Multicultural Education: The State of the Art National Study Report #1
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Keith A. McLeod, National Director
Zita De Koninck, Assistant Director

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sity of Toronto.
Introduction

Multicultural Education—The State of the Art—National Study

The development of the Multicultural Education – The State of the Art, National Study had its beginning in the concern of the Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers that multicultural education or education for diversity be a fundamental aspect of all classrooms and schools. They believed that policies, curricula, teaching strategies and other aspects such as community participation were important in second language teaching and in all education.

Over the twenty years since the multicultural policy was adopted in 1971, there has been a great deal of growth and development in the field of multicultural education, whether it is known under that rubric or other rubrics such as cross-cultural, inter-cultural, human rights, anti-racism or equity education. Whether there are significant differences in effect, is more problematic than the claims of the various sectors or groupings. There is little difference among the claims when one examines, for example, the views on systemic change of so-called multicultural advocates compared to those of anti-racism advocates. The desire to be doctrinaire seems to be present in this field as in several others. Perhaps the research will tell us something. It is time we looked at research instead of rhetoric; it is time we assessed where we stand; it is time to look at the state of the art. The bottom line is that multiculturalism means that human diversity is not only tolerable, but acceptable, and a recognized characteristic of the Canadian state.

In the National Study the state of the art includes two different but complementary foci: examining where we are and what we have achieved, and the presentation of some of the research at the leading edge in the field. We believe that both foci are useful in examining how far we have come and where we should be heading.

These ten articles, covering a variety of topics, represent the first contributions to the National Study. Further reports will include the publication of studies taking place in Francophone education, as well as some twenty other studies that are currently under way. We hope you find this first report of interest.

Keith A. McLeod, National Director
The Limitations of Multicultural Education and Anti-Racist Education

John W. Kehoe, Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia
and Earl Mansfield, Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia

The purpose of this paper is to discuss whether multicultural education should be modified or replaced with anti-racist education. Many criticisms are levelled against multicultural education and are, for the most part, unsubstantiated. Critics who define multiculturalism as "food, clothing, song and dance" are simply creating a "straw person" which can easily be destroyed. Certainly since 1971 no one could seriously suggest that such a narrow definition of multicultural education is accurate. This paper will outline the common components of multicultural and anti-racist education and describe the differences between the two. Gill et al. (1992) are probably correct when they suggest, "although multicultural and anti-racist education have been crudely opposed and misrepresented, we believe there are many areas of common concern" (p. VIII). In most instances the differences between multicultural and anti-racist education appear to be a matter of emphasis. One clear difference between multicultural education and anti-racist education is the curriculum. The effectiveness of multicultural curricula and anti-racist curricula will be compared. The criticisms of multicultural education will be reviewed and their consistency with current research examined.

Multicultural Education

A synthesis of the components of multicultural education (Kehoe, 1984; Young, 1984; Fleras and Leonard-Elliott, 1992) suggests three goals: 1. equivalency in achievement; 2. more positive intergroup attitudes; and 3. developing pride in heritage.

The advocates of multicultural education suggest achieving the first goal by:
(a) teaching English as a second language;
(b) changing assessment and placement procedures;
(c) removing ethnocentric bias from the curriculum;
(d) teaching students in a manner consistent with their cultural background including psycholinguistic variables, cognitive style, source of motivation and social organization (Tharp, 1989);
(e) making contact with and encouraging participation by the community;
(f) changing the way we respond to racist incidents; and
(g) ensuring that teacher expectations do not deny achievement.

The advocates of multicultural education suggest achieving the second goal by:
(a) encouraging students to recognize differences within groups of people, and encouraging students to judge people on the basis of internal rather than external qualities while accepting different ways of living as equally valid (Aboud, 1988);
(b) encouraging the development of empathy;
(c) teaching that principles should be applied consistently;
(d) teaching critical thinking skills such as the recognition of fallacious arguments;
(e) facilitating carefully structured personal contact (Amir, 1976); and
(f) providing information about other cultures which follow the criteria of teaching about similarities, the nature of everyday life and positive achievements (Kehoe, 1984).

The advocates of multicultural education suggest achieving the third goal by:
(a) institutionalizing in-school cultural celebrations in addition to those of the Anglo-Celtic majority;
(b) encouraging retention of heritage languages;
(c) including cultural contributions to humankind and to Canada as part of the curriculum;
(d) encouraging individuals to retain their original cultural background; and
(e) acquainting all students with their own and other cultures through the exchange of literature, art, dance, food, clothing, folk rhymes, religion, ethics and subjective aspects of culture such as pause length, eye contact, social distance, greeting, etc.

Anti-Racist Education

Tator and Henry (1991) argue that multicultural education "... ignores the fact that racial differences, and the racial discrimination which flows from that visible difference must be challenged by changing the total organizational structures of the institutions." It is not clear just what "the total organizational structure" means; however Tator and Henry do list some of the major issues addressed by anti-racist training:

(a) examination of the historical roots and contemporary manifestations of racial prejudice and discrimination in Canada;
(b) exploration of the influence of race and culture on one's own personal and professional attitudes and behaviour;
(c) identification of and counteracting the bias and stereotyping in learning materials;
(d) management of racial tensions and conflicts;
(e) identification of appropriate anti-racist resources for
incorporation into the curriculum in different subject areas;
(f) development of new approaches to teaching children using varying cognitive approaches to diverse learning styles;
(g) identification of appropriate assessment and placement procedures and practices;
(h) assessment of the hidden curriculum to make it more inclusive and reflective of all students' experience;
(i) implementation of personnel policies and practices consistent with equity goals while providing managers with the knowledge and skills to implement equity programs.

The Emphasis

Supporters of multicultural and anti-racist education both advocate greater equality of opportunity. Multicultural educators emphasize ‘educational underachievement’ of minority students (Banks and McGee-Banks, 1989) and maintain that greater equality can be achieved by
• attuning teaching strategies to culturally different ways of perceiving and learning (Gay, 1979; Smith, 1983)
• developing culturally relevant curricula (Fleras and Leonard-Elliott, 1992)
• providing basic knowledge of students’ own cultures (Hoopes and Pusch, 1979)
• improving the students’ self-image, usually by valuing the students’ culture (Fleras and Leonard-Elliott, 1992).

Anti-racist educators describe the issue as ‘educational disadvantage’ (Wright, 1987) and work toward improving life chances by
• identifying and eliminating intentional and unintentional barriers in the educational system (Troyna, 1992)
• uncovering the hidden curriculum (Massey, 1991; Troynand Carrington, 1990)
• rectifying assessment, tracking and disciplinary inequities (NATFHE, 1984; Thomas, 1984).

Both multicultural and anti-racist educators are concerned with countering the racism of individuals and institutions (Lynch, 1992; Short and Carrington, 1992). The former place greater emphasis on reducing individual racism while the latter emphasize reducing institutional racism. Both promote the removal of bias and ethnocentrism from texts and the curriculum (Moodley, 1983; Thomas, 1984) and emphasize the contributions of minorities to building the nation (Fleras & Leonard-Elliott, 1992; Darder, 1991). Anti-racists see this emphasis as secondary in importance to developing an understanding of the history of racism in society (Troyna & Carrington, 1990). Both multicultural and anti-racist educators reject the application of their initiatives to the curriculum as optional courses or as an addendum to the social studies program, supporting instead the incorporation of their initiatives into the total curriculum (Fillipoff, 1983; Troyna & Carrington, 1990). In the classroom, both multicultural and anti-racist educators favor team projects, small group work, and dialogue as a means to encourage student interaction (Hernandez, 1989; Troyna & Carrington 1990); both give strong support for the teaching of heritage languages (Hernandez, 1989; Troyna, 1992); and both argue that the education of minorities requires better communication and a closer relationship with students’ home environments (Gibson, 1976; Darder, 1991). There is strong support on both sides for emphasizing similarities instead of the differences between groups (Hoopes, 1979; Darder, 1991), while an emerging trend in both camps is to broaden the focus of human relations study from strictly national to global concerns (Lynch, 1992; Troyna, 1992).

Curricular Content Differences

At least one clear difference between multicultural educators and anti-racist educators is their approach to content and activities of the curriculum. Multicultural educators focus on ‘intergroup harmony’ and understanding by
• countering the intentional prejudice of individuals (Lynch, 1992)
• developing an understanding of our own culturally determined perceptions and those of others (Hoopes & Pusch, 1979)
• developing competence in more than one culture (Banks, 1991; Bennett, 1990) and
• celebrating diversity (Fleras and Leonard-Elliott, 1992).

Multicultural education is a means to enrich the lives of all students by helping them to understand and value their own ethnicity, gain an appreciation of the ethnic cultures of others and by sharing their cultural heritage (Walls 1990; Louis, 1993).

Anti-racist educators place more emphasis on ‘intergroup equity’ and argue that this goal can be achieved by helping students to
• understand and resist the social structures that contribute to racial exploitation (Parker, 1992; Thomas, 1984)
• identify and redress power imbalances (Donald & Rattansi, 1992; Troyyna & Williams, 1986) and
• counteract the racist effects of capitalism (Satup, 1991; Massey, 1991).

What follows is an attempt to define an anti-racist curriculum, discuss some concerns regarding assessment and then review the research on anti-racist intervention. Students will become less racist if they:
(a) discuss past and present racism, stereotyping and discrimination in society (McGregor, 1990);
(b) study the economic, structural and historical roots of inequality (Tator & Henry, 1991);
(c) find examples of institutional racism in the school and confront them (Confrontation might include informing the administration or protesting.) (Thomas, 1984);
(d) analyze unequal social and power relations (Thomas, 1984);
(e) know the realities of racism and the human consequences of racism (Stanley, 1992); and
(f) change the social realities that racism appears to explain (Stanley, 1992).

There should be no difficulty in providing students with curricular activities to achieve all but one of these outcomes. The last outcome would be difficult to implement directly. It could, however, be shown that as the legal realities for Chinese in Canada changed, so too did their social and economic realities improve. An important consideration seldom mentioned by anti-racist educators is how to determine what is evidence of less racism. Most of the anti-racist teaching studies reviewed accepted a positive change in attitude as measured by social distance, semantic
The Research

Much of the writing of anti-racist teaching suggests the need for more research. Most of the writing does not report on intervention studies to determine if defining and implementing anti-racist teaching leads to less racism. This section reports on a number of individual studies, some scientific and some not, on the effects of anti-racist teaching. In addition the results of two meta-analyses will be reported. All of the results urge caution and a need for more research. The first study was not scientific (Stewart, 1993). The class was unusual in that it had a high proportion of Asian students who were recent immigrants. They were transitional students moving out of English as a Second Language class but not quite ready for the mainstream. The intent was to allow the students to appreciate the complexity and diversity of First Nations cultures and to shift their dispositions to greater empathy for native land claims issues and self-determination. Topics included: North America’s First Inhabitants; Geography and Culture; Impact of Federal Laws on Cultural Practice; Legends; Buffalo Hunt; Genocidal Practices and Policies of the Government; Contemporary Living Conditions; and Land Claims. The unit concluded with an opinion paper. Knowledge levels of First Nations issues and culture increased substantially.

What comes out as a big surprise is the strong undercurrent of prejudice towards native people ... The stereotypical drunken, lazy, wild, welfare driven and stupid native people were to blame for their own fall from grace and it is time they entered the capitalist realities of twentieth century society (Stewart, 1993, p. 2).

This is clearly an unanticipated outcome. Stewart’s teaching was sympathetic toward First Nations culture and contemporary issues of self-government and land claims. He was surprised and dismayed at the responses on the opinion papers.

Black (1973) compared anti-prejudice lessons with general semantics lessons. The anti-prejudice lessons included:

1. What is prejudice?
2. Prejudice in the world today.
3. How we get our prejudices.
4. What prejudice does for us.
5. What can we do about it?

Subjects participating in the anti-prejudice lessons increased significantly in social distance, ethnocentrism and authoritarianism. The general semantics subjects decreased significantly on all three variables – another unanticipated outcome. Learning about the nature of prejudice increased prejudice on three measures.

Kehoe and Echols (1983) had students examine and discuss written cases of discrimination against Indo-Canadians. The students did not feel bad, shocked, angry, concerned or sorry for the victims. They did, however, conclude that such events were frequent in Canadian history and that rather than trying to stop such incidents it would be better not to accept immigrants that provoke them. It should be noted that at the time of the study, newspaper reports suggested negative feelings toward Indo-Canadians were quite high. The studies reported thus far are individual studies which may have other explanations for the results.

It is apparent from many reviews (Pettigrew, 1974; Garcia, 1974; Gibson, 1984) that various pretest/post-test evaluations of multicultural education and human relations programs that emphasize attitudinal change and cultural understanding have shown little success in reducing prejudice. Gage (1978) argues that we should not be surprised at mixed and not very significant outcome when we attempt to change attitudes in schools. Schools are not the powerful agents of change many perceive them to be. Gage suggests looking at clusters of studies to determine principles to guide curriculum development. Two studies (McGregor, 1990, Ungerleider and McGregor, 1992) used meta-analyses to compare anti-racist teaching and multicultural teaching.

McGregor (1990) conducted a meta-analysis of research on the effects of role playing and anti-racist teaching on student racial prejudice. The average study of role-taking techniques showed a + .419 standard deviation over controls in positive racial attitudes. For anti-racist teaching, the average study showed + .479 standard deviation over controls. Both approaches showed modest gains with secondary and post secondary students in the United States. Ungerleider and McGregor (1993) used meta-analysis to compare the effects of race relations training and intercultural training on the attitudes of police and military personnel. The mean effect size for studies using a treatment focusing on race or racism was .10. For studies using an intercultural treatment, the mean effect size was .49. An analysis of variance showed a significant difference between treatments. The authors concluded it may be that police and military personnel are more receptive to programs that are positive in orientation than programs which challenge or criticize their treatment of minorities.

There have been a number of recent pilot and exploratory efforts to compare anti-racist teaching and multicultural teaching. The authors of these studies recognize the importance of anti-racist teaching but are concerned about negative effects and the possibility that anti-racist teaching will have different effects on different populations. For example, it is possible that students who believe the world is just may feel less empathy for and be more likely to blame victims than those who believe the world is less just. Lerner (1980) suggested the just world theory to explain the fact that people sometimes blame socially disadvantaged people for their suffering. The belief in a just world refers to an individual’s need to see the world as a place where people get what they deserve. The theory suggests that just world believers attempt to avoid the idea that people have suffered unjustly because such an idea may imply that they could also suffer unjustly. Those who believe in a just world will persuade themselves that victims deserve to suffer misfortunes because of something they have done and will consequently derogate victims.
Kehoe (1993) pretested grade 10 students with the Belief in a Just World Scale (Rubin and Peplau, 1975) and then investigated the effects of three different curricula on their beliefs about First Nations People. The control group studied the textbook presentations of the Red River and North West Rebellions and the treaties. The anti-racist group studied excerpts from The Dispossessed by Geoffrey York and Reservations are for Indians by Heather Robertson. They studied substandard housing, chronic unemployment, violence, alcoholism, prostitution, infant mortality, imprisonment, and government policy and decision-making procedures that ensure dependency. The multicultural group studied successful Native businesses, e.g. Peace Hills Trust, Northern Resources Trucking, and successful Native individuals, e.g. a lawyer, a classical conductor, a power plant manager. They viewed a video tape Ready for Take Off which provided examples of successful, attractive, well-dressed, articulate Native people. There was no significant interaction between the scores on the Belief in a Just World Scale, the treatments and the outcome measures. The multicultural group evaluated Native Indians significantly more positively on a semantic differential. There were no significant differences among the three groups on a measure of empathy and a measure of attribution of blame to either government policies or Native Indians.

Two other quasi-experimental studies attempted to reduce Belief in a Just World Scores by teaching anti-racist units. Segawa (1993) pretested subjects with the Belief in a Just World Scale and a measure of empathy towards Canadians of Japanese ancestry who were interned during World War II. The grade 11 students then studied a unit on the internment of the Japanese during World War II (Beardsley, et al. 1992). The unit was taught for approximately 9 hours of class time. The students were post-tested and the results showed a significant positive change in empathy for the Japanese who had been interned. There was no significant change on the measure of Belief in a Just World. In an essay written at the end of the unit, the overwhelming majority of students argued the Japanese were treated unfairly. There was no significant change on the measure of Belief in a Just World. In an essay written at the end of the unit, the overwhelming majority of students argued the Japanese were treated unfairly. In a post hoc discussion of the results with the students, most seemed to suggest that the world is essentially fair but there will be instances when unfairness will take place. Alexander (1993) pretested grade 10 students with the Belief in a Just World Scale and then taught them From Wooden Ploughs to Welfare by Helen Buckley. Buckley describes the plight of First Nations people, explains how Canadian attitudes and government policies are responsible for their situation, and provides examples of successes when they are given opportunities. The students were post-tested with the Belief in a Just World Scale and a measure of their willingness to attribute blame to government policies or to First Nations. Two other grade 10 classes in the school were given the attribution of blame measure. There was no significant difference from pretest to post-test on the Belief in a Just World Measure. The results of the blame measure are unscientific but the students who studied From Wooden Ploughs to Welfare were significantly more likely to attribute blame to Canadian attitudes and government policies than to First Nations people.

The essence of much of the criticism of multiculturalism is that it is inadequate, naive, fallacious and counterproductive. One of the most serious criticisms has been that it has done nothing to redress employment and material inequalities between minorities and the majority. The following is a sampling of such criticisms:

1. Multiculturalism fails to confront minority grievances and aspirations (Banks and McGee-Banks, 1989).
2. It may prove to be a disservice to minorities since it interferes with the natural process of cultural adaptations to the social environment (Ramcharan, 1989).
3. It ignores the institutional basis of domination and discrimination (Lynch, 1987; Mayor & Blair, 1992).
5. Cultural enrichment has implicitly reproduced social and economic inequalities (Troyna, 1992).

There is considerable empirical evidence that shows that multiculturalism is not having the effects described by the criticisms and may be having the opposite effects. Positive changes are taking place in Canadian society but these changes may or may not be attributable to multicultural policy. In 1965, J. Porter pointed to the salience of ethnicity in the social and economic hierarchical stratification of Canadian society as a "vertical mosaic". Darroch (1979) utilized J. Porter's methods to see if the vertical mosaic continued to be a fact of life for minority Canadians 14 years after the original study, and found that ethnic affiliations were no longer a significant factor in limiting social and economic mobility in Canada. Similarly, Ramcharan (1982) found that although most non-white immigrants had to settle initially for jobs below those they had occupied in their homelands, after language and professional training a majority were able, in a short time, to progress to similar or better positions than those held in their homelands. Ramcharan considers that this would not have been the case in Canada as little as a decade previously. In 1984, a study by Lautard and Loree reported that although J. Porter's vertical mosaic was still evident, occupational inequality among Canadian ethnic groups had declined significantly. And, though not distinguishing between visible and other minorities, a study by Pineo and Porter (1985) found that particularly for native-born men (of any ethnic group), ethnicity had no bearing on occupational attainment.

In 1985 Henry and Ginzberg found considerable evidence of racial discrimination in their study Who Gets the Work?, where black and white applicants with the same credentials and approaches applied for the same jobs in Toronto with vastly different results. But recently, Henry confirms that:

The study was replicated in 1989 with different results. In field tests, the number of jobs offered to white and black applicants was virtually the same. (Employment Equity, 1990, p. 27).

Currently, Lautard and Guppy's (1990) meta-analysis of demographic data has indicated that the social and material inequalities originally described by J. Porter have largely dissipated.

Anti-racist and multicultural education have typically been promoted in opposition to one another over the past two decades (Gill et al., 1992). This has led Griner (1985) to express concern that the ongoing conflict between proponents of multicultural and anti-racist education had done harm to their common purpose of a more just society. Additionally, Tomlinson (1990) recognizes, "one consequence of the multicultural versus anti-racist debate is that it has diverted the attention of, and sometimes antagonized, many of those practitioners wishing to make appropriate curriculum changes" (p. 89). Fleras and Leonard-Elliott (1992) advise that "a truly effective multiculturalism must be concerned not only with culture and heritage, but more importantly with disadvantage, justice, equality, discrimination, and prejudice" (p. 136). What is proposed here is that the focus of multicultural education could be expanded to incorporate some of the important concerns of anti-racist education, such as institutional barriers, material inequalities, and power discrepancies between minorities and the majority. What is not suggested is that multicultural education adopt anti-racism's exclusionary emphases of color-racism and capitalism, or its divisive, oppositional approach. Such an expanded role for multicultural education has recently been advocated by Gollnick and Chin (1990), Drum and Howard (1989), and by Sleeter (1991). This more materially-oriented expansion would enable Canadian multicultural education to address some of the persistent concerns of recently arrived visible minorities, while it continues to pursue goals such as celebrating and sharing heritage, and intergroup understanding, harmony, and equity. It is this type of education for an ethnically and culturally pluralist society that is arguably most appropriate for the Canadian context, most likely to receive sustained public support in Canada, and best able to retain the all-important capacity to evolve in relation to the needs and aspirations of all Canadians.

Bibliography


Self-Esteem and Identity Development in White and Indian Children: Implications for Teacher Training

B. Corenblum, Department of Psychology, Brandon University and R.C. Annis, WESTARC Inc.

Dans cet article les auteurs nous entretient de trois théories au sujet de la relation entre le respect de soi des enfants d’un groupe minoritaire et celui des enfants d’un groupe majoritaire et nous décrit deux études où il est question des étudiants blancs et d’autres d’origine autochtone.

“When I lived up North I was an Indian, but now that I live in Brandon I’m White” (statement made by a grade one boy to his teacher).

Introduction

We will discuss the relationship between self-esteem and the answers to questions about group membership by minority- and majority-group children, and examine these answers in light of three theoretical positions on racial identification and preference. These theories provide a framework for understanding research on these issues, and suggest insights into how children come to understand what it means to be a member of a minority or majority group.

Historical Overview

In 1939 and 1940, Kenneth and Mamie Clark, following the procedures given in Horowitz (1939), presented Black children with pictures of White and Black children and asked them to point to the picture that looked most like them. The Clarks repeated the study several years later (Clark & Clark 1947), but this time using Black and White dolls and increasing the breadth of questions to include both perceived similarity (e.g. “which doll looks like you?”) and preference (e.g. “which doll is nice?”, “which one has a nice skin color?”). In all three studies, Clark and Clark found that as age increased, Black children were more likely to see themselves as more similar to pictures and dolls representing Blacks, children with lighter skin tones were more likely than those with medium or darker tones to identify with dolls and pictures of Whites, and most children preferred the White to the Black doll. These results support the Clarks’ hypothesis that Black children were aware of differences in skin colour between majority and minority group members, and for Blacks skin colour forms part of their identity as minority group members (although how this occurs and what the implications are for the child are not discussed).

Results of studies done during the next two decades not only confirmed Clark and Clark’s original findings, but have also indicated that they are not limited to American Blacks. Similar results have been reported among Native Indians, Chinese Americans, Hispanic children and New Zealand Maoris (see Aboud, 1988 for a review). In some of these later studies, however, interpretation has shifted from the development of the self-concept to development of self-esteem among minority (primarily Black) children. According to this perspective, Blacks, and many other minority group members, live in a world dominated politically and socially by Whites; as a result, minority group members may come to internalize the attitudes and values which hold them to be inferior. This image of their race as inferior makes identification with own group members difficult, and, in some cases may lead to low self-esteem and personality and behavioral problems among minority group members (Kardiner & Ovesey, 1962). The assumption underlying these ideas is that a person’s identity is made up of, in part, their attitude toward their racial or ethnic group. People who have unfavourable attitudes about their own group should have negative attitudes about themselves. Proshansky and Newton (1968) argue that minority group members experience a conflict between who they are as individuals and limitations imposed on them by the dominant society because of their race. This conflict is not expressed toward the source of the frustration, but is turned inward and is revealed as “... feelings of self-doubt ... a sense of inadequacy, If not actual self-hatred” (Proshansky & Newton, 1968; page 191). For Proshansky and Newton, the choice of White dolls or pictures of White people reflects the negative self-image minority group children have of their group and themselves. Kenneth Clark (1969), too, seems to have accepted this new interpretation of his data. After reviewing results of his earlier studies, Clark concludes, “By the age of seven most Negro children have accepted the reality that they are, after all, dark skinned. But the stigma remains; they have been forced to recognize themselves as inferior. Few if any Negroes ever fully lose the sense of shame and self-hatred” (page 65). According to this motivational perspective, by choosing White dolls or pictures of White children, minority group children could not only symbolically dissociate themselves from a group.

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In their review of results of research on self-esteem and identity in American Blacks, Porter and Washington (1979) point out that this “mark of oppression” interpretation of Black children’s doll and picture preferences was not limited to psychologists, but was also used by sociologists and psychoanalysts.
held in low regard by others, but they could also, at least temporarily, raise their self-esteem.

It is important to note that the idea that children's doll choices reflect self-esteem in an inference drawn from the data. In many of these early studies self-esteem was not assessed, and when it was, results are open to alternate interpretations (e.g. Butts, 1963).

Thus what began as research on the influence of salient physical attributes on the development of the self-concept became the influence of group status on the development of self-esteem in minority group children. By interpreting minority group children's responses to race questions as indicating a rejection of their race, researchers and clinicians appear to have ignored one issue and obfuscated several others. Investigators appear, until recently (Aboud, 1988; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990), to have ignored developmental trends that are often present in studies on racial identity and evaluation (cf. Clark & Clark, 1947). In addition, results of previous studies have assumed different levels of self-esteem in minority and majority group children (e.g. Proshansky & Newton, 1968), have assumed a relationship to exist between self-esteem and answers to perceived similarity and evaluation questions, and have assumed that minority group children experience conflict between their racial/ethnic identity and the predominantly Eurocentric values of the majority group.

Theoretical Overview

Lewin's dynamic field theory
In perhaps what is the best known equation in psychology, Lewin (1936) proposed that \( B = f(P,E) \), or the individual's behavior is a function of both individual attributes and characteristics of the environment. Psychologically, the person was thought of as being made up of a perceptual-motor region, which is in direct contact with the environment, and an inner-personal region which is divided into central and peripheral regions. The environment is also divided into regions each containing a single psychological 'fact,' e.g. knowledge about own-group members would make up one environmental region. When a physical or psychological need is aroused, a state of tension is said to exist; tension motivates the person to take action (locomotion) by reorganizing the inner-personal region or by acting on the environment. When in a state of tension, the psychological environment is differentiated into areas of positive and negative valence. A region of positive valence contains a goal object that will reduce the need state whereas a negative valence creates a vector that moves the person away from the region. The individual will move in the direction of the goal when a vector of sufficient strength acts on the person. When there are two or more vectors, the resulting movement will be the resultant force of all vectors. If boundaries between regions are permeable, the person can psychologically move from one region to another, and, in so doing, satisfy existing need states, reduce tension, and restore the psychological environment to a state of equilibrium. Impermeability, or barriers between regions, reduces many possibilities for locomotion. In such cases, need states are reduced by cognitive restructuring of the inner-personal region.

According to Lewin, people derive part of their identity from the groups to which they belong. For majority group members, boundaries between regions are relatively permeable; as a result, majority group members can reduce tension and maintain equilibrium by moving from one region to another. Males who want the company of other males, for example, can seek membership in a service group like the Kinsmen or Rotary, join a golf or curling club or participate in social activities at work. Majority group members do experience problems with group memberships. Role conflicts, overlapping roles, transition from one group to another, and entry into a new group are all sources of conflict and tension which require reorganization or changes in valence of regions in the psychological environment.

For majority group members, the forces acting on them to remain within the group are relatively weak. The person is able to move freely within their psychological environment. Members of minority groups, on the other hand, are often subject to forces which makes movement between regions difficult; as a result, minority group members experience tension, and, as explained below, this tension influences attitudes toward own and other group members. Lewin (1948) distinguishes between two types of forces acting on minority-group members. On the one hand are those forces that hold the person in the group and maintain their identity as group members. Physical features, perceived common fate, liking for other group members, attraction to the goals and values of the group may have positive valence for the person, and help maintain group membership. On the other hand, other forces draw the person away from the group and toward the majority group. When there are sharp status differences between minority and majority groups, assimilation pressures will be particularly strong because those in subordinate positions want to increase their status and acquire the privileges and rewards that higher status confers.

One factor influencing minority group member's expectation of entering the majority group is the perception of the permeability of the intergroup boundary. When boundaries are seen as impermeable, e.g., when minority-group members live in a physical or social ghetto and prejudice and discrimination are part of the implicit social norms, minority-group members will have positive attitudes toward own-group members. This is because needs can only be satisfied within the group. When the boundaries are perceived to be permeable, and some minority-group members enter the majority group, the effect of conflicting forces becomes more evident. For minority-group members, the positive feelings associated with those attributes that make their ethnic or racial group attractive cannot be easily changed or forgotten, but full acceptance into the majority group may depend on their not behaving like or showing traits characteristic of their old group. One consequence of these conflicting forces is that minority-group members come to hold ambivalent attitudes toward own-group members. This ambivalence may be particularly strong among those minority-group members who have the qualifications to enter the majority group but are denied access because of their race. Lewin argues that these marginalized individuals, as well as those who seek to achieve higher status, may come to believe that membership in their racial or ethnic group not only restricts their movement, but is an impediment to their fulfilling their
expectations and achieving their goals. These individuals feel they are marked, and as a result, are denied entry into the majority group.

One result of perceiving that they are denied full acceptance is that minority group members express their resentment, frustration and anxiety not toward the more powerful and desirable majority group, but rather as "own-group hatred", one characteristic of which is negative chauvinism; i.e., minority group members negatively evaluate own group members and their products and positively evaluate what majority group members do and say. It should be pointed out that Lewin did not say that those who wish to join the majority group have low self-esteem, or that by leaving, self-esteem will be raised, although these are the inferences that are drawn and continue to be made (Milner, 1983). The source of the confusion is Lewin's term, 'self-hate', by which he meant attitudes that some minority group people have toward their group, not themselves (see Hutnick, 1991).

**Erickson's psychosocial theory of development**

An alternate model of the development of identity and self-esteem in minority group members can be derived from Erickson's psychosocial theory of development. Like Lewin, Erickson (164) locates the problem of minority identity development in status differences between minority and majority group members; but unlike Lewin, Erickson focuses the intrapsychic consequences of those differences on minority group member's mental health.

Erickson argues that the lack of dignity given minority groups results in minority members having deep-seated doubts about the worth of their racial or ethnic group. According to Erickson, a secure sense of identity rests on realization by children and particularly adolescents that their way of knowing the world is a "... successful variant of the way other people around him master experience, and [that other people] recognize such mastery ..." (Erickson, 1964; page 32). For minority-group people, these tasks may be difficult to achieve because the minority experience is neither accepted nor valued by the majority group; and, within the minority group, parents and significant others that the minority child comes into contact with may be unsure of their ethnic or racial identity, and may not be able to validate the child's experiences (see Spencer, 1985 for an example). This is an important issue because, like Lewin, Erickson believes that the groups to which a person belongs are an important component of identity. For minority-group children, between- and within-group conflicts may precipitate a premature identity crisis. One way to resolve this crisis is to identify with what is perceived to be the highly valued, ingroup majority. Erickson (1964) tells of a four year old Black girl who would stand in front of a mirror and scrub her skin with soap; when the soap was taken away she would scrub the mirror. When asked to paint, she angrily filled the page with brown and black, but then she brought the teacher a 'really good picture', a sheet of paper covered in white paint. For Erickson, like Lewin, choosing White dolls or pictures of White people, reflects the conflict experienced by minority group children between their actual and desired group membership. The two theories differ, however, in the source of the conflict. In Erickson's psychodynamic theory, conflicts within the developing ego lead to attempts to achieve identity closure, whereas for Lewin perceived inability to be accepted into the majority group leads to own group derogation and positive evaluation of the majority group.

**Social identity theory**

Tajfel and Turner suggest that self-esteem is made up of two components: personal identity, which refers to the person's evaluations of their abilities, attributes, and accomplishments, and social identity which Tajfel defines as the value and significance an individual attaches to their group memberships. Assuming a constant level of personal identity, Tajfel and Turner argue that people can enhance self-esteem by maintaining a positive social identity. This can be done by accentuating in a positive direction, differences between own- and other-group members on those dimensions that favour their group (Corenblum & Russell, 1988; Hogg & Turner, 1987; Lemyre & Smith, 1985; Eiser & Stroebe, 1972).

