settings for action are discussed in greater detail in Section 7.

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<td>Local government</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

4.6 Intermediate outcomes

The Framework provides intermediate outcomes as tools for measuring change. These intermediate outcomes, grouped at the individual, organisational, community and societal levels, provide a way of understanding what change can be expected in the short to medium term. They provide a useful basis against which progress can be measured and monitored and serve as a starting point for evaluating the effectiveness of individual programs at each of these levels. Drawing from the outcome measures, indicators and measures could be designed to be specifically applicable to the intervention being evaluated.

This approach is based on an understanding that the achievement of intermediate outcomes is an important step toward realising the longer-term benefits of reduced race-based discrimination. In Section 8, intermediate outcomes are expressed in a manner that indicates their relationship to particular contributing factors.

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### 4.7 Long-term benefits

The final layer illustrates the benefits likely to be achieved through the actions described in the Framework in the longer term.

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<td>• Improved distribution of power, resources and opportunities between diverse groups</td>
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5 Themes for action

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<tr>
<td>Increasing empathy</td>
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<td>Raising awareness</td>
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<td>Providing accurate information</td>
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<td>Recognising incompatible beliefs</td>
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<td>Increasing personal accountability</td>
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<td>Breaking down barriers between groups</td>
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<td>Promoting positive social norms</td>
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5.1 Increasing empathy

Action to foster knowledge and understanding across racial, ethnic, cultural and religious difference can address interpersonal discrimination in at least three ways:

- with more information about others, people may be more likely to personalise them and see them as fellow human beings;
- greater knowledge of others may reduce uncertainty about how to interact with them, which can reduce the likelihood of avoidance and reduce discomfort during interaction; and
- greater understanding of historical background or increased cultural sensitivity might reduce bias by recognising injustice (Dovidio et al. 2004).

Parallel empathy is the experience of emotions that parallel the emotions experienced by another person, while reactive empathy describes feelings of warmth and sympathy in response to the experience of another person. Perspective-taking is a concept closely related to both forms of empathy (Vescio, Sechrist & Paolucci 2003). Research shows a strong inverse relationship between levels of prejudice and empathy/perspective-taking, and suggests that invoking empathy and perspective-taking can reduce race-based discrimination. Empathy can reduce bias in at least two ways. First, empathy can lead people to feel more positively about each other (Dovidio et al. 2004). Asking people to imagine how the other person was feeling (i.e. perspective-taking) – as opposed to focusing on the information provided – may contribute to increased liking for a specific member of another group and the group as a whole (Batson et al. 1997). Second, empathy influences people’s motivations to behave in a more supportive way toward others, independently of how much they like them. Empathy invokes concern (e.g. compassion, sympathy), that produces an altruistic motivation to improve the welfare of another person (Batson et al. 1997). Perspective-taking in particular leads to an appreciation of the contextual factors (above and beyond personal characteristics) that result in disadvantage (Vescio, Sechrist & Paolucci 2003). It has also been shown that reactive rather than parallel empathy is preferable when the person being empathised with is experiencing anger instead of sadness (Vescio, Sechrist & Paolucci 2003).

Many studies have found that empathy is associated with reduced discrimination (Batson et al. 1997; Dovidio et al. 2004; Esses & Dovidio 2002; Lyer & Leach 2008; Paolini et al. 2006; Pedersen & Barlow 2008; Pedersen et al. 2004; Schecter & Salomon 2005; Stephan & Finlay 1999). The importance of empathy is further highlighted by two recent findings:

- individuals who show a lack (or a very low level) of discriminatory attitudes and beliefs often have a resistance to negative emotions and a tendency to acquire positive emotions [Livingston & Drwecki 2008]; and
- according to an analysis of 57 studies, negative emotions are twice as closely related to race-based discrimination as discriminatory stereotypes [Talaska, Fiske & Chaiken 2008].

Feelings of collective guilt (Halloran 2007; McGarty et al. 2005; Powell, Branscombe & Schmitt 2008) and moral outrage (Barlow, Louis & Pedersen under review), as well as general negative emotion after being confronted as a perpetrator (Czopp, Monteith & Mark 2006) have also been associated with reduced discrimination. However, Pedersen and Barlow (2008) note that invoking guilt can be counter-productive and that empathy can, and should, be fostered in the absence of such negative emotions.

5.2 Raising awareness

Prejudicial attitudes and beliefs can operate without a person’s awareness or endorsement. A number of awareness-raising strategies aim to combat implicit prejudice through thought suppression and behaviour control. Research suggests that although these may be default strategies [Richeson & Shelton 2007], these approaches actually increase rather than decrease prejudice (Burgess et al. 2007; Macrae et al. 1994; Macrae, Bodenhausen, & Milne 1998; Paluck & Green 2009; Wenzlaff & Daniel 2000; Wyer, Sherman, & Stroessner 2000).

However, encouraging awareness and discussion of memories, attitudes or beliefs that relate to prejudice and encouraging people to associate diverse groups with positive images have been shown to be effective in reducing discrimination (Paluck & Green 2009; Stewart & Payne 2008; Richeson & Shelton 2007).
5.3 Providing accurate information
This strategy is also known variously as dispelling false beliefs or urban myths (Pedersen & Barlow 2008), countering stereotypes and myth-busting [Wise & Ali 2008]. Research has shown that negative stereotypes and accompanying high levels of prejudice are often influenced by false beliefs that people hold about particular groups and can therefore be countered by the provision of accurate information about those groups. For example, Batterham (2001) found that challenging the false belief that ‘Aboriginal people who were forcibly removed benefited from their removal in terms of education and employment opportunities’, significantly reduced the incidence of people holding these views and also lowered their levels of prejudice.

5.4 Recognising incompatible beliefs
Race-based discrimination can be challenged by drawing people’s attention to the incompatible beliefs they may hold. Psychologists use the terms ‘cognitive dissonance’ or ‘value discrepancy’ to describe the sense of psychological discomfort people feel when their stereotypes and prejudices are shown to be inconsistent with other valued attitudes or traits that they hold.

For example, some people who outwardly endorse egalitarian attitudes believe that prejudice and race-based discrimination are wrong but may still have negative feelings toward particular racial, ethnic, cultural or religious groups. Highlighting the disjuncture between egalitarianism and race-based discrimination may be an effective strategy. Thus, for example, if people realise that their negative attitudes toward Muslim Australians do not fit with their belief in ‘a fair go for all’, those negative attitudes may shift. This strategy may be most effective with highly prejudiced individuals (Fozdar, Wilding, & Hawkins 2008, p. 260) or those who had not previously considered their own discriminatory attitudes and beliefs.

Three factors enhance the effectiveness of this approach: recognition of inappropriate past behaviour, commitment to appropriate future behaviour and declarations of non-prejudice to others, especially in public (Song Hing, Li & Zanna 2002; Gringart, Helmes & Speelman 2008). The provision of accurate information can be effective in both highlighting inappropriate past behaviour and providing motivation for appropriate future behaviour [Gringart, Helmes & Speelman 2008].

Interventions aimed at reducing stereotypes and attitudes through highlighting incompatible beliefs should offer countering information from a credible source, provide rational arguments for behaviour change in terms of desirable outcomes and tap into moral values important to an individual’s sense of identity [e.g. a sense of being a ‘fair’ person] [Gringart, Helmes & Speelman 2008].

5.5 Increasing personal accountability
Theories emphasising the irrationality of prejudice predict that asking people to provide concrete reasons for their prejudices should reduce them [Paluck & Green 2009]. People who are required to justify their behaviour or believe they would be accountable to peers show reduced levels of discrimination (Bodenhausen, Kramer & Susser 1994; Dobbs & Crano 2001). Such personal accountability can be fostered through organisational accountability, social norms and/or legal sanction.

5.6 Breaking down barriers between groups
Sustained personalised contact between people of different racial, ethnic, cultural and religious groups facilitates the development of friendships and acquaintances. This can help break down rigid boundaries between groups.

Four basic processes are involved in reducing prejudice between groups:

- **De-categorisation**: individual identity is emphasised over group identity [e.g. people are seen as individuals rather than as members of a particular group].
- **Re-categorisation**: people from different groups are seen as part of one overarching group [e.g. Christians or Muslims may be ‘re-categorised’ as ‘people of faith’ instead of separate religious groups].
- **Cross-categorisation**: when people become aware that they share common membership of at least one kind [e.g. even though they are from different racial groups they are all parents].
• Sub-categorisation: the process through which group membership is again recognised so that experiences of positive contact among individuals can be generalised to whole group (e.g. positive interaction among individual co-workers of different groups leads to more positive evaluations of other people in those groups, both within and beyond that specific workplace) (Paluck & Green 2008).

It is important to emphasise both commonality and diversity between groups when seeking to break down boundaries, as there are risks involved in concentrating on either commonality or diversity alone (Gaertner & Dovidio 2002; Hewstone 1996). An example of an over-emphasis on commonality is provided by Tilbury (2004), who argued that advocates who emphasised the similarities between asylum-seekers and ‘mainstream’ Australians risked perpetuating the notion of homogeneity – ‘be like us or you won’t fit in’ (which ultimately equates to be like us or we don’t want you in Australia). Pedersen and Barlow (2008) also note the need to highlight differences between groups when discussing the lack of a level playing field between, for instance, Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. However, an over-emphasis of the differences between groups risks deepening fissures and creating gaps in understanding; a careful balance has been shown to most effectively reduce prejudice (Levy et al. 2005).

5.7 Increasing organisational accountability

An anti-discriminatory organisation can be recognised as one that reflects the contributions of diverse racial, ethnic, cultural and religious groups in its missions, operations, products and services and that actively engages in planning and practices that ensure equitable opportunities/benefits for staff, clients and suppliers from various racial, ethnic, cultural and religious groups (Rogers-Sirin 2008).

The public sector provides examples where highly rationalised systems of hiring, promotion and remuneration are associated with an increasing representation of minorities, greater racial diversity in positions of authority, and a smaller racial wage gap. Likewise, in the private sector formal and systemic protocols for personnel management decisions are associated with increases in the representation of racial minorities. The use of concrete performance indicators and formalised evaluation systems have also been associated with reductions in racial bias in performance evaluation (Pager & Sheperd 2008).

However, there is evidence that formalised criteria are often selectively enforced, with greater flexibility or leeway applied in the case of majority groups. Likewise, indications of racial bias in performance evaluations cast doubt on the degree to which even formalised assessments of work quality can escape the influence of race. Thus, the degree to which formalisation can address race-based discrimination remains open to debate, with effects depending on the specific context of implementation (Pager & Sheperd 2008).

Anti-discrimination in organisations can be progressed through:

• leadership and mentoring;
• affirmative action;
• the inclusion of anti-discrimination aims, objectives and goals in strategic plans and key performance indicators (Blumer & Tatum 1999);
• staff/client/supplier satisfaction surveys, interviews and other feedback; and
• monitoring by race, ethnicity, culture and religion of satisfaction, involvement, attachment, motivation, commitment, complaints received, policies and procedures, hiring, job allocation, role ambiguity, performance evaluation, training, promotion, remuneration (including compensation and benefits), retirement, dismissal, resignations, absenteeism, intention to leave and overall staff seniority.

Affirmative action is a way of dealing with the consequences of race-based discrimination rather than its causes (Albbrook 2001) and so is not in itself sufficient to create an anti-discriminatory organisation.

5.8 Promoting positive social norms

Research has found that prejudice and race-based discrimination are powerfully influenced by social norms (Crandall & Stangor 2005). Social norms can be defined as the set of influences on how individuals, groups and society see the world and react to it. They are the rules and guidelines that steer human behaviours. These can vary from informal norms (‘a fair-go’) to those supported by more formal sanctions and rewards (anti-discrimination legislation). Social norms that legitimise prejudiced
attitudes are a necessary condition for prejudicial attitudes to translate into discriminatory actions (Terry et al. 2001, cited in Pedersen & Barlow 2008).

Social norms play an important role in shaping individual behaviour. In The theory of planned behaviour, Ajzen (1991) found that the likelihood of someone intending a specific behaviour is driven by:
- attitudes and general beliefs about the consequences of the behaviour;
- attitudes as to how others will consider the behaviour (in relation to the social norm); and
- attitudes about the extent to which we perceive we have control over the outcome of the behaviour (i.e. self-efficacy).

People who are prejudiced are more likely to think their views are the norm and shared by people around them (Hartley & Pedersen 2007; Pedersen, Griffiths & Watt 2008). Belief that your views are shared by the wider population helps to justify such views. This can be challenged by convincing people that their negative attitudes are not normal for their peer group (Stangor, Sechrist & Jost 2001). Blanchard et al. [1994] found that simply hearing somebody speak out about race-based discrimination led people to express significantly stronger anti-discriminatory opinions.

Social norms are constantly evolving through:
- our interactions with the immediate environment around us (e.g. our parents, peers, roles models and mentors, neighbours, schools and workplaces); and
- the influence of broader society-wide forces (including economic and technological forces, the political and legal structure, media and social leaders, and the processes by which ideas and innovation are formed and disseminated).

Given that social norms are constantly changing, it is possible to challenge and shift harmful social norms and to reinforce and promote more positive ones.
6 Actions to reduce discrimination and support diversity

Action must be guided by an understanding of the factors that contribute to, and protect against, race-based discrimination. It is also crucial that any action be guided by available evidence of effectiveness.

Rigorous evaluation refers primarily to those studies that involve comparison between implementation and control groups. As discussed earlier, the research undertaken for this report indicates there have been few rigorous evaluations of the effectiveness of strategies designed to reduce race-based discrimination. There are, however, a number of strategies that have been evaluated using less rigorous methodologies. The strategies included in this section are either:

- **effective**: that is, strategies with a sound theoretical basis, evidence of implementation and evidence of effectiveness; or
- **promising**: strategies with a sound theoretical basis and evidence of implementation, but with no evidence of effectiveness as a result of rigorous evaluation as yet.

It is important that future effort is not confined to those strategies classified in this report as ‘effective’. The various ‘promising’ strategies presented may prove just as valuable, especially in cases where there is a compelling theoretical basis for adopting a particular approach. It is crucial that practitioners seeking to implement anti-discrimination strategies, particularly those for which there is a lack of evidence, conduct pilot testing (to minimise the risk of negative outcomes) and conduct thorough evaluation (to build upon the currently sparse knowledge-base).

The strategies are organised according to seven broad action areas or methodologies that have been widely deployed in relation to other significant health and social issues.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actions to reduce discrimination and support diversity</th>
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<tr>
<td>• Organisational development</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Communications and social marketing</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Legislative and policy reform</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Direct participation programs</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Community strengthening</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Advocacy</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Research, evaluation and monitoring</td>
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</table>

The boundaries between these categories are not clear-cut and individual activities undertaken to reduce race-based discrimination may be classified according to more than one action. For instance, workplace training designed to raise awareness of race-based discrimination could be classified as both an organisational development strategy and a direct participation strategy.

A number of case studies are presented later in this section under each of the seven action areas. These case studies do not necessarily reflect ‘best practice’ in the field as little evidence of evaluation was found upon which to make such determinations. They are primarily intended to function as practical examples.

