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# ***CURRENTS***

***READINGS IN RACE RELATIONS***

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FOCUS ON  
HUMAN RIGHTS  
IN B.C.  
RACE RELATIONS  
TRAINING

***Published by THE URBAN ALLIANCE ON RACE RELATIONS***



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The Urban Alliance on Race Relations, formed in July 1975 "to promote a stable and healthy multiracial environment in the community," is a non-profit organization made up of volunteers from all sectors of the community.

The Urban Alliance on Race Relations is an educational agency and an advocate and intermediary for the visible minorities. It works toward encouraging better race relations, increased understanding and awareness among our multicultural, multiracial population through programmes of education directed at both the private and public sectors of the community. It is also focusing its efforts on the institutions of our society including educational systems, employment, government, media, legislation, police, social service agencies and human services, in order to reduce patterns of discrimination and inequality of opportunity which may exist within these institutions.

The work of the organization is carried out through working committees such as: Educational Institutions; Legislation; Media; Law Enforcement.

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ONE OF THE MOST SERIOUS and disturbing threats to improved race relations in this country is the proposed new human rights legislation that has been introduced by the provincial government of British Columbia. In the opening article, Professor Bill Black of the B.C. Civil Liberties Association briefly summarizes and compares the provisions of the new Bill with existing legislation. The dismantling of the existing Human Rights Code of British Columbia may not only have dire consequences for residents of that province but is of deep concern to all Canadians.

The rest of this issue is devoted largely to the topic of training in race relations and how such training has been applied within a variety of institutional settings. A rather large proportion of the articles are from authorities outside the country, particularly Britain. The reason for this is not so much perhaps a quantitative lack of activity in Canada, but, with a few outstanding exceptions, the quality and rigorous evaluation of the effectiveness of training programmes in Canada is by and large sadly lacking.

Race relations training is only one of a variety of change strategies available in reducing racial discrimination in Canada. Organizational change efforts, community development programmes, new legislation and judicial policies, alterations of political and institutional structures and procedures, and transformation of our economy are but examples of the wide range of other important strategies that are available.

### **The Nature of Racism**

A basic goal of all race relations training is the reduction or eradication of racism. The term "racism" is used by various people in a variety of ways. It can be defined perhaps within the following five broad forms of evidence:

**Effects or Outcomes** – as evidenced in the unequal distribution of economic, political and social resources or rewards to racial groups.

**Personal Acts or Behaviours** – as evidenced in individual performance that creates disadvantaged or lesser privileges or rewards for some people, or that leads them to be discriminated against.

**Personal Attitudes or Values** – as evidenced in public opinion polls or surveys.

**Institutional Procedures** – as evidenced in racially discriminatory mechanisms that provide differential advantage and privilege to people of different races.

**Cultural Values or Norms** – as evidenced in symbol systems such as language, or the value frameworks or fashions that are more highly cherished by one group than another.

These five alternative but non-exclusive forms of evidence or definitions help distinguish between *individual racism* and *institutional racism*. They also distinguish between cultural or *attitudinal racism*.

### **Racism and Training**

The training programmes that have been attempted in Canada in response to dealing with these various expressions of racism, have been equally varied.

These alternative training approaches vary in their objectives of increasing new levels of information, to new attitudes, to new forms of social and institutional behaviour. It is a complex field and can be tackled at any number of levels – from the personal, to the community, to the national and institutional levels.

In addition to the obvious decisions that have to be made in terms of level of impact (i.e. personal or institutional), any agency embarking upon a training programme has to clearly distinguish and decide upon the appropriate educational, attitudinal, behavioural or institutional change strategies that should be pursued to achieve realistic programme objectives.

"Training" in all its various interpretations has been perhaps the major focus of efforts to reduce racism over the last decade or so in Canada. Have we become overly dependent on training with its emphasis on behavioural change as the panacea to cure all our social problems? How relevant is such training in dealing with systemic forms of discrimination? How can training programmes be made more effective and relevant to reducing the complex nature by which discrimination is expressed in Canada today?

With the evident need and increasing demand for various forms of race relations training, a variety of responses have been made by various departments and levels of government as well as by innumerable individuals and organizations in the private and voluntary sector.

With a general tendency to rush to respond in a crisis-oriented manner have we taken enough time to reflect on what we mean by race relations training, and have we adequately evaluated the effectiveness of our activities? Without common definitions, and without an understanding of the implications of such definitions, and without an understanding of the implications of such definitions in terms of developing pragmatic courses of action, many of our well intentioned efforts have been and will continue to be dissipated in ineffectual and uncoordinated activity based on poorly conceived objectives.

### New Initiatives

In recognition of these inadequacies, it is of interest to note some promising recent developments in Toronto. The Urban Alliance on Race Relations is presently seeking funding in order to collect, document and disseminate race relations training programmes that have been implemented in Canada and elsewhere. From the compilation of this body of information it is the intent to attempt to develop an analysis and evaluation guidelines of race relations training. A second major initiative is a process of extensive discussion between several voluntary and public organizations to explore the feasibility of establishing a Canadian Race Relations Training Institute. In strengthening the level of expertise necessary to reduce racial discrimination in Canada, the purpose will be to improve the understanding and skills of practitioners in the field of race relations.

Training is not a glamorous topic where overnight results can be expected. It is a complex, time-consuming and often tedious process. But as Nadine Peppard emphasizes in her article reviewing the British situation, which to a surprising extent seems to describe so precisely the present Canadian state of affairs, it is an area where we can no longer afford to be amateurs.

*Tim Rees*



# ***Human Rights in British Columbia***

***Bill Black***

Bill 27, the Human Rights Act of 1983 makes major changes in the enforcement of human rights. This summary compares the provisions of the Bill with the existing Human Rights Code of British Columbia.

## **Elimination of Reasonable Cause Provisions**

The effect of eliminating reasonable cause is to remove protection against discrimination due to grounds such as age (except for those between 45 and 65), sexual orientation, language ability, and any other ground not explicitly named.

There is also a serious question whether discrimination based on pregnancy is covered.

## **Proof of Intent to Discriminate**

Bill 27 will cover only intentional discrimination. Policies having a discriminatory effect would not be covered. For example, height and weight restrictions would no longer be considered sex discrimination unless it could be proved the purpose was to exclude women. Similarly, the absence of a ramp would not be discrimination against those in wheelchairs unless intent could be proved; and a requirement that employees be clean-shaven would not be discrimination against those whose religion requires otherwise.

## **Discriminatory Advertisements and Application Forms**

The section of the existing Code prohibiting discriminatory advertisements and application forms is not included in Bill 27. Therefore, it would be no violation for newspapers to divide advertisements into "help wanted - men" and "help wanted - women" columns, or even "help wanted - whites" for that matter.

## **Enforcement Agencies**

The Human Rights Commission and Human Rights Branch is abolished. The new Council of Human Rights is established with more restricted functions and with no explicit provision for staff. Educational programmes apparently are ended. With the fewest possible exceptions, there is no remedy available under the Human Rights Act or Charter of Rights for matters that would normally be handled by the Human Rights Branch under the Human Rights Code of B.C.

## **Complaints**

Complaints of violations will be filed with the Council, which will be in charge of investigating them and decide whether they should proceed. As is presently the case, unsettled cases will be referred to the Minister of Labour who will decide whether to appoint a Board of Inquiry. The following summarizes some of the changes that have been made within this framework:

- Complaints must be filed by the person discriminated against; community groups and the enforcement agency can no longer commence complaints.
- Council of Human Rights can dismiss a complaint before any investigation if it is deemed frivolous, vexatious, in bad faith or could "more appropriately be dealt with under another Act." The last provision could require that all other possibilities, such as labour grievance arbitrations, be completed before a human rights investigation would even commence.
- After investigation, Council can discontinue complaint at its discretion. The Bill provides no guidelines regarding discontinuance.
- Human rights agencies apparently will no longer appear at boards of inquiry to assist the complainant. Complainants will have to



supply and presumably pay for their own lawyer, or argue the case themselves.

- Boards of inquiry can no longer award damages for humiliation, or loss of self-respect caused by the discrimination. Damages will be awarded only for out-of-pocket loss. For example, if racial minorities were excluded from a restaurant in an insulting fashion, the board could award no damages at all since there would be no out-of-pocket expenses.
- There is no right of appeal from the decision of a board of inquiry for either side, though the proceedings could sometimes be challenged under the Judicial Review Procedure Act.

#### **Criminal Penalty**

The right to lay criminal charges in court for violations of the Act does not exist. Therefore, if the Minister refused a board of inquiry, as he/she has the right to do, there is no alternative way of proceeding.

#### **Protection of those with Physical and Mental Disabilities**

The Bill gives explicit protection to peo-

ple with physical and mental disabilities. In cases involving the sale or rental of property, protection is strengthened. However, in cases involving public facilities and employment, the practical effect will likely give less protection than was given by the reasonable cause provisions of the existing Code. Therefore, although it looks as if these groups benefit from the Bill, the net effect may well be to lessen protection.

#### **Conclusion**

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the Bill is designed to make it much more difficult to bring a human rights complaint and to strictly limit the function of human rights agencies. Taken together, the changes mean that only clear cases brought by people with enough financial resources to take a case forward on their own are likely to succeed, and even they are subject to the discretion of both the Council and the Minister to discontinue a case without a hearing.

*Professor Bill Black is Director of the B.C. Civil Liberties Association.*

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## ***Parliamentary Committee on the Participation of Visible Minorities***

The Parliamentary Committee is proceeding with its cross-country series of public hearings in search of constructive programmes to promote harmonious race relations. Although the Committee has made it clear it does not want to hear the problems—it already knows them—early indications of the briefs submitted indicate that it has no choice. This is as it should be. New and innovative policies and programmes are seldom initiatives developed in a vacuum, but are usually responses to identified problems. How a “problem” is defined is suggestive of how it is understood and is the starting point for studying the response.

The terms of reference of the Committee appear to suggest a rather limited perception

of what the “problem” is. Racism is not only the result of pathologically prejudiced individuals, it is not only the result of an occasional accident or by-product of cultural differences, nor is it the result of competition for scarce resources. It is built into the structural systems and cultural networks of society.

The underlying theme of the brief by the Urban Alliance on Race Relations to the Parliamentary Committee emphasized that racism has become deeply embedded in the history and practice of almost every major institution and in the very modes of governance. The flowers are tainted because the roots are poisoned. Progress can come only if we dig deeply and not merely snip.



# *Race Relations Training Today*

*Nadine Peppard*

*Over the last ten to fifteen years, successive Governments have accepted the facts of widespread racial discrimination and disadvantage and legislated accordingly. It is surprising however, to find that the field of race relations training remains largely unexplored and that not only is there no universally recognized body of information or of expertise in the techniques of race relations training, but that little thought has been given to what the objectives of such training should be.*

## **False Premises**

To date, when objectives of training in race relations are formulated, they tend to derive from two basic premises, inter-related and pragmatic in concept. One is that only people in practitioner services (e.g. teachers, police officers, social workers, etc.) who work in areas of ethnic minority settlement and come into daily contact with minority group people need to be trained. The other, which follows logically from the first, is that the purpose of such training is to equip staff to "understand" minority communities better and thus to be able to deal more effectively with them. In other words, "we" are being trained to deal with "them." An acceptance of these premises also lends credence to the idea that there is a definable body of information which can be transmitted in the traditional way to those who "need" it. This in turn tempts the organizers of heavily-loaded training schedules to assume that only a few sessions are necessary in which to transmit it (by lectures and handouts) and thus to put it well down the list of priorities. The narrowness of this concept effectively rules out a study of the complexities of personal and group attitudes and the ways in which a society needs to

adapt to the change from a homogeneous one to a multiethnic, multicultural one. Inevitably, it provides a most inadequate basis for the training content, throwing the emphasis on information-giving on the cultural and religious backgrounds of the minorities, Government policies and few practical problems which appear to be capable of an easy solution. Acceptance of this inadequate basis for training is further strengthened by the very limited number of minority community people found at present in services like the police, probation and education services, in that there are not sufficient minority community participants in the courses to demonstrate the false basis of this approach, or to present an effective challenge to it.

A recognition of the fundamental defect in this thinking has been demonstrated by the education services in their approach, comparatively recently adopted, and illustrated by its terminology. Most educationists have now abandoned the familiar reference to "the education of immigrant children" in their policy statements and substituted "education for a multiracial (or multicultural) society". This introduces the concept that it is not just a question of how to teach immigrant children, or the children of immigrants, but of how to teach all the children in a way appropriate for a multiracial society. The main changes that this has brought about are firstly, the recognition of their worth and importance and secondly, the initiation of some school projects specifically designed to reduce prejudice and inculcate more tolerant attitudes (referred to in greater detail later). In other services also, during the last few years, increasing attention has been paid in training courses to the general question of attitudes and the psychology of prejudice. It is this area that is the most difficult to deal with, however, and



many trainers still prefer to stay on what appears to be the safer ground of information-giving on such subjects as statistics, cultural backgrounds, Government policy and the practical problems encountered by the particular occupational group. This practice continues in spite of the fact that experience indicates that information-giving sessions themselves frequently give rise to heated discussion and expressions of irrational prejudice with which the trainer may well not be equipped to deal.