According to social identity theory, when group membership is made salient, people engage in social comparison processes to determine how their group compares to other groups on various dimensions. Females, for example, may compare themselves with men to determine if their pay is equitable; or workers may compare themselves with workers in other areas of the plant or to others doing a similar job to see if they are getting full value for their work. Selecting the dimension for comparison is important, because those making comparisons may wish to improve their position on that dimension, e.g. equal pay for equal work, or maintain or enhance their existing status position relative to others, e.g. labour-management negotiations.

Tajfel and Turner assume that when making social comparisons, people will choose dimensions that favour their own group and on which there is consensus about the value of the dimension. By choosing such dimensions when making comparisons, people can enhance their self-esteem by identifying with members of their own group. In a multidimensional scaling study of organizations serving White and Indian people, Corenblum and Russell (1988) found that for White subjects, a law-and-order dimension explained most of their evaluations, whereas a respect-for-tradition dimension explained ratings of Indian subjects. Subjects placed those organizations which served their group at the positive end of their respective dimensions, and organizations which served the other group at the negative end.

For some minority groups, however, there are few dimensions they can use to positively evaluate their group, and those that are used may not have consensual validation. Cross (1987) notes that among Blacks or Indians, valued aspects of their culture (e.g. language, customs, social organizations) are held in low regard by the majority group and are not defined by them as acceptable for making between-group comparisons (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). One consequence of this is that between-group comparisons are made on dimensions on which minority members do poorly; as a result, the majority group maintains its dominant position and its members acquire a positive social identity whereas minority members develop unfavourable own-group attitudes.
Tajfel (1978) describes a number of ways minority group members can achieve a positive social identity; each method attempts to alter the value or dimension on which intergroup comparisons are made: one is "passing". By passing, Tajfel and Turner (1979, 1986) mean that minority-group members attempt to achieve a positive social identity by trying to psychologically "leave" their group and pass themselves off as majority-group members. There have been case histories, for example, of American Blacks trying to lighten their skin or straighten their hair so as to be accepted as Whites (see Milner, 1983 for examples). Passing is most likely to occur when intergroup boundaries are perceived to be stable - few alternatives to the status quo can be envisioned; and legitimate - status relationships are consensually maintained by authority or force of law. In the classroom, dimensions used to evaluate children may be perceived as stable and legitimate in that they are made by the teacher, who is frequently White, and by majority group peers. In addition, these dimensions are often those on which majority-group members are perceived to do well compared to minority-group members (e.g. academic success, peer acceptance and teacher evaluations). There are few ways minority-group children can enhance their social identity in a White school system. From this perspective, minority-group children's answers to race questions reflect their attempt to distance themselves from lower status own group members by identifying with and positively evaluating majority-group members. Several lines of evidence are consistent with this idea. For example, although own-group identification increases with age among minority-group children, the percentage who identify with own-group members is often less than that for White age peers (Aboud, 1988; Corenblum & Annis, 1993). In addition, increases in own-group identification with age among some minority group children is not accompanied, as it is among majority-group children, by comparable increases in own-group attitudes. Corenblum and Annis (1993), for example, found that even though older Indian children identified with own-group members, they were just as likely as younger Indians to positively evaluate Whites (see Annis & Corenblum, 1986). One implication of these results is that for minority group children, the wish to belong to a higher status ingroup may be a more important factor in influencing own-group attitudes and self-esteem than knowledge of their group membership (Corenblum & Annis, 1993).

**Attitudes Toward Own- and Other-Group Members and Self-Esteem**

*Overview of research findings*

The three theories predict that among young minority-group children self-esteem should be negatively associated with own-group attitudes, but positively associated with attitudes toward majority group members. Other investigators, however, argue otherwise. Cross (1987), for example, argues that in minority-group children self-esteem is independent of attitudes toward own-group members. Spencer and Markstrom-Adams (1990) concur with this idea, but support for it is at best mixed or open to alternate explanations. Spencer (1982; 1984), for example, found that Black children's own-group attitudes were unrelated to responses on measures of self-esteem or cognitive development. These findings may reflect methodological factors: many of the preschoolers in these studies were unaware of race categories and very few held positive own-group attitudes. In young elementary school children, Rosenburg and Simmons (1971) found that in Black children, self-esteem was associated with positive evaluations of Whites; and McAdoo (cited in Branch & Newcomer, 1988) observed that in young Black children self-esteem was inversely associated with own-group attitudes. Spencer (1983) found high self-esteem in several samples of Black children; yet in each, most held favourable attitudes toward majority-group members.

There is probably some relationship between self-esteem and own-group attitudes, but the relationship is best described as unclear. In many cases, the confusion can be traced to methodological differences between studies. Moreover, few studies have examined variables that might mediate the relationship between own-group attitudes and self-esteem and thus explain any relationship.

One factor that has been shown to influence attitudes toward own-group members is level of cognitive development. Aboud (1988) reports a positive relationship between level of cognitive development and favourable own-group attitudes among minority group children. With the advent of concrete operational thought, minority group children perceive themselves to be more similar to pictures of own-group members, and evaluate own-group members more favourably than do preoperational children. It is possible that the relationship between self-esteem and own-group attitudes reflects the influence of cognitive development. Before the relationship between own-group identity and self-esteem can be determined, it may be necessary to consider level of cognitive development and academic performance, and to do so with test instruments that are appropriate for the groups under consideration.

The following studies explore some of these questions and concerns. In the first study, White and Indian children answered similarity, evaluation, social distance, and racial labelling questions by pointing to pictures of White, Indian and Black children of each sex. Six weeks later, children completed measures of self-esteem and level of cognitive development. In a second study, we attempted to examine the influence of teacher evaluations on the development of own-group attitudes in minority and majority group children. To do this, we reanalyzed the data from study one, but included measures of teacher ratings of White and Indian children's peer acceptance, physical skills and academic competencies. Full details of these studies can be found in Corenblum & Annis (1993).

**Study 1: Own-Group Attitudes, Self-Esteem and Cognitive Development**

*Subjects*

203 White children (93 girls) and 91 Indian children (34 girls) in kindergarten and grades one and two from five public schools were tested. Subjects of Indian heritage included Indians (a legal term for Native people living in Canada), nonstatus Indians (a legal term for Indians who do not have the legal designation of Indian) and Métis (children of White and Native ancestry). The Indian and nonstatus children were members of the Dakota (Sioux) or Ojibwa (Chippewa or Anishinaabe) tribal groups and were identified from band council lists and school records. Métis
children were identified from the teacher’s knowledge of the racial group membership of the child’s parents. The “Indian” sample was considered as a single group since Blue, Corenblum and Annis (1987) found no significant differences in responses to racial similarity, evaluation, and labelling questions among Métis, Indian and nonstatus Indian children who were similar to samples used here. The average ages of the kindergarten, grade one, and grade two samples was 5.8, 6.9, and 7.9, respectively. Test results from children whose racial group membership was unknown or who were not of White or Indian heritage were not included in the analysis.

Procedure
When subjects were escorted from their classroom, a research assistant randomly assigned them to an Indian or White female interviewer. The stimuli consisted of three groups of drawings. The first were water colour drawings of white and brown cups and rabbits. Questions about these drawings were used to establish rapport with subjects. The second group were line drawings of four houses varying in height, four balls varying in size, two glasses differing in fullness, two lines differing in length and two ladybugs with different numbers of dots on their wings. These questions were included to determine if the youngest subjects had acquired basic physical concepts, which they had. The third group consisted of life-like, water colour drawings of Black, White and Indian children of each sex. Except for skin colour and other racial features, these head and shoulder pictures were similar. The experimenter explained that she would show the child some pictures and ask a few questions; children were to respond by pointing to the picture that best reflected their answers. Drawings of the rabbits and cups were always presented first followed by the line drawings. After subjects had answered questions about physical concepts, they were presented with the pictures of Black, White, and Indian children and asked racial labelling, similarity, evaluation, and social distance questions (see Table 1). In order to control for response biases, half of the similarity and evaluation questions were worded negatively. Subjects answered the questions in the same fixed random order by pointing to the picture that best reflected their answer.

Approximately six weeks after subjects answered questions about racial group membership, the same group of children were again approached for testing. Because of illness, absence, or relocation, not all of the original sample could be relocated. Those available for retesting consisted of 71 Indians (29 girls) and 172 Whites (77 girls). These subjects completed measures designed to assess their level of concrete operational thinking and perceived self-competencies. Subjects were tested by an experimenter of the same race as they had had in the first test session.

Assessment of concrete operational thought
On the seven tasks making up the Conservation Assessment Kit (Goldschmid & Bentler, 1968), subjects were asked whether various amounts of substance remain the same after, as compared to before, a transformation. The conservation tasks were administered in the order suggested by Goldschmid and Bentler: area, number, substance, continuous quantity, weight, discontinuous quantity, and volume. Estimates of internal reliability

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Examples of Questions Used in Study One and Two</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Labelling questions:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Point to the child that looks like a White girl;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Point to the child that looks like a Black boy;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point to the child that looks like an Indian girl;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Positive and (Negative) Similarity Questions:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point to the child that (does not) look(s) most like you;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Point to the child that your friend would say (does not) look like most like you;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Point to the child your mother would say (does not) look(s) most like you;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Positive Evaluation Questions:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Point to the child who is friendly;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point to the child who is nice;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point to the child you would like to play with;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative Evaluation Questions:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Point to the child who gets into trouble;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point to the child who is bad;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point to the child who gets into fights;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Positive and (Negative) Social Distance Questions:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point to the child you would like to (would not like to) eat lunch with;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point to the child you would like to (would not like to) invite over to your house;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point to the child you would like to (would not like to) go skating or to the movies with.</td>
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</table>

(Cronbach’s alpha) were high for both Whites ($r = .89$) and Indians ($r = .92$).

Assessment of perceived self-competency
Perceived self-competency was assessed by responses to items on Harter & Pike’s (1984) measures of cognitive and physical competency scales and maternal and peer acceptance scales. Harter and Pike suggest that children under eight rarely have a unified sense of self, but do know about their competencies and how much they are accepted by others. Each scale consists of two picture plates, one showing a child the same sex as the subject performing an activity well, the other showing poor performance. Subjects were asked to indicate which picture was most like themselves, and to indicate how descriptive it was of them (a lot or a little). The sum of the scores of each subscale can be used as an overall measure of self-esteem. Internal reliability estimates for Whites ($r = .77$) and Indians ($r = .73$) were obtained.

In selecting a measure to assess self-competency, we chose one that could be completed by young children from different ethnic or racial groups. Before a test can be used with different ethnic or racial groups, it is necessary to show that it measures similar constructs in all groups. One way this can be done is by demonstrating that similar factor structures underlie answers to test questions in both Whites and Indians (Segall, Dasen, Berry and Poortinga, 1990). To assess the factorial validity of the self-compe-
Table 2: Scores of White and Indian Children on Measures of Perceived Competency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Race</th>
<th>Competency</th>
<th>Acceptance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cognitive</td>
<td>Physical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>20.81</td>
<td>20.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>19.94</td>
<td>20.96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

tency measure, factor analysis of White children's scores on the self-competency subscales indicated that a single factor accounted for all of the variance. In the Indian sample, factor analysis also revealed a single dominant factor and a minor second factor. In both groups, all subscales loaded positively on the first factor, and for Indians peer acceptance also loaded on the second factor. The emergence of a strong single factor with comparable factor loadings in both groups suggests that the subscale scores reflect a similar construct in both Whites and Indians.

Results

A 2 (Race of Subject) x 2 (Sex of Subject) x 3 (Grade) analysis of variance on the self-competency measure revealed no significant differences between White and Indians on the total score or on the four subscales (see Table 2). These results are consistent with other studies that report that in nonclinical samples, there are few differences in self-esteem between majority- and minority-group peoples (see Porter & Washington, 1979; Crocker & Major, 1989 for reviews).

Analysis of responses to the conservation measure indicated that children in kindergarten obtained lower scores than did those in grade one who scored lower than those in grade two. The analysis also indicated that Whites obtained higher conservation scores than did Indians. A Race of Subject x Grade interaction revealed that while conservation scores increased with grade in both racial groups, this increase was significantly greater for Whites.

Analysis of answers to labelling questions showed that subjects were highly accurate in identifying pictures of Whites (87%) and Blacks (74%), but less accurate in identifying pictures of Indians (45%). A significant Race of Subject effect revealed that Indian children were more accurate (76%) than Whites (69%) in identifying race cues contained in the pictures. Despite this level of accuracy, however, Indian children showed consistent identification with and preference for majority group children.

As can be seen in Figure 1, on positively and negatively worded evaluation and social distance questions, White children made more positive and fewer negative own-group evaluations, whereas Indian children were more likely to make more negative and fewer positive own-group ratings. Figure 1 also shows that White children attributed more negative attributes to pictures of Indians and Blacks, while Indians said more negative things about Blacks. Responses to social distance questions indicated strong own-group preferences among White children. Frequency counts of which pictures subjects chose in response to these questions indicated (see Figure 1) that 67% of White children wanted to go skating or to the movies with White children, but only 20% wanted to play with an Indian and even fewer would play with a Black. Indian children indicated a near equal willingness to play with own-group members (40%) and Whites (44%), but only 12% indicated a preference to eat lunch with a Black or invite a Black child to their birthday party. Responses to both evaluation and social distance questions showed similar patterns of results. Whites made more favourable and fewer unfavourable attributions about own- than other-group members. Indians rated own-group members more positively than Blacks, but less favourably than Whites.

Answers to the positive and negative similarity questions are shown in Figure 2. On the positively worded questions, 75% of Whites chose pictures of White children as looking most like themselves, but only 52% of Indian children did so. It is important to note that even though Indians were less accurate than Whites in identifying which picture looked most like themselves, responses of Indian children were still greater than by chance; and when they did misidentify, most chose pictures of Whites. When answering questions about who does not look like you, Whites were slightly more accurate (91%) than Indians (83%). This difference, although significant, suggests that while White children perceive both similarities and differences between themselves, own and other group members, Indian children were more attentive to the differences but not the similarities.

The relationship between answers to self-esteem, conservation measures and responses to race questions were explored using structural equation modelling (see Bentler, 1985 for details). In this procedure, a theoretical "causal model" is developed in which predictor (self-esteem and conservation scores) and latent variables are regressed onto answers to similarity, evaluation, social distance, and labelling questions. Latent variables are unmeasured variables, similar to factor structures, which are believed to underly responses to measured variables. In the present study, we tested the idea that answers to race questions represent a latent variable rather than six separate variables. This indeed was the case: the analysis indicated that for both White and Indian answers, positive and negative similarity, evaluation, and social distance questions reflected a latent variable which we called attitudes toward own-group members. We will use the term own-group attitudes in this study and the one that follows to refer to answers to these questions. Accurate labelling of the race cues contained in the pictures, however, was not significantly associated with the latent variable, and reflects a factor distinct from own-group attitudes. It appears that children's ability to categorize and label own- and other-group members is independent of their attitudes towards those groups.

More central to our concerns are the relationships between level of cognitive development, self-esteem and own group attitudes. For White children, these relationships were direct and uncomplicated: as level of cognitive development increased own-group attitudes became more favourable, a finding consistent with the suggestion that the advent of concrete operational thinking is associated with positive attitudes toward own-group members (Aboud, 1988). Moreover, as self-esteem increased, White children were more likely to identify with and express a desire for closer relationships with own-group members. Thus, as level of
cognitive development increases and children become more aware of the status hierarchies in society, children in majority groups can enhance self-esteem by associating with and perceiving greater similarity between themselves and own-group members.

Among Indian children, self-esteem and level of cognitive development also predicted own-group attitudes. As was the case for White children, level of cognitive development was positively associated with favourable own-group attitudes among Indian children; that is, with the attainment of concrete operational thought, Indian children attributed more positive and fewer negative attributes to own-group members. Self-esteem, however, was negatively related to own-group attitudes: as self-esteem increased, own group attitudes decreased. The better Indian children thought about themselves and their own competencies, the less likely they were to say positive things about Indians. According to dynamic field theory, the inverse relationship between self-esteem and own-group attitudes reflects the attempts by minority group members to achieve higher status by distancing themselves from low status own-group members. While not disagreeing with this interpretation, social identity theory would argue that self-esteem concerns, rather than status per se, motivate attempts to distance a positive-valued self from a group held in low regard by others. It is important to recall that Indian children were able accurately to identify the race cues contained in the pictures and this accuracy increased with age; nevertheless, despite this knowledge they appear to hold favourably attitudes toward majority group members.

For minority group children, the relationship between self-esteem, level of cognitive development, and own-group attitudes appears to reflect a discrepancy between what these children know about themselves and their group and what they wish for themselves were true. Corenblum and Annis (in press) proposed an affect-discrepancy model to describe the conflict minority-group children experience from belonging to a low status group. As the level of cognitive development increases, minority-group children come to have positive attitudes toward own-group members; at the same time however, they also come to know how their group is evaluated by others and what implications that knowledge may have for them. According to Corenblum and Annis, young minority-group children have difficulty in reconciling inconsistent information and affective experiences into a unified sense of self (Harter, 1986). In a recent longitudinal study, Phinney (1992) reports a consistent move toward ethnic identity achievement between middle and late adolescence. It may be, as Erickson has argued, that with the development of formal operational thought, adolescents are able to integrate discrepant cognitions and emotions about themselves, own- and other-group members (amongst other sources of conflict) into a more unified sense of identity.

Much of the research on identity development in majority- and minority-group children has focused on individual difference measures such as grade, level of cognitive development, and self-esteem. Relatively little attention has been given to broader social influences. For example, parents, peers, and teachers may also be important as sources of information about own and other group

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**FIGURE 1:** Percentage of White and Indian subjects choosing pictures of a White, Indian or Black child in response to evaluation and social distance questions. Reprinted with permission from Corenblum and Annis (1993) Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science vol. 25(4).

**FIGURE 2:** Percentage of White and Indian children choosing pictures of White, Indian, and Black children in response to positively worded similarity questions.
members. Teacher evaluations of their students are of particular interest because teacher judgements of academic competency are associated with children’s level of self-esteem (e.g., Nottelman, 1987). In addition, teacher evaluations have been suggested to influence children’s attitudes about themselves and others. In study two, we examine the relationships between teacher evaluations, children’s level of self-esteem and minority- and majority-group children’s attitudes toward own and other group members.

Study 2: Teacher Evaluations and Children’s Racial Identity

This study focused on the influence of teacher evaluations on the development of own-group attitudes in majority- and minority-group children. While there has been little direct research on this issue, several hypotheses can be derived from results of studies on the influence of expectancies on behaviour and self-perceptions. A number of studies have shown that expectancies teachers hold about their students influences student’s performance on class exams (e.g., Rosenthal & Fode, 1963; Rosenthal & Jacobsen, 1968); perceptions of ability (e.g., Eccles, Jacobs & Harold, 1990), interpersonal behavior (Word, Zanna & Cooper, 1974), and the self-concept (Fazio, Effrein & Falender, 1981). Although there is some question about the magnitude and accuracy of expectancy effects (Brophy, 1983; Jussim, 1991), it appears that attitudes and stereotypes lead to expectancies about other people which, in turn, influence interpersonal relations as well as people’s attitudes about themselves and their abilities.

One implication of these ideas is that one reason children in minority groups identify with and prefer majority-group members is that teacher attitudes and stereotypes about children in minority groups create conditions that bring about the confirmation of those expectancies; that is, a self-fulfilling prophecy. We know of no empirical evidence that supports a direct relationship between teacher expectancies and the development of own-group attitudes in minority- or majority-group children.

There is, however, evidence to suggest an indirect relationship. It is sometimes argued that teacher expectancies are largely accurate in reflecting children’s class outcomes (Jussim, 1991; Brophy, 1983; Schofield, 1982). Teachers like high achieving students, respond positively toward them, and are more forgiving of their errors. St. George (1983) found that minority and majority group students, matched in terms of end-or-term grades, received similar teacher evaluations and that expectancies accounted for more variance in teacher ratings than did group membership based on student race. Teachers from minority and majority backgrounds like students who do well in school and who express values and attitudes associated with school success (Washington, 1982). It may be that stereotypes teachers hold about children in minority groups reflect more the perceived relationship between membership in a racial/ethnic group and school performance than the influence of negative teacher attitudes.

Teacher evaluations of students are also influenced by what teachers know about own- and other-group members. Linville (1982; Linville, Fischer, & Salovey, 1989) showed that people individuate own-group members, but perceive other-group members as largely homogeneous. It may be that people know more about own- than other-group members and are more familiar with them than other group members. One result of this outgroup homogeneity effect (or ingroup heterogeneity effect) is that people are more responsive to the variability of traits and attributes in own- than other-group members (see Judd, Ryan & Park, 1991).

One implication of these ideas is that teachers are more likely to use individuating information when evaluating own-group members, but rely on race or gender stereotypes when judging children from other groups (Darley & Gross, 1983). There are a number of attributes teachers could use to individuate their students. In this study, we explored the influence of level of cognitive development and self-esteem on teacher evaluations of minority- and majority-group children. As level of cognitive development increases, children display more mature reasoning about concepts and issues and see relationships between issues that are missed by less cognitively mature students. One obvious consequence of increased cognitive development is academic achievement. Self-esteem is also associated with favourable teacher evaluations. Students who think highly of themselves are rated positively by their teachers in a variety of domains (Boivin & Begin, 1989; Nottelman, 1987; Rotheram, 1987). Teacher stereotypes may directly influence the development of children’s own-group attitudes. More likely, however, the influence of teacher evaluations on children’s own-group attitudes is indirect, a reflection of child’s level of cognitive development and self-esteem. As was found in Study 1, level of cognitive development and self-esteem should also directly reflect own group attitudes in minority and majority children. To test these two sources of influence on children’s own-group attitudes and provide a more complete model of racial identity development, we reanalyzed the data from Study 1 taking into account differential teacher evaluations of children in minority and majority groups.

Method

White and Indian children in kindergarten, grades one and two answered racial labelling, similarity, evaluation and social distance questions by pointing to pictures of White, Indian and Black children. Six weeks later, subjects completed measures of cognitive development and self-esteem (see Study 1 for details).

Teacher evaluations

In the present study, the influence of teacher evaluations on children’s own-group attitudes was examined by asking all respondents’ classroom teachers (n = 17) to rate each subject’s level of academic ability, peer acceptance, and physical development on Harter and Pike’s (1984) teacher evaluation form. While there are a number of such forms, Harter and Pike’s measure was used here because of its strong psychometric properties (see Harter, 1982).

The teachers, who were all female and White, made their ratings blind to children’s answers to the race questions or their responses on tests of self-esteem and cognitive development. Subjects were rated by their teachers on 24 activities or behaviours (e.g., good at numbers, good at jumping rope) on a 1 (poor) to 4 (good) point scale. Alpha coefficients for academic ability, peer acceptance, and physical development in Whites were (r = .52, .75,
Table 3: Teacher Evaluations of White and Indian Children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Race</th>
<th>Teacher Evaluation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Academic ability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>18.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>16.61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ r = .55; \text{composite} = .71 \) and for Indians \( r = .71, .67, .70; \text{composite} = .78 \).

Results

As was the case in study 1, we will present an overview of the analyses; a more complete report of the results can be found in Corenblum, Annis and Tanaka (1993). Teacher ratings of behaviours making up academic ability, peer acceptance and physical development were added separately to form composite scores. A 2 (Race of Subject) × 2 (Sex of Subject) × 2 (Race of Experimenter) × (grade) analysis of variance of the composite scores indicated (see Table 3) that teachers rated Whites more socially and academically competent than Indians. Analysis of physical competency ratings revealed that females were rated as more physically mature than males, and a Subject Race × Grade interaction showed that Indians in grade two were rated as more physically mature than children in other groups.

The relationship between teacher ratings, self-esteem, level of cognitive development and own-group attitudes in minority- and majority-group children was explored using structural equation modelling. Preliminary analysis indicated that teacher ratings of physical, social and academic competencies reflected a single latent variable which we called teacher evaluations. This latent variable, along with all other measured variables, were entered into separate structural equation models for White and Indian children.

For White children, results of the structural equation modelling were clear and consistent with our hypotheses. Level of cognitive development and self-esteem both predicted teacher evaluations: as level of cognitive development and self-esteem increased, teachers rated White students more favourably on traits and behaviours reflecting academic ability, peer acceptance, and physical competency. In addition, the more favourably teachers rated these students, the more positively White children felt toward own-group members. In other words, the more favourably these students were rated by their teachers, the more favourable were their attitudes toward own-group members. For children in majority groups, there was positive evaluative consistency between their attitudes toward themselves and own-group members and how a significant person in their lives, the classroom teacher, evaluated them and their group.

Level of cognitive development also predicted teacher evaluations of Indian children, but the regression weight was smaller (.23) than it was for Whites (.36). Unlike the results for Whites, self-esteem did not predict teacher evaluations; nor did teacher evaluations influence Indian children's attitudes toward own-group members. Indian children's attitudes toward own-group members were influenced, as they were in study 1, by level of cognitive development and self-esteem. For Indian children, there was only a minimal relationship between their attributes and what their teacher thought of them; and what their teacher did think about them; as individuals was not associated, as it was with White children, with Indian children's attitudes toward own-group members.

In study 1, level of cognitive development and self-esteem predicted White and Indian children's attitudes toward own-group members. Results of that study were consistent with Lewin's dynamic field theory and Tajfel and Turner's social identity theory. That study, however, did not consider the importance of situational or contextual variables on the development of own-group attitudes. Study 2 extended results of previous studies by exploring the influence of one significant person, the classroom teacher, on minority- and majority-group children's attitudes toward own-group members.

It should surprise few people that what teachers think about their students influences how students perform in class. Study 2 shows that not only do teacher expectancies influence term grades, they also predict children's attitudes. Positive evaluations of White children were associated with favourable ratings of own group members by these students. Teacher evaluations were not created out of nothing, they were directly predicted by the student's level of cognitive development and self-esteem. For Indian children, cognitive development and self-esteem predicted in opposite ways (study 1 and replicated in study 2) attitudes toward own-group members. These results extend previous findings in that when other variables, such as teacher ratings, are included in the model, children in minority groups continue to display ambivalent attitudes toward own-group members.

In study 2, self-esteem and cognitive development predicted teacher evaluations in White children, but only cognitive development predicted teacher evaluations in Indian children, but the regression weight was small. Teachers appear to be sensitive to some individuating information about minority-group children, but as indicated here, that information is not used as fully as it might be. Teachers may be differentially sensitive to the cognitive abilities and competencies of children from majority and minority groups. One reason for this is that teachers may be more familiar with own-group members, and as a result, maybe not only know more about them on dimensions being evaluated, but be less likely to use categorical labels of stereotypes when judging own-group members.

Evaluations of others involve more than processing information about own- and other-group members. Motivational factors are also involved, and it may be these motivational factors that explain why teachers gave less weight to minority-group children's level of self-esteem and cognitive development. Teachers like academically competent children and interact with these students in ways that promote their intellectual development and academic performance. Teachers interact very differently with students whose performance is lower (see Brophy, 1983). In this study, Indians in all grades scored lower on a standardized test of cognitive development, and were rated by their teachers as less academically and socially competent than Whites. These results are consistent with
the more general finding (e.g. Schofield, 1982) that minority children tend to do poorly in a White-dominated school system.

An interesting implication of these ideas is that teachers may be more responsive to minority-group children, and these children would, in turn, hold more favourable attitudes toward own-group members if they and their teachers were in the majority. Annis and Corenblum (1986), however, found Indian children chose pictures of Whites in response to race questions when tested by an Indian experimenter in their own language (Ojibway). What makes these findings remarkable is that these children lived on an isolated northern reserve where, except for a few government employees, and nurses, all residents are Indian who maintain a semi-traditional lifestyle of hunting, fishing, and trapping. These results make it unlikely that Indian children's responses to questions about own- and other-group members is due to context effects, response biases or that Indian children were attending a predominantly White school.

If our results are replicated with children from other racial or ethnic groups and with other teachers, we believe that our findings have important implications for teacher training and assessment of outcomes (broadly defined) of those schools which are homogeneous by gender, race, religion, language or ethnic group. The assumption in many of these schools is that teachers who are of a different group than their students are less likely to serve as "role models" and less likely to enhance the development in minority-group children a sense of group solidarity, pride or identity. White teachers underestimated the cognitive abilities of Indian children, and teacher evaluations were not associated with the development of own-group attitudes as they were for White children. But, contrary to the implicit assumptions about homogeneous schools, negative evaluations by White teachers were not associated with negative own-group attitudes among minority children. What White teachers thought about Indians was not significantly related to what Indians thought about their group. While group identity and pride may be enhanced when teachers and students are members of the same group, the results of Annis and Corenblum (1986) and those reported here suggest that such effects may be small. Washington (1982), for example, found that White and Black teachers made similar evaluations of students from those two groups. Racial similarity between teacher and student may not be as important to teacher ratings when compared to other factors such as level of cognitive development, self-esteem, classroom environment or academic performance. It may be that children's school performance, and ultimately their self-esteem, will be enhanced by teacher training programs that focus on enhancing the sensitivities of teachers to competencies and characteristics of students, particularly in classrooms where teachers and students are from diverse ethnicities.

References


A Fifth Grade Program to Reduce Prejudice

Frances E. Aboud, Department of Psychology, McGill University

The curriculum materials used in this intervention were developed for fifth grade students, and so emphasized the third skill of attending to individual differences. This skill is acquired at an older age than the other two, some time between fourth and sixth grade (Katz, Sohn & Zalk, 1975). Fifth graders were expected to understand the concept of internal and individual qualities, but not yet feel comfortable with it on a personal level. They may not yet have applied the concept to individuals from different races because their perceptions and evaluations are driven more by racial stereotypes. However, it is assumed that perceived racial similarities and reconciling differences have been acquired by most children by this age. Although several lessons did deal with these latter two skills, in order to strengthen their application to racial issues, most of the lessons focused on the concept of individual differences.

The curriculum materials consist of a Student Book and a Teachers’ Guide, entitled More Than Meets the Eye (1988). They were written by Vivien Bowers and Diane Swanson, under the supervision of Jack Kehoe from the University of British Columbia’s Faculty of Education. Frances Aboud of McGill University and Anna-Beth Doyle of Concordia University served as consultants. As part of a series of books for elementary school, these materials were published with the support of Alternatives to Racism, a nonprofit organization whose goal is to reduce prejudice in our society.

The Teachers’ Guide begins with a set of nine questions that allow the teacher to assess the racial climate of the school. The assumption is that instruction in prejudice-reducing skills will have a greater impact if the school’s rules of conduct promote racial contact, communication and respect. Following this is an overall statement of the objectives of the program. These are stated in terms of specific conceptual abilities and skills that should be acquired through this program. Finally, the teacher is given an overview of the program, which includes the themes that run throughout the program and the role of the teacher in promoting learning.

The program consists of 11 activities which in this case took approximately 11 weeks, with one or two classes per week. The activities involve group discussion, dyadic problem solving and individual work. The theme of the activities is that internal qualities of individuals are more important than the external ones. “There is more to me than meets the eye” is a repeated phrase from which the unit gets its title. The theme is introduced by having children describe their Outer Me and their Inner Me, and then compare their profiles with two classmates, one who is a friend and one who is a less familiar acquaintance. The theme is then developed with a witty Outer Place character called BWUPDOK, who is trying to reconcile differences between himself and humans, and a multiracial class of 30 Hoozhoo.
Kids. Each Hoozhoo Kid is described as an individual, with a name and photo, good and poor abilities, likes and dislikes, worries and wishes, and personality qualities. Eleven interesting activities help the students to learn about the unique qualities of each Hoozhoo Kid. The purpose of this exercise is to strengthen attention, develop fine-grained categorization, and expand memory skills that allow the child to process information about individuals. While doing the exercises, students learn to attend to attributes in themselves they may know about but rarely notice in others. They learn to develop new descriptive categories for personality that are more subtle or more differentiated than their habitual categories of appearance and behaviour. They develop memory strategies to help them associate personality qualities with a name and face. These three person-perception skills are developed in the context of the Hoozhoo Kids, who come from different Canadian racial and ethnic groups, and should allow children to generalize to apply these skills when they meet other children. It should teach skills that allow the children to go beyond group categories (stereotypes) and the egocentric categories that children often use when meeting people from different races.