A summary of actions and specific strategies presented in this section is included in Table 6.1. Those strategies that have been shown to be effective in rigorous evaluations are shown in bold. The others listed have shown promising results in less rigorous evaluations or have been implemented and have a sound basis in theory and experimental research.
### Table 6.1: Summary of strategies and level of evidence*

**Organisational development**
- Projects that seek to assess or ‘audit’ a range of organisational functions to identify and address discrimination and value diversity.
- Projects that implement new organisational policies, plans or operational processes.
- **Diversity training for key workforces**
  - Training and resource development to improve the capacity of key workforces to address discrimination/promote diversity in the course of their roles (e.g. teacher professional development resources, guides for journalists).
  - Organisational leadership – initiatives that model and promote good practices to a wider community/constituency.
- **Conflict resolution**
- **Activity to identify and strengthen opportunities for constructive inter-group contact within organisations**

**Communications and social marketing**
- Whole-of-population advertising/social marketing initiatives specifically designed to prevent discrimination/support diversity (TV, radio, print, new technologies).
- Integration of pro-diversity/anti-discrimination messages into existing media.
- Development of materials dispelling myths and stereotypes, raising awareness and increasing empathy (e.g. factsheets, brochures etc.).
- Community arts projects aimed at raising awareness, dispelling myths or promoting positive imagery.

**Legislation and policy reform**
- Development and implementation of policies, plans and strategies relating to diversity/discrimination.
- Incorporation of objectives pertaining to diversity and discrimination into existing plans and strategies.
- Development of monitoring mechanisms for existing plans and strategies.

**Direct participation**
- Strategies to promote sustained contact between people from different groups.
- Strategies to engage people from different groups in cooperative learning.
- Community or school-based awareness-raising or education programs (e.g. addressing issues through school curriculum or community workshops/seminars).
- Deliberative polls (polling people before and after involving them in hearing about and discussing an issue).
- Media literacy programs (programs to improve people’s ability to ignore or resist anti-social messages or reduce the negative impacts of anti-social messages on them).
- Initiatives to improve conflict resolution skills.

**Community strengthening**
- Strategies designed to support the development of leadership in affected communities on issues associated with discrimination and inter-group relations.
- Strategies designed to support the development of leadership within the broader community, focusing on respected/prominent community members who can champion this cause.
- Strategies designed to build sustained networks and partnerships between different groups and their organisations/agencies.
- Community based activities that promote sustained forms of inter-group contact (e.g. joint development of community arts installations).
- Community identity building activities (e.g. activities that acknowledge the presence and contributions of a range of groups in the built environment through, for example, local architecture and signage, and that encourage ways of communicating about places that include all groups and their contributions).
- Community cultural development (involving artists working in collaboration with communities to achieve artistic, creative, educational, economic, social or community development impacts).
- Conflict resolution.
Advocacy

- Bystander education programs (encouraging and equipping people to take action against discrimination when they observe it)
- Local advocacy groups (e.g. Rural Australians for Refugees)
- Local leadership in advocating higher-level policy change

Research, evaluation and monitoring

- Research to use as a basis for planning, advocacy and awareness-raising
- Monitoring of the experience of discrimination and outcomes for affected groups to serve as a basis for advocacy
- Evaluation to build knowledge to improve practice and policy

* Strategies shown in bold have been shown to be effective in rigorous evaluations. All other strategies have shown promising results in less rigorous evaluations or have been implemented and have a sound basis in theory and experimental research.

** Measures to increase inter-group contact are effective providing that certain conditions are met. These are discussed in Section 6.4.3.

6.1 Organisational development

Organisations and organisational cultures exert a powerful influence on the behaviours of individuals and groups. People spend a large proportion of their time working in organisations and come into regular contact with them as clients. Through their practices, organisations can have an impact on social norms and society more broadly. Accordingly, organisations can play an important role in reducing race-based discrimination by modelling and enforcing non-discriminatory standards.

For the purposes of this Framework, we have adopted a broad definition of organisations to include the following:

- the organisation as a workplace;
- the organisation as the provider of a service (e.g. schools, libraries, health services, local governments, banks); and
- the organisation as a formal structure for a community of interest (e.g. a sports club).

There are five key ways in which organisations can play a role in reducing race-based discrimination. These include:

- implementing organisational accountability;
- diversity training;
- resource development and provision;
- role-modelling; and
- serving as sites for inter-group contact and cooperative learning.

The first four points are discussed here. As organisations are not the only sites in which inter-group contact can be fostered, that issue is discussed in greater detail later in the report in Section 6.4 on direct participation programs.

6.1 Implementing organisational accountability mechanisms

General information

Organisational accountability can be achieved across a range of organisational functions, including leadership and governance, strategic planning and policy development/implementation, operational processes and practices, training and communications, and auditing and reporting. Table 6.2 provides examples of each of these.
Table 6.2: Examples of organisational functions that can increase accountability

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Example</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leadership and governance</td>
<td>Embedding non-discriminatory language, assumptions and categories into the organisation.</td>
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<td>(Some authors have suggested that effective leadership is the most important factor in ensuring institutional transformation in relation to race-based discrimination and diversity – see Kezar 2008).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategic planning and policy development/implementation</td>
<td>Incorporating non-discrimination as a standard across organisational policies and plans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operational processes and practices</td>
<td>Development of appropriate non-discriminatory forms, guidelines and protocols</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training and communications</td>
<td>Requiring and providing (in)formal training through stand-alone courses, mentoring and on-the-job training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auditing and reporting</td>
<td>Establishing minimum standards of practice that hold individuals accountable both to other members of the organisation and to those served by their organisation</td>
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</table>

Such organisational reform requires close attention to processes such as:
- allocating sufficient resources to planning and implementation of activities;
- developing a shared organisational vision;
- creating a comprehensive organisational plan [including an ongoing assessment framework];
- securing strong support from organisational leaders and champions;
- establishing effective communication with constituencies;
- ensuring stakeholder participation; and
- seeking opportunities to work in partnership with other organisations engaged in the reduction of race-based discrimination (Hubbard 1998).

Figure 6.1 provides an example of an impact assessment tool to help guide the process of organisational change. References for other impact assessment tools that have emerged in recent years are listed below this figure.
6.1.1 Evidence of implementation and effectiveness

Organisational accountability is a promising strategy for reducing race-based discrimination. It has a sound theoretical basis and has been widely implemented. Evidence of rigorous evaluation was not found in the research conducted for this report. However, as indicated earlier [see 5.7], there is some evidence that highly rationalised systems of hiring, promotion and remuneration are associated with positive outcomes for employees from diverse groups in the workplace. There is also evidence [see 6.1.2] that such accountability is a key factor in the success of diversity training. The following case studies describe two organisations’ efforts to implement organisational accountability.
Case study – Implementing organisational accountability (1)

**Name:** Addressing Racism in a Public Health Department  
**Setting:** Government department  
**Source:** Griffith et al. 2007

This study took place in a rural county health department in the south-eastern United States. It involved the conduct of:

- an employee survey;
- focus group discussions with staff;
- a community survey;
- an initial review of health department policies and procedures;
- an organisational self-assessment; and
- a perceived racism questionnaire to assess perceptions of racism at each of three levels: extra-organisational, intra-organisational and individual.

A second review of policies and procedures was also completed and the data used to develop a conceptual framework of systemic discrimination to guide the development of measures for evaluation of a ‘Dismantling Racism’ action plan.

Case study – Implementing organisational accountability (2)

**Name:** Hunter New England Health Service Cultural Redesign Program  
**Setting:** Regional health service  
**Source:** Hunter New England Health Service 2008

The Hunter New England Health Service (HNEHS) provides care for 12% of the NSW population (840,000 people), including 20% of the NSW Indigenous population. In 2007, the Population Health Division of HNEHS implemented the Cultural Redesign Program to address systemic discrimination against Indigenous people by providing culturally appropriate services for Indigenous communities and people and a culturally safe workplace for Indigenous staff, partners and visitors.

The program involves reform of service provision across the whole division (which includes about 100 staff members) as well as of strategic directions, funding allocations and recruitment and training programs. The program includes:

- formation of a racism and discrimination committee;
- inclusion of an Indigenous advisory process in annual service/budget planning;
- use of an Aboriginal health impact assessment tool;
- the addition of cultural safety as a criterion in staff position descriptions and performance plans;
- revision of diversity training;
- development of an Indigenous employment strategy;
- establishment of an Indigenous staff network;
- development of a code of conduct and response to discriminatory incidents and grievance procedures; and
- monitoring and evaluation of Indigenous staff safety.

6.1.2 Diversity training

**General information**

Diversity training refers to programs that specifically aim to increase positive (or decrease negative) inter-group attitudes, prejudices and behaviours among participants (Pendry, Driscoll & Field 2007). Most examples of diversity training reported in the literature are workforce development initiatives; that is, they are designed for participants in their job roles (either on-the-job or pre-service). The principles could also be applied in other organisational/institutional settings (e.g. schools) and non-organisational settings (e.g. in communities as part of a community strengthening initiative).
Diversity training is referred to in a number of different ways in the literature:

*It would appear that people in different sectors, organisations, and even departments within organisations, and at different times (or stages of training development) use ... any one of a number of terms to describe a range of activities aiming to affect awareness, attitudes and/or skills around race, racism, prejudice, culture, equal opportunities, discrimination, harassment and/or diversity. There seems to be no real evidence of consistency in terminology and course-naming conventions* (Tamkin et al. 2002, p. 11).

Diversity training programs use a variety of methods to combat negative stereotypes, prejudices and discrimination. These include the provision of information via lectures, video, and film; small group discussions; role plays; the presentation of case studies and critical incidents to encourage cross-cultural awareness; and inter-group interaction to complete tasks (Sanson et al. 1998).

Diversity training that includes issues related to race, ethnicity, culture or religion as a focus can take one of two approaches:

- **Cultural awareness training**
  Also known as intercultural, cross-cultural and multicultural training, cultural awareness training is designed to convey information about other cultures (including counter-stereotypic information), to facilitate improved communication and interaction with other cultures and, more rarely, to have participants examine their own cultural values, beliefs and assumptions.

- **Anti-discrimination training**
  Also known as race-based discrimination training and race relations training, anti-discrimination training aims to increase awareness of one’s own discriminatory attitudes and beliefs, race-based discrimination in society and what can be done to combat it (Ungerleider & McGregor 1993). This necessarily requires participants to examine their own values, beliefs, assumptions, roles and positions in society vis-à-vis discrimination as well as the nature and history of race-based discrimination.

A study in the UK reviewed the workplace programs of 872 local government, National Health Service, central government and criminal justice organisations to develop a typology of diversity training programs (Tamkin et al. 2002). The review identified four broad forms of diversity training categorised by outcome – knowledge-raising, attitudinal change, behavioural change and cultural change:

- **Knowledge-raising** programs seek to improve knowledge and understanding of different lifestyles, values and beliefs. Their goal is to provide knowledge that will dispel prejudice and increase sensitivity toward people from other racial, ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds.

- **Attitudinal change** programs attempt to directly tackle the roots of racially discriminatory behaviours. That is, they aim to challenge the conscious and unconscious stereotypes and prejudices that contribute to race-based discrimination. These programs attempt to show how subtle forms of historical beliefs pervade cultures and systems in which people work. This includes awareness training, which traditionally assumes that people from the dominant or majority culture need to be made aware of their own discriminatory attitudes and beliefs before they can tackle them.

- **Behavioural change** programs seek to equip people with the skills to recognise and correct actions that exclude or discriminate against particular groups. They develop critical thinking and problem solving techniques to reduce discriminatory conduct or to cope with discriminatory behaviours. These models are based on the theory that behavioural change drives attitudinal change rather than the other way around.

- **Cultural change** programs seek to move beyond the individual to influence organisational cultures and practices. They often involve aspects of behavioural and attitudinal change.

Diversity training appears to be attracting increasing interest in Australia (Pyke 2005), with the bulk of workplace training in Australian government and community sector organisations following the knowledge-raising approach. A 2006 national review of cross-cultural training in the Australian public and community sector by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship found:

- the types of training conducted were general cultural awareness training, programs on specific cultures, programs on working with interpreters, specialised programs for fields such as health and policing, and programs about managing culturally diverse workforces;
the main training objectives were to improve customer service, workplace communications, community relations, compliance with laws and policies, marketing of services and international business skills; training improved awareness of cultural influences on workplace interactions as well as understanding of other cultures and of organisational cultural diversity policies; however, it did not increase understanding of one’s own culture; and over 60% of participants wanted more cross-cultural training (Bean 2006).

In one of the few evaluations of cultural awareness programs, Hill and Augoustinos (2001) found that they tend to address old-fashioned discriminatory views and do not deal adequately with the complex, contradictory and ambivalent nature of contemporary race-based discrimination. They argued that such programs focus excessively on locating race-based discrimination within the psychological or cognitive domain of the individual and do not give due consideration to the structural arrangements and power relations within society. They noted that organisations were often unclear about what they wanted to change through diversity training.

Tamkin et al. (2002) suggest four key dimensions that should be considered when designing diversity training programs:

- **Philosophy**: What elements of diversity does it cover? For example, does it focus on supporting and promoting the positive attributes of cultural diversity or on explicitly addressing race-based discrimination?
- **Level**: Does it aim to generate changes at the individual, organisation, community or societal level?
- **Target**: Is the training directed at internal or external relationships? That is, is the focus on relationships between staff, clients or community?
- **Aims and objectives**: What is the training designed to do? Training can aim to provide information (e.g. increase knowledge, awareness or understanding about particular groups), to challenge and change beliefs and attitudes, to change behaviours and/or to change workplace/organisational cultures.

These dimensions are summarised in Table 6.3.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Philosophy</th>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Target</th>
<th>Aims and objectives</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Race-based discrimination</td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>Subordinates</td>
<td>Information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equality</td>
<td>Organisation</td>
<td>Colleagues</td>
<td>Beliefs/attitudes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diversity</td>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Clients</td>
<td>Behaviours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Society</td>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Culture</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adapted from: Tamkin et al. 2002

**Evidence of implementation and effectiveness**

Diversity training has been found to be an **effective strategy** for reducing race-based discrimination under certain circumstances (detailed below). It has a sound theoretical basis, been widely implemented and been rigorously evaluated in a number of settings. For example:

- A recent review found that diversity training generally results in increased knowledge (assessed in 26 studies) as well as improved attitudes (assessed in 51 studies) and behaviours (assessed in 30 studies) (Kulik & Roberson 2008).
- A review of cultural competence interventions for health professionals identified 34 such interventions. There was excellent evidence that cultural competence training improved the knowledge of health professionals and good evidence that such training improved their attitudes and skills (Beach et al. 2005).
- A review of diversity training for police/military personnel found 10 studies of field experiments (i.e. pre- and post-test measurement with a control group) from which training effectiveness could be determined. While approximately half (56%) of the courses resulted in decreased discriminatory attitudes and beliefs of participants, disturbingly, one-fifth of the courses (22%) significantly increased the discriminatory attitudes and beliefs of participants (Ungerleider & McGregor 1993).
- A review of teacher training courses across 19 studies found that the majority of participants displayed less discriminatory attitudes and beliefs than those who did not participate in the training. However, 15% of participants showed an increase in discriminatory attitudes and beliefs (McGregor & Ungerleider 1993).
A review of courses focusing on perspective taking and cognitive dissonance among school students found across 13 studies that participants displayed less discriminatory attitudes and beliefs than students who did not participate in the training (McGregor 1993).