## Objectives

What, then, should be the objectives of race relations training? Tempting though it might be, to offer as the objective something on the lines of inducing understanding and self-awareness, it has to be recognized that this is a theoretical approach suited to the realms of philosophical and academic discussion, rather than to the specific question of training staff in a variety of professions and occupations. If we are concerned with producing practical results in particular professional settings, the objective of the training must be not only to try to bring about greater understanding of the issues, but to relate that understanding to the professional worlds of those being trained. This objective needs also to be on very broad lines in order to provide a common denominator for various categories of staff. It might be, for example, "to enable staff to carry out their particular duties with equity and with maximum efficiency." Simple as it sounds, this very practical objective has wide implications in terms of the attitudes which underlie behaviours.

Experience suggests that the training would need to comprise a "common core" of aspects of race relations, to which would be added others related to the work tasks of the particular group of trainees. The "common core" should include an examination of the nature of the multiracial society, the giving of historical and cultural background information, a consideration of the psychological factors in personal and group attitudes and a description of Government race relations policy. The more specifically job-related parts of the training would include a study of factors par-

ticularly relevant in given fields (e.g. education, social work), a study of the way in which institutional racism can, even unintentionally, become established in the trainees' own particular field and, finally, some training for the "racial dimension" of the professionalism required of staff in the particular category involved. It is the last which, being less capable of easy definition, requires the most careful study. A practical analysis of what is required clearly shows that those attitudes or beliefs which underlie actual behaviour must be seen as the heart of the matter and that to construct a training scheme which tries to ignore them is to beg the question.

## Current methods

Race relations training is not given on a continuing or comprehensive basis. It does not influence the initial or in-service training in a wide range of professions and occupations where it is badly needed. It tends to appear in training courses of various types merely as the subject of one or two sessions, if at all. It is not followed through as a continuing course subject, nor is it included in compulsory qualifying tests at the end of the course. Within this limited compass, the race relations training methods in current use might be thought of as divided into three broad categories: the didactic, lecture-and-discussion method (with or without visual aids), the groupwork approach and the experiential approach. These last two categories are by their nature often interrelated.

## Didactic approach

The didactic approach is the one most commonly used, even though experience very strongly suggests that, as adopted at present in adult in-service training, it is often counter-productive. There have been a number of evaluation studies of this method, mostly in the field of education. For example, Miller's experiment in a London College of Further Education in 1969 produced evidence of reinforcement of an increase in prejudiced attitudes among white day-release apprentices who had a course of lectures and discussions. This fairly common experience is explained



by the American psychologist W. McGuire<sup>1</sup> in terms of his "innoculation theory" of resistance to attitudinal change. The postulates that giving students weakened forms of an argument may induce a reaction to that argument in terms of increased prejudice. A more recent and more extensive study undertaken as part of a large-scale British Curriculum research project<sup>2</sup>, is reported by Bagley and Verma<sup>3</sup> as producing rather more encouraging results. They say that, even taking into account that a number of the wide range of variables involved are still to be considered, the results show that "for the present there seems to be no indication, contrary to earlier fears, that teaching about race relations in British secondary schools will have adverse effects, and some indication that such teaching may well be beneficial in reducing prejudice."

This cautious note of approval bears out the experience of many organizers of courses, that some lecture and discussion sessions given by particular speakers, in particular circumstances, can be eminently successful if success is judged in terms of giving people new insights and the desire to pursue the subject further in their own way. The factors which lead to this result, rather than to the more negative one so often encountered are elusive and difficult to define or tabulate. They are concerned mainly with the personality and persuasiveness of the lecturer, and can include also the attitude of the students to the course, personal experiences they have had and so on. Verma and Bagley comment, for example, that Miller's research project "suggested that the group norms supporting the initially high level of prejudice of the apprentices were strengthened by intellectual arguments from an instructor perceived as external to the group and ignorant of the social realities as they affected group members."<sup>4</sup> This is a common experience and is closely linked with the practical dilemma of whether to use ethnic minority or white speakers, and whether they should be outside speakers or internal instructors. For the foreseeable future, in the absence of a large enough cadre of internal instructors with sufficient knowledge of the subject, it will be necessary for organizers of in-service training

to use outside speakers to a considerable extent.

## Groupwork approach

The groupwork approach is different from the didactic approach both in the mechanics and in the techniques used. The mechanics of it – the establishment of small groups and an informal atmosphere – and the techniques may be any of a wide variety, including discussion controlled by a group leader, unstructured discussion (including T-group methods), the use of films and case studies, role-playing and role-reversal, the organization of training games, group projects and so on. Most of these techniques have their origins in management training and are designed not so much to give information as to assist managers in keeping a workforce running smoothly and productively and in avoiding administrative and managerial errors of judgement. Although the emphasis they place on problems of communication, individual and group attitudes and so on can be helpful, they do not generally take into account, for example, the principles and practice required to eliminate racial discrimination, conscious or unconscious, or to promote equal opportunity. Moreover, the majority of management trainers will as yet have had no race relations training themselves, so will not be equipped to incorporate it fully into their courses. Good management practice can provide something of a safeguard, but its "racial dimension" is a long way from being developed or even properly understood.

As has been said earlier, considerable experience of this kind of training exists in the industrial field, but few groups or individuals have as yet attempted to apply the techniques in the field of race.

"Sensitivity training," "attitudinal training," "consciousness-raising" or "awareness training," which is the preferred description in the U.S., is essentially a part of groupwork and bears no relation to the didactic approach (though it is of course possible to have useful lectures on the psychology of prejudice, to set people thinking). The need for it is widely accepted in the U.S. and it is a standard aspect of training at all levels. Some particularly in-



teresting work has been done in the U.S., by (among others) the Commission on Civil Rights, the military (through the Walter Reed Military Academy and the Defence Race Relations Institute, Patrick Air Force Base, Florida), the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, whose anti-racism programme is part of its Mental Health programme, the American Council for Inter-racial Books for Children and by some American Universities.

### Experiential training

Experiential training consists of exposure of trainees to direct personal inter-ethnic experience. Although a small multiracial group could be said to provide experience of this kind, the setting creates its own problems. As Professor Judy Katz of the University of Oklahoma has pointed out, "The objectives of interracial encounters are clear for whites; however, they remain unclear for Third World people. In interracial encounter groups, for example, multicultural classes and

laboratory experiences all too often function in a racist manner themselves. Third World people are put in a position of teaching whites and once again hold the responsibility for creating change. This serves as another form of exploitation of Third World people in that the learning and benefits are clearly for white people." For this and other reasons U.S. experts have developed techniques for multi-racial awareness groups, all-black groups and all-white groups, and the British Racism Awareness Programme Unit has found this valuable also. Clearly, training in a homogeneous group cannot be defined as experiential in the sense that the experience of being in a multiracial group can. Experiential training outside the immediate group therefore involves meeting, mixing, living and working with members of other ethnic groups. Even when undertaken for only short periods this has been found, in American research tests, beneficial in modifying prejudices. For example, various studies show a marked decline in prejudice following desegregation in housing.

### Trends and possibilities

We have thus a situation in which a variety of methods of training are currently in use, but in which there is no generally agreed theory as to the best way in which training can achieve the desired ends. Indeed, as has been indicated above, it could be said that there has been little serious attempt to define what those ends are. It is important therefore that some attempt be made to formulate a rationale and some training models appropriate to this country. How should we go about devising such programmes? How can we work out permutations of the styles of training described above which will respond most effectively to local needs?

We should first perhaps consider the sources most readily available: management training material (largely based on behavioural and social psychology) and American expertise in race relations training.

Some of the drawbacks to the adaptation of management training techniques have been referred to above. They can be helpful but have not so far been fully developed or

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*"...the response to the complexities of cultural diversity is often marked by the paternalism which sometimes derives from the colonial approach and by a belief in national tolerance which the facts do not support."*

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adapted to the requirements of race relations training.

In the U.S., on the other hand, there have over the last few years been numerous studies examining the nature of prejudice, methods of modifying it through training and, most importantly, the relationship between prejudice and institutionalized discrimination. Many of these studies are of great assistance to illustrating this relationship, which is made up of various strands, some of them apparently contradictory. One is that the prejudiced person does not necessarily discriminate, though, as Michael Banton pointed out, "he is psychologically ready to do so."<sup>5</sup> Another is that in the institutional setting the unprejudiced person often does discriminate, because of the way in which the system works.

There is much to learn from a most valuable paper, *Dilemmas and Designs in Race Education/Training*, presented by Dr. Mark A. Chesler.<sup>6</sup> In it he discusses definitions, the areas to be tackled (individual and institutional attitudes and practices, and the relationship between them) and the problems of programme design.

Sources of this kind are invaluable for reference, but need some adaptation. American material has its drawbacks due to differences of historical perspective, terminology and what might be termed general philosophy. These differences show clearly in the field of training. There is in the U.S. a greater understanding and an open admission of widespread and deep-seated prejudice in the nation. These issues are openly discussed with the frankness which characterizes the American approach to problems. Indeed, in a study published in 1968, the U.S. Joint Commission on Mental Health stated that "racism is the number one public health problem facing America today." In Britain, however, the response to the complexities of cultural diversity is often marked by the paternalism which sometimes derives from the colonial approach and by a belief in national tolerance which the facts do not support. Prejudice thus goes largely unchallenged and the need to promote a real attempt to change attitudes is not yet widely accepted.

## Terminology

Perhaps, the most immediately frustrating drawback of all to the use of American material, lies in the differences of method of expression and of terminology in Britain and in the U.S. Shaw's dictum that "we are divided only by our common language" is nowhere truer than in the field of race. To give but one example, there has been a trend in the U.S. recently to widen the previously generally accepted definition of "racism". Whereas it used to denote a belief, sometimes accompanied by action in consequence of that belief in the intellectual and biological inferiority of some races,<sup>7</sup> in current American usage, this "biological" element has been replaced by stress on the importance of institutional factors in perpetuating discrimination. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, for example, stated in 1970 that "Racism may be viewed as any attitude, action or institutional structure which subordinates a person or a group because of his or her colour.... As a matter of further explanation, racism is not just a matter of attitudes: actions and institutional structures, especially, can also be forms of racism."<sup>8</sup> A recent U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare publication defines racism as "a pattern of behaviour whose consequences, intended or not, are to reinforce present inequalities."<sup>9</sup> Dr. Mark Chesler, too, in his paper referred to above, states that his working definition of racism "suggests that it is a set of behaviours or institutional acts at the personal/institutional level that creates or perpetuates sets of advantages or privileges for whites and exclusions or deprivations for minority groups."

In Britain, however, the word is still used in its original connotation, though some experts have examined the dangers of this usage and its application to new facts of racial doctrine and practices.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, not only does "racism" refer in Britain to a belief in the inferiority of other races and possibly to deliberate actions against them in consequence of that belief, but it is familiar as the common parlance of political invective. This is a singularly unfortunate difference in ter-



minology, which would make much American material unacceptable even to those in Britain who comprehended the nature of what is called here "institutional discrimination".

## Towards the Future

There are already some indications that those who have made attempts over the years to train in "community relations", for example the police service, have themselves come to realize the inadequacy of information-giving training and are seeking to acquire new skills in tackling attitudes. They recognize that the individual cannot react to situations which require flexibility and understanding unless he has acquired some awareness of himself as a person and as someone occupying a particular role and called upon to perform particular duties in relation to others. These indications of some moves forward from the simplistic approaches generally characterising race relations training up to now, are encouraging and there will be an increasing demand for authoritative, detailed advice and appropriate source material.

Let us assume that we want to take a practical view and base race relations training on actual requirements rather than on an abstract notion of the general desirability of providing enlightenment on racial matters. This suggests two ways of proceeding. The first must be to identify more clearly the precise aims of race relations training. To do this certain specific areas could be taken as examples and an assessment be made of the exact behaviours we are seeking to influence. Is it face to face dealings with ethnic minorities, (e.g. by police officers, teachers, social workers); is it administrative procedures which will affect minorities; is it decision-making by high level policy-makers? If we can identify the areas where we think there is a danger of non-equitable or unjust behaviour by holders of key roles, we could move forward from that knowledge to discovering the perceptions,

the information, the attitudes which underlie the specific behaviour.

The second and complementary way in which we can progress would be to review and examine both British and American experience in this field. It would be useful to look at models for good information-giving, attitudinal training and the development of an understanding of the ways in which institutional discrimination can be established and perpetuated. At present we know so little of what is done and what effect it has. Once we have identified our aims and turned to the experience of others we shall be better equipped to design our own programmes.

This is an area in which we can no longer afford to be amateurs.

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1. *Inducing Resistance to Persuasion*, an article in *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, New York: Academic Press, 1964.
2. Project funded (1972-75) by the SSRC and the Gulbenkian Foundation and based in the Centre for Applied Research in Education and the University of East Anglia.
3. In *Race, Education and Identity*, Macmillan 1979.
4. *Ibid.*
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6. At the *Second National Symposium on Race Relations Education and Training* (Washington, D.C., September 1976).
7. E.g. Van den Berge in *Race and Racism*, (N.Y., Wiley 1967): "Only when group differences in physical traits are considered a determinant of social behaviour and moral and intellectual qualities can we properly speak of racism."
8. *Racism in America and How to Combat It*, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1970.
9. *Challenging Institutional Racism*, Richard M. Shapiro, 1975.
10. E.g. Michael Banton in *What do we Mean by Racism?* (New Society Social Studies Reader, 1976).