Objectives of the Study

1. The first objective of our research was to determine if the unit was feasible and acceptable as a classroom unit of instruction. This required discussions with the teacher and observations of its implementation in the classroom. We observed students' participation and students' answers to questions raised by the teacher; we took note of extra materials needed to supplement the activities outlined in the unit. From this, we derived some general and specific impressions of what worked and what did not work in generating student interest and student learning.

2. The second objective was to evaluate the outcome of the program in terms of whether it enhanced attention to individual differences, reduced prejudice, and facilitated cross-race peer relations.

Setting and Sample

The program was implemented with a fifth grade class at Westmount Park Elementary School in Montreal. There were 22 children (6 White, 6 Black, 5 Chinese and 5 West Indian) in the experimental class whose parents consented to their inclusion (1 boy took part in the program but did not have permission to be interviewed). Ten were boys and 12 were girls (see Table 1). A second fifth grade class served as a control sample who were interviewed but received no special program (6 White, 1 Black, 2 Chinese; 2 were boys and 7 were girls. The other children did not receive permission to be interviewed. A third fifth grade class in the school did not participate.

The children were classified into racial groups on the basis of their answer to a question at the end of the testing. The tester said: You know that there are many racial and ethnic groups in Canada. We have seen some of them here; there are others too. What are you?

The school is as multi-racial as the sample indicates. It serves a largely middle and lower-middle class district. Classes are taught in English with the usual French as a second language component. The school has a very positive climate, in terms of respect for racial differences and individual expression. Discipline is good and the same high standard is expected of everyone. The teacher of the experimental class had, on her own initiative, tried the program in a modified form the previous year. She agreed to implement it fully during the experimental year. With support from the principal, the Research and Evaluation Committee of the Protestant School Board gave permission to conduct the study for two consecutive years. This paper reports results from the first year only.

Design

The outcome of the program was evaluated with a pre/post experimental/control design. Both experimental and control children were pretested in November and December, 1992. The program was only implemented in the experimental class from February 1 to April 14, 1993. The post-test was conducted in May, 1993. Each child was tested by female psychology undergraduates of the same race. The testers were not blind to the race or class affiliation of the child. Classroom observations took place on five occasions.

Method and Results of Classroom Observation

The author sat unobtrusively in a corner at the back of the room and wrote down everything that was said during the five lessons. Pairs of students shared a Student Book, and Master Sheets were copied and given to each child. The following are excerpts, comments and evaluations.

Activity 4: Hoozhoo Kids

In reviewing the first three activities, the teacher started the class by asking what the title, More Than Meets the Eye, means. The answer of one girl was, "There's more to a person than what you see." A boy answered, "Just because
of the way a person looks you don’t want to be friends, but they may be the best friend.” The teacher introduced the Hoozhoo Kids by saying: “We’re going to meet some new people who are going to be part of our classroom. We’re going to get to know their Outer and Inner qualities. You may find you have something in common with them, that there is more to them than you think. The better we get to know them, the more fun we’ll have.” One page at a time, the group pronounced the names of the four children and then read their descriptions to themselves. The teacher quizzed the students by asking, “Which one wants to breed dogs?” etc. Without the book, the students practised recalling the names of all 30 children in any order and then alphabetically. There was a great deal of enthusiasm as each child contributed names they recalled. In pairs or alone, the students completed the hidden name search puzzle. The teacher subsequently said that the children learned about the Hoozhoo Kids’ individual qualities quickly with the exercises.

Activity 5: Stereotypes
The class was asked to recall the multiple overlapping categories they used to classify the Hoozhoo Kids. Examples raised were: smiling, blue eyes, nationalities, hair colour, glasses, three-letter names, names that start with K, gender. The teacher asked how all people were the same and how people were different. With all the students standing, the teacher called out one attribute at a time; children were supposed to sit down if it did not apply to them. At the end, she pointed out how few students were left standing because few students share all these characteristics.

The teacher asked what the word stereotype means. One student answered, “Sabotage”; another said, “It’s almost racism, like saying blondes are stupid”; a third said, “You’re Black so you’re stupid; they could be smart.” The students individually completed a Student Master which required them to answer True or False to 25 statements such as “All ladybugs are red with black spots,” and “All Blacks are good athletes.” When discussing their answers, the teacher repeatedly pointed out that while these statements may be true in many cases, they may also be false in many cases, thus driving home the point of the exercise. They discussed the unfair expectations people have of others based on stereotypes in the context of the students’ own lives.

TEACHER: What happens when a group of children go into a store?

STUDENT: The owner gets worried they will steal.

TEACHER: Maybe the owner doesn’t trust you because he has had a few experiences where students did steal. But is it correct to assume that you will all steal?

STUDENT: No.

The teacher then asked, How do you get beyond the stereotype? Answers included: you talk to the person; you learn more about their inner self.

The teacher felt that the Teachers’ Guide did not provide an adequate definition of stereotype. It describes stereo-typing as assuming that everyone in a group or category is very much alike; this creates unfair expectations. A better definition might be: thinking that all people of a certain group or category have a particular attribute, when it is not justified and when other differentiating information is available but not considered. When the teacher asked students in one class to give examples of stereotypes, the students could name many: tall people are good at basketball; all Chinese people know the martial arts; all Indians drink too much; all Indians can communicate with animals. These stereotypes are easy to pick up and impossible to prevent. What should be learned is that information describing different qualities of individuals often contradicts the stereotype and therefore is more useful than the stereotype for understanding people.

Film about Unfair Stereotyping
Because there are too few Blacks among the Hoozhoo Kids, the teacher decided to show the NFB film Playing Fair: Carol’s Mirror. (Other films in the series were shown at another time.) The story is about a Black girl, Carol, who wants to play the part of Snow White in the school drama. Some of her classmates think this is inappropriate because of her skin colour, while others are either in favour or unsure. Carol’s inner reflections, her wranglings with her classmates, and her talk with her sister point out the different perspectives. The film provided the opportunity for the students to discuss the qualities of the characters and how some typecast others for drama parts; and discuss the character, Carol, the image others had of her, and the image she may develop of herself if she accepts the way others see her and the drama roles she typically plays.

The teacher posed a question which was difficult to answer: what did Carol mean when she said, “If I can’t be Snow White, what else can’t I be? What can’t you be?” The teacher then asked a boy, Fidel, to describe what happened to him in their drama club that was similar to Carol’s predicament. Fidel told how he wanted to play the role of Goldilocks and how others felt it was strange. Fidel is a Black boy who does not have golden locks. The class decided in the end that blond hair was not important to the story (and by inference, neither was gender or skin colour). The film clearly provoked a lot of conflicting thoughts and emotions in the students because of its personal relevance. It shows people as individuals with good and bad qualities. It also presented a conflict that was resolved through sensitive communication.

Activities 9 and 10: Understanding Differences
The purpose of these activities is to help the children feel comfortable with differences. They learn to understand that many different experiences are right, and that differences can be reconciled if people agree to disagree. The teacher played the record Yikety-Yak and discussed why some students liked it and others did not. They discussed parent-child, teacher-student and friend-friend differences of opinion and the valid reasons for each opinion. One incident turned out to be a good example: The teacher asked a student why he was lying down during the lesson and told him to sit up. Then they discussed valid reasons why he was lying down and valid reasons why the teacher wanted him to sit up.

They worked on two activities from the Student Book to illustrate valid differences of opinion. When they paired up
to create their own vignettes, 40% formed cross-race pairs. As it turned out, the first pair to present their vignette resolved the disagreement between a father and a son with the father bribing the son and the son giving in. Then the teacher performed a vignette with a student showing how to agree to disagree, and the final pair got it right. The children may have needed more activities to strengthen their skills to reconcile differences. After learning how to process information about differences, they needed more practice to feel comfortable with these differences rather than feeling like someone should impose control and the other should defer. It is acceptable to learn about different perspectives and to change one's own after careful consideration, but deferring under pressure is not an acceptable way of changing.

**Method and Results of Outcome Evaluation**

**Procedure and Instruments**
The procedure involved one session lasting approximately 45 minutes. The children were tested individually in a private setting by a tester from their own racial group to minimize responses due to social desirability. The testers were never seen during the implementation of the program, though the children may have made the connection themselves. The children were told that they would be asked for their thoughts about different people they had never met before, and were assured that all answers were acceptable as long as they reflected their true feelings. They were given a code name and told their responses would remain private. They were also told that they could ask to stop the interview if they felt uncomfortable at any point. The order of the tasks remained the same: Perceived Dissimilarity Within-Race, Attitude Measure, and Measures of Peer Relations.

1. **Perceived Dissimilarity Within-Race**
   This measure was used to determine whether children attended to individual differences among members of the same racial group. Colour photos of boys and girls from four different racial groups were used: White, Black, Chinese, and Native Canadian. The photographs showed children with neutral facial expressions and were judged by university students to be of average attractiveness. Three same-sex photos of children from each racial group were presented in pairs to the subject who was asked to place those that were more similar closer together on a 60 cm board and farther apart if they were more different. Practice trials were given with other pictures during the pretest to ensure that the child understood the instructions and made full use of the board. All possible within-race comparisons were made. The index of perceived dissimilarity was the mean distance between the three pairs from a racial group. They were then averaged across the four racial groups for a single summary score. Higher scores indicated greater attention to individual differences.

2. **Free-Choice Racial Attitude Measure**
   This measure was used to determine the child's attitudes toward three races: White, Black, and Chinese. It was developed by Doyle, Beaudet and Aboud (1988), adapted for multi-racial groups and modified for use by older children. Ten positive attributes, 10 negative attributes, and 4 filler attributes were taken from a classmate evaluation test called the Revised Class Play (Masten, Morison & Pellegrini, 1985). Examples of positive items are enthusiastic, plays fair and has good ideas of things to do. Examples of negative items are bossy, sad and excludes others. For each of the 24 attributes, the child is given three index cards with the same attribute written on each. They are asked if it is the White child, the Black child, the Chinese child or more than one child who is like that. They make their evaluation by placing the cards in the appropriate boxes, identified by a same-sex coloured silhouette head drawing of a White, Black and Chinese child. Practice trials were given to show that it was possible to assign all cards to one box or more than one box.

The number of positive and negative attributes assigned to each race were totalled separately, yielding six scores. The number of attributes assigned rather than the number of index cards put in the box was used for scoring for a maximum score of 10. From this, we could also determine the positive ingroup and negative ingroup score for children from the three racial groups. Two summary scores were also calculated: a bias score indicating positive-ingroup/negative-outgroup, and a counter-bias score indicating negative-ingroup/positive-outgroup. The former is comparable to the pro-White/anti-Black score derived from forced-choice measures such as the Preschool Racial Attitude Measure (Williams & Morland, 1976). The latter reflects evaluations that run counter to prejudice as we usually conceive of it, and tends to increase with age as the child develops a more balanced opinion of outgroup members.

3. **Peer Relations**
   One measure provides information on the child's social network, that is the chums they hang around with. The second measure indicates the child's acceptance and rejection of classmates and the number of mutual friends they have.

The chum measure was taken from research by Cairns (Cairns, Cairns, Neckerman, Gest & Gariety, 1988). Each child's chums were derived by asking every other same-sex child whom that target child hangs around with, whom he/she plays with. The child also reported on his/her own chums. The tester recorded the names of all chums and later determined their race. Only those named by 70% or more of the informing children were considered reliable chums. Given the unequal numbers of children from each race in the class, we divided the number of chums from a particular race by the number of same-sex children from that race in the class to determine a proportionate figure. The proportion of ingroup and outgroup chums was used as an index of chum relations.

The acceptance and rejection measure required each child first to name their best friend(s) from school or elsewhere. They were then given a class roster and told to rate each same-sex child as follows: best friends (5), good friends (4), OK friends (3), OK kids who are not really friends (2). Those left blank were assigned a rating of 1 to indicate they were not OK. A score of 5 indicated high acceptance; scores of 1 or 2 indicated rejection. This rating scheme has been used frequently to determine peer acceptance and rejection (St. John & Lewis, 1975). The number of 5s given to ingroup and outgroup classmates and the number of 1s and 2s given to ingroup and outgroup classmates were used as the indices of acceptance and rejection. Although
fewer minority children from the control class were interviewed, they rated all children in their class; this included Whites, Blacks, Chinese, but no East Indians. Subsequently, we were able to determine the number of ingroup and outgroup best friends, by counting the number of 5s reciprocated by the nominated child. Thus, mutual best friends were those who were rated 5, or spontaneously nominated as a best friend, and who in turn gave a 5 rating to the target child.

Analyses and Results
The analysis of greatest interest was the pre- to post-program change in children's perceived dissimilarity, attitudes, and peer relations. We expected change in perceived dissimilarity because that was the skill directly developed in the program. We also expected a reduction in prejudice to follow from the program. Peer relations were less likely to change because characteristics of classmates, other than race, were expected to determine chumship and acceptance-rejection. Post-program differences between the experimental and the control class were examined in an analysis of variance, covarying out the child's pre-program score. Thus, pre-program score was used as a covariate because children who had a high score before the program were less likely to increase their score, and children with a low score were less likely to decrease their score. Differences between the four racial groups of children were also analyzed, using t-tests to compare each group with Whites, though the numbers in each were small and therefore less reliable. Finally, we were interested in examining whether perceptions of dissimilarity were related to prejudice, and whether prejudice was related to peer relations. Correlations combining the classes were used to examine these associations.

Before presenting these analyses, it may be instructive to comment on the level of prejudice among the children and their contact with outgroup peers. Overall, the counter-bias score can be used to indicate the extent to which a child has a nonglorified evaluation of their own race. The counter-bias score consists of negative evaluations of the ingroup plus positive evaluations of an outgroup. With a possible maximum score of 20, these scores ranged from 11 to 20. The scores were lower for Oriental children (M was 13.83) and higher for Whites and Blacks (Ms were 15 to 18). At the post-test, there were four children with very low counter-bias scores—below 13. We would also expect the children to assign most of the positive attributes to each of the three races evaluated. Out of 10 positive attributes, some children assigned only one to Blacks. Using a cutoff point of 7 out of 10, we found that 4 assigned less than this number to Whites, 4 assigned less to Blacks, and 3 assigned less to Chinese. In addition, there were two who assigned less than 7 positive attributes to their own race, indicating an unflattering evaluation of their own race. Given the multiracial composition of the classes, we expected all children to have at least one mutual friend from outside their race; 32% did not have a cross-race friend; 20% did not give a best friend rating to any outgroup classmate and the remainder were presumably not reciprocated. Despite these figures, the overall means for the classes indicate that most of the children were not highly prejudiced and interacted socially with classmates from other races.

The pretest scores of the children indicated that there was room for improvement (see Table 2). In particular, their dissimilarity scores averaged about 20 out of 60, indicating little attention to individual differences. Likewise there was room for improvement in their attitudes. They did not distribute positive and negative attributes in a balanced fashion to each of the races. Generally fewer positive attributes and more negative attributes were assigned to Blacks than to Whites and Chinese. Finally, the White and Oriental children were more rejecting of outgroup children, and the three minority races (Black, Oriental, and East Indian) had no ingroup best friends. The following analyses examine whether the program helped to change these biases.

Experimental-Control post-test differences
After the program, the experimental class had significantly higher perceived dissimilarity scores than the control class (see Table 3). This means that they attended more to individual differences of children from the same race, and perceived them as less similar to each other despite their racial similarity. The two classes had comparable scores in the pretest; but in comparison to the control class who actually saw the photographed children as less dissimilar from pre- to post-test, the experimental children saw them as more dissimilar. This was true for their perceptions of White, Black, Chinese, and Native Canadian children in

Table 2: Pretest Scores by Race of Child

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Blacks</th>
<th>Orientals</th>
<th>East Indians</th>
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<tr>
<td>I. Dissimilarity</td>
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<td>White dissimil.</td>
<td>31.08</td>
<td>24.90</td>
<td>20.52+</td>
<td>21.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black dissimil.</td>
<td>19.47</td>
<td>23.38</td>
<td>10.76*</td>
<td>13.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese dissim.</td>
<td>15.86</td>
<td>17.48</td>
<td>10.43</td>
<td>13.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amerindian diss.</td>
<td>21.08</td>
<td>19.00</td>
<td>13.14</td>
<td>15.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall diss.</td>
<td>21.87</td>
<td>21.19</td>
<td>13.71+</td>
<td>15.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Attitudes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive to White</td>
<td>9.33</td>
<td>9.43</td>
<td>8.14</td>
<td>9.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive to Black</td>
<td>7.58</td>
<td>9.00</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>8.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive to Chinese</td>
<td>9.17</td>
<td>9.71</td>
<td>9.29</td>
<td>8.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>egative to White</td>
<td>7.25</td>
<td>6.29</td>
<td>7.71</td>
<td>8.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative to Black</td>
<td>8.17</td>
<td>7.14</td>
<td>7.29</td>
<td>9.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative to Chinese</td>
<td>5.33</td>
<td>4.57</td>
<td>5.71</td>
<td>6.60+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive to ingroup</td>
<td>9.33</td>
<td>9.00</td>
<td>9.29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative to ingroup</td>
<td>7.25</td>
<td>7.14</td>
<td>5.71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Peer relations (a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingroup friends</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.00*</td>
<td>.04*</td>
<td>.00*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingroup 5's given</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>.12+</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outgroup 5's given</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingroup rejection</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.00*</td>
<td>.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outgroup rejection</td>
<td>.34</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingroup chums</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outgroup chums</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Peer relations are expressed as a proportion of classmates available.
+ p < .10 *p < .05 significant difference from White children.
Table 3: Post-test Means adjusted for Pretest Covariate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Experimentals</th>
<th>Controls</th>
<th>F value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Dissimilarity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White dissim.</td>
<td>24.41</td>
<td>20.29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black dissim.</td>
<td>17.27</td>
<td>13.03</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese dissim.</td>
<td>17.03</td>
<td>9.32</td>
<td>.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amerindian diss.</td>
<td>19.43</td>
<td>15.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall diss.</td>
<td>19.62</td>
<td>14.41</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Attitudes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive to White</td>
<td>8.85</td>
<td>9.02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive to Black</td>
<td>8.43</td>
<td>8.49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive to Chinese</td>
<td>9.33</td>
<td>8.42</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative to White</td>
<td>8.31</td>
<td>7.67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative to Black</td>
<td>7.77</td>
<td>7.90</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative to Chinese</td>
<td>6.05</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive White-Black</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive White-Chinese</td>
<td>-.45</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive to ingroup</td>
<td>9.40</td>
<td>8.13</td>
<td>.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative to ingroup</td>
<td>7.01</td>
<td>7.64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Peer relations (a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingroup friends</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outgroup friends</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingroup 5's given</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outgroup 5's given</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingroup rejections</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outgroup rejections</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingroup chums</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outgroup chums</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black friends</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black 5's given</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.15</td>
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<td>Black rejections</td>
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<td>.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black chums</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F values are given only when significant differences were found. Theoretic ranges for dissimilarity are 0–60, for attitudes 0–10, and for peer relations 0–1.0. (a) Peer relations are expressed as a proportion of classmates available. * p < .10 ** p < .05

Photos. Thus, the program was effective in preventing children from attending only to racial similarities and helped them focus on individual features.

On their Free-Choice Attitude responses, the experimental and control classes differed in only one evaluation – positive evaluations of Chinese. The experimental class was significantly more positive toward Chinese than the control class. When we calculated ingroup evaluations for each child, we found that the experimental class evaluated their ingroup more positively than the control class. The control class became less positive toward their ingroup from pre- to post-test (particularly among Black and Chinese children), whereas the experimental class showed a slight increase (particularly among White and Black children). Negative evaluations of their ingroup were comparable for the two classes, and sufficiently high (7 assigned out of 10) to show a realistic evaluation. The index of prejudice most often used in studies is a combination of pro-White/anti-minority evaluation. A comparable bias index was created here by summing positive White and negative Black or Chinese evaluations. Both classes had the expected scores with means ranging from 15 to 17 for pro-White/anti-Black and pro-White/anti-Chinese. The counter-bias index, calculated by summing negative evaluations of Whites and positive evaluations of Blacks or Chinese, reveals whether children had acquired attitudes that counter their levels of bias and provide a more balanced evaluation. Once again, both classes of children had high counter-bias scores. They recognized that Whites had some negative qualities and minorities had many positive qualities.

Peer relations were generally good for both classes, though better for the experimental class on some indices. For example, both classes had an equal proportion of outgroup chums in their social network, though the control class hung around with significantly more ingroup chums than the experimental class. The control children had many more ingroup than outgroup chums, whereas the experimental children had an equal proportion from both ingroup and outgroup. Outgroup friendship (5's given and mutual friends) was equally high for the two classes; however, ingroup friendship was higher than outgroup friendship for the experimental class, but not so for the control class. In the experimental class, there was an increase in ingroup friends among Blacks and East Indians, who in the pretest had no ingroup friends and at the posttest had ingroup friends in numbers comparable to the Whites' ingroup friends. The control class did not have sufficient numbers of Blacks or East Indians to examine this change. We also examined the number of children having at least one cross-race mutual friend and the number having at least one same-race mutual friend (see Table 4). Cross-race friendships were prevalent in both classes with 68% of the children having a cross-race friend. Same-race friendships were present for 55% of the experimental children and 44% of the control children, with an overall prevalence of 52%. The rejection index was particularly high toward Blacks in the control class, where half were given rejection ratings. This was significantly higher than

Table 4: Number (Percent) of Students with Same- and Cross-race Friendships

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Friendships</th>
<th>Pretest</th>
<th>Post-test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Same race</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites n = 12</td>
<td>7 (58.33)</td>
<td>8 (66.67)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks n = 7</td>
<td>0 (0.00 )</td>
<td>4 (57.14 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientals n = 7</td>
<td>1 (14.29)</td>
<td>2 (28.57 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Indians n = 5</td>
<td>0 (0.00 )</td>
<td>2 (40.00 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total n = 31</td>
<td>8 (25.81)</td>
<td>16 (51.61)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Cross race</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>5 (41.67)</td>
<td>7 (58.33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>5 (71.43)</td>
<td>5 (71.43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientals</td>
<td>5 (71.43)</td>
<td>5 (71.43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Indians</td>
<td>4 (80.00)</td>
<td>4 (80.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11 (61.29)</td>
<td>21 (67.74)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25
the experimental class where fewer Blacks and other minority children were rejected.

Differences between racial groups

T-tests were used to compare mean scores between each of the three racial minority groups with those of White children. Before the program began, there were some differences. Blacks did not differ from Whites in terms of their dissimilarity perceptions or their attitudes toward their own and other groups. They had the same number of outgroup peer relations, but fewer ingroup peer relations, namely fewer ingroup friend nominations, and no ingroup mutual friends. East Indian children were likewise similar to Whites except that they too had no ingroup mutual friends. The Chinese children differed from Whites in several respects: they perceived less dissimilarity among members of a racial group, had a higher pro-ingroup/anti-outgroup attitude. They too had fewer ingroup mutual friends, but rejected fewer ingroup classmates. At the time of the post-test, the differences largely disappeared between Whites, Blacks, and East Indians, and the differences between Chinese and Whites became smaller.

Two conclusions can be drawn from these results. One is that the differences between White and minority children, typically found in the early elementary years, had largely disappeared by fifth grade. The problem in the early grades is that Whites are overly positive to their own group and negative toward others, and that Blacks and East Indians are positive toward Whites and negative toward their own group. The only difference found at the start of fifth grade was that Blacks and East Indians had no ingroup best friends. Chinese children seem to have the problems typical of Whites in not attending to individual differences and having a pro-ingroup bias. The second conclusion is that the prejudice-reduction program appears to be as beneficial to minority children as it is to White children. The outcome was a convergence in perceptions, attitudes, and peer relations.

Correlations between Measures

Perceived dissimilarity was expected to be positively correlated with attitudes. However, none of the correlations performed on pretest or post-test scores was significant. Our measure of perceived dissimilarity focused exclusively on the child’s attending to differences in photographs of children and not on the differentiating categories or the memory developed by children for individual qualities. In retrospect, these may have been more important predictors of attitudes.

Perceived dissimilarity measured in the post-test, however, was significantly related to indices of peer relations. Children who perceived greater dissimilarity between individuals were less likely to have White mutual friends, to rate White classmates with a best friend rating, and to hang around with White chums. Attending to individual differences, therefore, was associated with less involvement with Whites and more involvement with minority children. In this sense, the attempt to increase attention to individual differences was successful in expanding relationships with minority peers.

Peer relationships were also strongly related to children’s attitudes. In particular, positive attitudes toward Blacks and the counter-bias index (positive to Blacks plus negative to Whites) were correlated with many indices of peer relations. Children who were positive toward Blacks were less likely to assign low friendship ratings (1s and 2s) to Black classmates and more likely to assign ratings of 5 to East Indians and have East Indian chums; they were less likely to have exclusively White or Oriental chums.

Discussion and Conclusions

Objective 1: Feasibility and Acceptability of Unit

The unit More Than Meets the Eye was a very interesting program for the teacher and the students. It allowed the teacher to develop language arts, science, and social studies within the context of race relations. The activities were both instructive and enjoyable, and could be handled using group, dyad, and individual work strategies. The two themes of BWUPDOK and the Hoozhoo kids provided an acceptable context for dealing with stereotypes and teaching skills that enhanced attention to individual differences. At this age, it seems preferable to tackle prejudice at a personal level by strengthening each child’s cognitive skills, rather than by discussing racism in society or racial tensions in the school.

Several weaknesses of the unit were identified. One is that the materials do not adequately explain for the teacher the purpose of the Hoozhoo Kids. There are many activities to be carried out with these kids; all are necessary to develop students’ attention to individual differences. But because teachers are not informed of the skills being developed, they may not emphasize these activities with their students. Also there should be more guides for the teacher concerning stereotypes, reconciliation of differences, and friendship qualities. Each of these concepts is important in developing the skill of attending to individual differences and accepting these differences.

A second weakness is the lack of material about Black children. None of the Hoozhoo Kids looked like the Black children in this school. The teacher therefore supplemented the unit with the film about a Black girl who wanted to play the role of Snow White. Given the negative attitude toward Blacks among the children, it was important to deal with this more extensively. The other racial and ethnic groups in Canada were well represented by the Hoozhoo Kids.

Objective 2: Changing Perceptions, Attitudes, and Peer Relations

The principal, teachers, and students of the school valued cross-race relations. They respected the contributions made by individuals and by people of different races. This provided a supportive context in which to develop the unit and enforce its principles.

Despite the positive school climate, it was apparent that many students needed such a program to strengthen skills that would allow them to be more open toward individuals from different races. Although the program was developed for White children, we assumed it would also help minority children become more positive toward their own race. Thus, it was important to understand that the unit would strengthen skills already in the process of development, skills such as attention to individual rather than racial differences, and acceptance of differences as legitimate and reconcilable. The unit was also expected to strengthen counter-bias attitudes. Most children were
coming from a pro-White bias, present in their early elementary years, but beginning to be replaced by more balanced attitudes. Thus, the skills and attitudes were not entirely unknown to the students, but required reinforcement in the context of race. Pretest scores supported our assumptions. Attention to individual differences was low, White and Chinese children had a somewhat ethnocentric bias, and Blacks and East Indians lacked ingroup friends. Despite their different starting points, the children converged on a more balanced view after the program. In particular, the White children were less likely to deny some negative attributes of Whites and added more positive attributes to Blacks. Blacks changed in a similar way. The Blacks and East Indians also nominated more ingroup children as friends during the post-test, and so had more ingroup mutual best friends.

The evidence of the success of the program was shown in several differences between the experimental and the control class. The experimental children perceived more individual differences, they were more positive toward Chinese, and less rejecting of minority classmates, particularly Blacks. The minority children became more positive toward their own race, and acquired some ingroup friends comparable to the behaviour of White children. Attention to individual differences and positive attitudes toward Blacks were both associated with more favourable cross-race peer relations.

Limitations of the study
There were several limitations of the study which should be remedied in next year’s testing. One is to find more control children to participate in the interviews. We will do this by offering the program to the control class once testing has finished. The sample of minority control children was too small to conduct reliable analyses on them separately. Such analyses are useful because Black and East Indian children start from a different point and so change in a different direction from Whites. Although the number of East Indian children was small, there were enough to warrant the assessment of perceptions and attitudes toward this group, in addition to those of Whites and Blacks.

Our measure of the perception of individual differences concentrated on attention to individual differences. Although a change was apparent after the program, we felt that other conceptual changes were developed during the program. Thus, a new measure should be added to assess the categories children use to understand a person’s unique qualities and their memory for these qualities. We tried a new measure during the post-test which requires children to tell a story about a picture in which a White and a Black child confront one another at school. The experimental children told stories with more positive qualities and fewer negative qualities of the subjects than the control children. Although the stories had a number of conflict and rejection episodes, the outcome of the confrontation was generally more positive in the experimental children. This measure will be developed further for next year’s testing.

References
One of the major challenges of educators today is to integrate harmoniously children from different racial backgrounds. Many fear that prejudice and interracial conflict are increasing. As a result of social changes and immigration, children from different races are more likely to encounter one another in the classroom. Contact paves the way for conflict, but also for friendship. Educators and parents are therefore interested in knowing which conditions lead to friendship and which to conflict. It is an accepted goal in our society to socialize children to live in a multicultural society where, regardless of racial background, everyone has the opportunity to achieve academically and to develop the social skills necessary to participate fully in Canadian society. One of these skills involves interacting positively and respectfully with members of other races. Because most of our early years are spent with family members of the same race, multicultural schools provide the first crucial encounter with people of other races. Schools therefore provide a setting in which children can potentially broaden their social perspective and learn skills needed for harmonious interaction. With unfavourable conditions, however, schools can become the place where the society’s social and economic conflicts are acted out and lasting barriers are erected between races.

Research over the past 30 years has attempted to shed some light on the conditions that promote harmonious race relations in the school. Psychologists have developed measures to assess racial attitudes in children and adolescents. Through observation and interviews, they have assessed the extent of cross-race friendships and conflict. These assessments are then used to test hypotheses derived from theories. The hypotheses fall into two main categories; those claiming that social factors are responsible for prejudice and conflict, and those claiming that cognitive structures set limits on a child’s tolerance and acceptance. Allport’s (1954) book, The Nature of Prejudice, set the stage for this debate by proposing that young children were not prejudiced but gradually acquired negative attitudes toward other races from their parents. The learning process, he claimed, involved their identification with parents and imitation of verbal and emotional responses in order to gain approval. With age, these responses became strengthened and internalized as part of the adolescent’s personality. The work of Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Sanford (1950) confirmed that in some cases, prejudice had its roots in early authoritarian upbringing, and in other cases it was merely conformity to the norms of a prejudiced society.

In contrast, cognitive developmental theories proposed that racial attitudes developed in line with cognitive structures such as egocentrism (Katz, 1976; Piaget & Weil, 1951). For example, Piaget claimed that extreme prejudice would be found in children once they were able to classify the ingroup and the outgroup, because they were still too egocentric to accept that differences were reconcilable. He referred to this as sociocentrism, and postulated that the perceptual contrasts were learned from parents and the egocentrism came from cognitive immaturity. This form of centration should break down once the child mastered concrete operational skills and was able to accept differing points of view. Katz (1976) emphasized the simplistic stereotyping of young children as the source of prejudice. With age, this would be replaced by greater attention to individual differences rather than racial differences. The cognitive developmental framework, therefore, proposes that because of cognitive immaturity, young children will have high levels of prejudice which will decline during middle childhood as more mature cognitive structures become established. These developmental changes have been confirmed by many published articles that show high levels of prejudice in children as young as 5 years of age, and lower levels in children after the age of 7 (see Aboud, 1988). Longitudinal research also shows similar declines in prejudice with age (Doyle & Aboud, 1993).