Together with other studies (Bigler 1999; Johnson, Antle & Barbee in press; Kalev, Dobbin & Kelly 2006), these reviews highlight the danger of increasing discriminatory attitudes and beliefs through diversity training. As such, it is vital that such training is designed based on sound theory and current best practice and is carefully tested before widespread dissemination.

Programs are more likely to be successful if they feature both cross-cultural and anti-discrimination approaches (Buhin & Vera 2009), include explicit discussion of race-based discrimination (McGregor 1993) within a safe space for open and frank dialogue and allow ample time to reflect on course content through problem-based and interactive learning (Buhin & Vera 2009).

Successful programs are tailored to each organisation, linked to operational goals, specifically address behaviour, focus on discrimination as a general process rather than only on specific groups (Bendick et al. 1998) or workplaces, are delivered by ‘insiders’, are longer in duration and include participants from a range of racial/ethnic/cultural/religious backgrounds (McGregor & Ungerleider 1993). Furthermore, successful programs are delivered by trainers with experience and/or qualifications in organisational change; enjoy strong, visible and consistent support from the organisation’s leadership; and are complemented by broader organisational development (Bendick, Egan & Lothjelm 2001; Kalev, Dobbin & Kelly 2006).
Case study – Diversity training (1)

**Name:** Cross-Cultural Awareness Program  
**Setting:** Government agency  
**Source:** Hill and Augoustinos 2001

This program adopts a workshop format and, at the time of evaluation, was run as a three-day staff training program for the Courts Administration Authority (CAA) in South Australia. The program was compulsory for all employees in regular contact with the public as part of their work and voluntary for others. The program was offered every six weeks to groups of up to 15 staff members. It was also incorporated into the induction process of Court orderlies and security staff.

The program had four major objectives. These were that participants:
- develop a broader understanding of Aboriginal Australian cultures;
- develop an appreciation of Aboriginal Australian cultures in the 1990s [the time of evaluation];
- develop an understanding of stereotypical attitudes toward/about Aboriginal people and how to eliminate them; and
- have any positive attitudes toward Aboriginal culture and people reinforced.

Each course involved one female and two male facilitators. These facilitators were Aboriginal employees of the CAA, who had volunteered to be trained as trainers. The program used a combination of videos, small group activities and discussion to encourage debate and interaction between participants and facilitators. On the first day, participants examined Australian history and institutions from an Aboriginal perspective. The second day introduced participants to research on attitudes, stereotypes and prejudice, and encouraged participants to think about and explore how stereotypes are formed and the effects they have on their targets. On the final day, participants used examples of real incidents to prompt discussion on discriminatory behaviour.

The program sought to break down stereotypes and prejudices through:
- contact with Aboriginal people;
- the exploration of information that countered stereotypes; and
- activities designed to explore not only the beliefs associated with prejudice but also associated feelings and emotions.

The Cross-Cultural Awareness Program had a significant positive effect on participants immediately after completing the course. There were significant increases in knowledge about Aboriginal Australians and Australian history, and in endorsement of positive stereotypical beliefs about Indigenous Australians. There were significant decreases in both modern and old-fashioned prejudice and in negative stereotyping of Aboriginal Australians. Three months after completing the program, however, the effects were more limited. Only the significant increase in knowledge endured for all subjects. Highly prejudiced participants alone showed a significant, sustained decrease in old-fashioned prejudice.

Case study – Diversity training (2)

**Name:** Cultural Psychology Unit  
**Setting:** University classroom  
**Source:** Pedersen and Barlow 2008

This training program consisted of weekly two-hour lectures conducted over six weeks and five two-hour tutorials. In the tutorials students were encouraged to interact with each other in a respectful manner. The course was taught to 123 first-year psychology students from an Australian university as an elective in their degree. It focused on dispelling false beliefs as well as building accurate knowledge about Indigenous people and the nature of prejudice. It took place within an environment in which students felt safe to speak their minds. Data from the 62 participants who completed surveys before and after the course indicated that it led to a significant reduction in prejudice, acceptance of false beliefs and the perception that Aboriginal people unfairly receive ‘special treatment’.
6.1.3 Resource development and provision

General information

Another area of practice in organisational development is the provision of resources and skills-based programs to assist particular workforces to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity in the course of their work using best-practice approaches. This is perhaps best illustrated in the teaching and sports sectors, where practice guides, resources and training programs are relatively widespread (see, for example, Play by the Rules: http://www.playbytherules.net.au/). Similarly, there are a number of programs established to assist media professionals to report issues pertaining to race, ethnicity and inter-group relations competently.

Evidence of implementation and effectiveness

Resource provision for good practice is a promising strategy for reducing race-based discrimination that has been widely implemented. It has strong potential for raising consciousness of existing poor practice, increasing knowledge and skills, and improving organisational norms. No rigorous evaluations were found as part of the research for this report, however. The following case study describes an example of such a program.

Case study – Resource development and provision

Name: Journalism in Multicultural Australia (JMA) Project
Setting: Media

The JMA Project was funded by the then Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs. It was undertaken by a partnership of universities and media organisations and coordinated by Murdoch University.

The principal focus was to raise awareness about the way multicultural issues were reported in the Australian media in order to identify ways of improving journalistic practice. A ‘toolkit’ of project resources was developed for use by journalism educators for the education and training of journalists in universities and newsrooms.

The project applied a multicultural lens to what was on Australian television screens during the survey period. The aim was to explore if and how television content helped or hindered the development of a harmonious community. As a longitudinal study, the project examined the trends and progress in television news from 2001–07 and made recommendations to improve future practice.

The project classified ethnic minority news reporting as ‘sad, bad, mad and/or other’. The data showed considerable variation in the way different services treated reporting of ethnic minorities (some being more dramatic and emotive, while others adopted a restrained and emotionally neutral style). People from ethnic groups were either invisible or cast in a negative light. One regional news service (Shepparton regional news service via WIN News) was found to focus most on personalised stories that allowed viewers to see the local Muslim community as normal participants in the community’s daily life.

The project report points to ways news practice can be adjusted to ensure the nightly bulletins reflect a more accurate picture of the Australian community. It recommends:

- selecting for diversity in crowd shots, vox pops and expert talent;
- allowing ethnic minority communities to speak for themselves, rather than being spoken about or spoken for;
- taking care with subtitles to avoid the creation of artificial distance between ethnic minority community representatives and the general public; and
- including more reporters from ethnic minority backgrounds.

No documentation of the effectiveness of the project in terms of reach and impact on journalistic practice is reported.
6.1.4 Role-modelling

General information

Once organisations have developed good practices with regard to supporting diversity and reducing race-based discrimination, they may be in a position to model this to a wider constituency. For example, a company with well-developed diversity policies may promote itself in the wider business community as an ‘equal opportunity employer’. Such a company may also choose to highlight the economic benefits of diversity in order to motivate other employers to follow its lead.

Several organisations have established awards to acknowledge professionals making a particular contribution to the support or promotion of diversity or anti-discrimination (for example, awards for responsible journalism).

Evidence of implementation and effectiveness

Role-modelling is another promising strategy for reducing race-based discrimination. Evidence exists of implementation, but evaluations of effectiveness were not located during the literature review conducted for this report.

An interesting example of role-modelling to reduce race-based discrimination can be found in the case of the Australian Football League (AFL) and its Bouncing Racism Out of Sport Initiative. This initiative developed a range of materials to communicate to the wider football community that race-based discrimination in sport is not acceptable. While the impact of these initiatives is difficult to evaluate, the AFL’s work in this area (catalysed by footballer Nicky Winmar’s response to on-field discrimination) has been credited with establishing new social norms, not only in the football community but also among the constituencies of other sporting codes. The following case studies provide evidence of implementation in business and local government settings.

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**Case study – Role-modelling as an organisational development strategy (1)**

*Name:* Diversity Means Business  
*Setting:* Workplace  

Diversity@work assists Australian government agencies and private sector organisations to overcome barriers to inclusion, ensure compliance with relevant legislation and implement diversity initiatives. One of its strategies is to recognise and promote best practice through national awards and the publication of diversity in business best-practice case studies on its website and its publication *Diversity Means Business*. The case studies are designed to help other organisations implement their own diversity strategies. They include examples of work undertaken by government-funded and private sector organisations to promote workplace participation opportunities for Australians from Indigenous and migrant/refugee backgrounds. Examples include Sydney Water’s, Australia Post’s and Medibank Private’s strategies focusing on migrant and refugee communities and programs developed by Rio Tinto, the National Australia Bank and BHP Billiton to improve participation by Indigenous Australians.

**Case study – Role-modelling as an organisational development strategy (2)**

*Name:* Talent not Tokenism  
*Setting:* Workplace  

This guide to workplace diversity developed for employers in the public and private sector contains examples of employers who have successfully created a more diverse workforce and describes the benefits of doing so. The resource showcases the economic benefits of equity in recruitment, training and development, and promotion in terms of productive diversity argument provided. Treating people fairly in recruitment, training, development and promotion has helped these businesses build a reputation for being good places to work, with benefits that include increased employee satisfaction, a wider range of applicants for job vacancies and lower staff turnover.
Case Study – Role-modelling as an organisational development strategy [3]

Name: Toomnangi: Indigenous Community and Local Government
Setting: Local government
Source: Municipal Association Victoria (MAV) 1998 and 2002

Local government, through its strong community links and local representation, is well placed to provide leadership in strengthening relationships between non-indigenous and Indigenous Australians.

MAV developed the Wurreker Resource Guide in 1998 for councils seeking ideas and concrete approaches to developing partnerships with their Indigenous communities. A second document, the Toomnangi Report, documents the results of a survey of all Victorian councils and their involvement in Indigenous activities undertaken in 2002. It similarly highlights examples of good practice. The report contains practical information about Aboriginal names and events, the origins of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander flags, native title and local government action plans and resources.

The resources are part of a larger initiative aimed at supporting councils to encourage greater unity, knowledge and respect for the first occupants of the land by developing partnership opportunities with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities.

6.2 Communications and social marketing

General information

A broad range of media can be used in anti-discrimination initiatives, including television, radio, print, the internet and the arts. These media are vivid and popular couriers of many kinds of social and political messages (Paluck & Green 2009). Communications and social marketing approaches can raise awareness of race-based discrimination, impact directly on attitudes and behaviours, and contribute to the development and strengthening of positive social norms.

Communications and marketing approaches to address race-based discrimination identified in the literature include:

- whole of population advertising campaigns using television, radio and print media and new technologies;
- the incorporation of anti-discrimination/pro-diversity messages into existing media [e.g. plotlines in popular series];
- use of existing media to canvass issues associated with race-based discrimination and diversity [e.g. opinion pieces, articles];
- development of materials dispelling myths and stereotypes and raising awareness [e.g. fact sheets, brochures];
- use of community arts and community theatre to raise awareness of race-based discrimination and its impacts and causes; and
- use of arts to promote positive imagery of particular groups and their contributions.

Evidence of implementation and effectiveness

Although communications and social marketing approaches to supporting diversity and reducing race-based discrimination are commonplace, there remains relatively little research into the effectiveness of media interventions in producing positive outcomes (Paluck & Green 2009; Sanson et al. 1998).

Although there has been little evaluation of the overall impact of these strategies, it has been found that media interventions that use either simple exhortations [such as anti-discriminatory sermons] or parody/satire of attitudes, beliefs or discrimination are not effective in reducing race-based discrimination and may even be counter-productive (Duckitt 2001).

As part of the work to develop the More than tolerance report, VicHealth commissioned a review of communications and marketing activity to address race-based discrimination and support cultural diversity. The study considered campaigns between 1995 and 2006. Findings were mixed: some indicated positive changes in attitudes, some indicated no change and, of considerable concern, some showed unanticipated negative shifts in attitudes. The review identified a number of good practice approaches (see Table 6.4).
### Table 6.4: Good practice for campaign development to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity

If the objective is to reduce discrimination affecting a particular group or groups, the focus should be on one group at a time, as discrimination is often specific to particular racial/ethnic/cultural/religious groups. Campaigns that attempt to promote broad concepts of inclusion, multiculturalism or diversity with non-specific rationales are valuable in themselves but may do little to lessen discriminatory views about specific groups.

A variety of individuals from the group affected by discrimination should be involved in campaigns and, where possible, factual personal details about them should be provided. If a paid actor, individual person or celebrity is used they can be easily dismissed as an exception to the rule.

Where negative emotions are underpinned by false beliefs that can be challenged with objective information, these should be targeted in communications materials.

Campaigns should seek to facilitate a dialogue by demonstrating that the affected group shares at least one of the values of the dominant group.

An emphasis on exotic or superficial characteristics of particular groups (e.g. dancing, crafts, foods) should be avoided.

Avoid over-claiming and stay within the dominant group’s latitude of acceptance.

Possible counter-arguments should be identified in advance and be pre-empted in the communications material rather than being left unanswered.

Simple requests to ‘like’ or accept others are likely to have little lasting impact on beliefs and attitudes and may even be counter-productive.

The group affected by discrimination should be a visible part of the campaign.

Campaign messages based on appeals to ‘unity’ or ‘oneness’ should be avoided unless extensive pre-testing is possible, as they may reinforce the propensity to categorise and exclude certain groups perceived to be outside of the national identity.

The affected group should be actively involved and messages and strategies should be pre-tested with them, especially where the campaign stresses similarities. Some groups may reject such claims or they may be perceived to have negative impacts on their identity.

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Adapted from: Donovan & Vlais 2006 and VicHealth 2007

A number of good practice processes for the development of communications and social marketing campaigns have also been identified (VicHealth 2007):

- Establish an overall management group for the campaign, comprising relevant stakeholders, members of the affected group and professionals from relevant disciplines (e.g. social psychology, geography, social marketing).

- Provide significant up-front investment in the planning stages to enable:
  - multi-level field mapping to determine such factors as current media representations, current influences on social norms, existing research, demographic and geographic variations, and theoretical understandings of factors influencing the attitudes of concern;
  - mapping of the wider environment to identify other factors in the context that may influence the campaign’s success and consideration of opportunities for addressing these (e.g. local institutional discrimination);
  - development of specific, achievable and context-specific objectives. This should include identifying target audiences and behavioural and attitudinal objectives for the campaign. Objectives should be based on comprehensive theoretical models pertaining to the attitudes underlying race-based discrimination, behavioural change and marketing; and
  - formative research. This would include developing and testing the campaign objectives and message strategies to ensure they are acceptable and effective and they do not have any unintended negative impacts.

- Develop a parallel campaign targeting publishers, editors, journalists, writers and producers, as negative beliefs perpetuated through the news and entertainment media may undermine a community campaign. For similar reasons, preparatory work should also be undertaken with local political leaders and stakeholders.