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# ***Racism: Attitude or Behaviour?***

## ***Implications for Training***

***M. Ahmed Ijaz***

It has traditionally been assumed that attitudes are determinants of action and hence, provide an index of how people will act or behave in their daily lives. To date, it has not been resolved to what extent a person's attitudes are, indeed, predictors of his behaviour. Most of the social psychology research in the area of racial prejudice and discrimination has focused on the area of ethnic attitudes. Few studies have systematically examined the relationships between racial prejudice and acts of racial discrimination.

A number of recent attitudinal surveys and studies have shown that a large proportion of the Canadian population holds highly negative attitudes toward members of visible minority groups, but it is far from clear to what extent and under what circumstances such racial prejudice manifests itself as racial discrimination. In the most recent past, the number of acts of racial violence typical of the mid and late seventies has somewhat abated. But has the storm been appeased and can we rest assured that those negative racial attitudes evidenced in recent reports are of no consequence?

### **Relationships between prejudice and discrimination**

Research tells us that the relationship between racist attitudes and behaviour is more complex than is often assumed, either by those who view attitudes as infallible predictors of actions, or those who believe that only violent racist behaviour is of consequence and that underlying attitudes should be ignored. LaPiere showed as early as 1934, that racist attitudes do not always translate into racist actions. At a time when attitudes toward the

Chinese were highly negative, he travelled throughout the United States accompanied by a Chinese couple. LaPiere reported that:

"...twice across the United States, and up and down the Pacific Coast, we met definite rejection from those asked to serve us *just once*. We were received at 66 hotels, auto camps, and 'Tourist Homes', ...were served in 184 restaurants and cafes...and treated with...more than ordinary considerations in 72 of them (LaPiere, 1934:232)."

Six months later, LaPiere sent a questionnaire to a large number of hotels and restaurants, including those he and his companions had visited, asking them whether or not they would be willing to receive members of the Chinese race as guests. Of the responses received, 92 percent refused the request and the remainder responded with "Uncertain, depending upon circumstances."

A similar discrepancy between behaviour and attitudes was noted by Kutner, Wilkins and Yarrow (1952). Two white women entered a total of eleven restaurants and taverns in a Northeastern city suburb in the U.S. and after they had been seated, a black woman joined them. The black woman was never refused permission and the service she and her companion received was described as exemplary. Later, the same establishments were asked by mail to take reservations for a racially integrated social group. No replies were received. After waiting for seventeen days, telephone calls were made to the managers. Five reluctantly agreed to accept reservations and six refused. However, control calls which did not mention the ethnic composition of the group received ten acceptances.

Individuals having racist attitudes may



not always exhibit racist behaviour. Vice versa, individuals exhibiting racist behaviour may not necessarily have racist attitudes. For example, a South African white may have a very positive attitude toward blacks and may wish to integrate and socialize with them. But since the *apartheid* policy of the South African government prohibits such behaviour, he may not mix with blacks. Knowledge of this person's attitude would not accurately predict his behaviour, and to infer his attitude from his behaviour would be equally misleading.

### Discrepancies?

The seeming discrepancy between attitude and behaviour in the above examples is not really so. The hotel and restaurant managers in LaPiere's and Kutner et al.'s studies evidently had prejudiced attitudes towards Chinese and blacks. These attitudes did not become manifested through their behaviour when the Chinese and black guests were accompanied by white companions, but only in the absence of face-to-face encounter. Nevertheless, it is not unreasonable to assume that their attitudes would have prompted them to openly discriminate against the black and Chinese guests had they not been accompanied by whites. The managers' attitudes and behaviour were not conflicting with each other, but their behaviour in different situations was inconsistent.

Behaviour and attitudes do not necessarily correspond to each other. According to Lambert and Lambert (1973):

"...an attitude is an organized and consistent manner of thinking, feeling and reacting to people.... The essential components of attitudes are thoughts and beliefs, feelings or emotions, and tendencies to react."

By way of contrast, behaviour occurs as an interaction between the individual and his environment and it becomes defined in a given situation, by a person's needs, interests and aversions (Smith, Bruner and White, 1956).

A person's racial attitudes and behaviour become influenced by a variety of socio-cultural, situational, and motivational

variables. Prejudice as an attitude or behaviour is not present in humans at birth, but it constitutes a learned socio-psychological orientation. Group norms play an important role in determining a person's social attitudes and behaviour because of a basic and persistent endeavour to adjust to or comply with expected modes of conduct. Conformity to group norms provides a person with a feeling of group-belongingness and emotional security. Group norms become reinforced through social and legal prescriptions and they are passed on through subtle interpersonal processes, as a guideline for social behaviour and interaction.

Unlike traditional norms of morality which provide the individual with assured directions for his conduct, group norms for social attitudes and behaviour derive validity from a frame of social reference and they are often far from clear-cut. Group norms for interracial interaction, even if they are not outright discriminatory, may be ambiguous or non-existent. As a result, such attitudes are particularly subject to conformative influences.

### Influences for change

Changes in racial attitudes or behaviour can be brought about by changes in situation and changes in reference groups. In a study of a generally segregated mining community in the U.S., Minard (1952) found that of the white miners 20 percent readily mixed with blacks above and below ground, 20 percent rejected them both above and below ground, and 60 percent accepted them while working below ground, but rejected them above ground.

Attitudinal and behavioural change can also be effected by changes in group norms, particularly if the new social norm becomes reinforced through institutional support. By sanctioning racial equality, tolerance, and interracial contact, institutional support helps to clarify the expected behaviour and makes such attitudes and behaviour socially desirable. Deutsch and Collins (1951) compared the ethnic attitudes of people in a segregated and integrated housing project. In the segregated project, many white people did



not favour interaction with blacks because it was assumed that such contact was socially undesirable. By contrast, in the integrated project, both the official policy and the social atmosphere clearly supported social integration. As a result, people's attitudes were considerably more favourable toward blacks.

Attitude and behaviour constitute differential aspects of racism. Racist attitudes do not, in all situations, result in racist behaviour, but they are predictors of racist behaviour, in that they indicate that a person has the potential and tendency to act in a racist fashion. The likelihood of such actions becomes increased, if group norms in a society are in favour of, or ambiguous, with regard to racism.

### Institutional racism

Racism, as an attitude or as a behaviour is not a phenomenon that is restricted to individuals, although, in its most overt and direct forms, it may become reflected through acts of racist behaviour by individuals. Racism as the perception of inequality of individuals of different races and the unequal treatment of members of racial minority groups is deeply rooted in the entire system of our society and profoundly engrained in the laws, policies and practices of its institutions.

Institutional and systemic racism are of an insidious and pervasive nature. Unlike individual racism, they do not necessarily imply any personal prejudice or discriminatory behaviour on the part of individuals. In the case of institutional racism, individuals may become merely the agents of a racist institution, discharging their role within the framework of the institution. On the other hand, racist individuals may conceal their own racist attitudes under the guise of the institution for whose laws, policies and practices they are not personally accountable.

In systemic or structural racism the racist attitudes and behaviours of individuals are even less tangible. Systemic racism,

"refers to inequalities rooted in the system-wide operation of a society that excludes substantial numbers of members of particular ethnic groups from significant participation in its major social institutions. What is at issue here

is...the question of access of members of particular ethnic groups to the very qualifications (skills, resources) required by the majority group or groups for full participation in the life of the society (Samuda and Tinglin, 1978:40)."

Systemic racism entails the actual denial to participate in the arena of social, political, and economic life.

Combating racism involves two steps: creating awareness of its existence, and using effective means of counteracting it. The existence of racism as an attitudinal phenomenon in our society has been abundantly evidenced, particularly through recent cross-country surveys. Because of its systemic pervasiveness, the behavioural effects of racism are far-reaching.

Large scale societal changes in racial attitudes and behaviour essentially involve the development of new group norms. In a society in which norms prevail that are in favour of ethnic prejudice, the development of norms in support of inter-ethnic tolerance, acceptance, and equality can become greatly facilitated through institutional support, because the desired standards of behaviour become defined by persons in authority roles. However, mere verbal pronouncements by persons or institutions in authority positions are likely to have little impact, unless they are accompanied by changes in the laws, policies and practices of the institutions themselves.

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# Training Programmes in Race Relations

## *An Analysis and Assessment*

John W. Shaw

Training programmes in various aspects of 'human relations' have been a familiar part of organizational life for some time. One would expect, therefore, that there would be a well-tried and tested philosophy and methodology, upon which 'race relations' training could be grafted.

However, in trying to relate race relations training to our present experience of 'human relations' training, we have to be aware of a rather large and confusing field relatively unevaluated and characterized by widely differing approaches to the problems of change in human behaviour, knowledge, attitudes and interaction within and outside the organization concerned.

What can we learn about effective 'race relations' training from several decades of 'human relations' training? One thing we can learn is that change can be directed either at the *people* within an organization, or at the *working groups* within the organization, or at the *total organization* itself.

Most of the race relations training schemes which have been reported in the literature have attempted to bring about change at the *individual* or *small group* level.

In order to assess their value, we can take advantage of a distinction commonly drawn in the technical literature on training between:

- (1) **Content Techniques** (Including reading, factual lectures, persuasive communications and the mass media);
  - (2) **Process Techniques** (Including role-playing exercises, sensitivity training, small group encounters and social skills training);
- and **Mixed Training Techniques**. These are designed to combine the effects of (1) and (2) and include discussion groups, syndicate

groups, case studies, simulations and on-the-job training.

Most of the reported studies of attempts to change attitudes and behaviour in the race field can be classified into one or the other of these categories and the effects obtained tend to be uniform within the different classes of technique.

### The persuasive approach

Having vetted our content, we can, of course, improve its impact by using it in a persuasive manner. It is not enough, for example, to give teenagers *Contemporary Literature* which raises the important issues in the multi-ethnic field. The material must be taught in such a way that the 'majority' student is able to vicariously identify with the 'minority group' member (Hayes and Conklin, 1953). In all successful attempts, the subject concerned is called upon to put himself in the position of the target of discrimination (Weiner and Wright, 1973).

So far as the more orthodox forms of persuasion are concerned, i.e. by the use of attractive and/or credible sources, the research evidence is heavily in favour of the credible source as a means of bringing about permanent changes (Kelman, 1961). The problem is that *credibility* is an attribute *we* infer in others, from *our own* experiences and bias. Thus we cannot guarantee that all members of our audience will attribute credibility to *one* particular source. Research ought to be done into the kinds of credible source acceptable to the majority of the members of particular groups.



## Process techniques

In both the 'human relations' and the 'race relations' fields, the 'process' methods have attracted a lot of praise. The Report of the British Home Office Advisory Committee on Race Relations Research reported in 1975 that of all the forms of training being evaluated, group sensitivity training was among the most promising. They add that many social agents, such as policemen, teachers, housing visitors and nurses might benefit from a group training approach.

The forms of race relations training in which the ethnic minorities themselves are involved, through participating in small groups and exchanging their views of each other, has been used both in the U.K. and the U.S.A. In the studies I have seen (Sikes and Cleveland, 1968, Bell et al 1969), strictly scientific evaluations have not been reported. However, there are clear indications that a police-community dialogue, on a small group basis, can improve relations, as measured by the subsequent drop in complaints (Sikes and Cleveland *op cit*).

Two other forms of 'process training' seem to have high potential. The first is role-playing, giving the opportunity for identification with members of minority groups.

This approach is exemplified in the film *The Eye of the Storm*. The film shows how a teacher of 9 and 10 year old children deliberately submits her class to an experience of being the object of prejudice and discrimination, in the hope that this will make her children less likely to be prejudiced against members of real-life minority groups.

Subsequently this hypothesis was put to the test by two social psychologists (Weiner and Wright, 1973). So far as these children are concerned, the class which had been given this experience (Day 1 as discriminators and Day 2 as discriminated or vice versa) showed much less prejudice on several measures than a comparable class who had not had this experience.

The second form of 'process training' involves the use of 'role modelling'. Eaton and Clore (1975) found that white and black children at a summer camp, were more likely to imitate the behaviour of a racially different model after some days of living together in

camp, than at the beginning. *Equal status-contact tends to reduce prejudice*, as this and other studies have shown.

Granted that these two studies used children as subjects, all the indications are that training which is distinguished by heavy reliance upon the interaction among trainees does affect attitudes. When used with adult trainees, there is a likelihood that attitudes, awareness of self and others and human relations skills will be more greatly affected by such techniques than by the 'content' methods discussed earlier.

## Mixed techniques

These aim at imparting *content* as well as influencing *process*.

*Group Discussion:* Discussions between police and members of the urban ghetto in Roxbury, Boston showed that real dialogue could develop between the police and residents. The effects of this method have not been fully tested but it is a potent method for change (Lipsitt and Steinbruner, 1969).

*Racist Re-education Package:* The logical extension of the 'Mixed' approach is to put together a combined educational package involving reading, discussion, encounter, films, projects, lectures, brainstorming, simulation, music, debates and so on.

Katz (1976) has done this with her six-stage intensive package, involving 48 exercises packed into two weekends. The effects of the package are measured by the student himself, by others observing his behaviour at home, and by outside judges who assess the diary kept over the month period.

The results show that there was a higher degree of attitude than behaviour change.

## Content techniques

Let us divide this area into two parts, viz. the strictly informational approach and the persuasive approach.