Recent reviews of the empirical literature have pointed out that both sets of hypotheses are relevant to our understanding of prejudice and conflict (Aboud, 1988, 1992; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990). Although cognitive structures seem to set limits on what a child can understand about racial differences, mastering concrete operational skills is not sufficient to reduce prejudice in all children. Furthermore, parental influence is not as strong as we expected. Young children, in particular, possess attitudes that are more negative than their parents’. Later, they tend to become more influenced by peers than by the larger society. In sum, the answers are not simple. They suggest that social and cognitive factors play a role in the development of prejudice, but that attention must be paid to age, gender, race, and individual personality variables. This review attempts to gather the published literature with the aim of understanding how prejudice and conflict are determined by social and cognitive factors and how they can be changed.

The Nature and Measurement of Prejudice and Conflict

Whether or not White children have encountered members of other races during their preschool years, they arrive at school already possessing prejudiced attitudes. Prejudice refers to a predisposition to respond negatively toward members of a group because of their race. As such, it is an atti-
tude which may or may not be reflected in behaviour. In one study, we found that 85% of kindergarten children had high scores on a measure of prejudice (Doyle & Aboud, 1993). This finding is consistent with studies conducted in the United States and other Western countries (e.g. Williams & Morland, 1976).

Other than the Doll Technique, which is used infrequently today, prejudice is usually measured with the Preschool Racial Attitude Measure (Williams, Best, & Boswell 1975). The measure consists of 12 evaluative adjectives, such as mean and kind, each embedded in a behavioural example. For each adjective, the child is required to select a Black or a White person who best fits the evaluation. Forced-choice responses of this sort create problems of the researcher in deciding whether the choice was motivated by attraction to the ingroup or rejection of the outgroup. Thus, the PRAM does not allow us to determine the independent attitudes toward Whites and Blacks or any other race. Consequently, we developed a free-choice response format in which the child is free to assign the 12 evaluations to one or more races. For older children, we substituted more socially sophisticated attributes such as “enthusiastic” and “teases others”.

In one study we found comparable levels of prejudice on the PRAM and our Free-Choice Measure (Doyle & Aboud, 1993). On the PRAM, 85% of kindergarteners had extreme scores of 9 to 12 indicating strong pro-White/anti-Black bias, and 70% were prejudiced against Native Canadians. The Free-Choice Measure yields a bias score, which is the sum of positive evaluations of Whites and negative evaluations of the other group – Blacks or Indians. These were similarly high, with means of 16.8 and 16.3 out of 20 for White/Black bias and White/Indian bias respectively. It also yields a second score called the counter-bias score which reflects attitudes that run counter to prejudice as it is usually conceived. The counter-bias score is the sum of positive evaluations of Blacks and negative evaluations of Whites. This measure is more sensitive to developmental changers and to indices of friendly peer relations. For instance, counter-bias scores were low in kindergarten – 10.0 for Blacks and 10.4 for Indians, but increased significantly with age during the elementary school years. The counter-bias score, particularly positive evaluation of the outgroup, was associated with cross-race peer interaction at school. Children who made more positive evaluations of Blacks were less likely to reject them and more likely to hang around with cross-race chums. For these reasons, we feel that the Free-Choice Measure is a valid measure of racial attitudes and provides more information than the PRAM.

In addition to measuring attitudes, researchers have assessed peer relations at school. Peer acceptance and rejection is one frequently used technique. Children are asked to rate their classmates using a scale where 5 is given to best friends, 4 to good friends, 3 to OK friends, 2 to OK kids who aren’t friends, and 1 to those they don’t like or don’t know well (St. John & Lewis, 1975). Alternatively, preference ratings on a 7-point scale are made of each classmate. Although overall means for various samples show greater acceptance for same-race classmates (e.g. Whitley, Schofield & Snyder, 1984) and greater rejection of cross-race classmates, many children give a best friend rating to a cross-race child.

When the best friend rating is reciprocated by the other child, a mutual friendship is identified. Friendship is a close social and emotional bond that can serve many functions such as companionship, support, and intimacy. Cross-race friendships provide the same social and emotional resources, and they also provide personal information about an individual, that can usefully counter the tendency to stereotype another race (Schofield, 1982). In one multicultural fifth grade class, we found that 58% of the White children had a mutual cross-race friendship. A similar percentage was reported by Dubois and Hirsch (1990). Other than identifying cross-race friendships, little is known about the quality of these relationships. Hallinan and Williams (1987) reported a slight difference in the stability of friendships, with same-race friendships lasting longer than cross-race ones. The quality of a friendship can be measured in terms of the resources provided by the friend as perceived by the respondent: companionship, help, intimacy, reliability, support, and self-validation (Aboud & Mendelson, 1992). Companionship is one of the critical functions of friendship, and using items from the companionship subscale, we found that cross-race friendships provided as much exciting companionship as same-race ones.

Another measure of peer relations is the social network instrument of Cairns (Cairns, Cairns, Neckerman, Gest & Gariepy, 1988). Using a roster of same-sex classmates, we asked each fifth grade child to identify whom each classmate hung around with. This was an easy and interesting task for children. We then calculated for each child the number of same-race and cross-race classmates that were identified as chums by 70% of their classmates. This provided an index of each child’s chums, as perceived by their classmates. The chumship network is generally broader than friendship, and so indicates the multiracial social contact a child has at school. Among high school students, Patchen (1982) found that 66% of Black and White adolescents had at least three cross-race chums, but only 20% had a cross-race best friend. Chums are therefore typically from the same race; but as with friendship, children often hang around with chums from other races (see the Aboud chapter in this book).

Measures of conflict include observations of children in supervised and unsupervised activities at school and ratings made by the children (see Aboud, 1992, for a review). Conflict is defined as occurring when one person does something to which a second objects (Shantz, 1987). It usually arises as a result of differing goals or incompatible styles of behaviour. It becomes identified as racial conflict when the antagonists are from different races, though the antagonistic feelings may not be racial at all. Though they are perceived as racial conflicts, they may in fact be interpersonal conflicts. The nature of conflict is usually verbal, but may also involve blocking, threatening to hurt, and trying to force another to give money. Patchen (1982) asked students to indicate if they had encountered one of the following conflicts three or more times in the semester. Cross-race conflicts: 30% of Blacks and 21% of Whites said they had got into a verbal argument; 20% of Blacks and 40% of Whites said they had been called a bad name; 19% of Blacks and 26% of Whites said they had been purposely blocked from passing; 19% of Blacks and 13% of Whites said they were pushed or hit and in turn hit back; and 6% of Blacks and 34% of Whites said someone had tried to force them to give money. Schofield (1982) classifies these conflicts as “hassling” which involves annoying provocations, and “intimidation”
which is a frightening provocation aimed at evoking fear for its own sake or to get compliance. Blacks often retaliated with physical or verbal opposition, whereas Whites were more likely to be afraid and to submit unwillingly to the request or to oppose passively by withdrawing to another place.

It is important to determine whether these conflicts reflect racial antagonism. Because they involve students from different races with differing styles of interaction, they are often perceived as racial conflict. However, the percentage of students reporting same-race conflicts were often as high or higher than those reporting cross-race conflicts (Patchen, 1982). Blacks tended to provoke conflicts toward Whites and Blacks equally, whereas Whites started conflicts mainly with Whites (Schofield, 1982). Because of these differing norms, Whites may be overly sensitive to conflicts provocations from a Black. Furthermore, Patchen found that high school students who were involved in many same-race conflicts were also involved in many cross-race conflicts. Boys were generally more involved in conflicts of both types. It is interesting to note that conflicts are not highly correlated with negative attitudes or with lack of friendly contacts with the other race. They may, therefore, be motivated by a desire to engage the other person. Avoidance, on the other hand, is highly correlated with negative attitudes and lack of friendship. Between 20 to 30% of Black and White students reported avoiding sitting near or talking to a cross-race person (Patchen, 1982), and these students were most likely to be prejudiced. Because avoidance is a non-occurrence, it is often missed by a teacher or an observer. The consequences, however, are more detrimental to racial harmony and to learning the skills necessary for multiracial interaction. Although conflicts are a highly visible aspect of multiracial schools, their resolution can facilitate acquaintanceship if negotiation is encouraged.

Cognitive Determinants of Prejudice

Children arrive in kindergarten with a predisposition to evaluate negatively those from minority races. Their attitudes do not seem to have developed gradually, but appear to be present around 4 years of age, when they become aware of racial differences (Aboud, 1988). For this reason, Piaget and others felt that prejudice was a consequence of the young child’s immature cognitive processes. Initially, there was an attempt to determine if prejudice was related to preoperational thought, using conservation as the milestone of passage to concrete operational thought. Several studies found that prejudice was high in nonconservers and declined in conservers (e.g. Clark, Hocevar & Dembo, 1980). However, although the decline in prejudice did seem to occur after 7 years of age (see Aboud, 1988), conservation is not a sufficient factor. Most third grade children are able to conserve, but only 50% show unbiased attitudes at this age (Doyle & Aboud, 1993). Why do the other 50% still hold prejudiced attitudes?

Many people claim that the reduction in prejudice during middle childhood is due to the increasing awareness that it is socially undesirable to evaluate other races negatively (Katz, Sohn & Zalk, 1975). They claim that when the social desirability factor is eliminated from testing procedures, the evaluations of older children are as biased as younger children. We have examined this claim in many different ways and found it to be invalid. Firstly, we always use same-race testers to eliminate the influence of or sensitivity to a cross-race person. Secondly, we administered to each child the Children’s Social Desirability Scale (Crandall, Crandall & Katkowsky, 1965), and found that their PRAM scores were unrelated to their need for approval (Doyle, Beaudet & Aboud, 1988). Moreover, older children generally have lower, not higher, need for approval. Furthermore, both older and younger elementary school children thought that the tester would make more, not fewer, prejudiced evaluations than they made. Thus, older children were not showing a reduction in prejudice because of their greater need for approval, or because they feared disapproval from an unbiased tester. Finally, results using the Free-Choice Prejudice Measure point out that the bias score, consisting of positive evaluations of Whites and negative evaluations of Blacks, does not decline with age, but remains relatively stable. What changes is the counter-bias score. Older children make more positive evaluations of Blacks and negative evaluations of Whites. There are wide individual differences in this score, indicating that some children possess a more tolerant set of attitudes to counter their prejudice, and others retain only the biased attitudes. Of the two scores, the counter-bias score is more significantly predictive of cross-race peer relations. It becomes important, then, to identify cognitive determinants of counter-bias evaluations.

Two cognitive processes have been identified as significant correlates of prejudice. One of these concerns the perceptions of racial and individual differences. At 5 years of age, children make simple classifications of people according to race, gender, and age. They tend to perceive members of different races as very different from one another, and do not attend to the differences among individuals within races (Katz et al., 1975). Katz and her colleagues found that these two cognitive processes – differentiation between races and lack of differentiation among individuals – correlated with prejudice scores. Those with high levels of prejudice perceived Blacks and Whites to be very different from one another, and perceived Blacks to be similar to one another. Using a longitudinal design, Doyle and Aboud (1993) examined changes in these perceptions from kindergarten to third grade in relation to changes in prejudice. The stronger predictor was the decline in perceived racial differences. Children who showed the greatest reduction in prejudice and the greatest increase in counter-bias were those who, with age, perceived Whites and Blacks as more similar to one another.

A second cognitive process is the sociocentrism identified by Piaget and Weil (1951). Sociocentrism refers to the inability to accept the perspective of members from a group other than one’s own. Because centration declines during the concrete operational stage, children over 7 years should be more receptive to the viewpoints of different races. If prejudice is related to sociocentrism, it should decline developmentally as centration is replaced by the ability to reconcile racial differences. A measure was developed to examine sociocentrism: children are asked to express their racial preferences on a 60 cm Liking Board, by placing photos of racial members whom they liked more closer to themselves and photos of those they liked less farther away (Aboud, 1981). A duplicate set of photos are then arranged in a mirror image to represent the preferences of a child from the subject’s least-liked race. The child is asked if the
other's preferences are the same or different from their own, to which they all answer different. Then they are asked if both preferences are right, or if one set is wrong.

Usually, kindergarteners say that their preferences are right and the other's are wrong (Doyle & Aboud, 1993). This indicates that they are not able to reconcile the different racial preferences, i.e. sociocentrism. With age, more of them report that both their own and the other's preferences are right, i.e. reconciliation. This change from sociocentrism to reconciliation was predictive of the developmental increase in counter-bias scores among White children.

In conclusion, three cognitive abilities are related to the decline in prejudice and the increase in counter-bias evaluations. They are the ability to perceive similarities between members of different races, the ability to attend to differences among individuals of the same race, and the ability to reconcile different racial preferences. When children are followed longitudinally during the elementary school years, the strongest predictors of change are perceived racial similarities and reconciliation. The longitudinal design is better for drawing developmental conclusions because potential cohort differences are eliminated. However, when cross-sectional designs are used, they show that attention to individual differences within race is important in predicting which children will be unbiased at a given age. Training children to attend to individual rather than racial differences has also proved successful in reducing prejudice (Katz & Zalk, 1978). It is interesting to note that all three abilities concern how the child deals with racial and individual differences. It seems inevitable that they will notice the differences, but the ability to reconcile them as equally legitimate, and to move on to other more personally relevant information is crucial in reducing prejudice.

Research with older subjects substantiates that knowing a racial stereotype per se is not the problem. All of the undergraduates in one study knew the cultural stereotype of Blacks, when asked what characteristics were generally attributed to Blacks. Unprejudiced subjects, however, also held another set of beliefs, which they used when given the time to consider them and to inhibit their use of the cultural stereotype (Devine, 1989). Similarly, Schofield (1982) reported that as a result of integrated schooling, White children possessed more differentiating information about individual Black students who did not fit the stereotype, even though at another cognitive level they still possessed the cultural stereotype.

There are several ways to implement these research findings in the classroom. Some integrated schools have organized their classrooms into cooperative learning groups (e.g. Johnson, Johnson, & Maruyama, 1984; Slavin, 1990). The children in these groups get to know each other well and become more differentiated in their perceptions of cross-race peers. The result is a change in their attitudes toward other races (Miller, Brewer & Edwards, 1985; Stephan & Rosenfield, 1978; Weigel, Wiser & Cook, 1975). However, when the school has few minority children, this kind of personal experience with other races is not possible. Under these circumstances, it is reasonable to adopt a curriculum program that will strengthen the relevant cognitive skills. Such programs have been developed to train children to accept and reconcile racial differences, and to attend to individual rather than racial differences (see Aboud chapter in this book).

Social Determinants of Prejudice

Many people agree with Allport's (1954) claim that children acquire prejudice from their parents. However, only a few studies have found a correlation between a child's racial attitudes and those of their parents (e.g. Carlson & Iovini, 1985; Griffore & Schweitzer, 1983; Mosher & Scodeo, 1960). The correlation is more likely to be significant for adolescents and for Whites than for younger children or Blacks (Branch & Newcombe, 1986). As with our previously described kindergarten sample, most of the younger children are biased and so their scores are unlikely to be explained by the variation usually seen in parents' attitudes. Children tend to think that their parents hold the same attitudes, but this may be an egocentric assumption. We tested these claims with a sample of third grade White children, by asking them to complete the Free-Choice Prejudice Measure for themselves and for their parents, and by asking their mothers to complete two measures of attitudes toward Blacks.

One measure was the Katz-Hass (1988) Racial Attitude Scale and the other was a measure of the degree to which the mother differentiated among Black people (Linville, Fischer & Salovey, 1989). The children reported their parents' attitudes to be similar to their own. But there was no correlation between the mother's actual attitudes on the Katz-Hass scale and their own. However, mothers who differentiated more among Blacks, i.e. did not assign the stereotype to all Blacks, had less prejudiced children. Once again, this indicated that parents do not transmit their attitudes per se to their children, but can provide counter-stereotype information that contributes to counter-biased evaluations.

Peers become significant sources of influence during the preadolescent and adolescent years. Patchen (1982), for example, found that when high school students hung around with peers of similar attitude, their attitude translated into friendly or unfriendly behaviour. That is, if a White student with negative attitudes had prejudiced chums, these students also avoided and experienced conflict with Black classmates. If they and their chums held positive attitudes, they were more likely to have friendly peer relations with Blacks. Patchen concluded that the main instigation for avoidance and conflict came from the child, in that those with negative attitudes or with a predisposition to be aggressive toward any race were more likely to engage in unfriendly contacts with the other race. Like-minded peers simply facilitated this tendency.

We wondered to what extent children choose friends with similar racial attitudes or become similar to them as a result of the friendship. In one study, we examined the prejudice scores of fourth grade White children in relation to their prediction of their best friend's attitudes, and in relation to the friend's actual score. Using the Free-Choice Prejudice measure, children made their own evaluations first and then made the evaluations they expected from their friend. As with parents, the students thought their friends would hold similar attitudes, but there was no correlation with the friend's actual scores. Thus, children assumed a degree of similarity to parents and friends that did not actually exist. Children's prejudice scores were more likely to correlate with the class mean (omitting their own score), indicating that the class norm was influential.

Although peers do not appear to be strongly influential in explaining the attitudes students currently hold, they may
be useful in bringing about change. Research has shown that when two peers discuss a judgment on which they initially disagree, they openly criticize each other and explain their points of view. When tested individually afterwards, the two appear to have learned from one another and to converge in their opinions (e.g. Aboud, 1989; Nelson & Aboud, 1985). The convergence is not simply the result of conformity. Usually the better answer is agreed upon by both partners, indicating that some evaluation took place. We used this design to study the discussions of fourth grade students, paired with a friend or nonfriend with whom they initially disagreed on a test of prejudice. The pairs were asked to discuss several items in private and their discussions were taped and later transcribed. The discussions were very open; students expressed their evaluations of races and provided information and examples to support their opinions. None of the partners said that it was socially undesirable to say negative things about another; they simply provided counter explanations. When tested separately afterwards, the lower-prejudiced partner retained the same attitude and the higher-prejudiced partner changed to a less prejudiced evaluation. Thus, they converged on an unprejudiced position. In some cases, friends were more influential in bringing about positive change, but for the most part it did not seem to matter whether the partners were friends or nonfriends. In conclusion, these findings suggest that peers can bring about a reduction in prejudice through open discussion.

The conditions under which this change takes place are not fully known. We placed two familiar peers together with little structure except to state that they should discuss their answers to the racial evaluation items. They did not seem to need any adult authority to direct the discussion, and indeed adults may have imposed a social desirability norm that inhibits free expression. Larger groups may also be counter-productive. In one study, three-person groups playing the Prisoner’s Dilemma Game became more competitive and mistrustful of the other group. The group seemed to support a strategy of extreme self-interest and greed, far greater than what any individual member would have adopted on their own. Thus, at least two conditions for a successful outcome are that the discussion be between two familiar children with no adults present.

Conclusions

In conclusion, we suggest that future research on prejudice in children include a variety of measures that will yield scores for counter-bias attitudes, avoidance, and friendly encounters, as well as the conventional scores for biased attitudes and conflict. Educators must also understand that children arrive at school in the early years already holding prejudiced attitudes, but that these are more likely to be developed as a result of cognitive immaturity than of prejudiced parents. Although social influences from parents and peers do not appear to be implicated in the acquisition of attitudes, they may be very useful as agents of change. Educators, therefore, have an important role to play in reducing prejudice by arranging for peer discussions of racial attitudes and by strengthening the cognitive skills that will lead to tolerance.

References

Research on reading comprehension of language learners has shown that one component of the ability to comprehend texts is a general knowledge of the world. Bartlett (1932) and Rumelhart (1981, 1984) have shown that individual experience of the reader influences which knowledge structures or schemata are activated when interpreting a story. Other researchers supported the important role of schemata (cultural knowledge) in comprehending cultural stories (Johnson, 1981, 1982; Kintsch & Green, 1978; Lipson, 1983; Mandler, 1978; Steffensen, Joag-Dev, & Anderson, 1979). The schema theory has focused on cognitive processes, yet it has ignored motivational aspects of language learning. This is important however, because language learning occurs in a social context, and these cognitive processes can be influenced by the society. The social atmosphere influences the type of motivation of second language (L2) learners, the L2 and the culture associated with it (Clement, 1980; Fillmore, 1991; Gardner, 1983; Spolsky, 1969).

Researchers have typically studied the social aspect of attitudes separately from cultural background and have demonstrated the effect of each of these factors on reading comprehension and/or language learning. The social-psychological and cognitive processes of language are important for both learning and teaching a second language. This study attempted to clarify the role of cultural schemata and attitudes in L2 learning, and to relate attitudes and cultural knowledge to reading comprehension in L2 learning. By examining the manner in which such attitudes develop, it may be fruitful to consider the "old" values of the host country, and to ask which members of the immigrating group gain most by accepting and identifying with the values of the host country. Those described in this study are Muslims who come from conservative Arab countries. One of the important issues that distinguishes the Canadian society from Arab societies is the freedom of women (Sadawie, 1991). Female Arab students may benefit more than their male counterparts by adopting Canadian values. In conservative Arab countries, women's opportunities for careers and jobs are very limited. Thus, male and female Arab students may respond differently to questions about English language learning as a passport to modern society. Previous social models of L2 learning have not considered this (Clement, 1980; Fillmore, 1991; Gardner, 1985; Schumann; 1986; Spolsky, 1989).

The role of social attitudes in second language acquisition has been investigated by many researchers and in various social situations. Gardner and Lambert (1972) and Gardner (1959) have conducted empirical studies showing the effect of integrative and instrumental motivation on second language learning. Results showed that attitudes of the second language learner towards speakers of the target language (TL) play an important role in the process of second language acquisition. Students who are sympathetic (integrative motivation) toward the TL speakers and their culture were more successful in acquiring that second language than those with negative attitudes. Typically, instrumental motivation differs from integrative motivation in that the focus is more utilitarian (e.g., getting a better position) compared to integrative motivation, where the goal is to learn more about the TL group and to identify with it.

Other research has supported Gardner's & Lambert's (1959, 1972) early findings that attitudes affect second language learning; they facilitate it if the attitudes are positive, or hinder it if the attitudes are negative (Abu-Rabia, 1991, 1993; Gardner & Lynchuk, 1990; Genesee et al., 1983; Lukmani, 1972; Schumann, 1986; Spolsky, 1969, 1989).

Not many studies (models) actually integrated attitudinal and cognitive learning. Investigators usually measured school texts from an organizational or structural point of view (Armbuster, 1984). Little research has been done to determine how reading about their own culture affects the attitudes of second language learners. Does the cultural content of the text interact with the attitudes of the learner, and does this interaction relate, facilitate, or hinder reading comprehension?

Socio-psychological models, like Gardner's (1985) deal with general L2 learning situations and do not consider the way attitudes interact with prior knowledge and cultural content. Further, his model does not account for other social processes such as cultural values and gender differences and the way they motivate individuals to learn the L2. Spolsky's (1989) model follows Gardner's and does not consider the importance of textual content as a cognitive aspect of L2 learners, nor does it consider gender differences. Schumann (1986), Clement (1980) and Fillmore (1991) focus more on the interaction of the L2 learners with the TL speakers and the psychological openness provided by the
TL group. They also ignore gender differences among learners from conservative societies, and do not consider incorporating cultural content in L2 stories to facilitate L2 learning situations.

In sum, the above models are vague and should be revised to meet the needs of specific learning situations; i.e., gender differences of learners and type of motivation, and the contribution of the schema theory to L2 learning. The main hypothesis in this study is that familiarity with the cultural content of the text (Lipson, 1983; Rumelhart, 1984) facilitates reading comprehension of L2 learners (Abu-Rabia, 1991, 1993; Carrel & Eisterhold, 1983), and may create positive attitudes toward the L2 learning situation. In turn, this situational “text-based culture” may aid in reading comprehension, and change negative attitudes toward the second language and its culture (for a similar approach see Landry, Allard, & Theberge, 1991).

In this study, the attitudes of 52 Arab students were investigated in relation to their reading comprehension in English as a second language in Canada. The reading comprehension of Arab immigrants who spent 2–3 years in Canada, in two different cultures, Western (English) and Arab, was compared. Language and content of text were controlled by translating Western stories to the first language (L1) of the readers, and Arab stories to L2 of the readers. Further, the study explains the contribution of each independent variable: cultural background of students; language of text; L1 proficiency; L2 proficiency; instrumental and integrative motivation to the reading performance of Arab students reading familiar cultural stories and unfamiliar cultural stories in two languages; Arabic (L1), and English (L2).

Method

Subjects
The subjects were 52 eighth grade Arab students, 25 male and 27 female, from different areas of Toronto, Canada, who had lived for 2–3 years in English-speaking Canada. The Canadian subjects were exposed to the Arabic language at home and through Arabic Heritage Language Programs in the schools, but studied in regular English-language classrooms. In the Heritage Language Programs, the subjects were taught Arabic for two hours per week. The subjects were contacted through an Arab community centre, and tested in their homes.

Materials

Independent Variables:
1. A questionnaire examined students’ familiarity with the stories used. Questions included, for example, “What do you know about Jobran?” and “Did you read the story, The Wise King?”
2. A cloze test measured L1 and L2 proficiency. In each language, students were asked to fill out a written cloze test where every fourth word was omitted. The English test deals with the frost phenomenon, and the Arabic test deals with the difficulties of Bedouin students going to school in the desert. Scores ranged from one to ten.
3. Questionnaires examined Arab students’ attitudes toward learning English. Adapted from Gardner & Lambert (1972), the questionnaire contains items about two motives: instrumental (e.g., I want to continue my academic studies in Canada), and integrative (e.g., I tend to imitate English language speakers), and was administered in the L1 of the subjects.
4. Semi-structured interviews (see Appendix 1) were conducted with six female students and their families to investigate their integrative orientation beyond the self-reported questionnaire.

Dependent Variables:
1. Six stories were sampled. Three stories were originally written in English with Western content (Richard & Glen, 1990). The Vancouver Fire, Suitcase Lady, and A Miserable Merry Christmas; and three were originally written in Arabic with Arabic content: The Wise King, The Ambition, and Sheik Abass (Jobran, 1964). The English stories were translated to Arabic and the Arab stories were translated to English. The stories were reviewed by a committee of ten Arabic and English teachers to determine length and academic difficulty, and quality of translation. The committee also judged the ten multiple choice questions asked about the stories (see the following item).
2. Ten multiple choice comprehension questions were asked on each story. Five questions dealt with comprehension by identifying information from the story (explicit information), e.g., “Why do the people drink from the well?” (corresponding text: “Because it is the only well in town.”) The other five were inferential questions (implicit information). For example, “Why did the king decide to drink from the well?”

Procedure
The subjects were assigned randomly to four equal groups. Data were collected in the following order:

A questionnaire was administered to examine students’ familiarity with the stories they read. Subjects were given 15 minutes to fill out the questionnaires. This was followed by a language pretest administered to measure students’ proficiency in L1 and L2. A week later, the attitudes questionnaires were administered to examine Arab students’ attitudes toward the English language. Subjects were given 20 minutes to fill out the questionnaires.

The reading tasks were administered starting two days later. Each group read three stories altogether, one per day. Each group received only one of the following: Western stories in English, Western stories in Arabic, Arab stories in Arabic or Arab stories in English. This was done to avoid the bias of subjects reading the same story twice. Subjects were given 40 minutes to read each text and answer the ten questions.

Results

Attitudes
Results of the attitudes questionnaire showed that the motivation of the Canadian Arab students toward learning English as a second language is primarily instrumental (x = 4.1, SD = .54), rather than integrative (x = 2.66, SD = 1.3), (maximum score = 5.0). The MANOVA within group paired t-test showed significant differences between the two types of motivation; instrumental and integrative t(1,51) = 7.25, p < .001. In an attempt to examine the source of the high standard deviation in the distribution of integrative motivation, a MANOVA was carried out with gender as an independent variable (Table 1). This analysis revealed a significant effect for gender F (1,50) = 67.4, p < .001, and a
significant effect for task (either instrumental or integrative) $F(1,50) = 21.4, p < .001$. There was also a significant interaction between type of motivation and gender $F(1,50) = 145.6, p < .001$, namely, female students were always more integrative than male students. To probe this surprising result, it was decided to conduct interviews with a sub-group of the girls. The objective was to uncover the source of the integrative motivation of the Canadian Arab girls. It was hypothesized that it would be related to a conflict between differential culturally prescribed normative behavior for females and males among parents coming from a conservative society.

**Interviews Results**

The purpose of these interviews was to investigate the integrative motivation of the female Arab students beyond the information provided in the self-reported questionnaires. Thus, subsequent semi-structured interviews (see Appendix 1) were conducted with six female students from the original sample: three with high integrative orientation (answered always “strongly agree” to integrative orientation items), and three with average integrative orientation (answered always either “agree” or “not sure” to the integrative items). In addition, the parents of these females were interviewed about their integrative motivation toward North American society, and about their opinions regarding their daughters’ integrative orientation.

Furthermore, female students were asked about their feelings toward Canadian society and their interaction with Canadians. Parents were also interviewed about their daughters’ interaction with Canadian society, their opinions about it, whether this interaction actually exists, and the way they cope with it, especially as conservative Arab parents from Eastern societies, who have to face different cultural norms regarding the behaviour of females in Canada.

The analysis of the interviews showed that female students and their parents revealed three major themes: (a) female students wished to be integrated into Canadian society; (b) all mothers were in support of the Canadian society and helped their daughters to achieve this; (c) all fathers rejected the “modem behavior” of their daughters and forbade their daughters from interacting with Canadian society.

One 14-year-old female student originally from Syria, who had spent three years in Canada, reflected the opinion voiced by the other females. In an answer to the question, “Do you like the Canadian society?”, she responded:

“This society encourages the freedom of women. It is a democratic society ... this is so different from our home country, it is so beautiful.” When asked about her interaction with the Canadian society she continued:

“I attend class parties and behave like everybody. I watch popular movies and read popular novels in order to be accepted among my friends. I do not feel different and I am happy with it.” When asked about her parents’ reactions to her social life she explained:

“My mother is more understanding and flexible. She helps me to integrate and be like all Canadians at school, but my father is a very hard person. That’s why many times my father does not know about my meetings with my friends. Only my mother knows and covers it up. We do not want him to be angry. My parents are two different people. My father wants me more like back home in Syria and he always speaks about it, but my mother is more understanding and encouraging.” The mother confirmed her daughter’s description and added: “Fathers are always tougher, but in order to keep the family together we have to be more understanding toward our sons and daughters, because we actually live now in a different society. We no longer live in the eastern society where people interfere in private things and traditions and norms limit the women’s freedom.”

It is important to indicate that all mothers supported their daughters and reinforced the points made above. Another mother from Lebanon went further and described her support of her daughter: “We came from a conservative society. Such a society did not encourage females to lead an independent life. Usually, the Arab conservative family will support the male in everything, and look at the female as a future wife of an outsider man, which makes the investment in her education just a waste of money. Men are very dominant in the east. Now it is different. We have to change these primitive attitudes, and the only way to do so is through our children. That is why I support my daughter and want her to be integrated in the society and go for a career.”

The fathers usually articulated their disappointment of modern society, that it is anarchic and that they wish to go back home to raise their children, where children can absorb the traditional Arab culture. A father from Jordan who lived three years in Canada described his feelings, opinion and wishes as follows: “We thought that Canada is a clean society, but we are disappointed very much. Killing, drugs, sexual abuse and very different customs and norms. The only good thing about it is the democracy and peace. But when it comes to raising kids, especially daughters, in Canada, it is a disaster. Girls here are allowed to do anything ... anything, exactly like boys! We cannot accept this. I hope that I can maintain the Arab traditional way of Jordan, and still enjoy democracy in Canada. If I ever go back it is because of my daughters.” This father’s opinion mirrors that of other fathers. Results of the interviews clearly support the results of the self-reported questionnaires: that the integrative orientation of female Arab students in Canada underlies their motivation in second language learning.

These results may add an additional variable to the sociopsychological models of L2 learning (i.e., Gardner (1985),
Schumann (1986), Spolsky (1989), Fillmore (1991), and Clement (1980)). The above models are vague and do not consider gender differences and processes associated with female students from conservative societies learning L2 in a multicultural setting. Further, these models need to be elaborated. Instead of looking at immigrant groups as a unit, it may be more productive to consider subtle differential norms associated with gender differences within these groups.

Reading Results
Table 2 summarizes means and standard deviations of the mean correct scores of the Canadian Arab students. They showed higher total comprehension scores on the reading tasks when they were presented in their L2, English, regardless of cultural content. An ANOVA showed a significant effect for language $F(1,51) = 22.5, p < .001$, but the effect for content was not significant $F(1,51) = .36, p < .621$.