- Where possible, undertake parallel efforts to address systemic discrimination, especially in organisations associated with the campaign (e.g. through adopting policies and procedures to counter discrimination).
Promote dialogue around the campaign, as evidence indicates that dialogue can be particularly effective in shifting attitudes.

Overall, communications and social marketing campaigns can, under certain circumstances, be identified as an effective strategy for reducing race-based discrimination and supporting diversity. Extensive formative research and pre-testing is crucial to positive campaign outcomes. Communications and social marketing campaigns are, however, unlikely to have a sustained positive impact when used in isolation. Wherever possible, other anti-discrimination strategies should be implemented alongside communications campaigns as there is the potential for effectiveness to be enhanced through reinforcing strategies.

Two case studies of communications and social marketing campaigns to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity are provided below. Several other examples are provided in Donovan and Vlais (2006).

Case study – Communications and social marketing (1)

Name: All Anybody Wants is a Fair Go: Aboriginal Employment Week in Bunbury Western Australia 1985
Setting: Media
Source: Donovan and Leivers 1993

This anti-discrimination campaign aimed to encourage people to reconsider their beliefs about Aboriginal people and employment, in particular the proportion of Indigenous people in employment, remaining in employment for sustained periods and in skilled jobs. It was also intended to communicate to Aboriginal people by generating feelings of pride at seeing members of their community portrayed positively in the local media.

The campaign employed formative research and was based on a particular psychological communication concept (the concept of 'latitude of acceptance') and attitude change models. Qualitative research was undertaken with opinion leaders, employers, townspeople and local Indigenous people to guide campaign development. A solid theoretical foundation was crucial to campaign development.

The post-campaign survey showed that it reached 90% of respondents. Analysis of pre- and post-survey data indicates it had a significant impact on people’s beliefs on the three key issues.

Case study – Communications and social marketing (2)

Name: All of Us Campaign
Setting: Media and community
Source: Victorian Multicultural Commission: www.multicultural.vic.gov.au

This social marketing campaign aimed to encourage people to accept and embrace the many cultures that make up our society. As a part of the campaign, a series of advertisements profiling people from 22 different countries who now call Victoria home were shown on television channels across Victoria.

The advertisements were reinforced with a program of activity including:

• *All of Us* print advertising, book and exhibition at Federation Square, Melbourne, based on photographic portraits of more than 220 Victorians from 190 countries;
• support for grassroots community development activity during Cultural Diversity Week to mark the United Nations Day for the Elimination of Racism; and
• the Cultural Diversity Quest designed to help raise young people’s awareness of Victoria’s cultural and linguistic diversity through an invitation to all Victorian students, teachers and schools to submit an entry about their experience of cultural diversity.

6.3 Legislative and policy reform

General information
Policies and laws become crucial in reducing race-based discrimination as they provide the social foundations needed for altering deep-seated stereotypes, prejudices and discriminatory practices (Rosenthal 1990). As discussed earlier, policy statements and laws act as moral exemplars or declaratory statements, embodying the values, norms and standards of acceptable behaviours in society. Policies and laws serve two important functions:
- symbolic and educational roles as important statements of societal values; and
- proscriptive, prescriptive, deterrent, remedial and punitive roles (Jones 1997).

Although many activities in relation to legislative and policy reform take place at the state and federal levels of government, local governments can also play an important role – both as advocates for higher-level policy change and by implementing local-level anti-discrimination policies and plans.

Evidence of implementation and effectiveness
The literature review conducted for this report did not uncover any studies that explicitly measured the effects of legislative and policy reform on the extent of race-based discrimination. Such measurements can be quite challenging as these reforms affect entire populations. However, a recent report by the UK Home Office (2008) suggests that norms and behaviours can be changed through policies that encourage and enable individuals to switch behaviour, actively engage with them, and clearly and consistently exemplify the desired behaviour. This is therefore a promising strategy for action. Ways these changes can be achieved through legislation and policy reform are outlined in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5: Changing norms and behaviours through legislative and policy reform

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Encourage</th>
<th>Policies can encourage behaviour change by:</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>providing incentives (financial and non-financial) to individuals, groups, service providers and organisations to behave in non-discriminatory ways;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>using legislation and regulation to sanction certain actions or behaviours;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>establishing contracts and codifications to establish or frame expectations about behaviour;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>recognising and rewarding success stories, through, for example, public awards; and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>being prepared to deploy penalties, enforcement and sanctions where necessary.</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Enable</th>
<th>Policies can enable behaviour change by:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>strengthening capacity and providing alternatives for innovative courses of action; and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>putting in place support and information services for individuals, groups, service providers and organisations seeking to combat race-based discrimination.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Engage</th>
<th>Policies can engage with individuals by:</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>putting citizen engagement at the heart of anti-discrimination initiatives;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>creating deliberative forums for debate and dialogue; and</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>using social marketing techniques to promote new or adaptive forms of behaviour.</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Exemplify</th>
<th>Policies can exemplify desired behaviours by:</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ensuring that public figures lead by example; and</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>establishing consistent messages about race-based discrimination and diversity.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Adapted from: UK Home Office 2008

As much legislation relating to diversity and race-based discrimination only restricts public behaviour (e.g. the Victorian Equal Opportunity Act and Racial and Religious Tolerance Act), legislative and policy reforms should ideally be implemented alongside other strategies that emphasise the importance of reducing all forms of race-based discrimination – whether against the law or not.
Building on our strengths

Case study – Substantive Equality Unit of the Equal Opportunity Commission of Western Australia

Name: Substantive Equality Unit of the Equal Opportunity Commission of Western Australia
Setting: Government

The Substantive Equality Unit conducts audits and formulates anti-discrimination interventions within public sector departments. The Unit focuses on one program within key departments in the Western Australian Government each year.

Each department must conduct a needs and impact assessment on selected policies, practices and procedures in order to systematically assess their effects in relation to one or more racial, ethnic, cultural or religious groups. This assessment extends to monitoring the actual effects of the policy, practice or procedure; screening written policy in relation to intended practice; forecasting likely effects on diverse groups; examining available evidence; undertaking consultations and implementing monitoring arrangements and measures to eliminate or minimise detrimental impact.

6.4 Direct participation programs

Direct participation programs are those that directly engage individuals in activities to challenge race-based discrimination. They can operate either within or outside organisational contexts. Examples include awareness-raising programs, deliberative polls, inter-group contact, media literacy programs and training in conflict resolution and peace-making.

6.4.1 Awareness-raising or education programs

General information

Awareness-raising programs can be conducted in a number of settings, including schools and communities. Such programs seek to support diversity and reduce race-based discrimination either by improving knowledge of (and appreciation for) cultural diversity or by directly addressing issues of race-based discrimination and providing information on how to reduce it. School curricula, community seminars, workshops and information sessions are all examples of awareness-raising programs. Diversity training initiatives (discussed earlier as an organisational strategy) provide much information of relevance to community-based awareness-raising programs. These approaches will not be repeated here. The arts have also been identified as an important tool for community-based awareness-raising, which can challenge myths and stereotypes and build empathy (Commission on Integration and Cohesion 2007). The role of the arts and culture is considered in greater detail in the section on community cultural development.

School-based awareness-raising programs can be teacher-led or can engage students in peer learning. Some of these programs are integrated into curricula, while others are ‘stand-alone’ programs. A number of multicultural and anti-discrimination programs in school-based settings have been reviewed. Such programs can help students acquire new behaviours and norms that contribute to positive race relations through role-playing activities and exposure to appropriate films, stories and curriculum material that encourages perspective-taking and empathy, models positive inter-group behaviour, develops non-discriminatory norms and promotes discussion of prejudice and discrimination (Aboud & Levy 2000; Pfeifer, Brown & Juvonen 2007).

Evidence of implementation and effectiveness

Much of the evidence that exists in relation to awareness-raising programs comes from school settings or workplaces. The evidence from workplaces has already been discussed in relation to diversity training. School-based awareness-raising programs in relation to race-based discrimination and diversity have been widely implemented. Schools offer ideal environments for such programs because children and young people spend a large proportion of their time in adult-directed and structured activities into which interventions can be incorporated (Aboud & Levy 2000). The awareness-raising programs that have been rigorously evaluated indicate that they can be an effective strategy for reducing race-based discrimination under certain conditions. Further evaluation of school-based programs is crucial.
Case study – School-based education programs [1]

Name: Voices of Australia: Education Module
Setting: Education

This secondary school education resource for teachers explores the potential for stories about people from a range of cultural backgrounds to increase awareness and understanding. The resource aims to increase students’ awareness of diversity, race-based discrimination and race relations and to foster respectful relationships. It provides an opportunity for the different stories of Australian people to be heard and celebrated in the classroom.

The teaching and learning activities in this module are linked to the curriculum and applicable for use in upper primary civics and citizenship; lower secondary civics and citizenship, English, personal development and arts; and post-compulsory legal studies, English and modern history. No evaluation of the effectiveness of this teaching resource was found during the literature review undertaken for this report.

Case study – School-based education programs [2]

Name: Countering Racism: using a critical approach in teaching and learning contexts to explore portrayals of Aboriginality
Setting: Schools

All DECS schools have been provided with a teaching resource that promotes a critical approach exploring the portrayal of Aboriginal people in texts (including video, postcards, sculpture, books and music). The resource also provides useful strategies for exploring values and beliefs about race and race-based discrimination.

Case study – School-based education programs [3]

Name: Prejudice No Way!
Setting: Schools

Prejudice No Way! is based on the belief that schools are uniquely placed to shape the formation of children’s values and to assist them to recognise, respect and accept diversity and explore issues of prejudice. Prejudice No Way! has been designed to target students from kindergarten to Year 3.

The activities provided in the resource aim to assist students to:

- develop respect and appreciation for individual and cultural similarities and differences;
- explore and discuss how prejudices and stereotypes develop;
- increase awareness of the impact of prejudice and discrimination;
- develop an understanding of how prejudice can influence decision-making processes; and
- explore how prejudice and discrimination can be challenged.

Teaching and learning activities for students are integrated across four broad strands: developing identity and self-esteem; being comfortable with difference; understanding prejudice and taking action against prejudice. The activities are designed to reflect the developmental stages of the students.

The designers of the resource acknowledge that for anti-discrimination education to have greatest effect, the whole school environment must incorporate anti-discrimination as a priority. This involves assessing pedagogy, the curriculum, the learning environment, and teaching and learning material to ensure that they reflect the diversity of the community.
6.4.2 Deliberative polls

General information

While their format varies, deliberative polls generally involve engaging groups of people in hearing about and discussing an issue. Participants are polled before and after this deliberation. Deliberative polls provide an opportunity to provide accurate information, challenge false beliefs and stereotypes, and build empathy.

Evidence of implementation and effectiveness

Developing a deliberative poll involves particular skill; if they are not well managed, there is considerable potential to do harm. Nevertheless, there is some evidence that deliberative polls are an effective strategy for changing attitudes, as indicated in the following case study.

Case study – Deliberative polls (1)

Name: Australia Deliberates: Muslims and Non-Muslims in Australia
Setting: Community
Source: Issues Deliberation Australia 2007

This initiative combined expert and community consultations with quantitative and qualitative research in the general population as well as among the Australian Muslim population. The goal was to assess the current state of knowledge and attitudes about relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in Australia, with particular examination of knowledge and opinions before and after participants had the opportunity to systematically learn more about the issues, to deliberate with peers and to question competing experts. Deliberations took place over a weekend.

Post-intervention surveys of the ‘mainstream’ Australian cohort indicated a positive shift in attitudes towards, and understanding of, Muslim Australians:

- Both before and after deliberations, over 40% of participants wanted general levels of immigration to remain stable. Prior to deliberations preference was given to English-speaking immigrants with skills needed by Australia and people committed to the Australian way of life. Following deliberations ‘being committed to the Australian way of life’ was the single most important criterion, but participants were less likely to say that any specific characteristic (such as English language) was important for screening potential immigrants.
- Prior to deliberations, 30% of participants wanted to see the intake of Middle Eastern immigrants decreased, and 32% wanted to see the intake of Muslim immigrants decreased. After deliberating, this declined to 21% and 20% respectively.
- Post-deliberation, participants were substantially more likely to welcome and respect people from different cultures and accept their freedom to live by their own traditions within the Australian mainstream society (42% endorsed this before the deliberation and 71% after).
- Before deliberations, 42% of participants thought Muslims in Australia have a negative impact on social harmony; this decreased to 29% post deliberations. Similarly, while 44% of participants felt that Muslims impact negatively on national security prior to deliberations, only 21% felt that way afterwards.
- Before the deliberation, 49% of the respondents believed that incompatibility between Muslim and ‘Western’ values contributed ‘a lot’ to terrorism, compared to 22% after the deliberation.
- Levels of political knowledge increased substantially during deliberations, notably in relation to Islam and Muslim customs and culture. On these and other political knowledge questions, gains in knowledge following deliberation increased by up to 70%.

Positive changes in opinion on some specific questions were more dramatic for those who had a Muslim Australian in their group for the weekend of deliberations. This draws attention to the importance of inter-group contact, which is discussed in the following section.
6.4.3 Inter-group contact

General information

The most influential psychological model for stereotype and prejudice reduction remains the ‘contact hypothesis’, which proposes prejudice reduction via inter-group contact (Allport 1954; Pettigrew 1998). Inter-group contact can take place both within organisations [e.g. in schools or workplaces] or elsewhere [e.g. in neighbourhoods].

Inter-group contact can be consciously developed through activities expressly designed for this purpose. Alternatively, organisational settings, such as schools and workplaces, provide important and naturalistic contexts for contact in the course of their day-to-day operations. Organisational development strategies can be used to identify and strengthen these opportunities. For example, a school might develop policies to ensure that its sports teams comprise people from a range of backgrounds. The work lunch room is cited as a potential site for naturalistic inter-group contact in several recent reports (Commission on Integration and Cohesion 2007; Wise & Ali 2007).

Inter-group contact can also be an important component of the community strengthening activities discussed in later sections of this section.

Evidence of implementation and effectiveness

There is considerable evidence that inter-group contact can be an effective strategy for reducing race-based discrimination under certain conditions. Inter-group contact is most likely to be effective if the criteria outlined in Table 6.6 are met.

Table 6.6: Ideal conditions for inter-group contact

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Conflicting groups have equal status within the contact situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓</td>
<td>There is no competition along group lines within the contact situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Groups seek to achieve common goals within the contact situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Relevant institutional authorities sanction the inter-group contact and it occurs in the context of supportive norms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓</td>
<td>The contact situation provides the opportunity for personal acquaintance between participants. This is particularly useful when this occurs with people from other racial/ethnic/cultural/religious groups whose characteristics counter dominant stereotypes of their groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓</td>
<td>There are opportunities for the development of inter-group friendships, as people with such friendships have significantly lower levels of prejudice towards that group in general</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adapted from: Pedersen, Clarke et al. 2005; Dovidio et al. 2003

In reviewing 515 studies involving over 250,089 individuals from 38 nations, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) found inter-group contact was significantly related to decreased prejudice and discrimination for a number of different personal characteristics (sexual orientation, race/ethnicity, disability, nationality and age) and across a range of settings (including work, school, housing and recreation). Their review found that the conditions outlined in Table 6.6 (especially the first four) should not be regarded as necessary for producing positive contact outcomes, but rather as facilitating conditions that enhance the likelihood of positive outcomes following contact (Pettigrew & Tropp 2006). Other factors that are emerging as important in supporting and promoting beneficial inter-group contact include the perceived quality of contact, the salience of group boundaries during contact and inter-group anxiety (Pettigrew & Tropp 2006). A recent study suggests that inter-group contact may be particularly beneficial for high-prejudice individuals (Dhont & Van Hiel 2008).