Authorities seem to agree that so far as the reduction of prejudice is concerned, the strictly informational, intellectual method is not very successful. The evidence often cited to support this conclusion is Miller's experience of teaching race relations to tech-



nical college students in the sixties. He found that such teaching was counter-productive and seemed to inoculate pupils against tolerance. Verma's use of the *Schools Councils* "Race Pack" did not lead to statistically significant improvement in attitudes (Miller 1967, Verma and MacDonald 1971). Recent studies by Verma and Bagley (1979) have shown however, that the didactic approach can be successful.

Also, it must be admitted that attention to the content both of textbooks and of television programmes would bring considerable benefit so far as the general perception of ethnic minorities in society is concerned. There is support for the importance of textbook content from American research (Lichter and Johnson, 1969). Textbooks which contradict the normal stereotypes about ethnic minorities do reduce prejudice.

So far as the mass media are concerned, Hartman and Husband (1971) concluded that "media-supplied information carries the inference of conflict (between the races) more often than that from other sources." Thus, we have the odd phenomenon that individuals from areas with low contact with ethnic minorities and hence, more reliance on the media, are prone to think about race relations in terms of conflict more frequently, than do individuals from areas of high contact.

The corollary of this, of course, is that more actively used, the mass media could play a major part in constructively defining the important issues and the terms in which they should be discussed.

## Conclusion

There is no doubt that effectively designed training has a crucial role to play in the development of harmonious race relations in society. However, such training must be designed taking into account both the needs of participants and the known effects of the various types of training intervention. In the previous pages, one has tried to assess what these various effects are.

During the last fifteen years one of the writer's tasks has been to organize training seminars for senior police officers. Two considerations have dictated the form this train-

ing should take. One is the fact that I am called upon to develop the officers' appreciation of new situations, not primarily to impart professional skills. Second is the realization that a purely didactic approach is inadequate as a means of modifying current attitudes.

My solution has been to go for the mixed approach, including the use of specialist lectures, small group discussions, community visits to areas of high ethnic minority concentration, the use of case study material (provided by the participants themselves) and small group exercises and projects. On the evidence of the students themselves, such a package provides a beneficial learning experience for those who participate. The greatest benefit, moreover, is always derived from those elements of the programme which require the greatest participation, not from those such as lectures, in which the course member is relatively passive.

One must emphasize, however, the need for training to be specifically designed for the particular target group in question. The specific informational needs, professional skills and attitude development must first of all be identified before a suitable training vehicle can be designed.

As I have tried to show in the foregoing sections, an understanding of the different levels within an organization (the people, the working groups and the totality) is essential. Also important is the content-process distinction. With these conceptual underpinnings our training interventions are more likely to be effective.

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## Strange Black Men

Who are these strange looking black men?

Hair matted,

Long

Never seen a comb for years

Khaki shirt,

Matching pants, tight at the ankles,

Gun mouth they call them

Eyes tired looking, contemplative.

All Hail Jah, Rasta Fari

Wake in the morning

Locks dangling

Spliff Burning

Hail Ganja. Rasta Fari

Reggae, Roots Rhythm Pounding.

Body vibrating,

All chanting,

Hail Jah, Rasta Fari

Who are these strange looking black men

In green yellow and red tampee?

Head big and fluffy.

Eyes contemplative

Praising herbs

Despising Laws

All Hail Jah,

Ethiopia, Rasta Fari.

## Strange Black Man II

These Strange Black Men

Flashing Locks

Creating Stir,

Alien to Babylon

Hope in Zion

Dread Locks

I,

From Tribe Masai

Drench the Land,

Black Israel man.

Dread Locks

No Crime.

Samson

Not Delilah

am I.

Ganga,

Peace.

Not Evil

We feel.

Peace and Love

Rasta Farai

Gloria Gomez



## *Union Education in Race Relations*

### *A Systemic View*

*Dan McIntyre*

*The purpose of this article is to describe a human rights training approach in the trade union movement with emphasis on race relations. The first part of the article will outline certain key assumptions about racism and to show how that perspective complements trade union philosophy and interests.*

*The second part of the article will briefly describe the content and impact of a human rights training programme of the Canadian Labour Congress.*

### **A systemic view of racism**

The popular image of workers and trade unionists is illustrated by the T.V. character, Archie Bunker, who represents the epitome of bigotry and racist behaviour. Although the stereotype of a bigoted, uneducated worker is reinforced by the media, more informed opinion realizes that racist behaviour is as prevalent in the corporate board rooms as it is in union halls. Furthermore, it can be argued that even if all individual racist attitudes and behaviour were eliminated, that the institutional behaviour, i.e. the existing policies and practices related to employment systems, would still have a discriminatory impact on visible minorities. Based on current statistical analysis of the economic status of minorities, the evidence is convincing that systemic or institutional discrimination is the most significant yet insidious barrier to equality for minorities.<sup>1</sup>

The importance of this analysis of racial discrimination cannot be overstated in terms of the development of an appropriate educational strategy. An Archie Bunker view of racism would suggest that the emphasis

should be on changing prejudicial attitudes. Based on this perspective, training would concentrate on understanding our differences and commonalities, and modifying individual prejudices and behaviour. Although there is a place for this human relations or psychological focus, if it is not understood in terms of systemic discrimination, then I would argue that this approach is not only ineffective but serves to distort the reality of racism. Racism not only is an individual issue but is a societal ill that has a profound and divisive impact on the majority of our culture – white and non-white, men and women.

### **Trade unions**

From a philosophical basis, the purpose of trade unions has been to promote the equality and rights of workers and the oppressed. Although it would be dishonest not to acknowledge that racism has been part of trade union practices, there is also considerable evidence to demonstrate labours' active involvement in combatting racism. Recently, the Ontario Federation of Labour launched a public education campaign against racism; labour councils and individual unions are sponsoring conferences and training programs to address this issue across Canada.

Also, from a historical perspective, the labour movement had been instrumental in setting up human rights committees as early as the 1930s and actively pressed for the formation of Human Rights Commissions and legislation to deal with racism.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to believing in the ideal of equality embodied in the labour slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all," there is a



practical pay-off to union interest and involvement in race relations training to effectively combat racism.

It is no secret that an increasing percentage of workers are comprised of visible minorities; in Toronto it is estimated that as much as 20 percent of the population is non-white.<sup>3</sup> Organized labour does not reflect the active involvement of this percentage of the population, resulting in a weakened collective bargaining voice, as new Canadians, in particular, are intimidated by the real or imagined threat of being fired, and consequently deported for supporting or leading unions demands.

It is this principle of what may be called, "enlightened self-interest" that can be the most convincing argument for involving the rank and file in a campaign against racism. Workers confronted with the prospects of high unemployment and wage roll backs need to address the issue of racism as a means of recouping losses in membership and truly acting as a representative voice of labour. By representing minority workers' interests to improve their working conditions and opportunities, labour will not only be promoting equality and safeguarding these rights, but also making the union an effective modern vehicle for social change.

### **A union training course**

These two complementary perspectives – the concept of racism as a systemic collective problem, and the need for labour to provide leadership in promoting the equality of minorities – formed the basis for a human rights training programme. In 1982 the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) in collaboration with the Canadian Human Rights Commission developed and integrated a thirty-hour course into the CLC labour education programme.

The course addresses three primary issues: racism, sexism, and handicapism. Although critics may view this triple focus as being too ambitious, the course content and material is easily adapted to concentrate on one issue rather than all the issues. Also, the inclusion of references and materials to the three issues broadens the debate and reference points, to show the common denominator un-

derlying these problems, that is, systemic discrimination. For the purpose of this article, I shall describe the course in relation to the racism content.

To move to a common understanding of the extent and nature of racism, the first two modules of the course deal with the theoretical, historical, and present day manifestations of systemic discrimination. This includes an intensive overview of the problem including historical questionnaires, films, statistical fact sheets, discussions and exercises, in a workshop format. At the end of these two modules, participants often express shock in learning about the extent of the problem, as well as an anxiety about their ability to mount an effective strategy to deal with racism.

As one veteran trade unionist angrily said at the end of the first day, "I did not realize how bad it [racism] is, but I better not walk out of this course at the end of the week without a way to fight it." Fortunately, he did acquire some skills and strategies to use, and in fact he was a co-instructor at a subsequent course.

The balance of the course critically examines the legal approaches to deal with racism such as human rights legislation, traditional trade union mechanisms in terms of the collective agreement and internal policies, as well as the need to form coalitions with other progressive groups.

Specialized topics such as the advantages and limitations of affirmative action are examined in the context of the participants' own work places, exposing the difficulties in dealing with employers, myths held by rank and file members, and potential conflict with narrowly defined seniority provisions. Another issue addressed is racial harassment in the work place. The nature of racial harassment is examined and the various ways of dealing with it through human rights and labour legislation, collective agreements, and worker education are analyzed.

The final sessions locate the issues in an international context and call for each participant to develop personal action plans to deal with racism when they return to their homes and work places.

Although the focus of the course is on systemic discrimination from a global view,



there is obviously ample opportunity and need to address the issue of racism from a personal, individual perspective. Invariably, personal concerns are expressed about racism; however, it is always within the context of systemic discrimination. Individual prejudice is not viewed as a social aberration but rather as a rationalization of inequality and oppression.

### Impact

Although there has been no impact assessment of the course, it is possible to hypothesize based on an educated guess and informal feedback.

The most immediate feedback concerning this intensive in-residence training is the overwhelming enthusiasm of the participants who are keen to inform co-workers and set in motion specific programs to promote equality. There is invariably a spill-over effect with workers taking other training at these in-residence schools, as the topic of discussion at meals and after hours frequently centres on racism. In fact, one homework assignment is to interview other participants at the school about the racial composition of their work place, the salary levels and the type of jobs that minorities do, which often leads to discussion about systemic discrimination.

The longer-term effects are that some of the participants become active on human rights and education committees within their union, labour council, or federation of labour. Others try to improve or put into place anti-discrimination clauses in their collective agreements. A few become human rights or race relations course instructors.

On the negative side, without follow up in a planned systematic fashion, many of these participants become isolated and have no support system or reinforcement for the skill development and enthusiasm generated through the course. Consequently, I believe that their active involvement in combatting racism very quickly diminishes or never takes root. If the trade union movement and race relation activists in general are to be effective in any type of training to combat racism, follow up is essential.

### Conclusion

Activists in the field of race relations who share this writer's analysis of the systemic nature of racism and the power relationship inherent in racism, should view labour as a potential, if not a natural ally. This is not to suggest that it is not important or necessary to view the individual's role in this systemic framework. However, if the links to the systemic nature of racism are ignored, then tune into Archie Bunker and forget about trade unions.

*Dan McIntyre is Director, Ontario Region, of the Canadian Human Rights Commission.*

1. A Toronto study by Reitz, J./Calzavara, L./Dasko, D., *Ethnic Inequality and Segregation in Jobs*, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, May 1981, showed that even if qualifications were equal, black men of West Indian origin earned \$2,400 less than white men. Women of Chinese and West Indian ethnic origin earned even less than white women (\$3,500 - \$4,000 wage disparity).
2. See the CLC booklet, *Human Rights in Canada: A Focus on Racism* by Daniel G. Hill, which discusses the formation of the Jewish Labour Committee of Canada in 1935.
3. City of Toronto, *Equal Opportunity Employment Utilization Study*, 1981, p. 3.

*Letters, articles, and visual images for publication in CURRENTS are welcomed*



# Race Awareness Training

Dorothy Kuya

Our society has lived with racism for a very long time. Those who thought that if we waited long enough the problem would just go away, now have reason to think again.

Recognizing the existence of racism, however, is not in itself sufficient to achieve change, either in ourselves or in our society. We need to tackle the problem at both the intellectual and the emotional level and change will only be achieved with the help and support of others.

## R.A.P.U.

The aim of the Racism Awareness Programme Unit is to develop a set of techniques and methods for changing the behaviour and attitudes which are affected and continue to be affected by racism.

The basic premise of our approach is the recognition that racism is a white problem. This premise is amplified in Judy Katz's book *White Awareness - a Handbook for Anti-Racism Training*. The statement, "racism is a white problem," is hard for most white people to comprehend. The purpose of the Racism Awareness Programme is to make white people in the caring professions aware of how racism undermines the goals of their profession to the detriment of both minority people and white people, and to demonstrate how racism affects white people and the institutions in which they work.

We believe, that until it is fully recognized that racism is a white problem and until this phenomenon is addressed directly, progress towards the creation of a truly multiracial society will be inhibited.

The Racism Awareness Programme in Britain, consists of a multiracial group of people involved in the field of education, community work, race relations work and training. We have a shared concern about the inadequacy of conventional training pro-

grammes for a multiracial society and have been meeting regularly since 1978 on a programme, which could bring about a change in attitudes and the understanding of racism, within the educational service and other institutions. Using Katz's materials as models as well as other materials (e.g. film strips, published by the Council for Inter-racial Books for Children and the Foundation for Change in the United States), we have individually and collectively organized training sessions and evaluated these. The results of our evaluation provided evidence to support our own assessment - that these approaches are important and relevant to the British situation. Further evidence of the success of our programme has been the continual and on-going requests for training sessions from a variety of institutions.