Correlations between Attitudes and Reading Scores
The Pearson correlations of the attitude scores (Table 1) of male students with reading comprehension scores (Table 2) were significantly positive correlations; the instrumental motivation with the two tasks in Western content in Arabic were $(r = .84, P < .01)$ $(r = .90, P < .05)$. On the other hand, for female students, their integrative scores have a significant correlation between their reading comprehension scores (Table 2) and their integrative motivation $(r = .96, P < .01) (r = .74, P < .05)$. The Pearson correlations presented here do not provide a clear picture of the type of relation that exists between type of motivation and achievement in reading comprehension, because of the small sample size. However, relying more on the whole sample $(n = 52)$ for a stepwise regression analysis can provide a more reliable picture of the contribution and relationship of attitudes and reading comprehension in L2.

A stepwise regression analysis was conducted for the total score correct (i.e., identification and inference questions) to measure the explained variance accounted for by each of the following independent variables: instrumental motivation; integrative motivation; language of text; content of text; L1 proficiency; and L2 proficiency (see Table 3). Results showed that the language of the text was the strongest predictor of reading comprehension, explaining 34% of the total variance. The other two significant predictors were instrumental motivation which explained an additional 7%, and the integrative motivation which also explained an additional 7% of the total variance. Content of text in L1 and L2 proficiency did not have any significant contribution. Furthermore, there was a significant interaction of language X content $F(1,51) = 5.1, p < .017$. Namely, students performed significantly higher when they read texts in the English language, regardless of textual cultural content.

Discussion
The most important findings of this study are (a) that Canadian Arab male students are primarily instrumentally motivated toward learning English as L2, while Canadian Arab female students are integratively motivated toward learning English as L2, (b) that the availability of Arab cultural background did not facilitate students' reading comprehension in stories with Arab cultural content, even when this content was presented in their L1. They comprehended texts better in English, their L2.

The difference between male students and female students on the integrative motivation is probably related to the differential role that males and females fulfill in the Islamic and/or conservative Arab societies. The interviews of female students and their families provided clear support for this notion. Women are deprived in traditional Arabic societies, and are not encouraged to pursue their careers freely (Sadawie, 1991). Furthermore, there is a lack of democratic regimes in Arab societies, and Arab women are discriminated against in the family as women, and in the wider Arab society, as are both men and women. The Eastern society is a Muslim one that forbids gender mixing, and Islam forbids modern behavior in dressing and mixing between male and female (Abdullah, 1975).

Catharine (1986) interviewed immigrant women from conservative Arab countries. Their feelings toward their original conservative societies versus the Canadian social context clearly confirm the results of the interviews with female students and their mothers. During these interviews, the immigrant women focused on their freedom, their frustration at not being able to fulfill their intellectual needs, and stated that they usually do not fulfill their ambitions because of male dominance and traditional concepts of Arab society. The Arab women are part of women's society in the world, and feminist movements do affect Arab women's thoughts, which the young generation reveals here in Canada. The question remains, why don't Arab male students express similar attitudes towards Western society and the English language? And why are they not motivated to integrate into Canadian society the way the

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| Table 2: Means and Standard Deviations of Total Score As a Function of Language and Content of Text |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Language        | Arabic          | English         |
| X               | 3.20            | 3.50            |
| SD              | 0.31            | 0.73            |
| N               | 12              | 12              |
| English         | X               | 4.20            | 3.80            |
| SD              | 0.34            | 0.41            |
| N               | 16              | 12              |

Table 3: Stepwise Regression Analysis of The Total Score As Predicted by The Independent Variables (n = 52)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R2</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Language of Text</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>.34</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integrative Motivation</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental Motivation</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
girls do? The difference can be attributed to the privileged status of Arab males in Eastern Arab societies.

The integrative orientation of the female Canadian Arab students toward learning English is strongly related to the reality of women in Eastern Arab societies. It can be viewed as a revolutionary act against traditional Arab concepts, and a sign of identification and sympathy with Canadian society. It seems that the Canadian female Arab students appreciate the role of Canadian women and are eager to be part of the modern life. It seems that the Arab and/or Muslim women are aware that they were deprived in their home countries, and neither they nor their daughters accept this deprivation. Once they are aware of different norms in Canada, they rebel against tradition and identify with modern Canadian society.

Another factor that may contribute to integrative motivation by females is Canada's multicultural policy. It probably made female students feel welcome in the "mosaic" society of Canada, something they did not feel in their traditional home countries. The democratic atmosphere and the multicultural policy enhance females' identity and self-esteem. As a result, they are more likely to integrate. Cummins and Denasi (1990) described the effect of multicultural policy on minority children: "... the personal and conceptual foundation that the child develops in her culture and language increases her sense of confidence and enhances cognitive growth and success in acquiring additional languages." (p. 77).

Conversely, Abu-Rabia (1991, 1993) reported two studies that investigated attitudes of minority and majority groups toward L2 learning. Abu-Rabia (1991) investigated the relationship of Arab students' attitudes as a minority group to their reading comprehension in Hebrew as a second language in Israel. The results showed that male as well as female students revealed instrumental motivation rather than integrative type of motivation toward the Hebrew language as their L2. In addition, a recent study Abu-Rabia (1993) revealed similar results from Arab students as a minority group learning Hebrew as a second language and as the language of the dominant group in Israel, and from Israeli Jewish students learning English as a foreign language in Israel. These studies revealed a consistent finding regarding attitudes toward L2 learning among Arabs as well as among Israeli Jewish students: that the L2 learners, males as well as females showed only one type of motivation – instrumental.

The second important finding of this study is the significant effect of the language of text on reading comprehension, rather than content of text. This surprising finding contradicts schema theory findings (Abu-Radia, 1991, 1993; Bartlett, 1932; Carrell & Esterhold, 1983; Johnson, 1981; Kintsch & Green, 1978; Lipson, 1983; Rumelhart, 1984). Reading comprehension results of this study do not confirm schema theory predictions. The cultural prior knowledge of readers did not significantly affect their reading comprehension of Arab cultural stories. These results can be explained as a function of students' multicultural background, in addition to their degree of exposure to the English language. The combination of multicultural knowledge and the motivation (integrative and instrumental) enabled Arab students to cope with the reading tasks, and to perform even higher in their L2 than in their L1. The L2 of the students is the language of instruction at school, a fact which presumably enhanced their exposure to the English language. They were exposed to a systematic reading of Arabic texts only through Arabic heritage language programs for two hours per week, which led to a low level of proficiency in Arabic, L1.

In other words, the motivation of the L2 learner (instrumental or integrative) is a major factor which is related to second language learning among minority immigrant groups learning the language of the majority group in a multicultural social context. Further, the schema theory approach, in this case cultural content of text, still may be helpful for poor learners as familiar textual content. By the time they reach advanced reading levels, they can use different learning materials, familiar or unfamiliar (Carrell & Esterhold, 1993; Stanovich, 1986).

In sum, socio-psychological models should take into consideration an additional variable when explaining L2 learning for students from conservative societies because female learners may possess a different type of motivation than male learners. Further, the two types of motivation were proved helpful for L2 reading comprehension in this study. However, as a practical implication, L2 curricula in multicultural social context should take into consideration the students' instrumental motivation to be part of the second language curriculum. The instrumental motivation can be developed among the L2 learners, especially those who are not integratively motivated. Educators can work with L2 learners by making them aware of the future and the opportunities offered if they become bilingual. As the L2 learners become instrumentally motivated toward L2 learning, after a period of time experiencing L2 learning, the motivation of the learning process transforms to integrative motivation, because of an internalization process that L2 learners may experience. Zimmerman (1989) and Bandura (1986) have argued that if learners are aware of the environmental rewards of accomplishing the learning task, they usually become cognitively monitored and perform better. After experiencing this learning process for a period of time, the external type of motivation (instrumental motivation) may become internalized by the L2 learners, namely transformed to an internal type of motivation, the integrative (Bandura, 1986; Zimmerman, 1989).

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Appendix 1

Interviews With Female Arab Students
1 Do you like the Canadian society?
2 What do you do in order to be liked by Canadians?
3 Do you have Canadian friends? (male/female)
4 What do your parents say about that? (mother/father)
5 Where do you usually meet with your friends?
6 What do your parents say about that?
7 Do you go to class parties? Why?
8 What do your parents say about that?
9 How often do you invite your friends to your home?
10 What do your parents say about that?
11 What would you like to do when you grow up?
12 What do your parents say (mother/father)?
13 Do you see yourself married to a non-Arab?

Interviews With Parents
1 Do you like the Canadian society? Why?
2 What do you think about raising kids in Canada?
3 Do you prefer raising kids back home? Why?
4 Do you think it is a problem to raise a daughter/son in Canada? Why?
5 Did you notice any change in your daughter's behaviour? How?
6 What do you think about that?
7 What do you usually advise your daughter to do? Why? How is it different from your son? or from your expectations about both?
Heritage Languages in Manitoba Public Schools: 1870–1993

Eliana Handford, former Coordinator of Heritage Languages and ESL, Manitoba Education and Training

Le Manitoba fut l’un des premiers à intégrer l’enseignement des langues du patrimoine au système scolaire publique. Ceci en partie à cause de son histoire, où les groupes minoritaires se sont vus autorisés à éduquer leurs enfants dans leur propre langue.

Canada has a multicultural, multi-racial society with an abundance of proficient, native speakers of numerous world languages (many of whom are trained teachers already in the school system). Except for the study of French, the other official language, there is no clearly-articulated national policy on the role of language study in the development of a society able to compete successfully in the global economy. Education is a provincial responsibility, and so there are as many variations in language programming as there are provincial departments of education.

Heritage language study is often optional and in competition with other equally-important options. As such, it is at the mercy of enrolment patterns, declining budgets, and low status in the society at large. It is not considered one of “the basics” and is not a compulsory credit for high school graduation.

The majority of heritage language programs are community-run, held outside of regular school hours and on weekends. They survive on minimal funding from the government (most of the funding has disappeared, except for specific projects) and depend on the individual ethnocultural community for financial support. Individuals, usually volunteers, teach the classes. Some provinces, particularly those in Western Canada, have implemented some heritage language programs during the school day or have accepted direct responsibility for these programs within the extended school day format.

In the past few years, Pacific Rim language programs offered during the school day have begun to threaten the existence of other language programs. Pacific Rim language programs are perceived as important for Canada’s economic expansion in Asia, and receive direct government assistance, mainly through the Asia Pacific Foundation. They enjoy high status among students and parents.

Manitoba: Historical Perspective

Manitoba is recognized as a leader in Canada in teaching heritage languages as part of the regular public school program. Beginning in 1979, changes to the Public Schools Act allowed for the establishment of bilingual and core heritage language programs. Languages of instruction other than English and French were officially recognized as viable educational alternatives for Manitoba students. Legislation has always played a key role in the teaching of languages in Manitoba. From 1870 to the present, legislation has either extended or withdrawn the right of defined minorities to instruction in the language of the home.

"... [There is] a guarantee of the existence of the educational rights held by the various denominations by law or practice at the union" (Morton, 1970). With this guarantee, enshrined in the Manitoba Act of 1870, Manitoba, as a new province, gave any defined minority the right to preserve its identity (through culture and language within the school system), and established conditions for a multilingual society by the early 1880s.

The intent of the guarantee of 1870 had been to preserve the rights of the French-speaking minority with regard to language, religion and culture. By implication, a dual school system, Catholic/Protestant and French/English was also maintained and was recognized as the vehicle through which minority rights would be protected.

"Group" colonization by settlers who were neither English nor French, in lands specifically reserved for them by the federal government, altered the English/French balance in the province. In 1874, the first Mennonite reserve was established in townships north and east of Rat River (present-day southeastern Manitoba). An Order in Council of the Canadian Government in 1873 stated that the Mennonites who settled in Manitoba would have “fullest privilege ... to the education of their children in schools ... without any kind of molestation or restriction whatsoever ... as far as the law allowed” (Morton, 1970).

The next "group" colonizers were the Icelanders, who established themselves on the shore of Lake Winnipeg at Gimli, which in Icelandic means Paradise. They enjoyed the same educational rights as the Mennonites.

The arrival of these two groups ended the English/French, Protestant/Catholic duality of Manitoba and began a plurality of cultures and languages that the founders of the province had not foreseen in 1870. By 1875, Manitoba society had been transformed from bilingual to multilingual; the effect of this change was to be felt dramatically in the next generation.

The denominational school system (English & French) guaranteed by the Manitoba Act of 1870, was established provincially by the School Act of 1871. From 1870 to 1875, school grants were split equally between the Protestants and Catholics. From 1875, due to the imbalance of numbers created by the "group" colonizers whose schools were placed under the Protestant administrative section, school grants were given based on the number of pupils enrolled in each administrative section. In 1878, education became the responsibility of local school divisions, who, of course, represented local interests, languages, cultures and religions. This move created tension between the supporters of secular public schools (schools for all peoples) and those
who supported religious schools, each preserving a particular language, religion and culture.

Each wave of immigration, especially from Ontario, increased the tension between the two factions and the call for change became more frequent. The election of the Greenway government in 1888 brought changes in the educational system based on the model of rural Ontario (secular schools) and radically different from the one envisaged in 1870.

The Manitoba School Question, which was to divide the province along cultural and linguistic lines for almost three decades, came to a head in August 1889, when a single, uniform, non-denominational system of public schools was announced and a provincial department of education established to run it. The opponents of a dual system, considering it too costly and divisive, had won. Legislation announced in 1890 ended the duality established in 1870.

Had this issue been dealt with internally, it might have been resolved more quickly, as politicians strove to maintain the dual system of 1870; however, it became a national issue which caught the attention of British Protestants across the country. The silent majority, now vocal, condemned any further extension of privileges along racial or religious lines and were firm in their belief that Manitoba and the Northwest Territories would only achieve their potential to attract immigrants if the extension of privileges was stopped.

The decision by the Greenway government to create a tax-supported public school system was upheld by the federal courts. Catholic and other religious schools became private, funded solely through fees and gifts. No denominational school could claim any share of school taxes. Manitoba schools were to become a melting pot.

The issue simmered until 1897, when the Laurier-Greenway compromise tried to repair the damage by allowing bilingual education: "whenever 10 or more pupils in any school spoke French or any other language other than English, the teaching was to be in French or other language, and English in a bilingual system of education" (Morton, 1970).

The majority, again, was not happy with this compromise because they feared that the implementation of this clause would create linguistic chaos in Manitoba schools. Similar sentiments were often expressed in the early 1980's whenever the issue of bilingual education arose. Numerous German Mennonite and Ukrainian bilingual public schools were established. The demands soon stressed the system as teachers of languages other than English were in short supply especially in Ukrainian pioneer areas; the languages studied in a particular school kept changing as students moved; students were kept out of class to help families or as a protest to the language being taught; and some students were taught a language other than their own, in addition to English. The linguistic chaos that had been predicted was indeed a reality in some areas of the province.

Manitoba became known throughout Canada as a place where education was backward and inferior. The Winnipeg Free Press, in a series of 64 articles, denounced the practice of bilingual schools and exposed all their defects. The attacks were aimed particularly at Ukrainian and Polish bilingual schools; the French and German schools became involved by default.

After much pressure, the government amended the Public Schools Act in 1916 to remove the clause providing for bilingual education. English was to be the only language of instruction in Manitoba public schools.

The French fought in vain for the right to speak their mother tongue, which was one of the founding languages of the province. They had little support. The public schools and the English language became the agents for assimilating a heterogenous and polyglot population.

Other languages, however, continued to be used to provide religious instruction. Regulations governing religious teaching stated that "Religious teaching ... shall take place in any public school in Manitoba" if authorized by a majority of school trustees or if petitioned by a given number of parents. This regulation had been introduced in 1897 to bring back religious teaching which had ended with the closing of denominational schools in 1890. The teaching was facilitated by school boundaries which were established along linguistic groupings.

In 1947, the program of studies for the Department of Education once again allowed the study of other languages in the public schools. These foreign language classes provided instruction up to one hour a day from grade 8 and up. In 1953, the study of foreign languages was allowed from grade 4 and up; in 1963 this was expanded to include all students. The most common foreign languages were the traditional ones for Manitoba: French, German, Ukrainian and Icelandic.

By 1971, 415,000 people in Manitoba were of Anglo-Celtic origin, 87,000 were of French origin, 43,000 were of Native origin and 433,000 represented a variety of other ethnic origins. A substantial number of these people still maintained the language and culture of their country of origin in the home. Language and culture are interdependent; each succeeding generation fears the loss of its cultural heritage if the language that transmits that culture is lost. Official recognition of Canada as a multicultural society in the early 1970's spurred renewed interest in the study of these languages, preferably as part of the regular school program.

As stated before, in 1979, a favourable political climate and strong support from the ethnocultural communities resulted in changes to the Public Schools Act, which allowed for the establishment of the first bilingual heritage language program in Manitoba public schools since 1916. It is fitting that the program was the English-Ukrainian Bilingual Program (50% of instruction in English and 50% of instruction in Ukrainian). It was the attack on the quality of Ukrainian and Polish bilingual schools that had rallied the opponents of bilingual education in 1916 and ensured that English became the only language of instruction in Manitoba public schools for many decades.

The English-German Bilingual Program was established in 1981 and the English-Hebrew Bilingual Program in 1983. Start-up grants and ongoing funding equal to the funding for French language programs have allowed these new programs to flourish. Further changes to the Public Schools Act in 1981 allowed the study of heritage languages during the school day as "languages of study" (30 to 40 minutes/ day). In addition, increased departmental staff support handles curriculum development, teacher training, materials selection and other requests for heritage language services.
Current Status

The current legislation is enabling, not mandatory. Local school divisions decide whether a program will be offered, in consultation with the communities they serve. No start-up numbers are specified, even though there are suggested requirements to ensure the quality and integrity of the program. This model has worked well to date in that it recognizes the partners in this educational endeavour: the parents, the school/school division and the provincial Department of Education.

The model with its funding component has recently become policy with the release, by Manitoba Education and Training, of the following documents:

• Policy for Heritage Language Instruction – 1993
• Funding Policy for Language Programs – 1993

The strong support and interest in the early 1980s led to the establishment of 12 different heritage language programs. These are:

Chinese (core: K–12)
Filipino (core: K–12)
German (bilingual: K–12 and core: K–12)
Hebrew (bilingual: K–6 and core: 7–12)
Icelandic (core: K–12)
Portuguese (core: K–12)
Italian (core: K–12)
Spanish (core: 7–12)
Ukrainian (bilingual: K–12 and core: 4–12)

Today, the 9 active heritage language programs are:

Filipino (core)
German (bilingual & core)
Hebrew (bilingual & core)
Portuguese (core)
Spanish (core)
Ukrainian (bilingual & core)

All students also take French from Grade 4. Chinese is no longer being taught as a heritage language. It is now taught as an international/world language to high school students as part of Pacific Rim initiatives in two Winnipeg high schools. Spanish is also no longer being taught as a heritage language. It has become a favourite option for French Immersion students. These students recognize the affinity of the two languages and are conscious of the North-South/North American economic axis and NAFTA negotiations. Italian, the first language taught in Manitoba public schools as a heritage language, became a casualty of declining enrollments within specific catchment areas and is now taught on Saturdays under the auspices of the Dante Alighieri Society. It has however, shown significant growth at the undergraduate level where, in a few short years, it has reached “minor” degree status (3 courses or more) at the University of Manitoba. Icelandic was also a casualty of declining enrollments and teacher retirement.

Overall, the enrollments in the three bilingual programs are steady or show some incremental growth from year to year. Kindergarten enrollments continue to remain strong. This is essential because K–1 are the only entry points for the programs and these numbers determine the size, number and type of classes offered from K–6. Enrollments for the 1992–93 years were:

- English-Ukrainian: 910
- English-German: 768
- English-Hebrew: 328

The initial problems that plague most programs, i.e., lack of appropriate teaching materials, lack of trained, linguistically-proficient teachers, lack of appropriate cultural materials, and lack of adequate facilities and timetabling have, for the most part, been resolved. The programs are taught by a highly-skilled, committed group of teachers who continue to develop new teaching resources or enhance existing teaching materials. Because each of the three bilingual programs are contained primarily within one school division, they enjoy long-term support from the boards of trustees, board administration and parents.

The language of study/core programs are not faring as well. The enrollments decline steadily as students move to other districts or opt to move into the bilingual program, where available.

These programs have proven to be “non-transferable” to other schools/school divisions. They were strong when they started because of strong parental support, sufficient numbers, supportive school administration, and the availability of teachers. As one or more of these elements changed, it was increasingly difficult to sustain them or to start new programs in other settings.

Enrollment in the Pacific Rim language programs has also reduced the number of students available for heritage language programs. As stated before, Pacific Rim languages currently enjoy a higher status among some parents and decision makers because of the perception of economic benefit to both the student, the province and the country.

As a result of declining enrollments and overall reductions in educational funding both federally and provincially, school divisions have recently instituted either official or unofficial enrolment policies for all heritage language programs; that is, specific number requirements for offering and/or maintaining the program. Some divisions review the viability of their heritage language programs every year.

At the same time, there is a reduction in departmental consultative support for these programs. Staff reductions in the 1991 and 1992 budgets eliminated specific consultant support for German and Ukrainian language programs. As of April 1993, the position of heritage language consultant is also vacant. A consultant for German, on loan from the Federal Republic of Germany, continues to provide direct service to schools and teachers while the consultant for multicultural education coordinates activities in this area in addition to other duties in multiculturalism and anti-racist education.

Future Directions

In the next decade, the viability and growth of language programs in Manitoba schools, particularly heritage language programs, will depend on the successful interplay of a number of realities:

1 the recognition, by decision makers, that language study (any language) is a necessary educational pursuit for all
The federal government has made numerous attempts to define its role in education even though the primary responsibility falls to the provinces. A definitive policy statement on the value, necessity and role that Canada’s numerous languages could play in its economic development, global interest and peace-keeping initiatives would give language study in this country the same status and importance enjoyed in most of the civilized world. This would truly push us forward toward the realization of a pluralistic, cross-cultural society.

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System Effects on Teacher Attitudes in a Multicultural Milieu

Thomas D. Gougeon, Associate Professor, Department of Educational Policy and Administrative Studies, Faculty of Education, University of Calgary

Une étude de deux écoles secondaires situées dans le même quartier urbain - l'une appartenant au système scolaire publique, l'autre au système scolaire catholique - et des attitudes liées-dedans envers l'enseignement d'étudiant(e)s immigrant(e)s.

Introduction

Two Western Canadian schools located only eight blocks apart serve senior high students from the same urban neighborhood. The schools belong to different, overlapping, school jurisdictions. One is part of a public school system while the other is part of a separate, Roman Catholic school system. The neighborhood served by the two schools has a high proportion of immigrant families.

At the beginning of the study, I was aware that the public school enjoyed a reputation for being committed to multiculturalism and being in the forefront of innovation for English as Second Language programs. The separate school had a reputation for being more traditional in its approach to multiculturalism and English as a Second Language.

The Problem

In the first phase of this study, I interviewed teachers to understand their attitudes toward immigrant students and their parents. Two research questions were formulated for this phase of the study:

(1) What are teacher attitudes toward immigrant students and their parents? And
(2) What differences in attitudes, if any, exist among teachers from each school?

Methodology

To begin the study, I presented an overview of the research project at a staff meeting in each school and invited teachers who work with immigrant students to volunteer to be interviewed. Teachers were given handouts which included a description of the study, a description of a typical interview, and a teacher interview consent form. Twenty-one of 63 separate school teachers and 27 of 88 public school teachers volunteered.

Interviews were guided by one interview question, "What is the most important concern you have regarding communication with immigrant students and their parents?" In addition, I asked teachers to give examples and clarify or expand upon the points they were making. Most interviews lasted 30 to 45 minutes, and in three cases I requested to meet with the teacher again to further clarify points or to expand on ideas.

I took notes during the interviews and wrote verbatim phrases to capture the essence of anecdotes as they were presented. I was careful not to interrupt the flow of thought as teachers talked. The original notes were retained and a duplicate copy was coded into categories and sub-categories using Glaser and Strauss' (1967) and Strauss and Corbin's (1990) method of comparison of data.

Findings

The Public School

Three categories emerged from the interview data of the public school teachers (Gougeon, in press) that included characterizations of teacher attitudes toward students, their parents, and the school system. Sub-categories were identified in the data for the student category. Teachers thought that:

(1) most immigrant students felt displaced from their homeland because of distance, and displaced from Western society whose members did not value their language; (2) many immigrant students were academic achievers, concentrating on written forms of English rather than fluency of speech or general social skills; (3) many immigrant students felt alienated from students of other ethnic groups and from their parents to whom they could tell only some of their aspirations for the future; and (4) many immigrant students seemed to deny the multicultural society they had moved to and acted in racially-discriminatory ways against other immigrants.

Sub-categories were identified under the "parent" category. Teachers thought that many parents of immigrant students were (1) distrustful of the school system, lacking sufficient focus on academics; (2) resistant, not valuing different values and attitudes their children were bringing home; (3) patriarchal, often demonstrating extreme intensity about "forcing" their children to succeed in school; and (4) dependent on their children, requiring their help to translate for them daily, at the bank, to answer the telephone, visit the doctor, and read the mail.

Sub-categories were identified under the "school system" category. Teachers thought that the school system was (1) ethnocentric, scheduling school events in conflict with religious celebrations and other cultural events; and (2) uncompromising, by communicating to students and parents primarily in English, and because English as a Second Language programs were not core-funded like most other essential programs.

The Separate School

The separate school teacher interview data were analyzed (Gougeon, 1992) using the same method as above but with one major difference: The three categories of student, parent, and school system that emerged from the public
Sub-categories emerged under each of the categories. Under the “student” category, separate teachers thought that (1) all immigrant students experienced a common dilemma, straddling two cultures; (2) most immigrant students held common values centered around academics, patriotism, and family; (3) priorities held by the peers of most immigrant students were in conflict with those held by their parents, and difficult choices had to be made; (4) many students developed unhealthy coping strategies to deal with this conflict; and (5) all immigrant students experienced bigotry and/or poverty because they were different from mainstream society.

Sub-categories emerged under the “parent” category. Separate school teachers thought that most parents of immigrant students (1) were dependent upon their children for English language translation wherever they went; (2) held traditional values and were fearful that their children would adopt weaker, more liberal Western values; and (3) felt they needed to regain some control over their lives and over their children’s lives when they were away from home.

Subcategories were identified under the “school system” category. Separate school teachers talked about their relationships with students and parents, their experiences of the system, and of attitudes generally held by teachers in the system. They mentioned that (1) their relationship with students was often gender dependent, especially with those who held patriarchal values; (2) their relationship with parents was often threatened by conflicting values; (3) they were disappointed in the system which left teachers unsupported and immigrant students lost in the shuffle; and (4) they were content with their belief that immigrant students found niches for themselves within the school and consequently were basically happy there.

After analyzing the data using the three categories of students, parents, and the system, it was apparent that much data remained uncoded. A fourth category emerged in the separate teacher data: separate school teachers spoke extensively about developing teaching strategies for their classrooms and creating special programs in their school.

Upon closer inspection of the data, several sub-categories of “teaching strategies” were apparent. Separate school teachers talked about how the curriculum should explain the origins of Western values and not assume that every student was socialized in Western culture. Teachers suggested that the curriculum could be adapted so that material would be of interest to all students regardless of cultural background. They suggested that since immigrant students often found full time work after school hours, the school system should find ways to recognize these work experiences. The school system should enable students to bring their work experiences into the curriculum to be evaluated for credit.

Separate school teachers talked about their creativity in the classroom, and they expressed pride when they changed strategies to improve communication with students who knew little English. Some teachers talked about using hands-on work in the classroom in preference to teaching always at an abstract level. Another teacher videotaped himself presenting lessons in class and then provided the tapes to students who could view them over again. This saved the teacher time repeating his instructions and allowed students to replay the tape as often as they liked until they understood them. Some teachers talked about assigning homework that would discourage the temptation to plagiarize the work of peers. Others talked about attracting parents to the school to participate in their classes. Some even talked about learning several phrases in the different languages spoken by their students. Teachers would begin a lesson using different languages. They felt this honored students and their parents.

Separate teachers talked about improving school programs. They recommended earlier integration of all immigrant students into mainstream classrooms with support from bilingual teacher aides. They recommended that immigrant students be integrated in academic mainstream classrooms because academic students model learning skills better and conduct themselves more appropriately than non-academic students. They also talked about developing new programs to encourage self-identification of students into ethnic groupings. For example, they organized Chilean and Polish clubs to validate these cultures in the school. In addition, teachers encouraged students to enter ethnic intramural soccer teams, for example, the Polish team, to compete against teams normally organized by homeroom or division. A teacher described the weekend car club he sponsored for immigrant parents who could repair their cars using sons and daughters as interpreters.

Separate school teachers suggested ways to change school policies to be more equitable to immigrant students. They thought the school should look for ways to integrate students, for example, assigning lockers so students would be intermixed. They suggested that the school could translate all letters that go home into the languages spoken by parents. (The public school already translated most documents into eight different languages.) They talked about a relationship triangle made up of teacher, student, and parent, and suggested that this relationship could be made stronger by more effective allocation of school resources.

**Analysis**

Separate school teachers talked about teaching strategies more than public school teachers. Once this difference became apparent, I reviewed the original public school teacher interview data specifically to code for teaching strategies. For example, a teacher talked about difficulties teaching science to students who could not speak English. He explained that it was difficult to teach the concepts of secretion and excretion in biology class when students could barely speak English. In frustration, he told students that the concept of excretion was the same as “make fluids ... make ... make!” No other teachers talked about teaching strategies so directly.

To better understand why separate school teachers talked about strategies more than public teachers, contextual factors of both schools were considered. Both the public and separate schools had large student populations: The public school had 1504 students and the separate school had 1166. Both offered grade 10, 11, and 12 programs to students who live in the same neighborhood. Each school’s student population was composed of approximately 40% immigrant students. The public school had 6 English as Second
Language teachers and no ESL teacher aides. On the other hand, the separate school had one ESL teacher and one ESL aide. Only the public school regularly scheduled two interpreters in the school to facilitate communication between immigrant students and teachers, counsellors, and the administration. The separate school scheduled no interpreters but actively hired support staff who could interpret for teachers when required.

When immigrant students first enroll in the public school system, their credentials are certified by central office school authorities. At this point, their English language skills are assessed and the results are forwarded to the intake school. Thus, when immigrant students arrive at the public high school, school guidance and ESL staff have sufficient information to assign them to an appropriate level ESL class. Students may spend one semester or six semesters in ESL classes. During this time, a program of gradual integration is set up and the students are progressively assigned to more mainstream optional and core classes in the school.

When immigrant students first enroll in the separate school system, central office authorities inspect their immigration credentials and assign them to a particular school. When students are assigned to the separate high school, the ESL teacher assesses each student, and only those with very low English language skills are scheduled with her. The remaining students are scheduled into mainstream academic and non-academic courses using the school's main registration procedures. Teachers understand that these students are in class to learn English, not necessarily to pass the course. There is an emphasis on socialization and the values of Canadian culture. There is a respect for diversity but not at the expense of acculturation. Thus, teachers create situations within their classes to encourage interaction so ESL students can learn English while other students are learning course content.

The demographic make-up of the student population also differed between schools, even though they served the same neighborhood. Except for the English language, the largest language group in the public school was Vietnamese followed by Chinese, Arabic, Spanish, and Punjabi. The largest language group beside English in the Separate school was Spanish followed by Vietnamese, Portuguese, Chinese and Polish. Immigrants from predominantly Roman Catholic countries tend to enroll in the Roman Catholic separate system, whereas immigrants enrolling in the public school system do so without considering any particular religious faith. Consequently, separate school teachers tended to instruct more immigrants whose first languages were Latin-based, whereas public school teachers tended to instruct immigrants whose first languages were Asian or Middle Eastern. It may be more difficult for public school teachers to teach English to students from Asia and the Middle East than separate school teachers to teach English to students from Europe and Middle and South America.

School personnel were unable to provide comparable statistics on dropout rates and academic achievement of the immigrant student population, so reliable quality measures between the two systems were not available. However, anecdotal data exists: One public school teacher did an analysis of dropouts of ESL students and concluded that over 70% of students in the two lowest levels of English language proficiency dropped out that year. In addition, separate teachers generally thought that early integration was better than gradual integration adopted by the public system because fewer students dropped out and academic achievement was higher. Since this anecdotal information lacks the credibility to allow for comparisons, the issue of early versus late integration requires further investigation. In the meantime, literature on special education provides information on the question of integration versus segregation.