Fozdar et al. (2008) noted that contact is likely to work through a number of processes:

- **Changes in knowledge**: contact allows people to learn about other groups and provides examples to counter stereotypes, allowing more accurate, less polarised and more favourable impressions of others;
- **Changes to behaviour**: changing people’s behaviours is often a precursor to attitude change. The contact situation, by providing new opportunities for behaviours that a prejudiced person might not otherwise engage in, assists in the revising of attitudes;
• *Emotional change*: the positive emotion one feels for a friend, developed out of contact, is extrapolated to include all members of that friend’s group. Contact may also decrease inter-group anxiety by enabling individuals to gain more accurate information about the other group [Barlow, Louis & Hewstone, in press]; and

• *Changes in group identity*: contact will only reduce prejudice if people are seen as representative of their group. Otherwise individuals from particular groups may be seen as ‘the exception to the rule’, leaving participants free to retain prejudiced attitudes towards the remainder of the group.

Contact only works when it changes the nature and structure of the relationship to that of one all-inclusive group, altering perceptions from ‘us’ and ‘them’ to a more inclusive ‘we’.

Aboud and Levy (2000) provide a useful summary of the effectiveness of inter-group contact in school settings. They argue that integrated schooling provides an ideal venue for inter-group contact, but that this does not necessarily lead to decreased prejudice because of prior biases, status differences and school practices that act to create segregated environments within the school. Efforts need to be made to ensure quality contact between school children [Aboud & Levy 2000]. Bilingual education is sometimes used as a means of promoting inter-group contact and increasing students’ familiarity with another culture and language. Ideally, such programs should include peers from another ethno-linguistic group, not just teachers [Aboud & Levy 2000].

A variant of the inter-group contact strategy is the *cooperative learning approach*, where people must teach and learn from one another. Expected outcomes include interpersonal attraction, perspective taking, social support, and constructive management of conflict. Meta-analyses of the effects of cooperative techniques (which included non-experimental results) on relationships crossing ethnic, racial and ability boundaries have consistently confirmed a positive impact of cooperation on outcomes such as positive peer relationships and helpfulness [Paluck & Green 2009].

The case studies that follow provide a description of typical inter-group contact and cooperative learning programs.
Case study – Inter-group contact [1]

Name: Kar Kulture  
Setting: Community  
Source: VicHealth (in press)

Kar Kulture was one of 40 projects funded through the VicHealth Building Bridges Program that aims to reduce race-based discrimination by promoting positive contact and cooperation between people from migrant and refugee backgrounds and the broader community.

Kar Kulture brings refugee and Australian-born young people together to work collaboratively to repair and restore a second-hand car. The project provides road safety workshops and driving practice using the restored vehicle. Kar Kulture is run by the South Eastern Region Migrant Resource Centre with the support of Victoria Police, Mission Australia, Adult Multicultural Education Services and Chisholm TAFE.

Process evaluation has highlighted several factors that have contributed to the success of the project. Importantly, the initiative brings participants together around activities that are:

- relevant and responsive to the interests of participants;
- purposeful not passive; and
- interactive and collaborative, with tangible outcomes.

The evaluation also highlighted the benefits of:

- ice-breaker activities in early stages of projects;
- group-established ground rules for interaction;
- informal and formal opportunities to explore cultural identity and stereotypes; and
- sustained interaction over a period of time to provide opportunities for participants to develop meaningful relationships.

Important learnings in relation to project management were:

- Partnerships between organisations with complementary expertise are beneficial (including both mainstream and migrant/refugee-focused organisations). Such partnerships also facilitate the engagement of broader networks in the project.
- Strong support for the project at leadership level and across participating organisations is crucial.

Participant focus groups and interviews with project stakeholders point to positive outcomes in terms of relationships between participants and new understandings and attitudes. It is not clear whether the shifts in attitudes have been generalised to other representatives of the minority communities.

Further evaluation is currently being undertaken (over three years to 2010) to explore these outcomes.
Case study – Inter-group contact (2): Cooperative learning

**Name:** Jigsaw Classroom  
**Setting:** Education  
**Source:** Walker and Crogan 1998

The Jigsaw Classroom explores both cooperation and interdependence in its attempts to maximise inter-group harmony and educational gain. Students in a classroom are arranged into groups that are evenly balanced according to race, ethnicity, gender and academic ability. Each student in each Jigsaw group must learn a unique segment of information, which he/she then teaches to other members of the group.

In the evaluation program the lesson topic was divided into four parts and given to students. Students with the same segment met in an ‘expert group’ to read, identify and discuss their key information for 15 minutes. They then returned to their Jigsaw groups and each person, in turn, taught their unique piece of the information to the group. After this, each student asked questions of the others to revise key points. After approximately 20 minutes the students were given a printed sheet containing multiple choice questions. To encourage cooperation rather then competition, the students were praised for their cooperation. Whenever anyone achieved full marks on the test, the whole group was praised for being good teachers and the particular student praised for being a good listener.

The Jigsaw group members therefore depend on one another to acquire the composite parts, which, as they are combined, constitute the entire lesson. Because of the structure of the situation the students:

- have equal status in the contact situation, with each having a unique and necessary piece of information;
- work interdependently - each depends on the others to be able to achieve the desired goals;
- work in pursuit of a common goal, such as good grades, learning and teacher praise; and
- work with the sanction of authorities (the teachers).

A trial in one rural and one urban primary school in Australia showed the Jigsaw Classroom was effective in producing positive changes in academic performance and attitudes towards peers, as well as contributing to prejudice reduction. However, while there were decreases in the negative traits attributed to Asians and ‘White’ Australians, there was an increase in such negative traits being applied to Aboriginal Australians. The researchers note that the failure of these children’s otherwise positive changes to generalise to Aboriginal children may have been because stereotypes about Aboriginal people are particularly pernicious.

### 6.4.4 Media literacy

**General information**

The media exerts a powerful influence over social norms and people’s attitudes and behaviours towards Indigenous people, migrants and refugees. Media literacy involves teaching critical viewing and thinking skills. Media literacy programs directly engage participants in activities that improve their ability to ignore or resist antisocial messages. They also seek to reduce the negative impacts of those antisocial or negative messages on viewers (Scharrer 2002; Strasburger & Wilson 2002). Such programs can be integrated into school curricula.

**Evidence of implementation and effectiveness**

Media literacy training is a promising approach to reducing race-based discrimination and requires further investigation. There were no evaluations found of its effects on levels and patterns of race-based discrimination. However, there was some evidence to suggest that this strategy has been deployed in efforts to reduce race-based discrimination.

There is also some evidence from practice in relation to other complex social issues (e.g. violence) that encouraging media literacy can be effective at improving viewers’ ability to ignore and resist negative messages (see Scharrer 2006; Strasburger & Wilson 2002). Media literacy training may be especially effective among children and young people, but can also be effective among adults.
Case study – Media literacy [1]

Name: Racism. No Way!: Focus on the Media
Setting: Education
Source: www.racismnoway.com.au/classroom/focus

Racism. No Way! is an Australian anti-discrimination education initiative managed by the NSW Department of Education and Training on behalf of education systems nationally. The site includes teaching resources to support anti-discrimination education initiatives targeting students in the upper primary and secondary years.

The media resource area provides links to current articles related to discrimination, multiculturalism and Indigenous issues for students. A checklist for critical analysis of media reports assists students to identify evidence of any racial bias or stereotyping by exploring the different views presented in articles, analysing the language and images used, and making comparisons between reports of the same issue from other media sources.

6.4.5 Training in conflict resolution and peace-making

General information

A vast number of conflict resolution training programs are reported in both the academic and ‘grey’ literature [Clayton et al. 2001; Morris 2008]. Although variable, typically these engage participants in building the cognitive and communication skills required to avoid or respond constructively to conflict and/or to develop specific skills in identifying, understanding, mediating or negotiating conflict should it arise [Clayton et al. 2001; Davidson & Wood 2004]. Peace-making programs may address both these areas, as well as taking a proactive approach by teaching participants skills to relate to all people in a non-violent, peaceful and respectful manner [Clayton et al. 2001].

Much contemporary theory and practice in conflict resolution and associated training has developed in response to general interpersonal conflict. There is potential to apply conflict resolution to the more complex challenges associated with interpersonal conflict between individual members of different identity groups as well as conflict between cultural groups [Morris 2008; Stephan 2008]. In this respect, training may be useful for both potential adversaries and third party interveners [Stephan 2008]. This would involve integrating knowledge from the field of conflict resolution with some of the insights provided by the psychological literature on addressing inter-group relations (summarised in section 6.4.3 of this report). An important factor to consider in the inter-group context is the different ways in which different groups deal with conflict itself [Stephan 2008; Ting Toomey & Oetzel 2001].

Evidence of implementation and effectiveness

There is an extensive body of practice literature on conflict resolution to respond to inter-group conflict in community and workplace settings [see, for example, Morris 2008; Ting, Toomey & Oetzel 2001]. The notion of using conflict resolution training as a means of promoting acceptance of diversity through school settings has been successfully implemented in the Australian context and is currently being trialled in Melbourne in five primary schools. This pilot, discussed below, is due for completion in 2009 [Wertheim et al. 2006a; Wertheim et al 2006b].

In North America there has been extensive implementation of conflict resolution skills training in the context of general personal development, anti-violence and anti-bullying initiatives. Reviews of the evaluations of these programs suggest that they are effective across a range of measures, a number of which relate to the objective of improving inter-group relations [e.g. improving perspective-taking, acceptance of differences] [Clayton et al. 2001; Johnson & Johnson 2001; Lam 1988]. However, no evaluations were found of the impact of programs developed with the specific objective of improving intercultural relations. Further, no specific impacts on intercultural relations were reported in the available evaluations.

There is a general consensus that for the purposes of prevention, conflict resolution training should ideally be delivered to primary aged children as this is a stage of life when values and behaviours are being formed and participants are likely to be receptive to school-sponsored and adult-endorsed initiatives. Such approaches are regarded by some experts as developmentally inappropriate for pre-school children. As negative behavioural responses associated with conflict are well established by the teen years, they may be more difficult to shift [Clayton et al. 2001; Webster 1993]. A further factor that needs to
be considered in program design is that teenagers and young adults may be less likely to consider adult-endorsed activities acceptable (Webster 1993).

As is the case with many other strategies discussed in this report, a theme emerging in the evaluation studies was the need to see conflict resolution training as one of a range of strategies for prevention, with reinforcing strategies in the organisational and community environments increasing its effectiveness (Clayton et al 2001; Webster 1993).

While having good evidence for effectiveness in a range of contexts [e.g. reducing bullying], conflict resolution training can be considered a promising strategy for the purposes of strengthening intercultural relations.

**Case study – Conflict resolution and peace-making (1)**

**Name:** Enhancing Relationships in School Communities  
**Setting:** Schools  
**Source:** www.eris.org.au

The Enhancing Relationships in School Communities (ERIS) project is investigating an innovative approach to assisting primary school teachers to create a school culture and curriculum that supports children to respect and value cultural diversity and address constructively interpersonal and inter-group differences. Under the program, teachers are trained in conflict resolution skills and then supported over two years to pass those skills on to pupils.

**Case study – Conflict resolution and peace-making (2)**

**Name:** Teaching Students to be Peace-makers  
**Setting:** Schools  
**Source:** Johnson and Johnson 2001

In the Teaching Students to be Peace-makers program students are taught to identify conflict and its negative consequences and how to negotiate conflicts in which they could be involved. The program also includes learning how to mediate conflicts experienced by others. Students are then offered the opportunity to practise their skills by taking turns in pairs to act as the official class mediators for a day. This role is rotated throughout the year, thereby engaging all students. Further training is provided throughout the year to enhance and refine negotiation and mediation skills. A meta-analysis of the effectiveness of 17 programs across eight schools indicated that students learn the skills taught, retain and apply the knowledge, transfer the knowledge to other settings and, when given the option, engage in problem-solving rather than win-lose negotiations.

### 6.5 Community strengthening

This method mobilises and supports the capacity of communities to reduce and address race-based discrimination and the social norms that enable it. Community strengthening activity is a critical underpinning for locally-based efforts to address race-based discrimination and support diversity. ‘Place-based’ community building strategies are important initiatives in which strategies to reduce race-based discrimination could be embedded.

Communities are important because they:

- are where people live, work and/or meet, both physically and virtually;
- are where children grow up and make friends;
- shape people’s identities and sense of belonging and provide the security and freedom for them to shape their futures;
- are sites of learning and decision-making about people’s lives and environment;
- provide other people to turn to for support and advice;
- provide a place to contribute to; and
- encourage network building to foster relationships that help people feel happier and healthier and improve their lives.
The Ministerial Advisory Committee for Victorian Communities uses the following definition to describe community strengthening:

*Any sustained effort to increase connectedness, active engagement and partnerships among members of the community, community groups and organisations in order to enhance social, economic and environmental objectives* (Considine 2004, p. 5).

The community strengthening approaches discussed here include:
- building leadership in the reduction of race-based discrimination;
- partnership building and networking;
- community identity building; and
- community cultural development.

Importantly, community strengthening activities, of all types, should aim to promote community participation. Activities to address race-based discrimination are more likely to be effective and sustained when community members are engaged. Although leadership is crucial, effectiveness may be limited if activities are consistently imposed in a ‘top-down’ manner. Community engagement helps to ensure the responsiveness of initiatives to local circumstances. Minority community involvement is important to ensure that the views of affected communities are reflected in initiatives that aim to reduce discrimination against them. The involvement of the broader community is also crucial in order to ensure that they develop a commitment and sense of ownership over anti-discrimination initiatives (DCLG 2007).

### 6.5.1 Leadership

#### General information

Effective leadership (in both minority communities and the wider community) is critical to reducing race-based discrimination. Leaders are powerful role models and are therefore important in setting and strengthening positive social norms at the community level. Strong leaders can help to champion anti-discrimination initiatives and help to ‘trouble-shoot’ when sensitive issues arise. A good leader can also serve as a bridge between communities and help to create a climate of tolerance. On the other hand, poor leadership or negative comments from leaders on issues relating to immigration and Indigenous affairs can create a climate of ‘fear’ and exacerbate and legitimise negative attitudes and behaviours within the population.

#### Evidence of implementation and effectiveness

Developing and strengthening leadership is a promising strategy for reducing race-based discrimination and supporting diversity. The literature search conducted for the development of this Framework did not identify any rigorous evaluations of interventions to combat race-based discrimination by building effective leadership. However, leadership was identified as a key success factor across 21 anti-discrimination projects in the UK (Amas & Crosland 2006) and was identified by Kezar (2008) as the most important factor in ensuring institutional transformation in relation to race-based discrimination and diversity. Building the evidence base regarding this area of anti-discrimination activity is an important area of future research that will be required to inform policy and investment.