A major issue for Britain, as a nation which is only beginning to acknowledge that it is permanently a multiracial society, is to come to an understanding of how and why racism is a part of our society. Racism can be located and has effects in two distinct ways. The first is at a personal and emotional level. The second is at the level of institutional practices and procedures. We consider it to be impossible for either individuals or institutions to escape from their own racism, given the nature of the present society of which both are a part, without some positive effort to come to terms with those issues. The aim of our programme is to produce resources for changing attitudes and activities in institutions. Our approach recognizes the interaction between institutional and personal racism.

## The Programme

Racism Awareness Training should be distinguished from approaches which involve the use of "information packs" and other materials, which invite trainees to look at minority people, their life styles, their family patterns, their dietary customs, or at the causes and effects of racism, or which in an educational context develop the curriculum.

Our programme follows some aspects initiated by Katz and others in the States. We have modified these according to the cir-



cumstances in which we have worked. Racism Awareness Training is a continual learning process for the facilitators and we are continually adapting our approach to our work. The resources consist of a set of methods to enable white people to recognize the personal and social effects that living in a racist society has on them. It covers a number of states which enable participants to understand more clearly what racism is, how it works (again at an individual and institutional level), to discover for themselves how collusion with racism occurs; how it operates in their places of work, and to recover both the will and skills to challenge and overcome racism at both a personal and institutional level.

To cover the complete course requires approximately 26 hours, or two long weekends. The course begins by enabling participants to feel comfortable and by having them establish their own goals and objectives. It moves on to examining racism in society and themselves. It helps them to deal with some of the feelings and reactions which develop as a result of work done in the first two stages. In stages 4, 5 and 6, participants explore white ethnocentrism and how the predominant holidays, language and culture of British society, support racism. Finally the participants focus on their work on developing strategies for change. These are done through discussion, role-play, role-reversal, films, music, etc.

A key problem highlighted by Katz and of concern to our group is the role of black people in Racism Awareness Training, either as participants or facilitators. Their presence in a predominantly white group could:

- (1) Inhibit white participants in expressing themselves freely;
- (2) Cause them to come under attack by white participants;
- (3) Cause them to be exploited for white participants' learning when white participants as well as black should be learning from their own experience and feelings.

We now do Racism Awareness Training with all-white, all-black and multiracial groups.

*Dorothy Kuya is Race Relations and Ethnic Advisor for the Borough of Haringey, England.*

## Training for Intercultural Communication

*Christine Turkewych*

*"Great learning experience, great chance for both present and future networking. Opportunity for potential trainers in intercultural communication to share ideas about both content, issues and procedures of multiculturalism and training and to learn from good role models. Good preparation for training role. Also chance to experience and become familiar with training resources."*

(Participant evaluation)

In November 1982, the Citizenship Development Branch of the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture piloted a *Training Trainers in Intercultural Communication Programme*. This programme was developed as a result of the increased demand for "sensitization" training by community agencies and institutions, where professionals and staff are identifying their need for training to prepare themselves to function effectively in a culturally pluralistic society.

This programme was implemented as an opportunity to: (1) increase the intercultural training resources in this province; (2) develop greater cultural awareness among community groups and institutions; and (3) improve responsiveness of agencies and organizations to cultural pluralism.

The programme was conducted during ten days over a four-month period. Fifteen professionals participated from social service and education agencies in the Toronto area. The selection criteria highlighted commitment to multiculturalism, related training experience, position in the organization and accessing release time from work.

### Purpose

By training professionals and getting support for sensitization programming in their



workplace from their respective management, it is anticipated that the quality and continuity of intercultural sensitization programmes will be increased. It is expected that on-site trainers will have greater insight into their system and staff needs, and will develop and implement relevant programmes. Importantly, with management commitment, these will be continued on an on-going basis and will aim for long-term effects in response to and management of our multicultural reality.

The objectives of the programme were to provide participants with the opportunity to upgrade their own skills in intercultural communication and to develop effective strategies for sensitization programmes in their workplaces.

### Content

Programme topics included: concepts of culture, North American values, coping constructively with cultural differences, enhancing cross-cultural awareness, empathy and communication, stress points in intercultural communication, dispelling apathy, needs assessment, evaluation, intercultural counselling, developing your own resources and managing multicultural dynamics.

The content was selected and developed from the identified needs of the trainees. The methods were experiential, using such techniques as group discussions, role-play, simulations, case studies and problem-solving.

### Evaluation

An evaluation strategy was developed by the programme co-ordinator and an outside evaluator. A formative evaluation was implemented during the ten days of training with five instruments: session evaluations, self-assessments, programme evaluation, trainers' evaluations, and presentation evaluations.

This formative evaluation indicated that the content and format were very useful and thought-provoking. The trainees explored issues in multiculturalism and intercultural communication, increased their repertoire of methods and strategies in assisting others to "learn how to learn" and applied their learnings in group presentations. A summative

evaluation strategy is being implemented to monitor the trainees' "sensitization" activities in their workplaces during the following year and to assess the long-range impact of this training programme.

### Follow-up

This fall, the programme will be provincial in scope and offered as an eight-day residential programme in two parts: October 26-29, 1983 and February 21-24, 1984. Nominations for candidates are now being submitted from across the province. Selection criteria are:

- candidate's commitment to multiculturalism
- candidate's related training skills and experience in intercultural communication processes
- candidate's position in own organization which enables him/her to implement sensitization programmes in workplace
- success in attaining release time from work.

*Christine Turkewych is a consultant with the Citizenship Development Branch, Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation.*

## ***The Vancouver Neighbourhood Action Project***

### ***A Community Response to Racism***

***David Sangha***

While many forms of racial discrimination are prohibited by the Human Rights Code, the Criminal Code and municipal bylaws, it is nonetheless an unfortunate fact that many victims of racial abuse cannot, or do not, make use of these laws. In some cases, recent immigrants are not aware of the laws, or they are afraid of appearing to "rock the boat." In other cases, there may not be



enough evidence to lay a charge, or the victims give up because the process takes too long. Regardless of the reasons, the result is the same – the victim is left feeling hurt, confused and helpless.

In July, 1982, the Neighbourhood Action Project (NAP) was established by the B.C. Civil Liberties Association with a community-based means of redress. The NAP staff has been working for the interests of victims of various forms of racial abuse (verbal harassment, vandalism, arson, and physical attacks) in a variety of ways.

### **Racial Abuse Seldom Repeated**

One of the major tasks of the project has been to draw out individuals who have suffered abuse. One of our early findings was that upwards of 90 percent of these individuals never report the incidents to anyone. In order to reach out to these individuals, the local ethnic press ran articles about NAP, NAP conducted "man in the street" interviews and NAP undertook a survey of visible minorities.

In the aftermath of many of these incidents, victims are often left with feelings of anger and confusion. The NAP staff has provided emotional support to channel these feelings into meaningful reaction.

In some cases, staff found that victims who do have legal redress are not able to initiate proceedings on their own. They may feel hindered by their limited language abilities, or may have been discouraged by an individual working for the legal authorities. In such cases, staff help the victim in obtaining assistance from the appropriate agency – the police, Human Rights Branch, Workers' Compensation Board, etc.

### **Neighbourhood Focus**

One of the key features of the project is its neighbourhood focus. Whenever possible, NAP forms support groups among the neighbours of the victim. This approach has at least two benefits. Neighbours work together to develop strategies to solve this and possibly other community problems and this approach makes the racial incident a community problem rather, than simply the victim's problem.

The project has also been involved in preventative work in order to create a better racial climate in general. Staff members, for example, have conducted workshops with schools, community groups and agency workers to encourage cross-cultural understanding and to discuss practical methods for dealing with racial incidents.

*David Sangha is a worker with the Neighbourhood Action Project.*



## ***U.S. Trends in Race Relations Training***

*John W. Shaw*

Race Relations, as such, has now become part of the larger field of Equal Opportunity, which includes not only prejudice and discrimination, and the civil rights of minorities (including women) but also affirmative action on employment, housing, etc., and attempts to change organisations in toto. The Defence Race Relations Institute, for example, which was set up in 1971 was turned into the Equal Opportunity Management Institute in 1978 to reflect these changes.

Trainers and consultants to business and governmental organisations are switching their training courses entirely to the problems of institutional compliance with Equal Employment legislation. Their in-service training courses are marketed on the premise that if an organisation is enabled to identify and meet its objectives on recruitment, hiring, termination of employment, promotion and affirmative action generally, then that organisation can save itself large sums of money from legal judgements which might otherwise be given against them. In addition to the didactic teachings of the law, including the body of case law, these short courses use case studies exemplifying various management and supervisory problems with an Equal Employment Opportunity side to them. Such trainers usually do not emphasise problems of 'racism' nor seek to change racist attitudes. An emphasis on racism is felt by them to be a very provocative approach which can be counter-productive. Since there are in excess of 50,000 cases currently filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission then the instrumental approach is highly relevant.

There appears to be a return to, or the re-evaluation of the informational approach in the United States, largely fostered by the rapid development of equal employment opportunity legislation and the increase in related case

law. In a society where people are prepared to seek legal redress against discrimination within employment, and the legal system is equally prepared to penalise heavily the guilty employers, then the motivation exists on the part of executives, both to acquire and to use relevant information about minorities and their rights.

More are questioning whether there is any future in training programmes which are not tied to organisational development schemes. Indeed, are Equal Opportunity programmes, which do not change the basic nature of organisational decision-making so far as minorities are concerned, of any value? A growing body of opinion suggests that they are not. Mark Chesler says that, despite equal opportunity policies, "the racial and sexual bases of power in organisations often are left untouched."

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## ***Non-Whites in Business***

### ***Ontario Human Rights Commission Survey***

A survey conducted by the Ontario Human Rights Commission, published earlier this summer, found that non-white graduates of business schools have not fared as well as whites in employment, salary or promotions.

The study, comparing the work experience of 67 non-white graduates with 70 white



graduates, found that the non-whites submitted more applications and took more interviews but received fewer job offers.

The study also found that fewer non-whites than whites considered their opportunities for promotion good. This perception was confirmed by the finding that four times as many whites as non-whites were in senior management positions within five years. Two thirds of those surveyed believe visible minorities must perform better than whites to advance. Both groups also believe that speaking with an accent and maintaining one's ethnic way of life is detrimental to career advancement.

The average income differential between white and non-white men is \$3,112, and \$638 between white and non-white women.

## ***Recession vs. Equal Opportunities***

### ***for Minorities and Women in the United States, Canada and Britain***

***Harish C. Jain and Peter J. Sloane***

This paper sets out to answer three questions concerning the adverse effects which recessions may have on members of minority groups.

First, are gross earnings differentials between minorities and non-minorities related to the state of the labour market? That is, do such differentials tend to widen during recessions and narrow during buoyant economic conditions?

Second, is employability of minorities and women related to the state of the labour market? That is, are minorities and women less employable during recession than during prosperity?

Third, is there a tendency for minorities and women to have less propensity to utilize

anti-discrimination legislation during recession.

From a study of the data, the authors conclude that there is partial evidence that racial minorities are adversely affected relative to white workers in the recession, but no clear evidence that this is also true for women. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the absolute position of all groups deteriorates in the recession and this may have long-run consequences that are detrimental both to minority workers and women. This is likely to be the case, where internal labour markets tend to exclude workers with intermittent job experience from primary markets.

Growing unemployment also worsens the climate in which equal opportunity policies are implemented and may relegate them to matters of secondary importance. This is particularly so, the authors found, where majority workers fear that minority workers and women pose a threat to their own jobs. For instance, adverse economic circumstances may also be used as an argument against broadening the legislation to allow equal pay comparisons to be made for work of equal value or for dissimilar jobs, to move the burden of proof away from the complainant towards the defendant or to extend affirmative action provisions in the legislation.

Thus, the authors conclude that it may be the general climate of depressed economic conditions rather than short-run changes in the level of unemployment which pose the greatest threat to the relative position of minority workers and women.

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# ***The Korean Community in Ontario***

*The following is drawn from presentations given at a consultative meeting of the Korean community with the Race Relations Division, Ontario Human Rights Commission, June 22, 1983.*

The Korean community is relatively new to Ontario. There were less than 100 Koreans in Toronto in the early 1960s. The population swelled to 2,000 by the late 1960s, and by the mid-1970s it approached 20,000. The current estimate of the Korean population in Ontario is 40,000.

Korea is a country with 3000 years of history. Koreans share a common cultural heritage, speak one language, and consider themselves culturally and ethnically distinct from the Japanese or Chinese.

## **What do Koreans do?**

Some Canadians think all Korean families own neighbourhood convenience stores. Of course, this is not true. There are Korean professors, physicians, engineers, secretaries, taxi drivers and factory workers. Some Canadians think Koreans own *all* the corner grocery stores in Toronto. Of course this is not correct. They don't own all of them; they only own 1,500.

With less than a decade of significant immigration history to Canada, there is now a tendency to move away from the onerous hours imposed by operating corner stores towards such businesses as gift stores, fast food, dry cleaning, etc. Regardless of professional and educational qualifications acquired in Korea, the majority of Koreans have willingly established such 'bottom line' businesses. Such diligence and spirit of independence is seen as a major factor for the community's prosperity in a time of economic depression.

## **A self-sufficient community?**

At the risk of oversimplifying, the following examples give an idea of Korean business and community organizations.