A Brief Review of Literature

Much has been written on the education of handicapped children in the United States. Since the adoption of P.L. 94-142, The Education of the Handicapped Act, issues of segregation and integration have been extensively reported. P.L. 94-142 recognized and accepted the entitlement to education of students labelled as handicapped and provided due process for them and their parents. In addition, it made some limited progress on mainstreaming, especially in non-academic areas (Gartner & Lipsky, 1989).

Although much has been written on programmatic outcomes on special education, no systematic, national data have been gathered on the quality of experience that students with disabilities get from school (Bellamy, 1988). Many reports substantiate the position that few or no benefits are perceived for students of all levels of severity placed in special educational settings (as reported in Gartner & Lipsky, 1989; Carlberg & Kavale, 1980; Cegelka & Tyler, 1970; Epps & Tindall, 1987; Glass, 1983; Kavale & Glass, 1982; Leinhardt & Pallay, 1982; Madden & Slavin, 1982, 1983; Semmel, Gottlieb & Robinson, 1979; Ysseldyke, 1987). It is argued that full- or part-time regular class placements contribute more to students' achievement, self-esteem, behavior and emotional adjustment than the time spent in special educational placements (Madden & Slavin, 1982).

Can these findings be applied to the English as Second Language issue of early integration or gradual integration? Do immigrant students benefit from being integrated early? In the public school under study, where a second floor wing in the building was designated for ESL, students benefit from the skills of specialist teachers whose primary purpose was to teach English language. ESL students attending classes in this wing were aware they are not with mainstream academic students. Instead, an ESL class of 15 students may have had four or five different language groups. The intensity of interaction in an ESL class would naturally be focused on English language acquisition. Thus, the level of thinking, creativity, and writing required of ESL students would necessarily be simpler, and over time, might lead to frustration when they normally think, create, and write at much higher levels in their first languages. ESL students who were integrated into mainstream classes earlier, would not likely experience such an intense focus of language acquisition activities. They would gain direct experience of the English language in classes, but most of the time their experience would be through observation of Canadian-born classmates speaking English with each other. They would be challenged to understand dialogue in class and be exposed to higher level concepts in core subject areas. Although their responsibility in class was limited to learning English, not passing the course, they would learn much about the subject matter, which would help them.
when they re-enrolled for credit in the future. Thus, applying the findings reported in the special education literature to the ESL situation, it is predicted that ESL students who spend much of their time in non-mainstream and ESL classes would experience lower levels of achievement, have lower self-esteem, conduct themselves more poorly, and have more difficulties with emotional adjustment compared to ESL students who are integrated earlier into the mainstream.

Gartner and Lipsky (1989) claim that placing handicapped children in regular classrooms has many benefits, including decreasing special education enrollment, allowing more handicapped learners to compete in the mainstream, lessening stigma, producing greater understanding across disciplines, providing on-the-job training in special education skills for regular teachers, reducing mislabelling of students, and offering spill-over benefits to regular students. Applying this argument to ESL, it is predicted that immigrant students who integrate earlier into regular classes would avoid being stereotyped because they would have the opportunity for personal contact with mainstream students. Once students get to know one another, stereotypical judgments are replaced by personal judgments which are supported by intimate knowledge of the person rather than categories into which the person may be seen to fit. The stigma of being perceived as different would be lessened. Regular students would also benefit by broadening their perception of whom they consider mainstream by including immigrant students as their friends.

Personnel in the public school under study responded to the needs of immigrant students, particularly Asian and Arabic students, by creating a highly sophisticated ESL program which relies upon specialists. Personnel in the separate school, on the other hand, responded to the needs of immigrant students, particularly Spanish, Portuguese, and Polish students, by embracing the role of generalist teachers and supporting them with classroom aides.

Thomas Skrtic (1991) provides a typology useful in understanding differences between the approaches taken by the public school and the separate school. Skrtic's typology of professional bureaucracy and adhocracy may be applied here and is described below.

The public school's response is consistent with that of the professional bureaucracy. The professional bureaucracy is based on functionalist principles: that, in society, reality is objective, orderly, and rational; that human problems are pathological; and that human problems can be solved separately by specialists. The separate school's response is consistent with that of the adhocracy. The adhocracy is based on cultural-political principles: that, in society, reality is subjective; that human problems are part of reality; and that human problems can be solved by mutual agreement and collaboration of specialists and generalists.

Whereas the professional bureaucracy operates under a standardization principle, the adhocracy operates under an innovation principle. The former is structured to enhance performance, approaching perfection as a standard; while the latter is structured to enhance problem solving in situations that lack precedence or routine responses. In a professional bureaucracy, students who cannot speak English well are considered to be dysfunctional and school personnel respond by developing a specific knowledge base around learning English language skills. These students are removed from regular classrooms and provided with intense treatment for this deficiency. Specific learning experiences are predicted to maximize English language learning, and specialists in English as a Second Language are recognized.

In an adhocracy, students who cannot speak English are included in the student population, and the culture of the school changes when it includes them. The culture manifests greater tolerance for differences, and individuals make decisions that are cognizant of the diversity that exists within the school. Accountability is achieved "through a presumed community of interests, a sense among the workers of a shared interest in a common goal, and in the well-being of the organization with respect to progress toward its mission" (Skrtic, 1991, p. 171). Teachers and administrators work together in collaboration, mutual adjustment, and clear communication to solve the problem of how immigrant students can best learn English. Removing them from the mainstream is not acceptable for people within an adhocracy. A holistic perspective is taken.

Stainback, Stainback, Moravec, and Jackson (1992) reported on an investigation of "full inclusion policies" in schools. They were particularly interested in the inclusion of all students with disabilities in regular classrooms. They reported that, at first, full inclusion caused anxiety and fear among students and teachers, but the fear and anxiety subsided as the year progressed. They noted that a common denominator was a strong and unwavering commitment by a core group of people in the school to full inclusion. This group also felt they had a choice whether or not there would be integration. An important factor was the focus of the administration and staff toward fostering a sense of community. There must be an "emphasis on students, educators, and parents accepting responsibility for and helping one another (e.g., buddy systems, circles of friends, teacher sharing meetings, parent support group, cooperative learning)" (Stainback et al., 1992).

Applied to the public and separate school situations and ESL students, a major difference between the two school cultures is important to note. The separate school is based on Roman Catholicism whereas the public school has no religious base. All teachers in the separate school system must be practising Roman Catholics, and religious symbols are prominently displayed around the school. Staff meetings begin with prayer. There is an understood commitment for all to accept responsibility for and to help one another. There is a strong sense of community. A sense of community (social capital) can help schools include and educate diverse student populations more successfully (Stainback et al., 1992).

Stainback refers to social capital, a concept introduced by James Coleman. Coleman (1992) hypothesized the following relationship: the quality of social relationships (social capital) between youth and adults and the level of financial resources (financial capital) invested in developing youth is related to the potential for youth to function in society as adults (human capital). "The social capital consists of the social relationships within the family and community that generate the attention and time spent by parents and community members in the development of children and youth. The financial capital consists of the monetary expenditures of formal institutions designed toward that same goal. The principal such institution is, of course, the
school." (Coleman, 1992). Coleman argues that when social capital is low and families are unable to provide strong and stable relationships with children, human capital declines regardless of how much financial capital is used to compensate. Coleman concludes that "religiously-founded schools ... make direct use of a community institution, namely the religious body, which can most fully supplement, or in cases of disrupted or disorganized households, even substitute for the social capital of the family."

Considering this study, immigrant families, especially refugee families, may not be able to provide high quality social capital for their children. But Coleman's hypothesis suggests that religiously-grounded separate schools can provide greater social capital through the existence of the religious institution, the community surrounding it, and the involvement of that community with the children. Secular schools, or in the case of this study, public schools, are unable to compensate equally for the loss of social capital in the populations they serve.

As a reflection of social capital and consistent with adversities, separate school teachers, when interviewed, talked about teaching strategies they developed to engage immigrant students in their classes. Public school teachers interviewed did not talk about teaching strategies as much, but consistent with professional bureaucracies, said they referred students to the ESL teacher specialists to solve language problems in class.

Conclusions

This study is on-going and the following conclusions are tentative. Differences exist between the two schools as a consequence of structural and cultural variables: the public school is likened to a professional bureaucracy where the absence of English language skills is perceived to be a deficiency. Public school teachers respond to the deficient situation by studying the component parts of the deficiency, thus creating sub-specialties. They objectively and rationally strive to enhance English language skills using pull-out programs run by specialists. On the other hand, the separate school is likened to an advocacy where the absence of English language skills is perceived to be part of the cultural milieu. Separate school teachers respond to the deficient situation by collaboration and mutual adjustment creating a culture of tolerance, shared interest, and general well-being. They assume English language deficiency to be part of reality within the school and focus on the general school mission to inculcate Christian values and accept diversity. Coleman argued that the approach of the separate school, grounded in religion, provides a greater sense of community (social capital) which in turn compensate for deficiencies in the family.

Public and separate school teachers hold different conceptions of what is expected of them as teachers in their classroom situations. Most content teachers in the public system consider their role to be teaching content to students, leaving the job of teaching English to immigrant students primarily to ESL specialists. However, content teachers in the separate system do not draw as distinct a boundary between what they should do in the classroom and what others should do. Most view themselves as responsible to all the students in the classroom and talk with pride about being able to respond to the diversity of needs their students have.

The public school was perceived to develop a highly sophisticated knowledge base describing the diversity of its students. For example, it documented in detail the diversity of language groupings within its student body, whereas the separate school had no such records. The public school adopted numerous strategies to communicate more clearly with parents of immigrant students, whereas the separate school did not. The public school administration was more proactive in developing system-wide responses to the presence of large numbers of immigrant students compared to the separate school administrators, but the separate school teachers were more responsive to these students at the classroom level than the public school teachers.

Further research is needed to address the questions of accountability. What impact do these differences have upon the quality of learning and achievement of students? And, what impact do these differences have upon the level of dropout rates among immigrant students? Through research a way must be found to support the benefits of both school systems: to develop the expertise of the public school system in teaching in a multicultural milieu, while at the same time maintaining the sense of community felt by students and teachers in the separate school system.

Bibliography


The Evolution of S.T.O.P.: Students and Teachers Opposing Prejudice

Darren Lund, Teacher of English Literature, Lindsay Thurber Comprehensive High School, Red Deer, Alberta

Un enseignant d’Alberta décrit une initiative scolaire visant à instruire les étudiant(e)s, ainsi que la communauté, au sujet des préjugés.

In a society which often devalues the contributions of teenagers, it is refreshing to find a group of young adults who are willing to give of their time and ideas toward an important social concern. Several years ago, students formed an anti-prejudice club at Lindsay Thurber Comprehensive High School in Red Deer, Alberta where I teach English literature. The S.T.O.P. (Students and Teachers Opposing Prejudice) program promotes the acceptance of differences and the protection of human rights of all people.

Since February of 1987, the group has been involved in a variety of activities including annual elementary drama presentations, organizing and attending youth conferences, booking guest speakers, supporting a foster child, hosting musical benefit concerts, and conducting a province-wide poster and poetry contest. With all of S.T.O.P.‘s work, the group stresses education – never confrontation.

The students’ efforts have involved thousands of students and teachers across Alberta, and netted the organization several national awards. I believe that its ongoing vitality is a comforting indication of healthy, open-minded attitudes among many of our Canadian youth.

Origins of the Group

The group was formed quite by accident. I was in my first year of teaching and it was early in the second semester when I found myself struggling with a boisterous grade 10 non-academic English literature class. It was a Friday afternoon, and my lesson on poetry wasn’t exactly reaching stellar heights of academic enlightenment.

We were reading poetry we had written on various subjects, and when I read aloud my own poem entitled “Immunity” about intolerance and hate groups, the discussion became enthusiastic. There were passionate exchanges about the topic of prejudice, including talk about Central Alberta’s reputation for intolerance, brought about in part by national media coverage of former Eckville teacher Jim Keegstra’s trial for promoting hatred, and Terry Long’s formation of the Aryan Nations camp near the town of Caroline.

The students also brought up other kinds of discrimination touching their daily lives. Of the 27 students in my class, all but three were male, and many of these were dressed in the traditional teen garb of leather and denim jackets. Along with their long hair and rock music T-shirts, these features had not endeared them to the school’s administration, nor to most of our community’s adults for that matter. These kids knew too well the prejudices so many people hold regarding today’s youth.

It was decided by a few of the more vocal boys that our class would form a group to counter the negative image of Red Deer, and of teenagers, in the hopes of making some kind of a positive difference in our school and community. Through a quick brainstorming session on effective acronyms, the class finally decided upon S.T.O.P., to stand for Students and Teachers Opposing Prejudice (after narrowly rejecting S.T.A.A.N.D. – Students and Teachers Against Aryan Nations Disciples!).

Initially the class wanted to locate and confront some actual racist extremists, but reason prevailed and we talked about more effective ways to improve the social climate of Central Alberta. We made a large list of possible activities, put students in charge of coordinating our efforts, and the group was born.

The First Weeks

By Monday, I had expected some of the initial spark to have weakened, but to my surprise, I began receiving telephone calls from local radio and TV stations. It seems that a couple of the self-appointed spokespersons from the group wanted to let a larger audience know about our new group. Here were “unmotivated” students, some of whom had failed grade 10 English up to three times, now conducting live on-air radio interviews.

The class wanted to hold a school-wide meeting during a noon hour on the Thursday of that week, and they began circulating a crude kind of petition to gauge student support. Through this word-of-mouth promotion, about 200 students and teachers, as well as members of the local TV and print media, showed up at the gathering. The group seemed to have “peaked” very early, yet the momentum has been sustained to this day.

The students and I knew we had tapped into something important and our group followed through on most of those initial plans. The planning of the first few weeks laid the groundwork for S.T.O.P. activities today. That semester, planning time took place during the regular English class and activities conducted after school and on weekends. When students from outside the class approached me to get involved and keep the group going, we decided to make it a regular club the following school year.

A Learning Experience

As an in-class English project, the group provided a perfect context for a number of language-based learning opportuni-
ties. One student who wanted to write a letter about our group to a local politician called me to his desk for help. Troy asked earnestly, "How can I make this letter look like it wasn't written by someone from a non-academic English class?" I discovered first-hand what I'd been taught at university: when a student has such a clear sense of audience and purpose for a writing task, the improvement of writing skills becomes entirely self-motivated.

The teaching opportunity seemed too good to be true, and I noticed that we were naturally incorporating reading, writing, viewing, speaking, and listening as dictated by our English curriculum. Students were planning and rehearsing talks, writing letters, conducting interviews, researching multiculturalism and human rights issues in the library (where they learned that the Ku Klux Klan had a chapter in our area as far back as 1933), and booking films and videos for our class to view.

Those first students gained so much from their experience, not the least of which was an increased sense of self-worth. People were asking to hear what they had to say, and they were setting and achieving some ambitious goals. I am convinced that the group must remain student-centred, fuelled by their ideas and energy in order to stay relevant and meaningful for an ever-changing young audience.

I run into some of those former students from time to time, and they will invariably ask about the S.T.O.P. program. When I share a recent success of the group, I can sense their pride, knowing that they were the ones who started it all. I firmly believe that an important part of teaching is the empowerment of young people, instilling in them a belief that they can make a significant impact on their world. This program affords me a rare and wonderful opportunity to watch it happen for dozens of students, year after year.

**Goals**

Though the membership and many of the various activities of the group change from year to year, the fundamental goals remain constant. S.T.O.P. members believe that all individuals, regardless of ethnic origin, skin colour, age, gender, religion, disability, or any physical traits, should be judged fairly, based upon their own merits. Rather than pointing fingers or seeking scapegoats for prejudice in our society, we wish to address our own biases first.

Our efforts are aimed at education, particularly directed toward youth, with the intention to foster a social climate in Canada that will be more accepting of the differences between groups and individuals. We maintain that diversity can be a source of great strength and benefit to our society; differences should not be ignored or "tolerated," but rather, accepted and celebrated as part of the Canadian mosaic which characterizes our national identity.

**Initial Responses to S.T.O.P.**

From the first day the club formed, we seemed to function on a special kind of energy that only student-generated projects possess. Once the students took ownership of the project, they had a special motivation to follow through on their plans. They shared their activities and accomplishments with their friends and even gained a kind of status for their leadership role. There was also a hint of envy from some of my other students who asked me why we didn't have a S.T.O.P. group in my other English classes.

We have always enjoyed great support from all levels of our school administration and from other teachers and principals in the district. One of the first activities of the group was to go out and speak to younger students about the need to accept differences of all types. An amusing incident happened one day when one of the more gregarious class members requested to speak at his former junior high school. I agreed and helped him set up the arrangements while the class worked in small groups to aid in planning the presentations.

The day came for his scheduled talk, and while Wade was waiting in the hallway outside of the classroom where he was to make his presentation on behalf of the S.T.O.P. group, the school principal rounded the corner and approached him suspiciously. The principal abruptly asked him: "What the hell are you doing here?" to which the beaming young man replied, "Hey, I'm the guest speaker here today."

I think the initial interest of our local media had a great deal to do with perpetuating the enthusiasm of the students. I'm sure our community is no exception to the norm with frequent complaints about the media's propensity to direct attention toward negative stories, particularly regarding youths. Here was a group of teenagers who were looking beyond themselves to improve their community, and the adult world was taking notice.

I've never hesitated to encourage students to utilize the various media as fully as possible in any of our projects. Too many people complain about what is being covered in our papers and on TV news, and yet few people try to take an active part themselves. At the risk of being labelled a "media hound" I have always felt encouraged when the student group is featured in a local news story or feature. The community at large should know about the positive things going on in our schools; it brings the students pride, and helps to counterbalance some of the anti-education and anti-youth sentiment around these days.

It also has helped our group that the national media used their perceived irony of the story as an angle; here were students from "redneck" country in Alberta tackling racism and prejudice. Few students missed the stereotyping and overgeneralizing which underlay media interest in the story. The students insisted that Red Deer likely has no more racists per capita than any other city in Canada, and tried to communicate that as part of their message.

Nonetheless, for many of the students (and at least one neophyte teacher) the cameras and microphones pointed in their direction was pretty exciting. On the same day these students might have had trouble getting their parents to listen to them at breakfast, they had reporters from CBC conducting televised interviews which would appear the next evening on "The National" news broadcast.

**Community Response**

The S.T.O.P. program continues to enjoy a fairly high profile in the community, with many students, teachers and parents involved over seven years of existence. With only one large public high school (population: 2000+ students) in
a city of about 60,000 people, word can travel quickly about our various activities. The local radio and TV stations and the two newspapers have been very supportive, offering consistently good coverage of our projects.

Our group and I have also been very fortunate that our efforts have garnered us several provincial and national awards. These provide a tremendous sense of pride and encouragement to the students, and serve as excellent promotion for our efforts with other people in our community. As a result, many younger students in Red Deer have heard of S.T.O.P. so when they attend the high school, they know they can get involved.

Most of the responses to our group from parents and other members of the community are very positive. Telephone calls to the school, letters to our group, and letters to the editor in newspapers typically offer encouragement and thanks for our efforts. Students have reported that when they travel to other cities they are sometimes asked about the S.T.O.P. group, and the same has happened to me several times over the years. I’m always amazed when some stranger hears my name and where I teach and wants to shake my hand or congratulate me on the excellent program we have here.

When an article about the group appeared in a province-wide teen magazine, we received many heart-warming letters from students across Alberta who encouraged us to keep up the work we are doing. Especially for people who feel they are alone in their struggle for acceptance in a new or uncomfortable situation, it is comforting to know that somewhere other students are trying to address this problem. Similarly, after we have visited a school or other community group, the follow-up responses offer praise for our students’ enthusiasm and dedication.

Occasionally we address more controversial issues where people’s personal beliefs are so strong that they feel compelled to contact us with their concerns. Sometimes it can be as simple as a comment from another teacher in the staff room questioning something we’ve supported. A more extreme example occurred earlier this year, when I received several hostile letters and telephone calls from people who learned that we had invited three homosexuals to address an open S.T.O.P. meeting in our school.

While our interest in the topic of homosexuality was to hear personal experiences with discrimination and hatred, the perception that we were promoting their gay lifestyle was enough to prompt some passionate diatribes, mostly from members of fundamentalist Christian groups in the area. My principal supported our decision to go ahead with the presentation, and it took place with a good turnout considering the sensitive nature of the topic for an adolescent audience. Of the dozens of guest speakers our group has hosted over the years, I believe that session provided one of the most poignant and powerful learning experiences.

Extremist Groups

Though we avoid contact with extremist hate groups, they periodically make contact with our group. Within weeks of our formation, Terry Long, national head of the notorious Aryan Nations group, or the “Jesus Christ Christian Church of Aryan Nations” as they call themselves, wrote me a personal letter. In it he included a pamphlet and catalogue of hate literature from his organization which I shared with the students.

Long praised me for being a “liberal with integrity” and sought to visit the school to speak to the students to share his group’s beliefs in person. Our decision to ignore his request was not unanimous in our group, but in retrospect I believe we made the correct choice. Last year, police issued a warrant for Long’s arrest for failing to appear at a tribunal regarding a cross-burning in the province.

In any case, there is almost no possible benefit for a group such as ours in confronting individual racists, particularly of the destructive nature of the Aryan Nations’ white power movement. For one thing, it puts us on the attack, rather than seeking to influence attitudes through education. We do wish to learn more about groups such as his, but have chosen to do so by studying their literature, reading books and articles on hate groups, and viewing documentary films such as Larry Ryckman’s provocative 1986 production, “The Aryan Nation.”

We were not naive enough to believe that we would have been able to change any of his entrenched, irrational beliefs; conversely, he may have been able to come across favourably to the students and to convince a few misguided teenagers to consider race hatred as a way of dealing with their fears. It seemed clear that it would be detrimental for us to provide his group with a platform for their twisted views, particularly a gathering of young people in a school setting.

We have had our share of other interesting mail. When we spoke out against the cruelty of cults, the S.T.O.P. group began getting loads of literature from the Church of Scientology. Despite our rejection of their teachings as financially-motivated mind control, they continued to swamp us with unsolicited propaganda for several months.

The night I won the first annual Alberta Human Rights Award, December 10, 1987, I was awakened by an anonymous caller who demanded to know my stand on the verdict of the Jim Keegstra trial. I hung up the telephone when he refused to identify himself. Two years later I would receive a rambling three-page personal letter from Keegstra himself. In it he admonished me for teaching my students unforgivable lies and for being a puppet of my Jewish “Talmudic masters.” In a most disturbing final paragraph, he warned me that if I did not turn from my evil ways I would “die the thousand deaths of a coward.” I never offered him a response. I later learned that he had formerly taught automotive classes at this very high school before teaching his own distorted version of social studies at Eckville. Staff members who were here at the time remember him as “a pretty nice guy.”

When Sol Littman, the national head of the Simon Wiesenthal Centre, travelled to Red Deer in November of 1989 to present our group with the “Courage to Remember” poster series, the anti-Semitic lunatics emerged from the woodwork. The following afternoon, Terry Long made the front page of a local newspaper decrying the Jewish Holocaust as a hoax, while a blurb on our award was relegated to page two of the local section.

The next day, numerous cars in our school parking lot were littered with Aryan Nations brochures purporting to tell the “truth” about the Jewish Holocaust. About a week later,
the S.T.O.P. mailbox was filled with a large manila envelope with no return address, stuffed full of revisionist "historical" evidence of a Jewish conspiracy to fabricate the holocaust. It included pseudo-scientific studies denying the lethal nature of concentration camp gas chambers and ovens, and contained excerpts from publications that are listed in the Aryan Nations catalogue sent to me a few years earlier by Long.

The S.T.O.P. group decided to mount and laminate our holocaust poster series and donate them to our school district for use by any teachers who request them. With provocative photos and artwork accompanied by informative text, the series offers a chronological account of Nazi persecution which serves as an excellent visual aid for better understanding that ugly chapter in world history. They had been well used, especially by high school teachers. In addition, the Red Deer Museum has borrowed selected panels on three separate occasions to include in their war and Remembrance Day displays. We usually place a few of the panels in our club's school display case for at least a month each year.

Organization of the Group

An announcement is made in early September each year, and we meet as a group once or twice a week during the noon hour. We have experimented with various organizational formats from year to year, but our informal system including discussing, brainstorming, planning, and occasionally voting on decisions seems to serve our needs well. A group executive will often emerge, or be voted in, to take on roles of president, treasurer, secretary, events coordinator, foster child rep, etc. This enables particular students to take more direct responsibility for specific aspects of our operations.

The first few meetings generally attract a few dozen students. Then as the year progresses, leaders emerge as some students take active roles, while others invariably get involved with other activities and spend less time with S.T.O.P.. With no attendance policy or formal club rules, students are free to drop in to check out the group any time during the school year. We are usually working with a core of eight to twelve active members by the end of the second semester.

We have a number of ongoing activities and commitments and each year we're able to brainstorm new ideas for student activism in the areas of human rights, multiculturalism, world development and social justice. Often local, provincial, national and international news items will stimulate action on our part. Moreover, each year the individual students who comprise the group have varying interests and talents which give us a different "chemistry" which take us in different directions.

I have been fortunate to be the main teacher-advisor for the program since its inception, except for 1990–91 while I was away at school, when two other teachers shared advising duties with the club. Each year other teachers, support staff and administration in the school volunteer to help out with S.T.O.P. by attending meetings, bringing their classes to listen to guest speakers, supervising at events, or offering their expertise in a specific area such as art, drama, graphic arts or social studies.

Club Members

When I think back on all of the students who have been actively involved in the S.T.O.P. program over the years I realize that there really isn't a "typical" student who is attracted to our group. Each year our group might include athletic, intellectual, quiet and diligent students, while others might be outgoing, unconventional, "problem" students. They all share a desire to make their world a more accepting and fair place and they are likely more open-minded than most people. Like the pro-diversity message we strive to share, our club represents all kinds of students.

We avoid stereotyping and categorization in our club, but it sometimes seems inevitable, particularly in the high school environment. Some of the most obvious observable differences between individual students are based upon the "clique" or peer group with which they identify. I'm pleased that our organization continues to attract students from several of the school's readily identifiable groups; I believe that this heterogeneity is one of our greatest strengths.

Hopefully, their membership in the S.T.O.P. program plays a vital part in shaping the attitudes of each student who attends our weekly meetings and events. Our informal discussion of school concerns, topical local news items, government policies and global issues helps us to ground ourselves in our own social environment and relate our own experiences to a larger world. Ideally the dynamic cooperative process of planning any particular event provides as much enrichment for the students as does the event itself.

While our members may not all have outgoing, charismatic personal styles, several of our group's past leaders have gone on to assume other leadership and altruistic roles in their adult lives. I remain in contact with former S.T.O.P. members who have since become teachers, social workers, nurses, international development workers and political aides. They can all be characterized as people who care a great deal about others, and will likely continue to share their message of acceptance in various ways throughout their lives.

Activities

Conferences

Being a part of the community of social action organizations, the S.T.O.P. group is often invited to make presentations at conferences. I always enjoy attending these with a small contingent of members and it is readily apparent that it is a very rewarding experience for the students to share their successes with others. Sometimes when I am unable to attend, I will send a few student delegates to present on the group's behalf and they have always risen to the occasion.

In the past year alone, our students have made presentations at three youth conferences across Alberta and already have plans to speak at two more next fall. We have attended gatherings of multicultural education, youth leadership, global education, Native rights, holocaust awareness, family and community support services, Amnesty International, refugee assistance, youth peace and world development. The trips to other cities provide our group members with some great "bonding" opportunities, and sharing accommodation is always an adventure in cooperation.
In addition, students have volunteered their evenings, weekends, and occasionally school time to make presentations at elementary, junior, and senior high schools around Alberta, including Airdrie, Bowden, Brooks, Calgary, Edmonton, Hythe, Innisfail, Poplar Ridge, Red Deer, Sherwood Park and Sylvan Lake. We have also sent representatives to community symposiums such as the one in Provost, Alberta, following a cross-burning episode a few years ago.

We are also frequently called upon to provide student guest speakers to local service clubs, youth groups, charity organizations, Red Deer College classes, library seminars, other human rights groups, and any organizations which wish to share effective ideas on fighting racism or encouraging the acceptance of differences.

**Multiculturalism Youth Conferences**

In 1990 we sent three delegates to the “Think Multi” youth conference organized by Alberta Multiculturalism. Their experience was so positive that we sought to become more closely involved with the next gathering they sponsored.

A year later, two S.T.O.P. members sat on the planning committee and our group became a major partner in the second youth conference, this time entitled “Be Multi.” We were awarded a $17,000 grant from Alberta Culture to help with this ambitious undertaking.

About 100 people including 65 high school students from all corners of Alberta (with six people from our school) took part in the three day retreat in the fall of 1992 at a mountain camp near Banff. Activities included Japanese drumming, Native dancing and ceremonies, keynote speaker June Callwood, South African storytelling, intervention theatre, video production and a tremendous variety of workshops. Response from all participants was overwhelmingly positive, and in addition to the fun, students developed some excellent skills they could utilize in their schools and communities across the province.

Presently some of our student members are discussing holding an even larger youth conference at our own school next year. It sounds like way too much work to me, but with their seemingly endless youthful energy, they may just pull it off. Tentative conference title: “H.O.P.E. – Harmony of People Everywhere.”

**Drama Presentations**

In the spring of 1988, we were approached by the drama department of the local college to see if we were interested in organizing presentations for elementary student children. Several members of S.T.O.P. jumped at the chance to perform, and we received some professional help in writing and staging an amateur drama production. Topics included unfair male/female stereotyping, being a newcomer to Canada, and dealing effectively with discrimination.

Despite the lack of acting experience which typically characterizes our drama team, we somehow manage to have a lot of fun in rehearsals and performances. Thankfully the young audiences – usually grades 4, 5, and 6 students – have been very forgiving and easily entertained by the excitement of live theatre. We endeavour to include as much audience participation as possible, keep the skits short and fast-paced, and lead informal discussions before and after each scene.

One fun but somewhat cruel aspect of our shows was a little lesson on the dangers of exclusion, during which we politely asked all those students with blue eyes to try to behave themselves during the skits. We explained that we’d had a lot of bad experiences with bratty blue-eyed kids, and our readings had confirmed that they were indeed more poorly behaved than their dark-eyed counterparts.

Of course by the end of our last skit, we would explain our fib and ask the children how they felt to be labelled on the basis of something so arbitrary (though not in those exact words). It was always especially interesting to note the behaviour of some of the non-blue-eyed children. Upon being told they were superior to another group, a few of them took advantage of the momentary sense of privilege, especially when we suggested we might even move all of the blue-eyed kids to another part of the gym.

On one of our first outings, an extroverted little girl in the front row suddenly interrupted our eye-colour talk to exclaim: “Hey, that’s not fair! You’re supposed to be against prejudice and here you are telling us this. Calling blue-eyed kids bratty is just as stupid as hating someone because of the colour of their skin.” When one of the S.T.O.P. presenters cited our “official” sources of evidence, the perspicacious little girl confidently replied, “You can’t believe everything you read in books, you know.”

The elementary drama productions have now become an annual event, and we have taken them to schools all over Alberta. We are often contacted by teachers or principals who have heard about us, and occasionally we’ll send out a notice to local schools that we’re available for bookings. Children who have filled out evaluations, or who have sent us follow-up letters have offered great praise for the productions.

As the school years pass, I’m always a bit astounded when certain situations occur to remind me how time keeps rolling on. Now some of those tiny children whom our group entertained several years ago in elementary school are young adults and members of S.T.O.P. themselves.

**International Involvement**

An effective catch-phrase in some popular activist groups is “Think Globally – Act Locally” and this seems to be an appropriate motto for S.T.O.P.’s work as well. We strive to make a difference in our own school and community while keeping ourselves aware of the larger context of a world often filled with injustice and strife. Whenever opportunities have arisen in which we feel we can make some worthwhile contribution to individuals and groups in other countries, we have seized them.