As indicated in the case studies that follow, initiatives that seek to strengthen leadership in the reduction of race-based discrimination and support of diversity can be targeted towards leaders from mainstream and minority communities.
Case study – Leadership (1)

Name: Testing Ways to Engage ‘Community Influentials’ in Rural Areas to Improve Race and Ethnic Relations
Setting: Community

This project explored the formation and transmission of attitudes that impede or enhance the development of positive community relations in rural communities. It identified how attitudes are formed in certain groups and how they are perpetuated through opinion-makers or people who are influential in the community. Its aim was determine how to work with the leaders to achieve positive change on a long-term basis. The project was implemented in nine rural communities that were selected to reflect the diversity of rural and remote Australia. It focused on both formal/informal community ‘influentials’ including:

- professionals, such as school teachers and principals, newspaper editors and owners, clergy, mayors, councillors and police;
- business people, including hairdressers, business owners, farmers, tourist officers and real estate agents; and
- community members, such as migrant and Indigenous community leaders, newly arrived migrants, third and fourth generation migrants, elderly people, welfare workers, church members (cross-denominational) and service club representatives.

A literature search was conducted that documented issues in rural/remote Australia, community development, race, ethnicity and attitude formation. The content of local newspapers was analysed and statistical data on community composition were obtained.

Workshops and discussions with people of influence were conducted to explore beliefs, attitudes and local issues. A report on the project that explores concepts of race-based discrimination, the social dynamics of country towns and strategies for each area was produced. A kit intended for leaders, opinion-makers and local authorities across rural communities has been developed.

No evidence of project evaluation was found.
Case study – Leadership (2)

Name: Media advocacy network
Setting: Media
Source: Dreher 2007

In November 2001, journalism educators at the University of Technology, Sydney (UTS) facilitated a day long workshop on media skills for 20 members of the United Muslim Women Association (UMWA). UMWA organisers had approached UTS as they felt that young Muslim women lacked the skills and confidence to adequately respond to intense media scrutiny. The workshop included sessions on writing for the print media, responding to newspaper reporting, developing media management skills, a tour of community radio station 2SER FM, participating in mock interviews and practising techniques for adversarial interviews. The initiative sought to strengthen the capacity for Muslim women to act as ‘opinion leaders’ and to counter the predominantly negative portrayal of Muslims in the Australian media.

The outcomes of this and a follow up media skills workshop were seen as empowering for participants, and an organiser reported that ‘young Muslim women were taking a more active role in responding and speaking out [to the media]’ (Dreher 2007, p. 15). Several participants in the 2001 workshops maintained an ongoing interest in media responses and media production leading to the development of a quarterly magazine, Reflections, to break down misconceptions about Muslim women. Reflections is available online and in hard copy, and regularly publishes contributions that respond to mainstream media agendas or widespread stereotypes of Muslim women, and issues that emerge from the concerns and priorities of young Muslim women themselves.

The Reflections production team and other UMWA members have also participated in training in investigative journalism and in organised public forums intended to intervene in prevailing news agendas. In the wake of the 2005 London bombings the UMWA organised a conference provocatively named ‘Jihad: Terrorism or a Muslim’s Highest Aspiration?’ Journalists were invited in the hope they would ask organisers about this title, giving the UMWA an opportunity to challenge the media’s use of the word ‘jihad’ and to put forward alternative definitions.

6.5.2 Partnership building/networking

General information

Communities are built through networks. Close personal networks of family and friends benefit people through emotional support, practical help and resources. Community networks are connections established around a common interest or place like schools, workplaces, sporting clubs or community organisations. Some community networks link people to social institutions where they can join in decision-making (MACVC 2006).

Network and partnership building activities can be used as a means of supporting and promoting inter-group contact and practice in this area has been well-documented in a number of recent reports (Commission on Integration and Cohesion 2007; DCLG 2007). As indicated earlier, increasing inter-group contact is among the strongest approaches for reducing race-based discrimination. Building connections between diverse racial/ethnic/cultural/religious communities is an important condition for inter-group contact to occur and increases the prospects of contact being sustained over time.

Evidence of implementation and effectiveness

The literature review conducted for this report did not identify any evaluations of partnership building programs as a strategy for reducing race-based discrimination. Nonetheless, partnerships were identified as a key success factor across 21 anti-discrimination projects in the UK (Amas & Crosland 2006; Commission on Integration and Cohesion 2007; DCLG 2007) and are critical to all of the strategies outlined in this report. Effective anti-discrimination initiatives must, at a minimum, involve partnerships between relevant diverse groups and representative groups within the broader community. Furthermore, many anti-discrimination initiatives operate across sectors; they therefore require partnerships between diverse stakeholders, including local government, educational institutions, the business community, sports clubs and others. The following case studies provide examples of partnership and networking opportunities.
Case study – Partnership building and networking (1)

Name: Partners Against Racism (PAR)
Setting: Community

The Fraser Coast Cultural Consultative Group (FCCCG) formed in late 1998 to:

- reduce discrimination and racism;
- build stronger and more positive relationships among people of diverse cultural backgrounds in the community; and
- strengthen the process of reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, with a particular focus on young people living in the region.

Membership of FCCCG includes local government workers, community workers, school principals, church leaders and representatives of government agencies and Indigenous and ethnic communities.

A broad range of strategies have been implemented through PAR, including development of a community relations plan that recognises the need for ‘symbolic gestures’ such as encouraging multicultural themes in public art and citizenship and other ceremonies to encourage public recognition of the skills, economic and social benefits that new residents add to the community.

Case study – Partnership building and networking (2)

Name: Statement of Commitment to Indigenous Peoples by the Cities of Banyule, Manningham, Whitehorse and the Shire of Nillumbik
Setting: Local government

The Banyule, Manningham, Whitehorse, Nillumbik Statement of Commitment to Indigenous Peoples was developed by the Aboriginal Recognition Working Group, which comprised Council representatives, Indigenous community representatives and other members of the local community. The working group met regularly over a period of several months and were supported by the Municipal Association of Victoria’s Aboriginal Policy Officer.

The Statement is an important starting point in formalising a working relationship between the Councils and local Indigenous peoples. It establishes an agreed framework for the recognition and support of Indigenous people and promotion of their issues in the four Council areas. The Statement includes:

- recognition of habitation of the land by local Indigenous people; the historical significance of sacred sites, traditional names and the contributions made by key Indigenous members; the diversity and strength of Indigenous cultures; and Indigenous people’s spiritual interests in land and waters;
- support for the rights of Indigenous people as outlined in the draft United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples; principles of equity and access for Indigenous peoples; and the vision of a united Australia as expressed by the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation; and
- commitments to advocating on behalf of Indigenous members of the community, implementing appropriate programs and developing and promoting Indigenous involvement in local events and celebrations.

No evidence of an evaluation of the effectiveness of this program in reducing race-based discrimination and supporting diversity has been located.
6.5.3 Community identity building

General information

Place-based communities can be ‘branded’ so that their identity realistically reflects their ethnic diversity. For instance, the ways in which community leaders and the media portray a community can impact upon the sense of inclusion (or exclusion) felt by people from diverse racial, ethnic, cultural or religious backgrounds. This applies at national, state and local levels.

Symbolic activities and landmarks may also be part of this process. For example, locally owned sites and events, to which different groups contribute, provide opportunities for important symbolic representations of community commitment to diversity and fairness [e.g. through community arts installations, Indigenous street names, flying of flags and the like].

Evidence of implementation and effectiveness

Although evidence around this issue is poorly developed, local identities that are welcoming and inclusive, and that reflect the diversity of local residents, may help to reduce race-based discrimination and to shift social norms. It is important for community members to feel a sense of pride in the diversity of their community. Positive leadership, community participation, networks and cross-cultural partnerships are all important conditions for establishing a shared local identity.

Community identity building is a promising strategy for reducing race-based discrimination and supporting diversity. It is important to bear in mind that community identity building, symbolic activities and landmarks will not, on their own, be sufficient to reduce race-based discrimination. Such activities should be closely aligned with communications and social marketing campaigns, and knowledge-building or awareness-raising activities so that their significance is apparent to audiences.

Case study – Community identity building (1)

Name: Recognition of traditional owners
Setting: Community

ANTaR Victoria produces acknowledgment plaques for use in public places (e.g. on office doors; school, university, residential and farm buildings; fences; municipal properties and business premises). It has produced these plaques with the agreement of two groups of Traditional Owners: the Woiwurrung/Wurundjeri peoples of the greater Melbourne region and the Dja Dja Wurrung/Jaara peoples of central Victoria.

Picture source: ANTaR

ANTaR Victoria’s website also highlights different forms of acknowledgement of traditional owners to guide communities. No evidence of evaluation of these symbolic forms of acknowledgement has been located.
Case study – Community identity building [2]

Name: Cultural Precincts Enhancement Fund  
Setting: Community  

The Cultural Precincts Enhancement Fund is a joint initiative of the City of Melbourne and the Victorian Government that recognises the benefits to tourism and local economic development created by community precincts that reflect the cultural diversity and migration history of the local area.

The fund focuses on the Little Bourke, Lonsdale and Lygon Street Precincts, which reflect the cultural heritage of Melbourne’s Chinese, Greek and Italian communities and provide centres for local celebrations and opportunities for tourists and locals to experience the food, culture and history of these communities.

Funding of $8 million has been provided to support the precincts to remain sustainable and attractive for investment, cultural and tourism activities through street beautification (including art work, community space, landscaping and lighting) and resources for the communities to showcase their culture and heritage.

6.5.4 Community cultural development

General information

Community cultural development (CCD) can be characterised as having three basic elements: a community or communities; artists or arts-workers working in collaboration with a community or communities; and a number of outcomes, from the artistic and creative through to educational, economic, social and community development impacts.

CCD provides a space for marginalised community groups to tell their story to the broader community across a wide range of art forms in what is intended to be a collaborative and empowering process (Dreher 2007). It requires community involvement at every level: in the management of the project; in development of the creative ideas; and in the creation of the artwork. It is a collaborative process where the community and artists are equal contributors. This is crucial to ensuring that artists avoid turning the traumatic narratives of people from migrant, refugee and Indigenous backgrounds into ‘theatre and spectacle’ (McEvoy 2006, p. 211).

Evidence of implementation and effectiveness

The literature review conducted for this report did not find any evaluations of the effectiveness of this strategy in reducing race-based discrimination. As there is widespread evidence of implementation, this should be identified as a promising strategy and program evaluations should be conducted as a matter of priority. The first of the following case studies provides an example of an initiative that directly highlighted issues of race-based discrimination. The second case study was more subtle, telling the stories of Australian-Sudanese people through a photographic exhibition. Both have the potential to increase knowledge about ethnic communities and to invoke empathy.
Trouble Comes to Me was a short film by a group of Arabic speaking youth that detailed their experiences of everyday discrimination and over-policing.

The action in the film revolves around four young Arab Australian men driving in their local neighbourhood and being pulled over by the police. The film depicts the interactions from the point of view of the young men, who feel targeted, humiliated and frustrated in their dealings with police. As the title suggests, these young men feel that they don’t have to go looking for trouble – rather, conflict comes to them.

The film was part of an initiative of the NSW Department of Premier and Cabinet Youth Partnership with Arabic Speaking Communities, in collaboration with a community sponsor, Information and Cultural Exchange (ICE). As part of the Youth Partnership, ICE organised a camp, ‘Shifa: Agents of Change’, exploring complex issues of cultural identity for young people from diverse cultural backgrounds. The camp gathered young people between the ages of 15 and 19, mostly Arabic-speaking, from Western Sydney. The aim was to provide leadership training and engage the young participants in cultural work within their communities. The title, ‘Agents of Change’, reflects a deliberate decision by ICE to define leadership in terms of working for social change rather than as individual success.

A group of young men involved in the camp took part in ongoing workshops with CCD facilitators. A writer facilitated the development of participants’ stories into a script, while film and sound artists provided training and direction for the film production. The film has subsequently been shown in film festivals and public forums around Australia and internationally. The film has also been used in training for police officers in New South Wales, guiding them on how to deal with culturally and linguistically diverse youth and communities. It has also been screened for mainstream media workers. Participants in the filmmaking process have gone on to produce a follow-on film and have sought funding for a feature length movie. No evaluation was found of the impact of the film on attitudes and behaviours of viewers.

Far to Here is a photographic exhibition that portrays the works of young people from the Darfuri community in Australia. Photographic workshops were conducted in Melbourne and Sydney to assist the young people in developing photographic techniques. The workshops also provided a forum in which Darfuri youth could discuss their experiences and critique their works. Participants selected their favourite images for the exhibition. The images were coupled with a descriptive text of their experiences as they fled from Darfur and since re-settling in Australia. The works are being exhibited in Melbourne, Sydney and Canberra.

6.6 Advocacy

General information

Advocacy involves building collective activity around an issue such as race-based discrimination. It requires the mobilisation of people and resources with the intent of encouraging governments, organisations, communities and individuals to take action. For instance, when 250,000 Australians walked across the Sydney Harbour Bridge they were advocating for a change in the treatment of Indigenous Australians.
Evidence of implementation and effectiveness

Advocacy is a promising strategy for reducing race-based discrimination and supporting diversity. No evaluations were found of the effectiveness of advocacy activity. There is evidence of implementation, however: in many local communities there are groups who have a role in taking a public stand against race-based discrimination and in mobilising networks to lobby for change. Examples include Rural Australians for Refugees and Reconciliation Victoria. These groups have the potential to challenge attitudes toward diversity and build new social norms.

Case study – Advocacy (1)

Name: Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation (ANTaR)
Setting: Community
Source: ANTaR: http://www.antar.org.au/racism

ANTaR is a national advocacy organisation that focuses on changing the attitudes and behaviours of non-indigenous Australians so that the rights and cultures of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are respected and affirmed across all sections of society. It uses a range of strategies, including lobbying, public campaigns and advocacy.

ANTaR’s national public campaigns have focused on key issues such as discrimination, constitutional change and a reduction in incarceration and life expectancy gaps between Indigenous and non-indigenous Australians. ANTaR uses evidence-based strategies to promote critical thinking, provide information to dispel myths and assumptions that may lead to discriminatory attitudes and guide action by individuals to counter everyday discrimination.

Resources produced cover race-based discrimination in Australia, strategies for tackling discrimination, case studies of Indigenous people’s experiences and information to dispel myths on issues such as land rights, employment statistics and alcohol.

No evidence of evaluation of these resources has been located.

6.6.1 Bystander training

General information

Bystander training is a form of advocacy that can take place at the individual or inter-group level. It refers to activities that teach bystanders to respond to incidents of race-based discrimination. For instance, community members, school students and workers could be given guidance on how to respond if they hear a problematic comment being made about an individual from another racial, ethnic, cultural and/or religious group.