- There are two Korean-operated Canadian Chartered Banks and seven business and trade organizations, such as the Ontario Korean Businessmen's Association and the Korean-Canadian Chamber of Commerce.
- There are 15 sports organizations and four professional interest groups, such as the Ontario Association of Korean Engineers and Scientists.
- There are seven social service organizations; for example, the Senior Citizens' Association and the Korean YMCA Programme.
- There are 13 cultural organizations, including the Korean-Canadian Cultural Association, the Korean Symphony and the Korean Choir.
- There are numerous district associations, alumni associations and clan associations.
- There are 46 Christian churches, 3 Buddhist temples and five religious organizations such as the Korean Elders' Conference.
- There are one daily, one semi-weekly, two weekly and one monthly Korean newspapers published in Toronto; and there are two weekly television programmes.

Perhaps this is a sign of its success, but the Korean community is concerned, however, that it is poorly represented in Ontario society. How often have we seen news of the Korean community being reported on the CBC, or in the Globe and Mail or the Toronto Star? We haven't seen Koreans among trade union leaders, high ranking civil servants and managers of business corporations, advisory councils and social and cultural agencies.



## *Working with the System*

Mary Bruce

*The following is the presentation given by Mary Bruce to the Annual General Meeting of the Urban Alliance on Race Relations, held in Toronto on April 27, 1983.*

Working with the system is an interesting topic, but how do you work with a system that is set up to protect itself from change. A better topic might have been "Infiltrating the System."

For example, the City of Toronto has an equal opportunity policy. Equal opportunity is defined at the City as "equal access to recruitment, training, development and promotion." The City has done an excellent job eliminating internal systems that discriminate against women, minorities and people with disabilities, but there is virtually no change in the representation of these groups at City Hall. *Why?* I know the standard reasons – the economy, low turnover, "they" depending on which group we are talking about "don't apply." These may all be reasons, but I believe there is a more important issue. "Who wants the numbers to increase?"

You do; I do because I am a woman, not to mention that it's my job; a few committed managers who believe they will get better employees; a few who see it as a "moral issue;" and in the City's case – some politicians.

"Who doesn't want the increase." Well, we know that 52 percent of the population is female – including minorities and the disabled. They tell me that 20 percent of the population are ethnic/racial minorities – again including women, the disabled and men. Approximately 14 percent of the population has some type of disability. This includes men, women and male and female minorities – that's a lot of people. So who's left and how

come they are so powerful? That's the issue – power.

### **Power**

The issue for me is how do we impact on that power. Before we can set up strategies for impacting on that power, we have to be very clear about how we help the powerful stay powerful and how we keep ourselves powerless. I would like to give you some examples of what I see happening.

First, you have a mayor at the City of Toronto committed to increasing the representation of special groups. He has been attacked by the media and has received literally no support from the groups who could benefit from this commitment. We don't want to lose him on this issue.

Second, an article in the *Sun* recently denounced the nominating committee for boards and commissions at the City for asking the sex, minority status and the disability of applicants. The Human Rights Commission have been asked to rule on this issue. How many people here will support the aldermen involved or the decision of the Commission if the media disapproves?

Third, what about affirmative action/equal opportunity practitioners in organizations? Do you support us? I get hundreds of calls from people telling me how ineffective equal opportunity is, or telling me to do impolite things to myself that consist of four letters, but I haven't heard my constituency saying, I am doing okay or if not, suggesting other methods.



## Task Forces

Fourth, what about task forces and committees? Be suspicious! In the words of the Mayor's Task Force on the Status of Women in 1976, "The concept of the task force has become an accepted way of dealing with specific issues in Canadian society. Generally, such a body deals with the problems of groups that are considered by society to be 'powerless'."

Compounding the problem of the relatively little clout inherent in the groups a task force researches, is the way in which a task force is set up to operate.

Task forces seem to appear with lightning speed and fade from view almost as quickly, with no real authority to implement the recommendations. Their impact on the groups they were set up to serve and to society at large, seems to disappear when they do. What is disturbing, is that it is becoming increasingly apparent that this may be no accident. It may in fact be exactly what the body that gave the task force life intended it to be.

It is safe to assume that any government truly committed to change does not need a task force to assess the real need for change. If there is sufficient impetus for a government to set up a task force to begin with, then there is ample justification to legislate change from the onset. To encourage citizens to contribute to a fact finding survey is to deflect them from directly contacting the people whom they elect to represent them.

Therefore, I believe the task force is rarely justified. A concept that might have been valid in the past has been allowed to disintegrate into nothing more or less than a high-handed cop-out; an excuse to buy time and eliminate responsibility in dealing effectively and swiftly, with specific problems that have been deemed too sensitive to handle at the point in time when the public demands action.

Faced with the harsh realities of past attempts, a task force is more likely to be a monumental waste of money than a force for change. But it seems clear that government would rather justify the financial waste and diffuse the issue, than deal with the results of implementing any change in society that may

give more power to those who presently have so little.

## Lobby

So what do we do to get our share of that power? First, we have to become more effective – lobbyists at every level of government. Second, when we see newspaper reports that are harmful, we have to make sure our view point is heard – we have to lobby the media. Third, we have to identify and support the people who are willing, for whatever reasons, to work on our behalf. We have to ask them to tell us what form that support should take. Letters, phone calls, research.

Faced with a task force or committee approach, don't give up and don't ignore it. Work to get your own representatives on it. If not, find someone sympathetic to your concerns. Go to the meetings. Ask for input into the recommendations. Demand to know the resources allocated and monitor their implementation.

Those are a few of my observations. I hope that by the end of tonight's session we will all have new ideas for "infiltrating the system."

*Mary Bruce is Director, Equal Opportunity Division, Management Services Department of the City of Toronto.*

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### WHITE AWARENESS

*Handbook for Anti-Racism Training*

*Judy H. Katz*

*University of Oklahoma Press*

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## Whites' problem

Although there is a great deal of rhetoric about the need for change and the destructiveness of racism, the strategies developed to alleviate the problem are often merely new training programmes for minorities. The victim, not the victimizer, once again becomes the target for change. The symptoms are attacked instead of the cause.

Racism is a white problem in that its development and perpetuation rests with



white people. Whites created racism through the establishment of policies and practices that serve to their advantage and benefit and continue to oppress all minorities. Racism is perpetuated by whites, through their conscious and/or unconscious support of a culture and institutions that are founded on racist policies and practices.

Much research has been done on the effects of racism on the self-concept and perspective of minorities. Little research, however, has been done on the effects of racism on whites. In fact, it seems fair to say, that because the white race has been considered the norm in North American culture, racism has simply been overlooked as an issue in the white community. The attitude seems to be that if minorities are not physically present, the problem of racism does not exist. Whites easily forget, indeed are seldom aware, that they too are part of a group and are subject to ethnocentrism and a unique, collective group experience.

The task, as Judy Katz emphasizes, is developing a way of identifying the issues of racism as they exist in the white community and helping white people grow and learn about themselves as whites in this society. How can we help white people come out from behind the myths that have sheltered them for so long and begin focussing on the difficult realities and discrepancies that are present in society?

### White racism

This handbook, first published in 1978, describes a training programme that attempts to answer that question. It is designed to give participants an in-depth view of racism and to help them begin to explore and come to understand white racism on cognitive and affective levels, with the support of other white people.

It is designed to be used primarily by teachers, counsellors, educators, change agents and facilitators, who are concerned about helping individuals examine their attitudes and behaviours as whites and the implications of their own racism in order to become more fully human.

It has been used in school systems with

teachers, counsellors, and administrators, as part of affirmative action programmes with managers, in minority communities and in para-professional programmes.

### The Programme

After an introduction explaining the principles on which the programme is based, the author presents a detailed, step-by-step training format.

The programme consists of six stages of development and appropriate exercises to work through each stage. If the goals of the programme are reached, by the end of the workshop the participants will be able to:

- (1) name and clearly define the concepts of bias, bigotry, prejudice and racism;
- (2) describe and examine racism in its institutional, cultural and individual forms;
- (3) identify and articulate personal feelings and fears around the issue of racism;
- (4) define ways in which one's own attitudes and behaviours are representative of racism in society as a whole;
- (5) develop and act on specific strategies designed to combat racism on an institutional and individual level.

Instructions, suggestions, recommended readings, lists of materials required and sources of materials are included. The length of the programme can vary from three-hour introductory sessions to a 45-hour-long course.

### Does it work?

The results of research on the programme's effectiveness indicate that attitudes and behaviours do change significantly in a positive direction after completion of the workshop. One follow-up study also showed that changes in attitudes and behaviours had been maintained. Participants had become actively engaged in developing new curricula for schools; eliminating racism from their language; taking active roles in the governance of their organizations; examining criteria for hiring; facilitating workshops on racial awareness; and educating friends, families and co-workers. These significant behaviours are evidence that racism can be effectively countered in positive, active directions.



**COMBATTING RACISM IN THE  
WORKPLACE: A Course for Workers**  
**Barb Thomas & Charles Novogrodsky**  
**Cross-Cultural Communications**  
**Centre, Toronto 1983**

## "A great course"

*"No one has any panaceas for educating and mobilising people's energies to fight racism. Indeed, any good programme will raise more questions than it answers. The teacher must combine information and understanding of how racism works with an ability to elicit what participants already know about racism," states author Barb Thomas who taught the course from which this book was developed.*

The result of a series of ten week, thirty-hour courses run by the Cross Cultural Communication Centre under the auspices of the Centre for Labor Studies, Humber College, in Toronto, this publication outlines ten sessions designed to help workers learn about and work together against racism. The book is accompanied by a *Readings Kit* of classroom materials, which provides more detailed information about some of the concepts explored in the book. The materials cover such issues as immigration history and policy, racism in employment, human rights legislation and community action. Together the two publications constitute the materials for teaching a ten session course.

Selections from any of these materials can also be used for union meetings, discussion evenings, stewards' training sessions, Canadian Labor Congress weekend schools or "plug-ins" to a longer course on a broader topic (eg. social action, union counselling, union leadership).

## Methodology

This course is designed to build upon participant knowledge by structuring classroom situations so that new information can be applied in light of participants' daily experience.

The book describes a variety of ap-

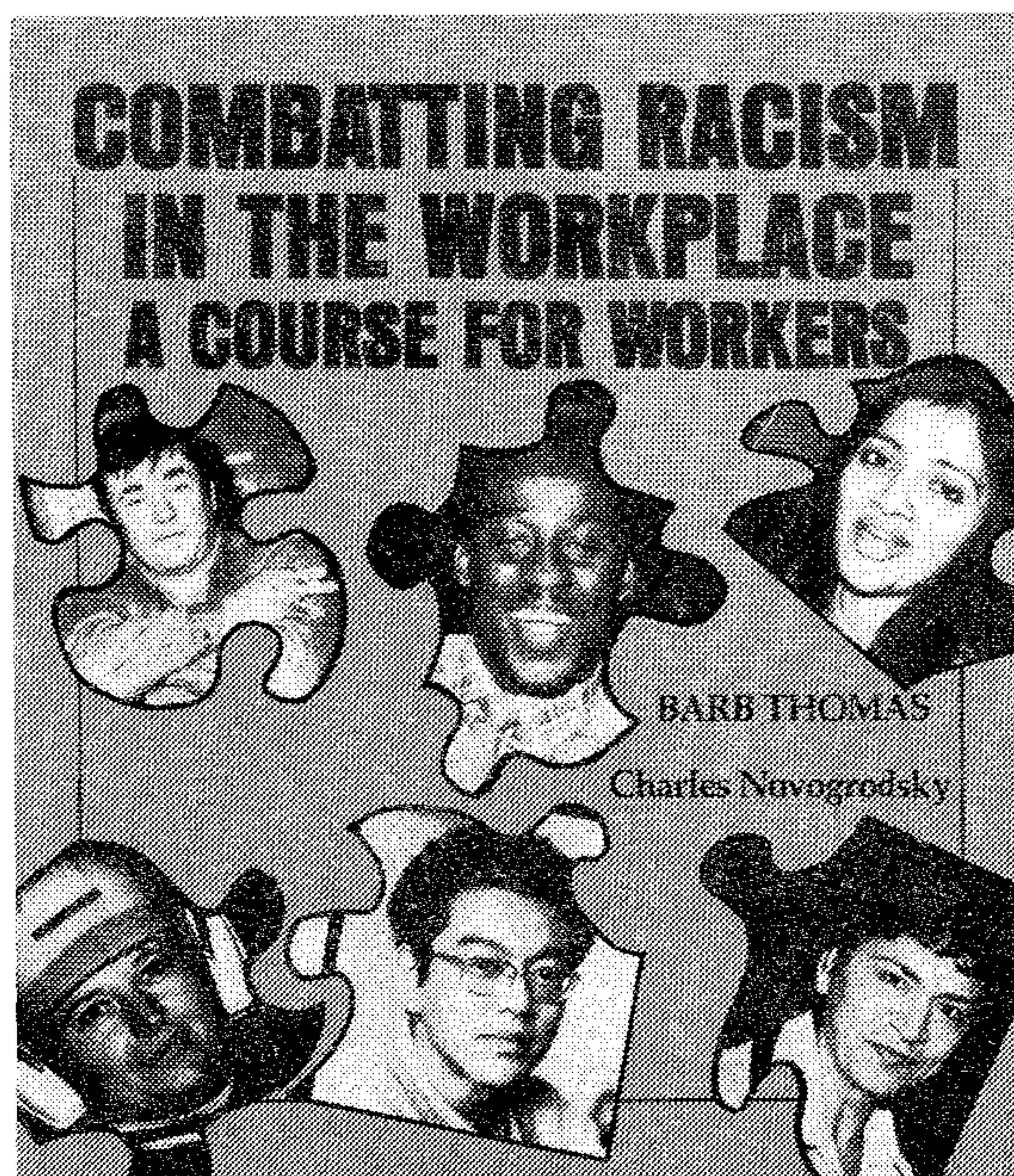
proaches to do this, including: film, small group discussion, use of participants' own materials, case studies, readings, role play, analysis of materials, brainstorming, interviewing, as well as large group discussion and teacher-delivered information.