Sometimes we imagine that our efforts have led to dramatic results and never more so than in recent years in South Africa. Our group felt some particular gratification when we learned of Nelson Mandela’s long-awaited release from prison, just months after we had decided to support the Canadians Against Apartheid Fund and the African National Congress’ efforts to free him.

Members of S.T.O.P. have always aligned themselves with the tenets of Amnesty International, and each year we support the organization through both donations and actions. Students have sent hundreds of letters to government leaders around the world requesting the release of
prisoners of conscience. Other AI letter-writing campaigns have centred on the rights of children, injustices to a­bo­r­­i­­g­­i­­n­­al peoples around the world, and the horrific abuses still taking place in Bosnia. S.T.O.P. members will often produce posters and set up topical displays to increase awareness of these issues within the school.

Guest speakers from Amnesty International and torture survivors from local refugee groups have very effectively made human rights issues more relevant to students' lives here. Students in the S.T.O.P. program have sold “Freedom and Democracy” T-shirts for the local college chapter of AI, and have also purchased and distributed merchandise from Amnesty International's catalogue. Each December 10, our group participates in the local Amnesty candlelight vigil and human rights concert to commemorate the signing of the United Nations International Declaration of Human Rights.

Other national and international involvements over the years have included membership in, and financial support for, organizations like the Canadian Centre for Victims of Torture, Tools for Peace, Canadian Peace Alliance, Youth Peace Network, Alliance for Non-Violent Action, Greenpeace, Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association Redress Committee, and the United Nations. Before deciding to support the groups, we gather information on their allocation of funds and history of effectiveness. It is a good exercise for the students in critical decision-making, prudent financial management, and cooperative decision-making.

Our affiliations with these agencies admittedly seem like distant connections, with impersonal mail and money passing between the people who make up our respective groups. However, the students have always sought a sense of involvement with the larger world outside our safe borders, and this is one way to work toward accomplishing that goal.

Fostering Understanding With a Foster Child
One of the most exciting things we have become involved with is our commitment to supporting a child through the Foster Parents Plan. We investigated several foster agencies, and decided on the Plan due to its accountable distribution of funds, avoidance of political and religious affiliations, and dedication to full community development. We can even go to visit our child and see the Plan's efforts in action in the family and community.

Since 1988, we have been corresponding with Jhessyca Fonseca, a beautiful little girl who lives with her family in Honduras. We regularly exchange letters and photographs and share the daily experiences of our lives. Though the students in our corner of the world enjoy a much different standard of living than Jhessyca, their contact with her allows them to form a unique bond which bridges the gap between the youth of different cultures, languages and customs.

Food, Film and Fun
The business of defending human rights and supporting multiculturalism in Canada can get a little serious, so we always try to include some entertainment along with the more serious messages. Besides our drama presentations, we will occasionally show a film or video in the school on subjects we think will be of interest to a teen audience. Also, whenever a travelling theatre or dance troupe passes through the city, we'll make every effort to book them for our school. Teachers are invited to sign up their classes to attend or we'll plan it for a lunch hour when all interested students can attend.

We have also organized larger human rights and multicultural events, like our “STOPFEST '89” which was an all day festival open to students' parents, and other members of the community. For a small donation, participants were treated to a 70mm screening of the powerful film “Cry Freedom,” made more pertinent by a talk from a visiting guest speaker who was active in the African National Congress in South Africa.

We have had displays by various community groups, a delicious multi-ethnic buffet dinner, traditional Ukrainian dances, Native Indian singing and storytelling, and a performance by a young alternative rock band. Admittedly, it took a great deal of organizing, but the day turned out to be a tremendous success.

Last year when the movie “School Ties,” about anti-Semitism in a private school, opened in Red Deer, our group approached the theatre for a joint promotional venture. We put up movie posters in the school and students were offered a discounted admission price. Later in the semester, our efforts to address world health and hunger were tied in with a bake sale fund raiser.

S.T.O.P. students are frequently invited to attend community events like concerts, dancers, dinners and workshops put on by various like-minded groups. These same young adults give back to the community through fund raising for the United Way and various other charities, donating their time with new immigrants in Red Deer and taking part in meetings and on committees like the recent “Cutting Words” campaign of Canadian Mental Health, the Central Alberta Refugee Effort, and the Central Alberta Immigrant Women's group.

Contests
The first major project of the original S.T.O.P. group was the organization of an ambitious Alberta-wide poster and poetry contest in the spring of 1987. We offered cash prizes ($50 for first place) in three age categories, sponsored in part by our Students' Council. It was highly successful with hundreds of entries received from all corners of the province. The creativity and genuine feelings expressed about discrimination and accepting differences were very touching, encouraging us to run the contest every spring.

Early in the new year, a notice of the contest guidelines and deadline is placed in the provincial teachers' newspaper, and when we're feeling really energetic, we'll mail out announcements to district superintendents and individual schools; a complete set of address stickers for all 2000 schools in Alberta is available from our provincial government for a small fee. In seven years of contests, we've given away thousands of dollars, involved thousands of students and teachers across the province in a worthwhile creative activity, and received thousands of excellent pieces of student literature and art.

We always keep the winning entries to put on display in the school or to take along when we visit other schools. On
occasion, the local newspaper has published some of the outstanding poetry and posters. This year the top high school poster is being converted to a wall mural to be painted in a hallway of our school by the original artist.

Other contests we have run include selling raffle tickets for prizes donated by local merchants. Especially popular are CDs, cassette tapes, concert tickets, and food coupons. This year we incorporated a prize giveaway with a hot dog sale to raise money for children with mucopolysaccharide diseases.

One year we set up a humorous display of a dozen vintage baby pictures in a foyer of the school. For a donation to help support our foster child, students could fill out a form to guess which baby was which of the 100 teachers at our school. The game was hilarious and turned out to be more difficult than it seemed. Each time we run a contest we usually make a bit of money, but more important is the exposure provided to our group as we set up tables or displays and interact with other students and teachers in the halls.

**Benefit Concerts**

A wildly successful undertaking by our group has been our stab at concert promotion. On three separate occasions, in 1989, 1992 and 1993, we have organized “STOP GIGs” at which amateur student bands perform to adoring young fans. The bands donate their time and talents, and the music has been varied, including rap, alternative rock, hard rock, heavy metal and hardcore “thrash” music.

Our first such event was aptly entitled “S.T.O.P. – Sounds to Offend People” while the second concert was dubbed “Jham for Jhessyca” in honour of our foster child. The volume has been ear-splitting at times and the style of dancing can be shocking – particularly during an impromptu “mosh” – but the events have run very smoothly.

We are pleased to report that we have never had problems with vandalism, drinking, fighting or drugs at these concerts. Fortunately we have enjoyed good planning, student involvement in the booking and briefing of the bands, volunteer help from the local music community, student promotion of the event, a good physical facility to hold a hundred or two students and excellent chaperoning by parents and school personnel (all bribed).

The local RCMP even visited our last concert, posing for photos with a few mohawk-haired punks. It seems that the students take pride in attending what is likely one of the only public schools anywhere to offer such radical entertainment. Even the press coverage for our “gigs” has been wonderful. The photographs aren’t pretty but they capture some of the youthful exuberance of this kind of modern entertainment.

With these gigs we are able to raise hundreds of dollars, even by charging just four or five dollars at the door since our expenses are very low. However, I believe there is a more valuable function served by these events in that they provide an alternative form of entertainment to our school’s youth. They involve a segment of the student population which is not normally attracted to school events, giving them some sense of belonging and ownership in the institution.

**Other Fund Raising**

For several years now, S.T.O.P. members have decided to pledge our group to supporting several local and international groups. Besides our yearly commitment to Jhessyca, our foster child, we regularly make donations to various local charities, disaster relief efforts, international development agencies, Amnesty International, and various human rights and anti-racist groups. When added to our annual poster and poetry contest prizes and other undertakings, these amount to a substantial financial commitment.

With the help of representatives from provincial and federal government agencies, our program has successfully applied for grant money for specific projects. We’ve received funding from Alberta Culture, Alberta Immigration and the Secretary of State for Youth in Ottawa.

Otherwise we’re left to fund raise the rest of it. This provides the group with some great lessons in planning and cooperative goal-setting. We have thrown a multicultural spin on a traditional bake sale, encouraging students to “eat multi.” Working bingos, raffles and a school-wide garage sale have all been successful money generators, but more importantly, they get the group together in a fun environment for some crucial team-building.

Sometimes selling related products can raise money while spreading a positive message. For instance, we have sold dozens of multi-faith calendars for a provincial multi-faith council and several of the colourful “One Heart Many Colours” T-shirts produced by Alberta Multiculturalism.

We’ve also been most fortunate to have a very supportive school environment; it seems we are always getting volunteer help from other teachers, support staff and students to assist with our projects. The use of clerical staff, stationery, supplies, a meeting space, transportation and other overhead items are virtually all covered by the generosity of our school administration. We pay for all large projects, long distance trips, conference expenses, club functions and mass mailings from our club funds.

**Featured Speakers**

The students realized immediately that if they wanted to create an atmosphere of acceptance of differences in our school and beyond, then an important step would be to combat ignorance. Through education, students can be led to a clearer understanding of this diverse world and their place in it. S.T.O.P. has always made it our mandate to seek out experts in their field and find engaging speakers on various issues to share their ideas with a student audience.

We typically book a large meeting room in the school and advertise the event to invite students and teachers from outside our club to attend. In some cases we’ll notify the local media if we think they may find our topic of guest newsworthy. The speakers will usually be given a small honorarium, any necessary travel expenses, and a small gift as a token of our appreciation.

Over the years we have invited people to speak out on issues such as mental health, native issues, world development, human rights legislation, women and poverty, homosexuality, skinheads against racism, torture, and human rights violations, refugee and immigration issues, world peace, world health, and physical and mental
disabilities. We try to coordinate the dates of their appearances with significant commemorative days on the calendar.

Our guest speakers have been diverse, and have come from the ranks of government directors, committee chairs, community volunteers, Native elders, torture victims, people with visual, hearing, and mental disabilities, exchange students, political activists, and members of visible and invisible minority groups.

Some noteworthy guests have included the late Sheldon Chumir, an Alberta M.L.A. and dedicated human rights advocate, Fil Fraser, talk show host and (now former) chairman of the Alberta Human Rights Commission, Doreen Befus, former mental institution client and tireless advocate for persons with disabilities, and Steve Ramsankar, an Order of Canada recipient for his rejuvenation of a multi-ethnic inner-city elementary school in Edmonton.

Spontaneous Social Activism

Now and again, our meetings are dominated by a particular controversial issue and it seems apparent that our group should take some action. For example, in 1992 (now former) Alberta premier Don Getty made some inflammatory statements against Canada's official policies of bilingualism and multiculturalism. When our local Red Deer M.L.A. Stockwell Day supported his boss' stand, our students penned letters to both of their offices as well as various newspaper editorial columns. Mr. Day promptly arranged to visit a S.T.O.P. meeting at which he presented his views to our group while the students got some first-hand experience with political debate.

Realizing that our mandate is to educate rather than confront, it is difficult to restrain ourselves sometimes from becoming embroiled in hot issues. However, when a Sikh man, chairman of the provincial Liberal party, was denied entry into a Red Deer Legion meeting room because he was wearing "headgear" in the form of a turban, students in our group wanted to take some action. Rather than staging a public protest in front of the offending Legion hall, they wrote letters. They even invited the victim, Ram ChaHal, to address a gathering of students at our school to explain the Sikh religion and customs.

More recently, Alberta M.L.A. Dianne Mirosh caused a series of controversies with statements criticizing gays, non-English speaking immigrants, and the existence of a Human Rights Commission in Alberta. Students in our group sought to initiate direct dialogue with her and when she failed to respond, they wrote letters to new premier Ralph Klein and various newspapers. We have received several letters from supporters and detractors around Alberta, making us aware that we've gotten a few more people thinking about these issues and their impact on all of our lives.

The horror of a natural disaster became a reality in November 1988 when a devastating earthquake struck Armenia. Students in S.T.O.P. decided to help the victims by raising money for the Red Cross Emergency Relief Fund. Outside the school library, we set up a large telegram on which other students were encouraged to express a personal message of encouragement and make a donation if they could. All money raised was matched by our own funds, bringing the total to over $300. The president of the Armenian Cultural Society in Calgary even agreed to hand deliver the telegram to earthquake victims.

Once when a building adjacent our school was vandalized with some anti-French graffiti, members of our group volunteered to repaint the wall (at the risk of being viewed as symbolically white-washing a contentious issue). The school district donated the paint and about eight of us had a good time learning a new trade; we made a mess and even managed to get a bit of paint onto the offensive surface.

Another time, four students and I were travelling on the highway, returning to Red Deer from a national radio talk show in Edmonton, when we spotted a massive sign affixed to an overpass. In large crude letters someone had written "No French in Alberta." The S.T.O.P. members insisted we pull over and two young girls raced up the hill to the overpass where they proceeded to cut the large wooden sign from the railings. I managed to capture the moment on film and the photo now graces our club scrapbook.

Proclamations

As a part of Human Rights Awareness Week in our school sponsored by S.T.O.P. in December, 1991, some of the members decided to seek civic approval of our efforts. We drafted a proclamation declaring December 10 to be International Human Rights Day for the first time ever in Red Deer. It was signed by the mayor at a city council meeting where a small group of S.T.O.P. members got to talk to the press.

This was an appropriate highlight to our week which had featured a forum of over 300 students with three guest speakers and a drama presentation, and daily noon hour meetings including guests ranging from anti-racist skinheads from S.H.A.R.P. (Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice), to the national president of the World Sikh Organization, to a caretaker at our school who related how he was forced out of his job as a university professor in Iran when the political tide turned, to the chairman of the Alberta Human Rights Commission.

The following school year, S.T.O.P. members were honoured to attend another city council meeting at which Red Deer's new mayor proclaimed March 21, 1993 as the International Day to Eliminate Racism and Discrimination. Though largely symbolic the proclamation now adorns the school's display case; it represents a direct contact between our group and city leaders and the students' collective desire to get the adult community involved in their efforts.

Publications

After S.T.O.P. had been operating for three years, some of the students wanted to produce a kind of magazine to summarize our work to date as a group. We assigned a student and myself as co-editors and a number of students contributed articles and ideas. As we predicted, the project took far more time than we had originally anticipated to complete; after several months of teaching ourselves to use a desktop publishing program and fighting with deadlines, we finally had a printer-ready copy.

The students decided to leave the cover blank except for
the name Students and Teachers Opposing Prejudice and the saying: "It's what's inside that counts." To help with costs, we included advertisements from the Alberta Human Rights Commission and the Alberta Alcohol and Drug Abuse Commission. The students also sought permission from Chronicle Features to use two "Far Side" cartoons relating to the idea of fitting in.

Other features of our "stopmag" included a brief history of the group, a statement of our beliefs, an advice column, reports on past activities, a contest announcement, personal accounts of discrimination, as well as art and poetry from past contests. We produced over 2,000 copies of the 12-page magazine on recycled paper and mailed copies to as many schools as we could and to everyone on our mailing list. The considerable costs of the whole undertaking were offset by grants and other money we'd raised.

We have continued to produce a one-page brochure which we update yearly to distribute to people who request information when we visit schools and meetings. These are also convenient to keep in our school office if students and visitors desire to know more about what we do.

Future Directions – No Sign of Stopping

I trust that the group will remain active for many years to come. One of our long-term goals has been to encourage similar activities in other schools in Red Deer, in other parts of Alberta, and hopefully across Canada. For years we have been planning to establish official S.T.O.P. chapters and organize a network of students and teachers committed to the same goals. Such an undertaking would involve considerable administrative groundwork to accomplish, but it seems like a worthwhile project to pursue.

We've already met with hundreds of students at youth conferences across Alberta who are eager to organize something similar to S.T.O.P. in their schools. Many students who send submissions to our contests ask how they can get involved; we always write them back soon with specific suggestions based on what has worked best for us.

Some students in other schools have organized a group of their peers to conduct events like prejudice awareness days, multicultural events, guest speakers and fun fund raisers for world development and local charities. We would like to see some kind of comprehensive summary of these activities included in an appealing medium like a provincial or national student human rights newsletter to unite similar efforts.

If anyone reading this piece is interested in this idea, or would like more information about the group, the students and I would certainly like to hear from you. Call me or write to the school and we'll work together to enhance the efforts being put forth in different areas toward the same end goal.

Conclusion

My ongoing involvement with the S.T.O.P. program continues to provide me with tremendous personal and professional satisfaction. I've been honoured with a number of prestigious awards and have spoken and written many times about the group. Most rewarding is the opportunity to work with such excellent young members of our community.

I'm convinced that these young people are indicative of a growing number of caring teens who refute the frequent headlines about our apathetic and destructive youth. I believe that most young individuals will commit themselves to a cause they believe in, if they are just given an opportunity. If they are given a real voice in important issues they will rise to the level of expectations set for them.

A great strength of the S.T.O.P. program is that it is powered by the energy and ideas of the diverse youth who make up its membership. I am proud to be associated with these young people. I'm also optimistic about the future of our country when I think of all the young citizens like these and their tremendous potential for shaping a more caring and accepting Canadian society.
Multicultural and Racism Awareness Programs for Teachers: A Meta-Analysis of the Research

Josette McGregor and Charles Ungerleider, Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia

Introduction

Social diversity has always been a characteristic of Canadian public schooling, but in recent years, it has become one of its principal characteristics. Students attending public schools today are, on virtually any given background variable (religion, gender, social class, ethnicity, skin colour), more diverse than at any time in the past. This diversity is, in part, attributable to changes in the nature of Canadian schooling. For example, increasingly diverse curricula helps to retain students who, in previous generations, would have dropped out of school. The diversity is also attributable to the changing nature of Canadian society, including different patterns of immigration.

Although the impact of social diversity has been felt in all sectors of society, no sector has experienced the impact of this diversity more profoundly than the Canadian public school. Thus, in recent years, it is not at all surprising that the literature devoted to schooling has included attention to multiculturalism and race relations. This body of literature has addressed diverse elements, including the description and analysis of multicultural policies (c.f., Murray, 1977; Anderson & Fullan, 1984; Cummins & Masemann, 1985; Melnicer, 1986; Lavender, 1986; Churchill, 1986; Martin-Jones, 1989; Redden, 1990; Zinman, 1991) the impact of the climate of schooling (c.f., Kehoe, 1984; Lynch, 1987; McDougall, 1986); student attitudes (c.f. Clifton & Perry, 1985); and the impact of curricular interventions on students (c.f., McPhie & Beynon, 1989; Melenchuk, A. 1989; Jack, 1989; McGregor, 1993).

Any consideration of multiculturalism and race relations in education that ignores the centrality of teachers would be inadequate since teachers play the pivotal role in educating for a socially just and plural society. The preparation of teachers for creating the conditions under which students can learn to work and live together harmoniously and productively is central to achieving these goals. As Triandis (1975:39) puts it:

When people belong to different cultures or have different subjective cultures, interpersonal interaction is painfully unpleasant; however, when individuals are trained to understand the subjective culture of other groups, there is some evidence of improved intergroup relationships.

According to this viewpoint, the social complexity of schools and classrooms demands that teachers learn how to read, analyze and respond to the social relations that they confront daily (Watts, 1974). Teachers are considered capable of changing the social relations of the classroom to better meet the goals of a multicultural society by developing specific skills, knowledge and attitudes in students (Kehoe, 1984; Friesen, 1985). Thus it is not surprising that, in recent years, increasing attention has been paid to developing educational experiences designed to help teachers learn about and manage the variables affecting inter-cultural and inter-racial contact in their classrooms.

One approach has been to educate teachers about specific cultures. The approach combines anthropological and social-psychological perspectives and involves a broad range of teaching techniques. For example, teachers may be taught how members of a particular cultural group view time and space, how the type, frequency and intimacy of contact with members of other cultural groups affect interaction with them and how the relative numbers and status of in-group and out-group members affect relations within the classroom. A second approach takes the view that teachers need:

- a philosophy of multicultural education
- knowledge of cultural pluralism
- respect for minority students
- interaction posture and management skills
- non-judgmental orientation
- ability to respond with empathy
- tolerance for ambiguity (Daudlin, 1984, p. 129)

In an article reviewing strategies to increase the effectiveness of education to reduce prejudice, McDougall (1985) (cf. Mayes, 1978) takes a somewhat different perspective, advocating:

Teacher education which (sic) stresses relevant social science principles, the history of prejudice, cultural geographic studies of Canada's main immigrant groups and sensitivity training would make teachers better multicultural educators. (p. 81)

Curious about the effects of attempts to prepare teachers for managing inter-cultural and inter-racial contact in their classrooms and for creating the conditions under which students can learn to work and live together harmoniously and productively, we sought to synthesize the research.
devoted to attitude change in teachers using a technique called meta-analysis.

**Methodology**

Meta-analysis, the method used in this study, aggregates and analyses the results of previous research. Research aggregation provides important information to policymakers, program implementers, and future researchers. This method appears to be the best available means to integrate the findings of studies in an area, compare the effects of a range of interventions, and explore relationships among variables. Meta-analysis employs procedures similar to those of primary research, and thus is different from standard literature reviews. Relevant literature is reviewed, hypotheses are developed, a research design is established, sampling procedures are determined, data are collected and analyzed, and results are interpreted in light of the questions guiding the investigation. The main difference between primary research and meta-analysis is that, in meta-analysis the data are obtained from past studies rather than a new study of the phenomena.

One of the steps of a meta-analysis is to mathematically change the results of a study to a ‘standard score’ or effect size. A researcher can then compare the results across numerous studies more accurately. Effect sizes approximate the distribution of z scores with a mid-point of the distribution at the 50th percentile. Thus a study producing an effect size of +1.00 indicates that the intervention increased the experimental group’s average score from the 50th percentile to the 84th percentile. In other words, the students in the experimental group performed better than 84% of the students in the control group. Calculating effect sizes provides data for further analysis.

The studies analyzed in this meta-analysis ask the same basic question: what is the effect of a program designed to change the attitudes and behaviours of student teachers and practising teachers toward ethnic minority groups? The design or context of each study, however, is unique. Differences between the studies are key because they give us more information about the conditions needed to bring about the desired outcome: a positive change in teacher attitudes. For example, we can ask whether one particular program approach to attitude change produced better results than another. We can examine whether programs of longer duration produced greater attitude change. These and other questions are examined in this meta-analysis.

**Procedures**

First we searched all library indexes (Education, Psychology, dissertation abstracts, etc.) to locate relevant studies. Most of the studies were found, however, in the reference lists of relevant sources. To include a study in our analysis it had to meet two conditions:

1. The study had to involve an intervention aimed at changing the racial prejudice or behaviours of teachers, student teachers or college education students. The research method used in the study could be either qualitative or quantitative.
2. To convert the results of a study to an effect size the researcher(s) must have included a control group and measured the after-treatment change in racial prejudice or behaviour of the teacher group.

Once the relevant studies were found, we summarized and coded each study according to various characteristics relevant to our research questions. These questions came from theoretical and empirical literature on attitude change generally and prejudice reduction literature specifically, and from issues concerning practitioners in the field. Some of the important questions and the reasons for their inclusion are:

1. Is there a difference between the effect of studies using a cultural information approach (also called cross-cultural training), or a racism awareness approach (also called race relations training, anti-racist teaching) on the attitude change of teachers? This is a question of concern to program implementors who disagree about the best way to approach the issue of racism or prejudice. The purposes of a cultural information approach, as we defined it are to:

   a. convey social, cultural, economic and political information about other cultures and countries;
   b. train people to communicate and interact with people from different cultural backgrounds; and
   c. develop cultural self-awareness by examining one’s cultural values, beliefs and assumptions.

The purposes of a racism awareness approach are to:

   a. increase people’s understanding of the dynamics of racism; and
   b. increase people’s ability to combat harassment based upon race.

2. Are attitudes of the white teachers more likely to change if the program includes inter-ethnic contact? According to the contact hypothesis (Amir, 1969 and others), if certain conditions are met, inter-ethnic contact can have a positive impact on prejudice.

3. Are attitudes more likely to change when the attitude toward certain minority groups is targeted? Evidence shows that prejudice is stronger toward particular groups at particular times and places. For example, Robson and Bream found that Canadians have discernible preferences concerning the members of particular ethnic groups (Robson and Bream, 1985)

4. Is there a relationship between the outcome of the study and how many women and men are in the experimental group? We asked this question because studies show that the attitudes of women are generally more positive and sometimes change more than those of the men (Cooke, 1969; Dunbar, 1980; Jones, J. 1983) (women scored better but the finding was not significant); Maas, 1983; Newman, 1974; Patterson, 1977; Verma and MacDonald, 1971). Shanahan (1972), however, found no significant differences between the attitudes of girls and boys. We hypothesized that because of these findings the gender composition of the experimental group could affect the outcome of a study.

5. Do the studies show that the longer people are involved in an attitude change program, the greater the attitude change? It is commonly believed that exposure to a program for a longer period of time will have a greater
Effect sizes were calculated for each finding relevant to the questions of this meta-analysis and for those studies where statistical information was available. The qualitative (non-statistical) studies were annotated.

Results

We found 46 studies of interventions to change the racial prejudice or behaviours of teachers toward ethnic minority groups. Because some of these studies were brief descriptions of an intervention and did not meet one or the other of our two inclusion criteria they were subsequently excluded from the analysis. We also excluded studies conducted before 1960 for two reasons. First, the attitude change instruments used in older studies were validated on populations during quite different time periods. These instruments can become invalid when revalidated on current populations. Second, for historical reasons, 1960 seemed the most appropriate cut-off date.

Our final data set included 19 studies conducted between the years 1967 and 1985. Eighteen studies were conducted in the United States and one in Canada (Wyatt-Beynon, 1985). The studies ranged from those conducted in a laboratory setting to more holistic approaches addressing individual and institutional racism, sexism and class differences (e.g., Clark 1971, Bidol 1972, Schniedewind 1975). The average implementation time of the programs under study was 44 hours. Most programs were one-term university courses. Student teachers were participants in 14 studies, and in-service teachers were participants in 5 studies.

The instruments used in these studies measured a wide variety of attitude "indicators". For example, researchers measured ethnocentrism, authoritarianism, social distance, interpersonal values, and behavioural expectations. The participants' knowledge of information taught during the program was also evaluated. We only included, however, findings from social distance scales, semantic differential scales, and behavioural observation scales. We were interested in racial prejudice specifically, not the knowledge or other attitudes the teachers may have.

A variety of techniques to change attitudes and/or behaviours were employed in these studies. For example, case studies, lecture/presentations, films, discussions, social simulation games, culture assimilators, role playing, reflective writing, linguistic courses on Black American dialect and sensitivity training (T-group) were used. Over half of the effect sizes were from studies using a racism awareness approach to the training (63%). The other studies used a cultural information approach, simulation games, human relations training, desensitization training, or sensitivity training.

Across all the studies, white teachers represented from 40% to 100% of the total experimental group. Forty-four per cent of the effect sizes are from studies where all the teachers are white. Male teachers represented from 6% to 64% of the experimental group. On average, they represented 30% of the experimental group.

Eight studies measured attitude change toward a number of different minority groups rather than just one. Ten studies measured attitude change toward Blacks only and one study measured attitude change toward Hispanics only.

Effect Sizes

From the 19 studies in our data set, we obtained 43 effect sizes. The average study showed a +.20 standard deviation improvement of the treatment group over the control group. Thus, an average teacher who had been exposed to an intervention demonstrated less measured racial prejudice than 57% of the control subjects. The mean effect size for studies using a treatment focussing on "race" or racism was +.27. For studies using a cultural information approach or a social-psychological approach, the mean effect size was +.09.

Seventy-two per cent of the effect sizes were positive (N = 31) and 28% were negative (N = 12). A negative effect size indicates that after the treatment an average subject in the treatment group exhibited more racial prejudice than before the treatment. Thirty percent of the effect sizes were significant at the .05 probability level (N = 13). Of these significant effect sizes, 11 were positive and 2 were negative.

Regression Analysis

The following analysis uses regression techniques to investigate how much of the variation in the effect sizes is attributable to a combination of moderating or independent variables. These independent variables represent characteristics of each study and are variables we thought important to the results of the studies. These are: the duration of the program, the ethnic and gender composition of the treatment group, the minority group that attitude change was directed toward, whether the participants were student teachers or in-service teachers, and whether a cultural information (including social-psychological approaches) or a racism awareness approach was used.1

After dropping the non-significant variables from the regression model and taking into account multicollinearity and non-linear relationships, we were able to explain 62% of the variance in the effect sizes (see McGregor 1993 for an explanation of multicollinearity, and relevant statistics books for an explanation of non-linear relationships among variables).

Conclusions

The results of this analysis tell us a number of things about the characteristics of a positive prejudice reduction program in the set of studies we analyzed. Two variables are not significant: the minority group that attitude change is directed toward and whether the participants are student teachers or in-service teachers. These variables do not make a difference to the outcome of the study. A number of

1We also included two publication variables and one methodological variable in the regression model. These were chosen because the literature on meta-analysis shows that these variables are significant in explaining the variation in the effect sizes (see McGregor 1993). We included the year the study was published, whether it was published in a refereed source, and whether a pre-test was administered.
variables are significant. As the duration of a program increases, the average prejudice of the experimental group decreases. This positive effect only occurs to a certain point, and then, as the duration of the program increases further, the effect decreases. This confirms our suspicion that the results of programs attenuate if implemented for too long a period of time.

When a greater percentage of the teachers in the experimental group are white, attitudes improve. We suspect that the conditions for positive inter-group contact were not present in the groups involving both whites and non-whites.

Two variables that are also significant determinants of the results are the percentage of males in the participant group and whether the researcher used a racism awareness approach or a cultural information approach. However, because we found multicollinearity between these two variables, we cannot say how these variables affect the outcome of the studies, only that one or both of these variables are significant.²

It is nevertheless disturbing that, despite the best intentions, 30% of the effect sizes were negative. As educators we are concerned about any instructional intervention that systematically produces a deterioration in performance. That the deterioration occurred in what we regard as a critical area of teacher preparation is deeply troubling. We believe that future interventions must look more closely at the relationship between background variables such as prior knowledge, experiences and attitudes, and the substance and procedures employed in the interventions. We believe that those individuals whose performance deteriorates as a consequence of interventions can be identified and either excluded from particular interventions or directed toward interventions which might be more efficacious for them.

We are also concerned that the impact of interventions in this area is not itself more efficacious. We believe that more attention needs to be devoted to an examination of the substance and procedures on the interventions. In particular, we believe that better preparation is needed for those who design and implement such interventions. Such individuals need a more thorough understanding of the theoretical and empirical literature devoted to attitude and behaviour change as well as a deeper knowledge of the principles of curriculum design and implementation.

We believe that teachers are able to change the social relations in their classrooms to better meet the goals of a multicultural society. We believe as strongly that before these goals can be reached it will be necessary to increase the attention paid to the systemic development and delivery of educational experiences designed to help teachers learn about and manage the variables affecting inter-cultural and inter-racial contact in their classrooms.

²Both publication variables are also significant: the year the study was published and whether the study was published in a refereed journal or not. Older studies and refereed studies had higher effect sizes.

References

General References


Education for a Multicultural Society: 
the UK Experience

David E. Selby, Professor of Education and Co-Director, International Institute for Global Education, University of Toronto

This paper explores the curricular and methodological responses to multiculturalism over the last forty years in United Kingdom schools. The history of that period has many parallels with the Canadian experience but needs to be set against a more obvious “lack of belief in Britain that it is culturally pluralistic” and a more limpet-like allegiance to a traditional conception of the nation state (McLeod, in Starkey, ed., 1991, 166-7). At risk of oversimplification, it is possible to say that the United Kingdom has experienced three distinct phases and now appears to be steering towards a fourth. Each phase, its myriad eddies and flows notwithstanding, has been marked by a key concept or guiding principle.