Research indicates that bystanders are often reluctant to intervene [Aboud & Fenwick 1999]. This may be because they do not feel personally responsible for stopping discriminatory behaviour, they do not realise the seriousness of the harm that is being inflicted on the target or they feel that they are placing themselves in jeopardy. Some people may even feel there is social pressure to conform and join in with the offensive behaviour or to ‘laugh along’ [Aboud & Fenwick 1999, p. 778]. When bystanders remain silent, people targeted by race-based discrimination are likely to feel doubly injured – not only have they been directly insulted but their colleagues/peers have remained silent (and thereby complicit).

The principle behind bystander training is that by providing people with the tools to intervene and respond to another person’s discriminatory comments, they will become more confident and capable of doing so. Bystander training can also be used to teach individuals to recognise when it is appropriate and safe to intervene. It typically involves ‘observing and practising a range of potential bystander options’ because practice helps individuals to respond when faced with such situations in real life [Scully & Rowe 2009, p. 4-5]. Guerin (2003, p. 29) claims that people can be encouraged to use rejoinders to discriminatory comments that are appropriate to the context and that vary from ‘polite corrections’ to ‘witty repartee, strong put-downs ... or counter-jokes ... depending on the social context and power relations involved’.
Bystander training can be used across a range of settings; however, workplace and school settings are likely to be the most obvious sites for implementation. There is also potential, as highlighted by Guerin (2003), to intervene in this manner in community contexts.

Evidence of implementation and effectiveness

Bystander training is a promising strategy for reducing race-based discrimination. There is some evidence of implementation and two studies of effectiveness were uncovered. From a theoretical perspective, bystander training is likely to have a positive effect because it shows people that their discriminatory views are not socially acceptable. In this manner, it can be an important tool for shifting social norms. For instance, bystanders have been identified as ‘key players’ in reducing the impact of schoolyard bullying. This is because bullies ‘feed on bystander attention but often give up if bystanders do not reinforce [their behaviours]’ (Coloroso 2004, cited in Scully & Rowe 2009, p. 2).

Existing research on bystander intervention has tended to focus on understanding when, why and how bystanders intervene (or do not intervene). Aboud, Joong and Oskamp (2000) found that third-grade and sixth-grade students were willing to intervene at moderate levels of assertiveness for bystanders after a peer education intervention. A randomised field experiment in 10 US high schools showed that participants in an anti-bias instructional and peer-based program were more likely to stand up for others in their school (Paluck 2007). Scully and Rowe (2009, p. 6) claim that there is anecdotal evidence to indicate that following training individuals feel more comfortable in making a ‘bystander move’. One study [which is not publicly available] measured the impact of bystander training on a group of sixth grade students in the USA (Slaby 1999, cited in Oskamp 2000). Bystander efficacy, ‘measured as confidence that one could successfully intervene’, increased after the program (Oskamp 2000, p. 287).

There is an even poorer evidential basis from which to determine whether bystander training leads to a reduction in incidents of race-based discrimination (Oskamp 2000), although Czopp, Monteith and Mark (2006) found that interpersonal confrontations decrease racial bias and stereotypic comments (but that hostile confrontations should be avoided). Aboud and Fenwick (1999) have argued that bystander training may be particularly effective because when bystanders intervene their actions affect several parties – the perpetrator, the target, the audience and themselves. More specifically:

*The name caller may feel guilty and rethink his/her behaviour and attitudes; the intervenor may become more vigilant about his/her own racial attitudes and unintended discriminatory behaviour; the target may feel some relief at being spared further humiliation; and onlookers may become socialised about the unacceptability of hurtful racial remarks* (Aboud & Fenwick 1999, p. 778).

Scully and Rowe (2009, p. 1) have argued that the actions of bystanders may be effective because they constitute an ‘immediate, positive and often unexpected reinforcement’. Within an organisation, high-ranking bystanders can play a particularly important role when ‘constraining unacceptable behaviour by other senior people’ (Scully & Rowe 2009, p. 2).

Guerin (2003) also discusses the potential for bystander intervention to reduce incidents of discriminatory talk. He argues that legal and activist interventions to race-based discrimination have decreased incidents of overt or explicit discrimination but have had little effect on subtle discrimination that exists in everyday talk (Guerin 2003). Bystander intervention is a potential means for reducing expressions of discrimination that are not illegal. Guerin (2003, p. 42) concludes that ‘more sophisticated … interventions [that provide the discursive resources required] to make counter-discriminatory conversation could truly rid our lives of all the forms and functions of racist talk’.

In terms of measuring the effectiveness of bystander training, it is important to determine whether there is a ‘critical mass’ at which such interventions have a positive impact on organisational or institutional environments. The theory is that in an organisation where ‘many or all people have experienced bystander training, there may be more support for bystanders … and less anti-bystander backlash’ (Scully & Rowe 2009, p. 6).
Case study – Bystander training (1)

Name: Speak Up!
Setting: Workplace, education

Trained facilitators can use Speak Up! as a tool in workshops to help individuals learn how to respond to everyday bigotry (including race-based discrimination). The workshops have the following objectives:

- Participants should understand the impacts of everyday discrimination.
- Participants explore barriers to responding to everyday discrimination.
- Participants develop and practise ways of responding to everyday discrimination.

Information on how to implement Speak Up! workshops is available at http://www.tolerance.org/speakup/trainingtool.html. A Speak Up! manual that individuals can use to learn how to respond to negative behaviour in schools, workplaces, public, family and neighbourhood environments is available at http://www.tolerance.org/speakup/pdf/speak_up_full_document.pdf.

No evaluations of the effectiveness of Speak Up! were found during the research for this report.

Case study – Bystander training (2)

Name: Speak Up Against Racism
Setting: Various
Source: Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation (ANTaR), http://www.antar.org.au/issues_and_campaigns/health/racism/speak_up_against_racism

Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation have developed a website that provides hints to people who wish to stand up to discrimination against Indigenous Australians. Advice is given on how to safely and effectively respond to problematic comments in public, at home, at work, among friends and in the media.

6.7 Research, evaluation and monitoring

General information

Research, evaluation and monitoring underpin activity in the other six areas by informing action, improving the evidence and knowledge base for future planning and enabling efforts to be effectively targeted and monitored. Research findings are also important for advocacy and awareness-raising activity.

Evidence of implementation and effectiveness

Numerous examples were identified in the course of the review of initiatives that more or less consciously deployed research, monitoring and/or evaluation strategies for the purposes of reducing discrimination and supporting diversity. An evaluation of a program of anti-discrimination initiatives across four sites in the US suggests that research and monitoring can play a powerful role, particularly in raising awareness of the problem. This is illustrated in the following case study.
Case study – Research, evaluation and monitoring

**Name:** ERASE Racism: Challenging Racial Segregation and Promoting Racial Equity through Education, Research, Advocacy, Support to Eliminate Racism  
**Setting:** Local government  
**Source:** Potapchuk 2007

The ERASE Racism project was developed as a response to racial inequity, especially in housing and education, in Long Island, New York. An initial barrier to the success of the project was reluctance on behalf of the community and community leaders to admit that there was a problem despite strong evidence to the contrary. Many were very uncomfortable with talking about race-based inequality. Consequently, one of the first challenges was to raise awareness of the problem and enable people to talk about race and discrimination without fear. The program did this by taking an ‘action research’ approach. This involved convening study action groups. Resident volunteers were invited to work on specific issues such as housing or education, and undertook activity in four phases. These included:

- conducting a round-table involving community members and experts on the issues of concern;
- identifying manifestations of institutional discrimination in the area of concern;
- identifying priorities; and
- developing an action plan.

The housing team was one of the most active of the groups and its work helped to shape a research report and provided support to a subsequent campaign to advocate for fair housing. The action research also formed the basis for media advocacy. The evaluation of the project identified the action research as an important tool for raising awareness of the problem, creating a focus for discussion and for producing data to move elected officials to action.
7 Settings for action

People experience race-based discrimination in a range of institutional and everyday settings. The factors that contribute to race-based discrimination are many and varied and operate in the settings where people live, work and play. Many of the actions we can take to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity can be implemented in these environments.

7.1 Involving a range of settings

Table 7.1 explains why a range of key settings and sectors should be involved in the reduction of race-based discrimination. It also provides a brief summary of the types of anti-discrimination strategies that may be adopted across those settings/sectors. The list of strategies included is intended to act as a guide only and is not exhaustive. It is important to note that preventative activities undertaken in one setting (e.g. a school) can have a broader impact on individuals’ behaviours in other settings (e.g. on public transport).

Table 7.1: Key settings and sectors involved in reducing race-based discrimination

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Setting/sector</th>
<th>Rationale</th>
<th>Strategies&lt;sup&gt;5&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Priority settings</strong></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>School-based diversity and anti-discrimination programs are among the most widely implemented and best documented. Schools lend themselves well to multi-level and reinforcing interventions, which have a greater likelihood of producing sustainable outcomes (i.e. through ‘whole-of-school’ approaches). Education settings provide important means for reaching young people. Reducing discrimination in education settings will have a positive impact on other public policy agendas (e.g. increasing school retention rates). There is particular potential to promote inter-group contact in school settings. Schools are important contexts for shaping social norms.</td>
<td>Awareness-raising resources integrated into curricula Cultural diversity training for staff Debate, dialogue and exploration of issues Conflict management programs Sustained inter-group contact initiatives Cooperative learning approaches Organisational development initiatives to address systemic discrimination Policies and procedures to enhance responses to incidents of race-based discrimination, thereby setting positive organisational standards and reducing future incidents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>When race-based discrimination occurs in the housing sector, targeted individuals may find it difficult to access this crucial resource. Secure and affordable housing is important for accessing other resources such as employment, education and social connection.</td>
<td>Awareness-raising activities and cultural diversity training for real estate staff Organisational development strategies to promote more diverse workforces Policy and procedures to enhance responses to incidents of race-based discrimination, thereby setting positive organisational standards and reducing future incidents</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<sup>5</sup> Many of the initiatives listed have a focus on responding to race-based discrimination rather than reducing its occurrence. They have been included because they also have the capacity to influence social norms within a particular setting.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Setting/sector</th>
<th>Rationale</th>
<th>Strategies</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| Justice       | Significant advances have already been made in the justice sector both by Victoria Police and the Victorian Department of Justice and its partners in addressing unequal outcomes experienced by people from Indigenous and CALD backgrounds. A particular example of this is Koori Courts. There is potential to strengthen these given that:  
• rates of self-reported discrimination are high for some groups in relation to their interactions with policy and courts;  
• when race-based discrimination occurs in the justice sector, targeted individuals may experience lasting disadvantage; and  
• the justice system is often required to respond to incidents of race-based discrimination that are against the law. However, there is potential for this sector to be more involved in preventative activities. | Consultation with community leaders  
Building partnerships and networks between racial/ethnic/cultural/religious groups  
Positive role-modelling to a broader constituency  
Initiatives to increase representation of diverse groups in the police force [focus recruitment, retention and promotion]  
Awareness-raising and diversity training for police officers and judiciary  
Koori Courts  
Policy and procedures to enhance responses to incidents of discrimination, thereby setting positive organisational standards and reducing future incidents |
| Local government | Attitudes to diversity and experiences of race-based discrimination vary from location to location. Implementing integrated strategies is more readily achieved within a confined geographic area. Small-scale local initiatives can be the best approach to address sensitive issues. Local governments have influence over a number of the settings and processes that can have an impact on race-based discrimination. Local governments are visible and accessible to local populations and have a democratic mandate to implement change. | Whole-of-government and community partnerships  
Engaging community leaders as strategic players in building positive attitudes towards diversity  
Community forums and dialogue  
Supporting and promoting inter-group contact in a range of community settings  
Supporting and promoting inclusive civic participation and representative decision-making structures at the local level to address issues of shared concern [training and resources required to ensure representatives have capacity to participate equally]  
Initiatives to ensure council staffing reflects diversity of local community  
Awareness-raising and diversity training for staff, councillors, community representatives and community members  
Communications and social marketing programs led by local government  
Symbolic representations in public spaces to reflect diverse local identity |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Setting/sector</th>
<th>Rationale</th>
<th>Strategies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Sports and recreation| The popularity of sports creates an opportunity to reach large numbers of people.  
Sports are an ideal activity for promoting sustained inter-group contact.  
Sports clubs can implement codes of practice and regulations that prohibit race-based discrimination and establish positive social norms.  
Experience suggests that these are settings through which anti-discrimination initiatives can be effective. | Activities focusing on sports clubs as organisations (raising the need for organisational development strategies such as cultural awareness training, organisational accountability and so on)  
Activities focusing on sports clubs as sites for establishing social norms and transmitting information to a broader audience (e.g. through communications and social marketing, half-time entertainment, leadership, positive role-modelling)  
Initiatives to increase representation of diverse groups in various sports as participants, employees and volunteers  
Implementation of codes of practice and regulations that prohibit race-based discrimination and establish positive social norms  
Activities supporting and promoting sustained inter-cultural contact |
| Workplace and labour market | Race-based discrimination may contribute to workplace stress and lead to long-term economic disadvantage as a result of reduced opportunities.  
Workplace stress is one of the issues to be targeted as part of the Victorian Government’s WorkHealth initiative.  
Workplaces stand to benefit through improved worker morale, increased productivity, lower rates of absenteeism and a broadened customer based.  
Workplaces offer an ideal setting for activities to promote sustained inter-group contact.  
Workplaces are organisational contexts through which social norms are shaped and can be changed.  
Workplaces and the labour market are the focus of Australian and Victorian Government policies to reduce disadvantage experienced by people from Indigenous and CALD backgrounds. Creating safe and welcoming workplace environments will be integral to the success of these policies. | Organisational development strategies including cultural awareness training and organisational accountability  
Activities to support sustained inter-group contact  
Positive role-modelling to a broader constituency  
Initiatives to increase representation of diverse groups in the workforce (recruitment, retention and promotion)  
Policy and procedures to enhance responses to incidents of discrimination, thereby setting positive organisational standards and reducing future incidents |