The teacher is encouraged to use as broad a range of relevant stimuli as possible to achieve the course's objectives - which are to affect attitudes and mobilise collective energies to act.

## Objectives

In general terms, the course seeks to equip worker participants with:

- information and arguments to resist prejudiced beliefs.
- a clear understanding of why all workers should collectively combat racism in their places of work and in their communities.
- approaches for dealing with racial conflict and harassment in the workplace.
- methods of identifying and acting against racism in the union.
- an analysis of employer connections to racism in the workplace and the links between racism and class oppression.



Cross Cultural Communications Centre



- an understanding of the sources of racist explanations of their society.
- strategies for further educating themselves and their fellow workers.
- strategies for mobilising collective energies to fight racism in all its forms in the workplace and in the community.

## Evaluation

The most credible source for assessing the value of any programme is the participants themselves.

"A great course. It opened my eyes to many things about myself and others. I hope all unions have the opportunity to receive similar material on this topic."

This is just one of many similar statements made by students of the course given at the Centre for Labor Studies. In addition to assessing the quality of the course itself and the instructors, the students were asked how adequately they learnt 20 new skills from

the course. For example, in being able to work with other union members to develop anti-racist practices and programmes in the union. Graded from poor to excellent, the scores were consistently marked above average.

The authors stress the importance of ending the course on a note of energy and conviction that each participant can make important contributions to fighting racism in his or her place of work. To this end, the final session of the course is devoted to the participants' developing their own action plan ideas to carry back to their own workplace. It will be of interest to know how these plans have evolved.

As Shelley Acheson, Human Rights Director of the Ontario Federation of Labour states, this course "...is labour-oriented, worker-centred, logically presented, with exercises, audio-visual aids and readings designed to involve workers in talking openly and seriously about racism in the workplace."

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### RACE RELATIONS AT WORK

*An Education and Action Programme  
The Runnymede Trust and The  
Tavistock Institute of Human Relations*

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## How to!

The multiracial workplace has serious implications for the employer. On the one hand, there are legal obligations to avoid unfair discrimination on the grounds of race or colour and also to ensure genuine equal opportunity for all employees. This is largely a matter of policy and decision-making coupled with the appropriate action.

On the other hand, there are problems concerning relationships between groups and individuals. This is the area of inter-personal and inter-group behaviour, where attitudes and beliefs can interfere and disrupt otherwise efficient relationships. In addition, tensions and the associated breakdown in communication, can be caused by ignorance and misunderstanding of the differences between

cultures. Prejudice and hostility to others can stem from deep-rooted feelings, beliefs and attitudes, which have been built up over a lifetime. It may not always be manifested, but can readily come to the surface if there are other tensions already existing within the organization.

Information about the cultural backgrounds of the various ethnic groups and the provision of industrial language training for immigrants are essential ingredients in the attempts to come to grips with race relations at work. The solution however, is incomplete without the most important ingredient of all, viz. the examination of attitudes towards race and the formulation and implementation of a practical programme of change within the organization.

With a growing awareness in British industry of the need to provide training in the various aspects of race relations at work, The Runnymede Trust with the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations have published this booklet describing their educational programme to provide representatives of industry with opportunities to learn about work and race relations, together with opportunities to



apply what they have learned in their own enterprises.

## Participation

It is important that the business enterprise as a whole is committed to the programme, through its senior management.

Participation in the programme should be open to both managers and workers. Firms should examine what authority is being delegated to participants and their responsibility to implement what they have learned as a result of their experiences in the programme. Participation from each firm should be sufficiently large as to allow for significant innovations and changes within the organization.

Between 50 and 60 places would be available in the programme. Ideally, this would mean 10 to 12 participants from five organizations, or alternatively the same number from five branches or divisions of a single organization. The fee for the entire programme is around \$30,000, or for an organization sending 12 participants around \$6,000 excluding residential costs.

## The programme

Members take part in a number of events which provide opportunities to examine in various settings the problems and issues of race relations at work and, in particular, to study the problems of exercising responsible leadership and authority as situations change and develop at work.

The programme has five phases. Parts of the programme are carried out in residential settings and the remainder will be within the firm. The period of the programme is eight months. The five phases are: Negotiation, Preparation, Learning, Implementation, and Evaluation. Participating organizations are closely involved in all five stages as the programme is designed to be a total education venture.

### A. Negotiation Phase

A representative will meet with top-level management. The primary task of this meeting will most likely be:

- to explain, if necessary, the programme in more detail; and

- to explore the implications of involvement for the organization, and in particular the degree of responsibility and accountability to be given to programme participants.

### B. Preparation Phase

After recruitment, representatives of the programme staff will meet with the potential members of the programme, who have been delegated by their firms, to discuss what problems there may be in the firm, as well as their expectations of the programme. There will be two meetings. On the basis of these discussions a short statement will be prepared by the members, about the issues of work and race relations. Each set of representatives will constitute an Implementation Syndicate.

### C. Learning Phase

This phase of the programme has two residential components:

*Conference One:* Work and Race Relations (4 days). This will be a four-day seminar in which information and theory relevant to race relations at work will be presented to members for discussion and examination. Topics covered will include the relevant legislation, the nature of prejudice, the incidence of discrimination, the history of immigration, and the cultural background of the various ethnic groups. Teaching methods will include lectures, films, free discussion techniques, role analysis, guided discovery and other forms of self-managed learning. This phase has been designed to equip the member with everything he or she needs to know before entering the experiential phase of the programme.

*Conference Two:* Self-management at Work (8 days). This is an experiential conference and attention will be paid to working in the 'here and now' of experiences. Members take part in a number of events within the conference which are designed as the problems of examining leadership emerge, in situations which are changing and developing.

### D. Implementation Phase

Using the statement written in the Preparation Phase members and their consultant will prepare jointly a Working Note on 'Work and Race Relations in Firm X'. Strategies of



implementation will be thought through and negotiated with senior management. The execution of the implementation will be conducted by the members of the Implementation Syndicates. The services of a consultant will be available to help in this task, over a period of five months.

#### E. Evaluation Phase

This will be a short residential conference which will have the tasks of examining the state of the programme, and of ending relationships between the members and staff. On the basis of this evaluation the membership and staff will formulate policies as to how the results of the programme are to be disseminated generally.

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**COMMUNITY AND RACE RELATIONS  
TRAINING FOR THE POLICE**  
*Report of the Police Training Council  
Working Party Established by the Home  
Office, London, England 1983*

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## *Required reading*

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YONAS HAILE-MICHAEL

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The Report of Lord Scarman's inquiry into the disorders in Brixton in April 1981 recommended that:

"Training courses designed to develop the understanding that good community relations are not merely necessary but essential to good policing should...be compulsory from time to time in a police officer's career up to and including the rank of Superintendent. The theme of these courses should be the role of the police as part of the community, the operational importance of good community relations, the techniques of consultation, and the moral as well as legal accountability of the police to the public."

The recommendations of Lord Scarman provided the basis for the establishment of the Police Training Council Working Party and

their 35-page report, which should be required reading for all of those in this country who are seriously concerned about the kind of training police officers receive in race relations.

The present training arrangements in England are briefly reviewed and found to be grossly inadequate. Not only were some police forces in England providing no training in race or community relations, but in about three-quarters of the forces where there was such training, instruction was confined to one, two or three periods of 45-60 minutes. But the most serious defect in training is that for the most part, it has simply consisted of providing information – about immigration, minority groups, government policies, etc.

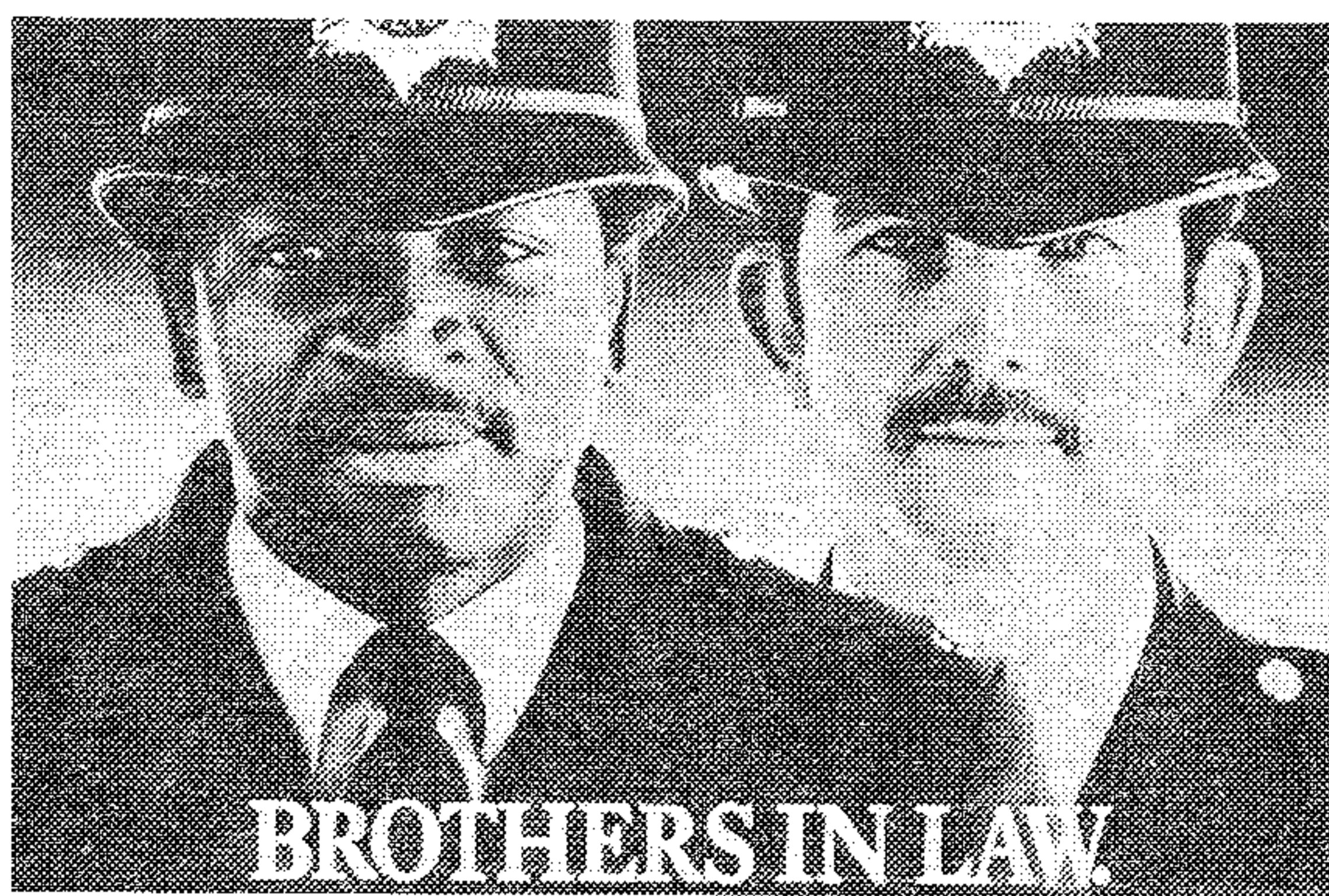
### Attitude and Awareness

It is often assumed that the central purpose of race relations training is to make white attitudes towards black people more tolerant and sympathetic. There may be more than this to good race relations, but because attitudes can be measured in a quantitative manner, they tend to be used as a yardstick.

Research on the effectiveness of teaching for better interracial attitudes provides a mixture of results. One often-quoted study at a college of further education in London, by Miller<sup>1</sup> (1969) showed that attempts to do this, using information, rational argument, or outright persuasion were likely to prove counter-productive. The author suggested that this was because too weak an argument was offered and because the instructor was perceived as an outsider by the trainees. The importance of 'source credibility' has long been accepted by learning theorists examining change attempts. However, a more recent study by Verma and Bagley<sup>2</sup> (1979) among 14-16 year old secondary school pupils, concluded that teaching about race relations did tend to have beneficial effects upon interracial tolerance, although these effects were not large.

Smith and Willson<sup>3</sup> (1972) compared the effects of 'group process' training in England, in which teachers and parents of ethnic minority children took part in one group, and white and Asian workers took part in another.





Only the first group produced attitude and behaviour change, and this was attributed to the facts that it was residential and that its members shared a common motivation and had a clear goal.

Teahan<sup>4</sup> (1975) in the United States studied groups of black and white police officers who met over twelve weekly sessions for role-playing and interpersonal feedback. Black officers were positively influenced and felt they had better relations with their white colleagues, but whites, although more sensitized to interracial issues, showed increased negative feelings towards blacks. Teahan concluded that this was because the whites saw the programme as intended to enhance the position of blacks, and so felt threatened and hostile. Further work suggested that interracial animosities were worsened by experience of the job itself.