The first phase coincided with the arrival of Caribbean and Asian workers and their families in the United Kingdom in the 1950s and 1960s. The key word was integration (or, as some writers have it, assimilation or absorption). The educational world reacted to the presence of “children of immigrants” in the schools by assuming that they would both absorb and be absorbed into the ‘dominant culture’, whatever that meant. A recurring maxim at the time was “when in Rome do as the Romans do”. Another was “treat them all the same”. The latter maxim stemmed from the belief that by playing down cultural difference and skin colour, the teacher could help children live harmoniously together and appreciate their commonality rather than their differences. In practice, it meant treating all children as though they were white and Anglo-Saxon (Houlton, 1986, 24). Children of immigrants were expected to experience and gain benefit from a curriculum that has been variously described since the “traditional curriculum”, the “ethnocentric curriculum”, the “ eurocentric curriculum” and the “narcissistic curriculum”. The educational response to the phase of integration was, to all intents and purposes, restricted to a narrow interpretation of “special measures” involving little beyond the provision of English as a Second Language (Lloyd in Smith and Beck, 1982, 66). Through such provision, the process of absorption into the “host community” was to be expedited. “Most teachers and administrators were confident that whatever problems existed would readily sort themselves out within the next ten years or so” (Richardson, 1982a, 5).

Two brief comments on the integration phase. First, an educational response having as its goal the cultural absorption of the children of minority communities was a spatially limited provision. By definition, integration needed only to happen where there were children of ethnic minorities to integrate. The so-called “all-white” school and “all-white” community were left untouched by this phase. Second, whilst the integration phase is associated with the 1960s, the sentiments underpinning it, and further engendered by it, still find expression, albeit sotto voce, in the 1990s.

Multicultural Education

The 1970s witnessed the emergence of a second cultural diversity, or cultural pluralism phase which began as an articulate critique of integration and which later came to have a powerful influence on curriculum content. The critics argued that an approach targeted primarily at integration was “negative, harmful, inaccurate, limited and fundamentally racist” (Richardson, 1982a, 5) in its devaluing of the culture of ethnic minorities. It did untold psychological damage to the ethnic minority child by creating conflicting pressures between the school (which sought to erode the family’s culture) and the home (which sought to maintain cultural norms and practices). As such, its effect was to diminish the child’s self-image and self-esteem. Taking another, but related, tack, the proponents of this second phase argued that a strategy of integration meant that schools were missing an invaluable opportunity to enrich the learning and broaden the horizons of all students by fomenting a sharing of cultural experiences and practices.

Building upon their critique of integration, the multiculturalists (the term fits proponents of this phase best) developed their own rationale and project. Education should both reflect and be a vehicle for renewing a culturally diverse and pluralistic society. Schools should recognise, draw out and celebrate cultural differences. This would allow ethnic minority students to gain a ‘positive image’ (Jeffcoat, 1979) which, in turn, would enable home and school to contribute in a mutually supportive way to their development. A sharing of culture at school would enrich the cultural experience of all and help promote respect, tolerance and understanding. This, in turn, would diminish the likelihood of inter-community strife.

As a forerunner to the fully-fledged multicultural model arising out of the above rationale, some schools adopted a compensatory approach that sought to modify the curriculum in the direction of the ethnic minority child by injecting courses or units of cultural relevance. In secondary schools, this trend gave rise to courses in “Black Studies,” “Caribbean Studies” and so on whilst in the primary schools it was often reflected in culturally appropriate topics in work offered to ethnic minority children. In its failure to embrace all students and to promote cultural sharing, the compensatory approach perpetuated many of
the mistakes of integration whilst falling short of meeting the goals of the multiculturalists. As Gerry Davis put it, ethnic minority children "were being compensated for being deficient white children," (cited in Houlton, 1986, 26). The compensatory approach, a phenomenon principally of the early 1970s, was rapidly overtaken; first by an "additive" approach (Lynch, 1983, 44) involving the injection of discrete multicultural components into the learning programme of all students and, later, by a more thoroughgoing infusionist or permeationist approach to the multicultural curriculum.

**The Multicultural Curriculum**

By 1977 a Department of Education and Science Green Paper, *Education in Schools: A Consultative Document*, was making it clear, if a little half-heartedly, that "our society is a multicultural, multi-racial one, and the curriculum should reflect a sympathetic understanding of the different races and cultures that now make up our society". By that date new curricula, courses or learning opportunities reflecting the multiculturalists' goals were a regular feature of a wide range of elementary and secondary schools in the United Kingdom.

Pre-school children in a remote, "all-white", area of North Cumbria where it was "very unusual for children to see someone of different race or colour" were being regularly exposed to a selection of black dolls in the home play equipment and were listening to stories about the experiences of children living and growing up in mixed racial communities (Twitchin & Demuth, 1981, 50). In Leicestershire, two primary schools, one an "all-white" dormitory village school, the other a racially mixed inner-city school, arranged a programme of reciprocal visits involving teachers and students. Children from the former were involved in Indian cookery, dance and dressing in traditional Indian costume (often with peer tutoring by the Indian children). Analysing students' written observations on the visits, the teachers at the village school felt that a step forward had been made "in the direction of developing greater respect for other people and their way of life" whilst the teachers of the Asian children felt their charges had become more self-assured about volunteering details of their way of life (ibid., 51–3).

Another feature of this period was the use of 'world days' to celebrate the culture of an ethnic group represented in the school community. The best of these was the culmination of weeks of in-school preparation by the students, involving adult representatives of the culture in question. A typical pattern for a "world day" was for the suspension of the normal timetable, and its replacement by a programme of dance, music, sport, films and drama reflecting the chosen culture. The doors of the school would be thrown open to the community. Central to the day would be an exhibition of students' work whilst school meals and refreshments incorporated dishes from the culture (see, for instance, Selby, 1976; Shaw, 1980, 9–13).

In strict curricular terms, the advent of multiculturalism saw some significant examples of change. History teaching had long been characterised by the Eurocentric, at best Eurocentric, thrust of the curriculum. One could "swing through 300 years of history via Drake, Raleigh, Cromwell, Marlborough, Wolfe, Nelson and Wellington with only passing references to women, non-European peoples and countries" (File and Hinds in Straker-Welds, 1984, 84). The 'wider world' often only fleetingly appeared above the curricular horizon when some British gunboat went to defend the "national interest". Multiculturalists called for the introduction of a global dimension into the history curriculum so that the history of non-European civilisations and countries would become a central feature of the programme of study. Tulse Hill School, London, a pioneer in the field, developed a series of teaching units for 13–14 year olds aimed at promoting understanding of the social organisation of African, European, Indian, Chinese, North American, South American and Caribbean societies in the years around 1400 AD. "The unit on Africa makes reference to the West African Kingdom, the Ethiopian Empire, Great Zimbabwe, the Trans-Saharan and East Coast trading networks and Islam. In India we examine both the Moslem Mughal Empire and the Hindu Vijayanagan Empire. China involves the Sung and Ming Dynasties; South America the Inca Empire; Europe is focussed mainly on Britain; the Caribbean on Arawak and Carib histories; and North America on the Pueblo and the Kwaiiukutli peoples" (ibid., 88). The period around 1400 was chosen as the last in which different civilisations could be studied in relative isolation from each other before the age of European expansion. The different societies could therefore be shown to be culturally rich and varied in their own right, with highly developed life-styles and forms of social organisation. Both the overt and covert agenda of the curriculum was to bolster the esteem of ethnic minority students and to encourage respect for cultural achievement across the whole student body.

Geography teachers, too, sought to de-emphasise the study of the United Kingdom and Europe and give more space to the physical and human geography of the parts of the world from which the immigrant communities had come. In doing so, there was the ever present danger of presenting images of the so-called "Third World" which served to reinforce stereotypes and negative attitudes. English literature courses, which had earlier focussed on the work of English writers of English (with the occasional condescending nod towards the rich seam of twentieth-century Irish literature), began to take on broad examples of world literature. Novels, plays, short stories and poems from other countries and cultures where English is spoken were introduced to students (multiculturalists offered the salutary reminder that English as spoken and written by the majority of British people is a minority form of the language!) as were non-English texts in translation. In a similar way, the Religious Education curriculum shifted from an exclusively Christocentric focus to include the treatment of world religions in the elementary and lower secondary school and more thoroughly comparative religion courses in the senior secondary school. Significantly, the daily act of worship laid down for all state schools by the 1944 Education Act took on a multicultural or globally ecumenical flavour in many schools where ethnic minority children were present in significant numbers.

Other curricular areas that provided a ready means of helping ethnic minority children reinforce the sources of their cultural identity whilst exposing all students to a multicultural experience were found to be home economics, art and music. Home economics topics inviting exploration of cross-cultural similarities and variations include cookery and food; clothes, fabrics and textiles; housing styles;
importantly, family life, child rearing and child development. Here one home economics teacher describes her approach to teaching staple food products:

I find it better to introduce one basic food element as a theme and then discuss the different forms it can appear in ... If we take wheat as the basis of a perfectly normal lesson, we are soon unselfconsciously talking about pumpernickel, croissants or chapattis. It is a case of building on the similarities to introduce the differences; starting with just the basics of flour and water can lead into discussing unleavened bread, dumplings, Spanish arepas, Jamaican ardoth, etc. It is an approach which helps the different ethnic groups to respect each other. (Twitchin & Demuth, 1981, 76).

Multicultural approaches to art and music in the classroom involved giving less prominence to European fine art or high art traditions and more prominence to the folk, craft or community traditions of the newly-arrivant ethnic minorities and other non-European peoples. Hence, one primary school sought to portray different festivals from around the world using a craft form linked to a particular culture: Dewali was represented using batik work; Eid using weaving; Mardi Gras using tye dyeing; Balsekhi (Sikh festival) using sindhi or mirror work (Dimmock, 1989). The multicultural-oriented music curriculum, introduced into many schools, familiarised students, through listening and performing, with the musical forms and styles of different cultures. Non-Western entry points for technical study were also availed of: for instance, the study of rhythm, pitch and timbre through Asian and Latin American music, and the study of the notation through the songs of Bob Marley (Floyd, 1984, 40).

There are various approaches to curriculum opportunities for multiculturalism (ably reviewed in Craft & Bardell, 1984, and Straker-Welds, 1984). Many schools, especially in seemingly mono-ethnic areas, chose not to go down the multicultural road. The multicultural curriculum has been more often than not a phenomenon of the school set in a multi-ethnic catchment area. The commitment to the principle of multiculturalism in Britain does not have the constitutional and statutory support found in Canada (McLeod in Starkey, ed., 1991, 167). With some notable exceptions, so-called "all-white" schools have tended to regard multiculturalism as no concern of theirs. Those that recognized the need to prepare students for life in a mobile multicultural society sometimes stopped short of implementing a multicultural curriculum out of fear of parental reaction and/or uncertainty as to how to go about the task given the nature of the student and local population.

Second, where multiculturalism did take root in the 1970s, it tended to flourish in the relatively soft curricular ground of the humanities, the arts and religious education. It failed to throw down roots in the hard (and high status) curricular ground of mathematics and science. Failure to reinforce the messages of multiculturalism across the curriculum left the whole multicultural project vulnerable to charges of tokenism. Where it really mattered, the ethnocentric curriculum seemed impervious to change. It was only in the 1980s that the bastions of mathematics and science teaching fell, to any extent, to the inroads of multiculturalism. Third, in the 1970s there was no clear conception of a "whole school" approach to multicultural education; i.e. of what the goals of the multiculturalists might mean in terms of administration, pastoral work, teaching and learning styles, classroom relationships, school/community relationships and overall ethos and climate. "Whole-school" multiculturalism, likewise, had to wait until the 1980s and until after the arrival and maturation of the school of thought identified with the third phase of our story, the education for equality or anti-racist phase.

Anti-racist Education

The late-1970s and early 1980s saw the onset of this third phase. Like the cultural diversity phase, it began as a critique of what had gone before. What were the criticisms? First, it was argued that the treatment of culture within the multicultural classroom had been superficial and exotic; too much of what has been variously described as the 'clothing, calypso, cooking and customs' approach (Richardson, 1982b, 7) and the "3-S syndrome – sarees, samosas and steel bands" (Houlton, 1984, 30). It was a romantic conception of culture, placing the emphasis on costume, customs, festivals, food, the ritualistic rather than more profound meanings of religion, and myths from the country of origin (in many cases long abandoned by the minority group concerned). A deeper exploration of a culture within its economic, environmental and ideological setting was, critics argued, rarely attempted. This, they added, had the effect of exoticising culture and, thus, reinforcing stereotypes and racist attitudes in the majority student population.

A second criticism concerned the texts and resources used to promote cultural pluralism in the classroom. Whilst the choice of topic might have the laudable aim of creating favourable attitudes towards other cultures, that intention was undermined by the ethnocentric and racist ("White is right, West is best") tone and thrust of many of the materials made available to students. Hicks (1980, a & b) studied bias in the ten secondary geography textbooks that he found, by questionnaire, to be most frequently used by geography teachers in the United Kingdom. His work revealed:

- the frequent use of the term "primitive" to describe non-Western lifestyles;
- the widespread suggestion that Africa, the Americas and Oceania were "unknown" or "undiscovered" until Europeans arrived;
- the perpetuation of colonial stereotypes (such as the characterisation of Africa as the "dark continent"); and
- an implicit and, oftentimes, explicit suggestion within the texts that whites are inherently superior.

Hudson subsequently explored ethnocentric bias in secondary mathematics textbooks. In one book, the fifth in a widely used series, he found an illustration of three black men, two of whom are dressed in loin cloths, carrying spears, and one in old colonial style white shirt and shorts. The latter is demonstrating how a circle may be drawn using two sticks. "This example," remarks Hudson (1985, 25) "is the first representation in the series of a non-white racial group, apart from one other token inclusion. The potential damage to the images of others, and to the self-image of some, is very significant if such a patronising
example is left unchallenged. Simply to ignore it is actually to condone it as a teacher and some form of action is demanded in order to combat its underlying racism.”

But what kind of action? Should it be to withdraw offending materials from classroom use? The question is a complex one that has divided teachers and educators concerned about bias in resources. The age of the students should, perhaps, be the determining factor. With younger, more impressionable, children, who have not reached the age or stage where textual/media discernment skills can be nurtured, there is a stronger case for withdrawal. With older age groups, offending works and passages can provide opportunities for sensitising students to bias, ethnocentrism and negative/stereotypical images and for practising textual/media discernment skills. In answering her own question, “sanitise or sensitise?”, Klein (1985, 133) states that: “A totally sanitised collection of resources would be so out of touch with reality as to be of little use to pupils. Prejudice is a reality of their lives and cannot be wholly expunged from their literature. The most effective and lasting strategy for combating racism and sexism and other damaging bias in books is to teach children to
challenge everything they read. They need to learn to be critical of the media and to develop and ultimately trust their own judgement ... A healthy scepticism for the apparent authority of print ... has to be a powerful and continuing dimension of the visible and hidden curriculum.” Concern over bias and negative images and connotations in texts and resources led to the appearance of a spate of checklists for students and teachers to use in assessing materials (see Fig. I for an example). An interesting strategy employed by some teachers was to set students the task of devising, then administering, their own checklist.

By far the most strident criticisms of multicultural education were, however, reserved for its failure to address racism. In the literature of anti-racist education, racism is typically defined as prejudice plus power. As such, it can be broken down into attitudinal racism and structural or systemic racism. Adherents of the anti-racist school argued that multicultural education failed to address the former in any substantive way and failed to completely address the latter.

The tangential approach to dissolving attitudinal racism (i.e. the individual or collective belief in the inherent superiority of one’s own racial or ethnic group) adopted by the multicultural educator was seen by anti-racist educators as naive and verging on folly. It was quixotic in the extreme, they suggested, to hope that exposure to other cultures would inevitably foment respect, tolerance and understanding unless white students were also asked to confront and ask serious questions of their own attitudes and the sources of those attitudes. The call, therefore, was for curricula and learning activities that explored the mechanism and nature of prejudice, stereotyping, scapegoating and the interface between prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory behaviours.

Simply valuing cultural differences is mischievously apolitical; almost certainly biased towards white and western norms; simplistic in its notions of cultural relativism; insensitive towards black people since it ignores the issue which they themselves consider to be most important, institutionalised racism; and marginal and superficial in its impact on the main school curriculum.

This blistering attack on multicultural education by Richardson (1982a, 5) takes us to the heart of the anti-racist case against multicultural education. ‘Multi-culch’, as it was pejoratively referred to, was held to be both diversionary and divisive in its effect. By homing in on cultural diversity as the central issue, it had obscured and diverted attention from the real issue: that Britain was a racially unequal society in which black people in most key areas of life – education and training, careers, housing opportunities, advancement in politics and trade unionism – were at a perpetual disadvantage. Why, anti-racist educators asked in the mid 1980s, was it four times more difficult for a black school leaver to obtain a job than a white school leaver when they possessed equivalent qualifications? Multicultural education was divisive, the argument continued, in that the emphasis on cultural differences clouded appreciation of the commonality of black experience which was one of discrimination and marginalisation both in the “old Empire” and the “new Empire” which was multi-cultural Britain (Rushdie, 1982, 417–21). “And now there’s a new catchword – ‘multiculturalism,’” chided novelist Salman Rushdie. “In our schools this means little more than teaching the kids a few bongo rhythms and how to tie a sari. ... Multiculturalism is the latest token gesture towards Britain’s blacks. It ought to be exposed – like ‘integration’ and ‘racial harmony’ – for the sham it is” (ibid., 421).

Curriculum review and reform were of reduced importance amidst the galaxy of strategies for change proffered by the anti-racist school. Noting that schools and school systems were organs for the reproduction of the racist society of which they complained, they turned the spotlight on the school in its institutional and structural aspects. Strategies embraced included:

- race awareness training for teaching and non-teaching staff (i.e. training aimed at understanding the nature and effects of institutional racism and at alerting participants to the nature of racism in themselves and their work);
- positive action on the training, appointment and promotion of black teachers;
- challenging and changing procedures and resource allocations which benefitted whites at the expense of blacks;
- establishing new forms and structures of communication between white people and black people (in which the former listened more than they talked); and
- developing whole-school anti-racist policies or mission statements and codes of practice for handling and monitoring incidents of racist behaviour or harassment in the school.

The starting point was, therefore, “an unequivocal opposition to racism, both among individuals and as part of a pervasive climate which is reinforced and perpetuated by the policies and practices of schools and other social institutions” (Houlton, 1986, 28). In moving the argument away from a single-minded stress on curriculum change, anti-racist educators contributed decisively to the drive towards a “whole-school” response to the multicultural nature of contemporary British society, a process that received substantial legitimization in March 1985 when a government-appointed Committee of Inquiry published its report, Education for All. The Swann Report, as it became known (after its chairperson, Lord Swann), called upon local education authorities to ensure that schools had clear policy statements on “Education for All” and explicit policies to combat racism. “Education for All”, the report declared, involved promoting multicultural understanding and combatting racism in all schools, whether multi-racial or “all-white”. “Only in this way can schools begin to offer anything approaching the equality of opportunity for all pupils which it must be the aspiration of the education system to provide” (Runnymede Trust, 1985, 10).

Anti-racism in the Classroom

Anti-racist strategies in the classroom have concentrated on exploring prejudice, stereotypical and negative images, and discriminatory behaviours, on the one hand, and on examining structural racism (and promoting understanding of the black experience of same) on the other. The relative dismissal of curricular and methodological reform notwith-
standing, many exciting and very imaginative programmes and classroom activities were developed in the 1980s. In sharp contrast to the integration phase, the “all white” school was a prime target of those programmes and activities in that racism (prejudice plus power) was held to be a white problem. Blacks “have only one real problem,” suggested Rushdie (1982, 421). “That problem is white people. Racism is not our problem. It is yours. We simply suffer from the effects of your problem.”

A one-term “Persecution and Prejudice” course developed at a school in West Yorkshire provides an excellent example of the type of programme developed. The course, targeted at 14–15 year olds, is based on the concept of the “spiral of discrimination” which begins with “careless thinking about people who are different” and concludes with the Holocaust (see Fig. 2). Its aims were twofold: to “challenge the common assumption that people who are different are in some ways deficient and inferior” and to move students from adopting the position of “bystander” when witnessing prejudice or forms of discrimination and persecution (Smith, 1990, 13). The course is summarised in Fig. 3. Interestingly and importantly, the teachers spurned a fact-laden and didactic approach in favour of experiential and interactive forms of learning. “It is only possible to go for ‘hearts and minds’ by using experiential methods. Our expressed aim is ... to create a classroom climate which is friendly, open and interactive” (ibid).

In an “all-white” Leicestershire secondary school, a class of 14–15 year olds explored racism and discrimination through a “purple armband experiment”. Fifteen students out of a class of twenty-nine agreed to wear a purple armband in and out of school for three days, refusing to tell teachers, fellow students and family why they were wearing same (only the principal and vice-principals of the school knew of the experiment). The remaining fourteen students observed what happened. The armband-wearing students came to the debriefing session at the end of three days with stories of name-calling, emotional blackmail, boycott, refusal by some teachers to answer their questions or mark their work and, in a few cases, physical intimidation. The experiment, the students said, had given them a powerful sense of what it means to be part of a visible minority group confronted with discrimination. As one girl put it: “If you wear a purple armband, you can take it off if you do not like the way you are being treated, but if you really are different, either by colour of your skin or by your beliefs, you cannot unpin and discard them. You must live with the intolerant attitudes of other people” (Selby, 1980, 220).

Similar, if less spectacular, activities became regular fare in the anti-racist classroom. In “Discrimadot” students (primary or secondary) are asked to form a circle with their eyes closed whilst a coloured self-adhesive dot is affixed to their forehead. Most students receive a dot of one of four main colours but three students receive dots each of a different colour or shade. When the students open their eyes they are asked to form groups of the same-coloured dot without speaking. After a short period, the four groups are formed whilst the three students perhaps search in vain for a group to join. This simple exercise can lead to useful discussion around the feelings aroused by the exclusion of minorities by majority groups. How did the three students feel as their classmates, using co-operative non-verbal techniques, rapidly formed groups to which they were denied entrance? How did members of “majority” groups react when approached by the minority? How did they feel about leaving certain people excluded? How did the three students feel? Did they form their own group? Why? In what ways does the exercise reflect majority/minority relationships in society? (Pike & Selby, 1988, Activity 19). In “Recalling Injustice”, secondary students form groups of six and then divide into pairs. The activity begins with two minutes’ silence in which individuals recall occasions when they have felt unjustly treated. There follows a period of recounting of incidents, first by one student, then the other. The group of six then re-forms. Students are asked to tell the stories of their partner as if they were their own, using the first person. When groups have completed the task, the teacher asks the class to brainstorm the emotions triggered by the incidents of unjust treatment. At this point, a film is shown in which young people belonging to ethnic minorities recount their experiences as regular targets of prejudice and discrimination. The intention of the activity is to heighten sensitivity to injustice and to promote an empathetic response to injustice done to others (ibid., Activity 16).

During the 1980s, mathematics and science were targeted by the anti-racist educator as they were by the multicultural educator (see, for instance, Selby, ed., 1985; Shan and Bailey, 1991). A comparison of the curricula and materials arising out of each school is instructive. Whilst the anti-racist mathematician was devising mathematical (and especially statistical) activities specifically directed to awareness raising around equity and justice issues, the multicultural mathematician was exhorting the inclusion of, for instance, counting systems and geometric patterns from around the world as an antidote to the West-centrism of the prevailing mathematics curriculum (Hemmings in Craft & Bardell, 1984, 113–32). In the same way, we find the anti-racist science educator seeking to raise consciousness, through issues-based courses; of how scientific decisions and innovations are geared to global power relations; of how “research and development priorities intersect with economic domination of black and Third World people”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNIT/DURATION</th>
<th>SCHEME OF WORK</th>
<th>OBJECTIVES</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ONE</td>
<td>Stereotyping</td>
<td>Students should be able to explain the reasons for stereotyping and the disadvantageous consequences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TWO</td>
<td>Sex Stereotyping</td>
<td>Students should be aware of their own capacity for sex stereotyping and should face and be challenged by the sort of sex stereotyping often seen. Students should be aware of sexism in home, school and work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THREE</td>
<td>Prejudice and Discrimination</td>
<td>Students should understand the meaning of prejudice and discrimination and be able to give examples of discriminatory behaviour. Students should understand the power of words to create a positive or negative impression.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOUR</td>
<td>Racism</td>
<td>Students should be able to explain the effects of racism and discrimination upon black British. Students should be aware of the extent and forms of racial disadvantage, both international and British. Students should be aware of the historical explanation of British racism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIVE</td>
<td>Slavery</td>
<td>Students should examine the reasons for and history of slavery and should be able to explain the connection between slavery and British economic development and racist attitudes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIX</td>
<td>Apartheid</td>
<td>Students should be aware of the main events in recent South African history and be able to explain fully the significance of Apartheid. They should examine the points for and against Apartheid, and should be able to explain what is happening in South Africa today. Students should consider critically the bias of source material.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEVEN</td>
<td>The Holocaust</td>
<td>Students should be aware of the events leading to the Holocaust. They should be able to describe the anti-semitic measures introduced 1933-39 in Germany and to appreciate the pressures on ordinary German people. Students should be aware of the evidence remaining of the Holocaust and the efforts of the Jews to resist. They should understand the abuse of power and be conscious of Human Rights. They should know where they stand in relation to the spiral of discrimination.</td>
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(Gill & Levidow, 1987, 14–15); and the multicultural science educator calling for the study of Islamic science and the history of black innovation in science and technology.

**Green Multiculturalism**

If the picture I have painted is one of multicultural education and anti-racist education at loggerheads, then that would be a fairly accurate depiction of the situation in the first half of the 1980s. “The debate has become so polarized,” wrote Houlton (1986, 28), “that we often feel ourselves forced to decide between being a ‘multiculturalist’ or an ‘anti-racist’. We are led to believe that the two groups occupy irreconcilable camps of ideology and strategy, the multiculturalists advocating the celebration of diversity and the anti-racists placing their emphasis on the struggle for equality.”

By the middle of the decade, voices were making themselves heard arguing that the debate between the two schools rested on a fake dichotomy, and calling for “anti-racist multicultural education”. Leicester (1986, 4–7), for instance, pointed out that neither the multiculturalist
required a blending of both. Multiculturalism, predicated upon a genuinely relativist acceptance of the validity of differences, could have "a powerful effect on a pupil's attitude to cultural diversity and to alternative ways of living, belief systems and value judgements." As such, it served the egalitarian ends of anti-racist education. 

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The holistic thrust underpinning the thinking of the "anti-racist multicultural educators" is also evident in the several endeavours to connect education for a multicultural society with other developing fields of social, political and moral education. Richardson (1982b, 6) and Lashley (1982) explored the interface between multicultural, anti-racist and peace education. Hicks (1979) saw multicultural education and development education (i.e. teaching and learning about the so-called "Third World" and North-South relations globally) as "two sides of the same coin". 

Davis (1987), amongst others, worked on the commonalities and tensions between gender equity and race equity work in schools. Other writers (Pike & Selby, 1988; Starkey, ed., 1991) saw multicultural and anti-racist education on the one hand and human rights education on the other as overlapping areas. This holistic vision had its fullest and most confident expression in the theory and practice of global education (Greig, Pike & Selby, 1987; Pike & Selby, 1988; Dufour, ed., 1990). Similarly, curriculum and classroom activities and materials flowing from the CIDA-funded provincial global education projects in Canada combine multicultural and anti-racist education with consideration of development, environmental, gender, health, human rights and peace and conflict issues. Within an holistic or "green" paradigm of education, the meaning and goals of multiculturalism have undergone profound change. Taking as their starting point the conviction that the several interlocking global crises we presently face are, at heart, a cultural crisis arising out of a mechanist worldview which is neither adequate for understanding, nor appropriate for dealing with, the problems it has created (and of which racism is but one of the ugliest manifestations), global educators have argued that schools can play no more crucial role than that of making succeeding generations aware of alternative paradigms.

Parekh (1985, 22) describes multicultural education as an "education in freedom". "Monocultural education," he writes, "is unlikely to develop the faculty of imagination which represents the ability to conceive alternatives. ... Imagination does not develop in a vacuum. It is only with exposure to different societies and cultures that the imagination is stimulated and the consciousness of alternatives become an inseparable part of the way of thinking. ... Monocultural education stunts the growth of the critical faculty. Children taught to look at the world from the narrow perspective of their own culture and not exposed to any other are bound to reject all that cannot be accommodated within the narrow categories of their own way of looking at the world." Worsley (in Corlett & Parry, eds., 1985, 8–10) similarly writes of the "shocking" and, then, "liberating" function that the study of anthropology can have in, first, helping us see ourselves more clearly and in, second, helping us to see our way out of a cultural blind alley. Multicultural education, so reconceptualised, it is being suggested, would not simply be a means of promoting social harmony through understanding and tolerance; it would be a central component in education's contribution to a survival strategy for the planet. It would encompass the world view of indigenous peoples and that of groups and networks operating along the counter-cultural fringes of Western society, as well as the world view of ethnic minority and major world cultures. Such a multicultural education programme, the argument continues, would carry within it a profoundly radicalising dimension in that it would ask students to confront new perspectives that would powerfully challenge long-held assumptions and that would offer startlingly different pictures of the world (Pike & Selby, 1988b, 31). So conceived, multicultural education would also play a vital part in the development of higher order thinking skills such as lateral and divergent thinking and problem solving.

It is noteworthy that both multiculturalists and anti-racists in Britain have largely overlooked the question of appropriate learning strategies and learning environments, a tendency by no means as marked in their Canadian counterparts (McLeod in Starkey ed., 1991, 177–9). The former called for curriculum change but paid virtually no heed to methodological reform. Hence, whilst multicultural curricula sought to promote respect for the multivarious contributions of different cultural groups to society, there was no corresponding push to encourage teachers to better value the rich contribution that students could make to the learning process by introducing forms of democratic, interactive and participatory learning. The latter utilised forms of interactive and experiential learning without ever articulating a full-blown rationale for such learning based on an anti-racist perspective. It was left to the "green multiculturalists", as I am calling them, to bridge the process-content divide and establish the place of interactive learning within any "whole school" strategy aimed at both valuing diversity and promoting equality.

Such educators drew upon the impressive array of international evidence suggesting that regular exposure to co-operative forms of learning can, in itself, diminish prejudice in students (see, for instance, Johnson & Johnson, 1975, 195-6; Johnson, Johnson & Maruyama, 1983, 3-54). Davey's research (1983) with primary school children in diverse areas of England also enjoyed wide currency. This indicated that ethnicity will significantly drop in importance as a factor in friendship choice if the children are regularly placed in what he calls 'contexts of neutral and mutual dependency', i.e. in group situations where co-operation is needed to achieve a particular goal. An overview of relevant research by Fountain (1990, 3–12) suggested that a sustained programme of co-operative learning, self-esteem and communication-skills building in the early years of
formal schooling, that is reinforced thereafter, will contribute significantly to the development of pro-social and altruistic attitudes. Children who "appreciate their own intrinsic value, and that of others, may in fact be less likely to tolerate discrimination and inequality and more likely to take a stand against injustice" (ibid., 5).

Such educators also point to the power of interactive learning in helping students explore their own and other’s values, perspectives and assumptions (even in a seemingly homogeneous classroom great differences are likely to emerge) and to the contribution experiential learning can make to fostering commitment to justice and equality and a sense of solidarity with the victims of injustice, oppression and marginalisation. They also point out that the promotion of respect for cultural diversity in the classroom is likely to be of greatest impact through programmes that are themselves diverse in terms of the variety of teaching and learning approaches employed. A learning medium offering students experience of a diversity of learning cultures, thus, complements and is complemented by a curriculum that speaks of the value of diversity (Pike & Selby, 1986b, 38–60, 83–91).

We thus move towards a fundamentally ecological response to educating for a multicultural society: a response that opts for symbiosis and synthesis rather than dichotomies and polarities; that melds content, process and structure; that recognises that equality and diversity are integral and complementary features of any healthy, interdependent natural or social system; and that celebrates different cultures as of value in themselves but also as of intrinsic value in terms of their potential contribution to human and planetary well-being. “There is a strong sense in ecologism,” writes Dobson (1990, 25), “that the ‘healthy society’ is one in which a range of opinions is not only tolerated but celebrated, in that this provides for a repository of ideas and forms of behaviour from which to draw when confronted with political or social problems.”

“Diversity,” suggests Myers (1985, 254), “must be the codeword for the way we manage ourselves. Not only shall we need to draw from a wide range of cultural and minority options to improve the quality of our lives, but also to draw upon a broad, participatory power base in our political systems to oppose and reverse present trends towards homogeneity, over-centralization, the abuse of power, and an uncaring society.”

References