**Other key settings**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Setting/sector</th>
<th>Rationale</th>
<th>Strategies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Academic             | The engagement of the academic sector will be important given the need to further build knowledge and evidence in the field of anti-discrimination.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | Ongoing research and rigorous evaluation  
Making knowledge of successful and unsuccessful anti-discrimination strategies and programs available |
| Arts and culture     | The arts are an important medium for raising awareness of race-based discrimination and its consequences, and for celebrating cultural diversity.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | Activities focusing on arts organisations, such as organisational development strategies including cultural diversity training and organisational accountability  
Activities focusing on the arts as a means transmitting information to a broader audience through awareness-raising activities, social norm formation, positive role-modelling and the like  
Initiatives to increase representation of diverse groups in the arts  
Activities to support and promote sustained long-term contact between racial, ethnic, cultural and religious groups |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Setting/sector</th>
<th>Rationale</th>
<th>Strategies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corporate</td>
<td>The corporate sector can be a potential partner in anti-discrimination efforts. Corporate partners stand to benefit from reduced levels of race-based discrimination in terms of increased productivity, improved morale and lower rates of absenteeism. They have an interest both as employers and as sellers of good and services. Corporate partners have the resources required to fund anti-discrimination programs.</td>
<td>Organisational development strategies including cultural awareness training, organisational accountability, positive role-modelling and the like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health and community services</td>
<td>Health and community service providers can play an important role in community development initiatives to reduce race-based discrimination. These services also have a role to play in delivering anti-discrimination initiatives in partnership with other sectors [e.g. schools]. Services, such as those in the areas of early childhood and aged care, play an important role at particular stages of the life-cycle. There is the potential to incorporate anti-discrimination activity through organisational development initiatives. When race-based discrimination occurs in the health and community services sector, targeted individuals may find it difficult to access vital services.</td>
<td>Organisational development strategies including cultural diversity training for staff, organisational accountability and positive role-modelling to a wider constituency, awareness-raising activities among clients, sustained inter-group contact initiatives, policy and procedures to enhance responses to incidents of race-based discrimination, thereby setting positive organisational standards and reducing future incidents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospitality and retail</td>
<td>Surveys indicate high rates of self-reported race-based discrimination in shops and restaurants. There is considerable potential to secure business cooperation in reducing race-based discrimination on the basis that it is ‘bad for business’.</td>
<td>Awareness-raising activities and cultural diversity training with hospitality and retail staff, organisational development strategies to support and promote more diverse workforces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media and popular culture</td>
<td>The media and popular culture play an important role in transmitting social norms and beliefs. They can reinforce discriminatory attitudes or build positive social norms. Social marketing campaigns to reduce race-based discrimination and/or support diversity are among the most widely implemented and best documented strategies.</td>
<td>Advertising campaigns to support diversity or speak out against race-based discrimination, development of materials to dispel myths and address stereotypes about diverse groups [e.g. brochures], incorporation of positive messages and role-modelling into existing media [e.g. through plot lines or characters on TV shows], use of arts to promote positive imagery of diverse groups or to speak out against race-based discrimination, organisational development, including cultural diversity training for media staff and organisational accountability, initiatives to increase representation of diverse groups in media and popular culture, positive role-modelling to a broader constituency, awards for responsible journalism, resources to support responsible journalism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Building on our strengths

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Setting/sector</th>
<th>Rationale</th>
<th>Strategies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| New technologies | New information technologies have been used as vehicles for perpetrating race-based discrimination and reinforcing discriminatory attitudes. These technologies also offer potential for communicating positive messages, particularly to children and young people who tend to be frequent users. | Clearinghouses of awareness-raising resources and information on successful anti-discrimination programs  
Anti-discrimination advocacy and activism websites  
Regulations reducing inappropriate content |
| Public sector | The public sector has an important role in demonstrating good practice in anti-discrimination.  
The public sector is operational across a range of settings identified in this Framework.  
The public sector stands to benefit from reduced levels of discrimination in terms of increased productivity and creativity, improved morale and lower rates of absenteeism. | See specific settings |
| Public spaces | Surveys indicate high rates of interpersonal discrimination in a range of public spaces (e.g. public transport, retail facilities, public events)  
There are opportunities in public spaces to support diversity through symbolic representations.  
Public spaces are efficient for reaching a wide range of people (see also retail, public transport and sports and recreation). | Symbolic representations and reflections of diversity (e.g. flag raising, arts installations, street and place naming)  
Communications and marketing activity (e.g. on public transport, billboards) |
| Public transport | Although contact with public transport is transitory, it is nonetheless frequent, and high rates of reported race-based discrimination have been noted in this setting. | Awareness-raising activities and cultural diversity training with public transport staff  
Broader awareness-raising, communications and social marketing activities targeting public transport passengers |

### 7.2 Priority settings

Priority settings for reducing race-based discrimination should be those in which reported incidences are highest – education, workplace and the labour market, and sports and recreation (VicHealth 2007) – and where race-based discrimination contributes to intense social disadvantage – the housing market and the criminal justice system. Local government is also an important setting given its potential to support multi-level, multi-strategy place based initiatives as discussed in the following case study.

 Efforts to reduce race-based discrimination should ideally be targeted at a range of settings and adopt a range of strategies. Where resources allow, individual programs can be developed in an integrated and coherent manner to include multiple settings and multiple strategies. This approach is likely to reinforce program messages and to contribute to more sustainable outcomes. The case study presented below provides an example of a multi-setting, multi-strategy anti-discrimination program coordinated through local government.
Victorian Health Promotion Foundation

Case study – the Localities Embracing and Accepting Diversity (LEAD) Program

VicHealth has identified the reduction of race-based discrimination as a priority under its strategic theme of promoting mental health and wellbeing. Accordingly, it has partnered with two local governments (Shepparton and Whittlesea), the Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission, the Municipal Association of Victoria, beyondblue and the Department of Immigration and Citizenship to implement and evaluate a comprehensive place-based anti-discrimination program (the LEAD Program). The Program is being implemented from mid-2009 to the end of 2011.

The broad aims of the LEAD Program are to promote positive attitudes toward diversity and to reduce race-based discrimination. It is focused on working with ‘mainstream’ communities to change the attitudes, behaviours, structures and processes that contribute to race-based discrimination affecting migrants, refugees and Indigenous Australians.

As a place-based program, LEAD harnesses the strong track record of local governments in supporting diversity. By operating at the local government area level, the program is able to incorporate a multi-level, multi-setting and multi-strategy approach to reducing race-based discrimination and supporting diversity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Multi-level approach</th>
<th>The LEAD Program supports diversity and reduces race-based discrimination at the individual, organisational and community levels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Multiple settings</td>
<td>The LEAD Program focuses on those settings in which the highest rates of race-based discrimination have been recorded (educational settings, workplaces and sports clubs/events). The retail sector will also be a focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple strategies</td>
<td>The LEAD Program incorporates a combination of strategies, including communications and social marketing, direct participation activities, community strengthening, organisational development, policy change and advocacy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The benefits of this approach are best articulated through the following example:

Over the duration of the program, a person living in one of the LEAD test sites would be likely to come into contact with a range of anti-discrimination strategies across a number of settings. For instance, an employee may participate in an anti-discrimination or cultural diversity workshop in their workplace and be required to work according to new (non-discriminatory) guidelines. They may also hear an anti-discrimination social marketing campaign on the local radio and be involved in a sports club that provides an opportunity to have sustained contact with people from other racial/ethnic/cultural/religious groups. The same person might also attend a community theatre event depicting the experiences of people affected by race-based discrimination, and their child might return home from school and discuss curriculum material addressing false beliefs about people from various groups.

This intensive, mutually-reinforcing and coordinated approach increases the likelihood of program success and sustainability of outcomes. A major goal of the LEAD Program will be to rigorously evaluate the success of this approach.

7.3 Priority localities

Another important factor to consider in determining priorities relates to evidence that some localities may have a greater need for anti-discrimination programs than others.

The VicHealth Survey data revealed important variations in negative attitudes toward diversity and experiences of race-based discrimination throughout Victoria. It is important to acknowledge that many of the factors that influence attitudes and behaviours in relation to diversity extend beyond the control of local communities and local government. However, the findings do suggest that the extent of problematic attitudes and behaviours may be influenced by how recent diversity is in particular locations. It is not surprising that survey respondents living in areas where racial, ethnic, cultural and/or religious diversity is a recent phenomenon are likely to feel insecure about rapid changes in the demographic profiles of their neighbourhoods.
An understanding of geographic variations in attitudes towards diversity is important because such knowledge will help to guide governments and communities when making determinations on where effort is best spent.

A few key geographic patterns were observed in the data collected from the VicHealth Survey. These are discussed in VicHealth’s 2007 report *More than tolerance: embracing diversity for health*. Although respondents in all areas of the state held both tolerant and intolerant attitudes, the report made the following general observations:

- **Rural and regional Victoria**
  Generally speaking, Victorians living in rural areas held less tolerant attitudes than people living in metropolitan Melbourne. There were important exceptions to this rule, with some rural areas and regional centres being more tolerant than others and some parts of metropolitan Melbourne appearing to be quite intolerant. In many parts of rural Victoria, traditional discriminatory beliefs were relatively high and a number of respondents were willing to identify groups that didn’t belong and were opposed to diversity. Such attitudes may have arisen because many of these areas have low levels of racial, ethnic, cultural and/or religious diversity, so residents have not had a great deal of contact with minority communities. These attitudes will need to be addressed given Victorian and Australian Government support for settling migrants and refugees in rural and regional areas.

- **Traditional areas of migrant and refugee settlement**
  Local government areas located close to the centre of Melbourne have a long tradition of migrant and refugee settlement. Generally speaking, attitudes in these areas of Melbourne were tolerant in comparison to the remainder of the state. With changing migrant source countries, local governments and communities in these areas will need to continue existing efforts to support and promote positive inter-group relationships in order to ensure that newcomers are accepted.

- **Newly establishing outer-suburban communities**
  On the fringes of the Melbourne metropolitan area are a number of suburbs characterised by rapid population growth and increasing diversity. Such areas face myriad challenges as their communities develop and demographic profiles shift. Many of these areas are welcoming significant numbers of migrants for the first time. The VicHealth Survey findings suggest that these are priority areas because some of them showed an above average level of intolerance toward diversity and discomfort with cultural difference. Respondents in some of these areas were also more likely than average to believe that certain groups do not fit into Australia and migrants living in these areas reported relatively higher levels of discriminatory attitudes and beliefs (although it is unclear whether those experiences actually occurred while they were within their own local areas). Support for these communities as they grow can help to develop a sound foundation for positive relations in the future.
8 Benefits of reducing race-based discrimination and supporting diversity

This Framework is driven by the goal of achieving sustainable reductions in race-based discrimination, with associated medium- and long-term benefits to individuals, organisations, communities and society.

A number of themes for action underpin this goal, supported with mutually-reinforcing strategies implemented across a range of settings.

8.1 Intermediate outcomes

Intermediate outcomes are what it is anticipated can be achieved in the short- to medium-term. They are intended to measure progress along the way, providing important guidance for program design and evaluation. These intermediate outcomes will be measured by changes in the factors that contribute to race-based discrimination, as indicated in tables 8.1, 8.2, 8.3 and 8.4.

Factors contributing to race-based discrimination

Action to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity

Intermediate outcomes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contributing factors</th>
<th>Intermediate outcomes – individuals who:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Belief in racial hierarchy and racial separatism</td>
<td>• believe that people from varied backgrounds are equal as human beings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Belief that some groups do not fit into Australian society</td>
<td>• recognise the benefits of cultural diversity, support multiculturalism and feel pride in a diverse community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Fear, anxiety, discomfort, avoidance or intolerance in relation to diversity</td>
<td>• recognise the prevalence and impact of discrimination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Denial that discrimination occurs and/or that it is serious</td>
<td>• have accurate knowledge about and are comfortable with people from varied backgrounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Failure to recognise own prejudices, negative attitudes/beliefs and behaviours and belief that such views are normal</td>
<td>• respond constructively to conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Negative stereotypes and prejudices</td>
<td>• interact with people from varied backgrounds in respectful and just ways</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Poor conflict resolution skills</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Limited positive inter-group relationships and interaction</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.2: Organisational-level contributing factors and intermediate outcomes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contributing factors</th>
<th>Intermediate outcomes – organisations that have:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Organisational cultures that do not recognise discrimination or value diversity</td>
<td>• respect and value diversity as a resource</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Organisations that support or have weak sanctions against race-based discrimination</td>
<td>• strong mechanisms for addressing discrimination when it occurs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Policies, practices and procedures that favour the majority group</td>
<td>• policies, practices and procedures to reduce discrimination and ensure fair and equitable outcomes for clients and staff from varied backgrounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Inequitable recruitment, evaluation, training, remuneration, promotion and turnover of staff</td>
<td>• are accessible, safe and supportive for clients and staff from varied backgrounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Limited opportunities for positive inter-group relationships and interaction</td>
<td>• model, promote and facilitate equitable and respectful inter-group relationships and interaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Leadership that supports, fails to recognise or has weak sanctions against, or does not value, diversity</td>
<td>• strong internal leadership in the reduction of discrimination and support of diversity and model this to other organisations and the wider community</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 8.3: Community-level contributing factors and intermediate outcomes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contributing factors</th>
<th>Intermediate outcomes – environments that:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Limited positive relationships and interaction between people from different groups</td>
<td>• encourage and facilitate positive relationships between people from varied backgrounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Neighbourhood, family and peer cultures that are supportive of, or have weak sanctions against, discrimination</td>
<td>• recognise the potential for discrimination and inter-group conflict and have strong mechanisms for reducing and responding to it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Resource competition</td>
<td>• are welcoming, safe and supportive for people from varied backgrounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Local demography, historical context and community identity</td>
<td>• respect and value diversity as a resource and demonstrate pride in a diverse community identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Leadership that supports, fails to recognise or has weak sanctions against discrimination or does not value diversity</td>
<td>• have strong leadership in the reduction of discrimination and support of diversity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.4: Societal-level contributing factors and intermediate outcomes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contributing factors</th>
<th>Intermediate outcomes – a society that:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Institutional, media, cultural and political support for, or weak sanctions against, discrimination</td>
<td>• has strong legislative and regulatory frameworks and appropriate resource allocation to reduce discrimination and support diversity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Limited connections between people from different groups</td>
<td>• has policies, programs and resource allocation to facilitate positive contact between groups from varied backgrounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Impacts of colonisation</td>
<td>• recognises and takes action to address the legacy of historical discrimination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• A national identity that excludes certain groups</td>
<td>• demonstrates pride in a diverse population and promotes diversity as a national asset</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Leadership that supports, fails to recognise or has weak sanctions against discrimination or does not value diversity</td>
<td>• has strong and proactive leadership in the reduction of discrimination and support of diversity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## 8.2 Long-term benefits

Longer-term benefits provide a picture of the society we would like to see emerge built on individuals, organisations, communities and societal leadership. This ‘ideal’ society would have a foundational commitment to the reduction of race-based discrimination and the support of diversity. These longer-term benefits are unlikely to be measurable over the duration of a single project or program of work.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>Organisational</th>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Societal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Reduced experiences of discrimination and improved sense of belonging for people from varied backgrounds</td>
<td>- Improved productivity and creativity</td>
<td>- Improved health outcomes and inter-group conflict</td>
<td>- Improved health outcomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Improved health outcomes</td>
<td>- Improved organisational outcomes</td>
<td>- Reduced discrimination and inter-group conflict</td>
<td>- Strong societal norms against discriminatory behaviours and institutional practices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Reduced socio-economic disadvantage</td>
<td>- Organisations that reflect a diverse community</td>
<td>- Improved distribution of power, resources and opportunities between diverse groups</td>
<td>- Improved productivity and creativity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Increased productivity and participation</td>
<td>- Reduced discrimination and inter-group conflict</td>
<td>- Support for strong, distinctive and interconnected racial, ethnic, cultural and religious communities</td>
<td>- Improved international relations and international trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Improved quality of life</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- A society that acknowledges and values the unique contribution of Indigenous people and culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Positive racial, ethnic, cultural and religious identity for all</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- An inclusive, welcoming and tolerant national identity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Improved distribution of power, resources and opportunities between diverse groups
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