There is, of course, only value in trying to change attitudes if they are prejudiced in the first place. In the case of police recruits there is some disagreement as to whether this is so. A study by Colman and Gorman<sup>5</sup> (1981) tested police recruits' attitudes and compared them with civilian controls. The results suggested that law enforcement as a career attracts conservative and authoritarian personalities, that training has only a temporary liberalizing effect and that continued police service results in increasingly illiberal, intolerant attitudes towards non-white people. The 'police subculture' rather than training was thus blamed for overriding the liberalizing effects of training.

Some work on new recruits' attitudes has been conducted by Superintendent Butler of the West Midland Police.<sup>6</sup> Tests were deve-

loped and administered to new recruits in the Initial Courses at Ryton-in-Dunsmore during the Spring of 1981. All recruits completed questionnaires before and after the Initial Course. Prejudice was found to increase slightly between the two tests, though there was little change in perceptions of West Indian and Asian characteristics. However, on both occasions Asians were perceived in a fairly neutral way, and West Indians in a more negative way. A second study was conducted in the Autumn of 1981.<sup>7</sup> It followed the same pattern, but was also able to take account of the new 'Associated Police Studies' element of the course: some trainees took these lessons, while some still had the old lessons.

Butler's results suggested that again attitudes were little different before and after the course and that, furthermore, this was so whether the old or the new training was received. In two respects this pattern was broken: more recruits believed immigrants worked as hard as white people and fewer recruits believed that immigrants should conform to the 'British way of life' after the training, as compared with their attitudes before the training. The new element of training might have some positive effect on attitudes, but perhaps only in the perceptions of recruits towards Asians. Butler also compared the attitudes, values, perceptions and opinions of recruits with police constables of more than five years service. The findings suggest that constables with five years police experience were consistently more negative towards ethnic minorities and particularly towards West Indians as compared with Asians.

### Skills training

Butler notes that present training emphasizes the knowledge and attitudinal aspects of race relations, to the neglect of social skills and that it is lacking in not seeking to answer such fundamental questions as how to deal with hostile encounters with particular groups. Also, he suggests that training must be seen in the wider context of socialization into the police role, for it cannot be assumed that attitude changes – or lack of them – are wholly attributable to the course itself. The formal training experience may contribute, but so



may other experiences during the training period, and in the long term, training represents only a very small part of the young officer's experience. A Home Office study in Chapeltown (described below) found very few officers willing to say that training courses had taught them anything about dealing with ethnic minorities, whereas nearly all said that experience had taught them a lot. Most sociological studies of policing deal with the powerful influence of the police organization and occupational culture in moulding the attitudes of police officers. In particular, the role of the first line supervision – the Sergeant and the Inspector – can be crucial and this was recognized in Lord Scarman's report. He urged better management training for these officers to enable them to better fulfil closer supervision of new recruits.

Attitudinal training, racial awareness training, or self awareness training are only of value to policing if they go together with the learning of effective skills. Awareness training may make the police officer more open to learning and experimenting with such skills and the very fact of having a more open mind may increase the officer's ability to communicate with people. But there will still be a need for more behaviourally-oriented learning. This means that training must relate to very specific circumstances and must identify the possible ways of reacting to such circumstances. The definition of behavioural goals will be very specific, so that what is actually taught cannot derive from American research or from British research in non-police fields.

It was in the knowledge that skills training needed specific problems to focus on, that in 1981, the Home Office Research and Planning Unit carried out a study in the Chapeltown subdivision of the West Yorkshire Metropolitan Police, with the aim of working towards clearer definitions of training goals for recruit training in race relations (Southgate, 1982).<sup>8</sup> The study began from first principles by examining the problems faced by police officers in an ethnic minority area and the extent to which their present training equipped them to deal with such problems. A combination of questionnaires, interviews and observation was used to gather data. Officers of all ranks were involved, but with a

concentration upon uniformed patrol constables.

A number of interesting points emerged from the study:

- The day-to-day contact between the police and some sections of ethnic minority communities – particularly young West Indians – created hostilities which training might have difficulty in compensating for. Hostile attitudes derived not so much from some inherent prejudice, as from actual street experience.
- Young officers are concerned about making a good impression on their superiors. If those superiors make it clear that hostile attitudes and behaviour towards minorities are not approved of, then police-minority relations are likely to benefit.
- The impact of training was minimal by comparison with that of socialization into the work group and this process can perpetuate hostilities. Young officers may find they have to use derogatory language about black people in order to conform with their colleagues.
- Police officers are very sceptical about the value of training, but they believe strongly in learning by experience.
- Existing training in race relations was minimal. It was poorly co-ordinated, lacking in agreed goals and seemed to have little impact. There was little learning of facts, attitudes, or skills. The 'Leeds Scheme' encounter groups between police officers and ethnic minorities were sound in principle, though for the individual police officer they were a short-lived experience. The Scheme could be developed with greater effect.

An overall conclusion to be drawn from the study – as with the Butler and Teahan studies quoted earlier – is that the effects of training are difficult to isolate and measure and may be minor in any case, when compared to the effects of learning by experience and absorbing the values of the police occupational culture. The Colman and Gorman study, for example, blamed the occupational culture rather than training for developing illiberal attitudes and other researchers have also noted the difficulties in distinguishing the effects of training and experience. Is it realistic to hope for any effects at all through training? The answer



must be 'yes,' but only if training is fully integrated into policing and the police organization. This means that: (a) training and experience must be closely associated, but in a carefully controlled way, (b) training goals and operational goals must coincide, (c) supervisors must reinforce these goals.

No one method of training appears to be entirely successful in affecting racial attitudes or awareness. Various types of group work are in favour in management training and human awareness training, though most authorities agree that a variety of methods are needed to supplement each other. Whatever methods are used, it seems important for their success that trainees be motivated to learn, by seeing benefits to themselves in their everyday working lives. A useful review of methods is provided by Argyle<sup>9</sup> (1981).

### Summary

There is, unfortunately, no research evidence to fully answer the specific question as to what, if any, is the effect of race relations training given to police officers in Britain. The main reasons for this are that the criteria for measurement are so elusive and are so closely interwoven with other aspects of policing. There is no clear agreement as to what the goals are except at more general levels. There is some confusion as to whether attitudes or skills should be taught. There is some ambiguity as to whether the issues of human relations and race relations are distinct at a practical level. The rather diverse evidence cited suggests a need for some experimentation with approaches developed in related fields, or in other countries, but as yet it is difficult to say what will be most effective. It seems clear that two directions will require further exploration: greater human awareness can be developed in recruits and the practical skills of human communication can be taught to them.

### Aims of training

The report emphasizes that the point of all police training must be to enhance the effectiveness of the police in all their tasks.

Drawing from the research findings this

report recommends that community and race relations training, in helping police officers carry out their jobs effectively, must provide:

- an adequate conception of their various, and sometimes conflicting roles and an appreciation of the part that each can play in cementing relations with the community;
- a full working knowledge of their local community; and
- the right attitude and skills to carry out their duties without giving unnecessary offence.

The report says that it does not seem wise to rely entirely on the capacity of the 'well-trained' officer to mask his private attitudes. It is precisely under conditions of stress and in circumstances when the benefits of adequate training are most needed, that unacceptable attitudes are likely to emerge.

### Recommendations

The report recommends that future training should be integrated with other subjects in the curriculum and should be properly evaluated. In addition, there should be appropriate methods of assessing individual officers and assessment for promotion should pay particular attention to an officer's 'sensitivity' to community and race relations issues.

Constable recruits should receive community and race relations training at training centres which provide 'a firm base' for future training and on the job experience. On return to their forces, they should receive intensive instruction in 'streetcraft' which should include information about their local community. After gaining some real experience of police work, but before unacceptable attitudes have taken hold, they should receive further training in interpersonal and behavioural skills and in racism awareness.

Serving constables should receive short refresher courses to sharpen their awareness of racism and to counter any tendency to cynicism, personal rigidity, or inflexibility in dealing with the public and to counter any tendency to racial stereotyping.

For more senior officers, additional training should be designed to emphasize the importance of proper supervision, to teach policing styles 'to demonstrate...practical problems that require flexible thinking and a



delicate touch<sup>1</sup> and, in the case of inspectors, to encourage them to see their work in a wider context and to impart an understanding of institutional racism.

The structure of the police force in this country is not dissimilar to that of Britain. As the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force is in the process of improving its training system, as the Police-Intercultural Education Pilot Project in Vancouver and Ottawa gets underway and as other Police Forces throughout Canada attempt to better serve their multiracial communities, this report is an invaluable contribution to advancing the level of discussion for those of us who are concerned about community and race relations training for the police. *Yonas Haile-Michael is a social worker with Metro Children's Aid Society and was previously Executive Director of the Metropolitan Toronto Committee on Race Relations and Policing.*

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## HOME FEELING: STRUGGLE FOR A COMMUNITY

*Written and directed by Jennifer Hodge  
Produced by the National Film Board  
with the assistance of Multiculturalism  
Canada, 1983*

## A negative presence

Given the amount of publicity this film has received, it might seem redundant for *Currents* to do another review. However, it is precisely because of the quantity and nature of the coverage that one feels encumbent to attempt to assess the film.

### Impact of coverage

The West Indian community and the Black media in Toronto appear to have welcomed the film enthusiastically, while the voices of official agencies have been far less than enthusiastic. Meanwhile, the mass media, seems to have enjoyed making much of this divergence of opinion. The role of the mass media vis-a-vis non-white issues was the theme of the previous issue of this journal, and it is inappropriate, therefore, to reiterate many of the points made there regarding the responsibilities of the mass media in covering minority issues. It is easy, however, to be distracted by assessing the impact of the coverage, rather than the impact of the film itself.

### Role of police

The one-hour documentary is the result of \$160,000 of public funds and eight months research, on the West Indian community liv-

***Join the fight against racism!***  
***Join the Urban Alliance on Race Relations***



ing in publicly-assisted housing in the Jane-Finch corridor, an outer suburb of Toronto. West Indians represent fifteen per cent of the total population of 60,000 living in an area of six square blocks – one of the most densely populated areas in the country.

*Home Feeling: Struggle for a Community* is a collage – a series of vignettes of West Indians talking to the camera describing some of their experiences. Interspersed throughout the film are cameras following the police who are patrolling the area. The underlying theme and focus of the film, becomes in fact, the relationship between the police and the West Indian population.

The brief, personal stories are an escape, almost a distraction, from the cameras watching the police carrying out their activities. Or rather, perhaps the stories – sad, upsetting stories of family separation, of lengthy unemployment, of the traumas of the immigrant experience – reinforce further, the negative presence of the police as another, unnecessary and unwanted pressure that the West Indians have to cope with.

### A menacing feeling

The music and camera shots of the police add to the tension and create a menacing feeling as they patrol and harass the West Indians in their concrete jungle. As a piece of drama, one almost feels disappointed that the film doesn't climax with a full-blown race riot.

Are we being manipulated by cinematic trickery and careful editing? Are we to believe the portrayal of the police as brutal fools? Are we to believe that if only the police would disappear, the West Indian population would live in peace and harmony and prosper as a community? Are we to believe that the police are an occupying-force, who are there for no other reason than to actively sabotage any attempts by the West Indians in building a "home feeling?" Is there no crime or drug problem in Jane-Finch?

These are the questions and impressions one is left with – a depressing feeling of a community that is abused, isolated and forgotten. But the questions are far too simplistic for what is a far more complex situation. Of

course, the police will continue to be on the front-line – the visible minority in the blue uniforms – who will provide the scapegoat for all the many difficulties faced by the West Indians of Jane-Finch. These difficulties have not been totally ignored by our public institutions, as the film leads one to believe. Wholly inadequate as the responses may be, but in a documentary which purports to represent reality, they should have been acknowledged.

In attempting to understand the overwhelming and complex nature of the many difficulties faced by the West Indian population of Jane-Finch, and in trying to identify real solutions to these problems, the film fails. The title of the film is not contained in its content – the evident strength and resilience of the people to want to stay in Jane-Finch and "struggle for a community" has been overwhelmed by distorting the negative feelings.

### Focus on police a cop-out

By focussing on the police, the film inadequately addresses the problems endemic to living in publicly-assisted housing. Also, largely ignored by the film were the inadequate social and recreational facilities; social service support systems; cultural support systems; the crippling effects of racial discrimination and most important of all perhaps, the lack of jobs.

If unemployment continues at the same high levels – and all indications are that it will for the foreseeable future – all the evidence clearly shows that this is the source which will exacerbate community conflict. The allusion in the film to Brixton, which was not a black-white conflict, is misleading. The riots in Britain were largely black and white unemployed youths rioting together against a system that has trampled on their self-esteem by not allowing them to contribute and become economically self-sufficient. By focussing on a symptom rather than the cause, the film *Home Feeling: Struggle for a Community* is an inadequate vehicle for understanding and improving the situation encountered by the West Indians of Jane-Finch, and its emotional and confrontational style does little to encourage constructive dialogue.



***The Urban Alliance  
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**In the next issue:**

**VISIBLE MINORITY WOMEN**

Among other topics, this issue will take a look at how racism and sexism have affected the position of visible minority women and explore some of the initiatives that have been taken to deal with them.