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# **Anti-Racism: a Handbook for Adult Educators**

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# Foreword

This is the first volume in the Human Rights Commission's Education Series. The Series is designed to provide resources for human rights educators.

This manual is for adult educators determined to confront the issues of racism and anti-racism in a wide range of teaching contexts. It provides a comprehensive rationale for doing so, a detailed set of activities and strategies that can be adapted to the specific needs of those involved, and a list of further resources and references. It combines, in other words, both theoretical awareness and practical utility in a single handbook that is socio-politically relevant and easy to use.

A work of this kind can never be complete, and the authors do not presume that it is so. They would welcome an active response from which more may be learned.

It should be noted that the views expressed or implied in this volume are not necessarily those of the Human Rights Commission or its members and should not be identified with it or them.



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## Preface

This is a handbook on racism, anti-racism and the dominant culture, for Australian educators.

The *Handbook* is written by two Anglo–Australians. It addresses itself primarily to Anglo–Australians, not because they have a monopoly on prejudice (they clearly do not), but because, in Australian society, they are often in the position to affect others, or to actualise their prejudices. They are, thus, part of the problem, and so they must change to become part of its solution.

The major institutions in Australia are white, Anglo-dominated institutions. Within and outside these institutions, Anglo–Australians are often required to work and communicate cross-culturally, and lack the experience or training necessary to do so. For these reasons, the *Handbook* is directed primarily at them; we hope other projects will pursue issues of racism and conflict between and among Aboriginal and ethnic groups in Australia.

The *Handbook* aims specifically at adults. Some material is now available concerning prejudice and racism in schools. This *Handbook*, by contrast, aims to provide a rationale and strategies for those who are working with adults. Thus the scope is very wide — the adults concerned may be tertiary students, teachers, senior secondary students, academic staff, police officers, nurses, unionists, public servants (e.g. Department of Social Security counter staff), church members and private sector staff. The situations in which the educators or facilitators are working will also vary greatly, from formal courses to community meetings. For these reasons, the *Handbook* will aim at being accessible and useful; a working document, rather than an academic item.

The *Handbook* is in three parts:

Part A aims to provide a rationale for educational activity in this area, and so must analyse the nature of racism in contemporary Australia, and suggest appropriate and effective responses to it. It asks, therefore: What is racism? How significant is it in Australia today? Why should we oppose it? It seeks too, to suggest guidelines for combating racism.

Part B presents activities and strategies within a coherent program for use in a variety of situations. It also provides a theoretical framework so that educators can modify the program to meet their particular requirements. Chapter 6 presents adaptations of the program for 1 day and 5 day sequences.

Part C provides a list of further resources, materials and references, for use in confronting racism.

This *Handbook* is very much a work-in-progress statement. Many Australians are concerned about, and seeking to challenge, racism, but at this stage it is still often a matter of trial and error. We welcome feedback from readers and users of the *Handbook*, and look forward to the opportunity to develop it further on this basis. The *Handbook* is also a shared enterprise. We draw heavily upon our own experiences, working with adults in this area, researching about it, and also on long discussions with colleagues, many of whom are too busy getting on with the job to take time off and write it down. To them, especially, our thanks. We hope this *Handbook* goes a way towards strengthening our network, spreading our ideas, and continuing the debate in which we are all involved. In particular we would like to thank Judy Katz, who permitted us to adapt her format and some of her strategies to the Australian experience. Thanks also to Josie Crawshaw, who drew together the first draft of the Part C. Thanks also to Sylvia Gleeson whose idea it was and Ralph Penman and other staff at the Human Rights Commission for their assistance. Without them this *Handbook* would not have materialised.

Barbara Chambers  
Jan Pettman  
August 1985



*PART A*

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**RATIONALE**

*Jan Pettman*



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# Introduction

In this section, we ask why is racism important? Why should we be concerned about it? What are we trying to change?

We need to establish common understandings about what racism is; about its nature and extent in contemporary Australia; and suggest ways to combat it. We need, too, to develop a rationale for opposing racism; to develop our own positions, together with arguments which defend those positions, and contest those who oppose action against racism.

## 1. WHAT IS RACISM?

We need to come to an understanding of the nature of racism, and to identify and analyse those practices which are racist, before we can effectively and appropriately combat racism.

Racism is an emotive word. Calling someone a 'racist' is an insult, aimed to offend or condemn. We each have different meanings when we use the word, and the consequent confusion, together with the strong feelings it usually provokes, can aggravate conflict.

We use other words, too, like prejudice, culture and ethnicity, each with our own meanings implied. We need to analyse these concepts, first, to establish common understandings, so we can work on these issues without constantly talking past each other; and secondly, because we need to understand something of their nature, so we can make informed decisions about how to grapple with them and, in the case of racism, oppose it.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to suggest a single simple definition of racism. Racism changes its form, as well as strength, over time and from place to place. It manifests itself in different forms in Australia today. Indeed, it is this changing quality of racism which makes it difficult to identify and challenge, and which helps make racism so contentious an issue today.

For the purposes of this *Handbook*, we use a four-dimensional approach to racism, separating out racial prejudice, racial discrimination, racist ideology and institutional racism. These dimensions are related to each other in complex ways, and one or more of them might be present in any particular situation.

First of all, then, what is *prejudice*? It can mean, literally, pre-judgment, making up one's mind about others, without sufficient information. It suggests both an unfounded or unreasonable judgment, and a feeling tone, usually (though not always) being against something. Racial prejudice refers to negative attitudes towards those classified on the basis of physical or cultural characteristics.

Thus we have a number of stages in the process. First, people are identified as members of a group because of their physical appearance, culture or ethnic origin, real or supposed. Secondly, they are judged according to the presumed characteristics of that group.

Thus people are being labelled, and those labels are often on the basis of *stereotypes* of the group.

Stereotypes are generalised images of people in a particular group or category, which are held whether or not most, or even some, people in that category fit the image. We are constantly categorising people and things, and making generalisations about them, for we have neither the time nor the information to make new judgments each time we meet an individual or enter into a new situation. However, stereotypes are relatively fixed generalisations, which are reinforced by selective perception and selective forgetting — we notice characteristics or behaviour which confirm our views; we overlook or rationalise away the many exceptions. Hence stereotypes are exaggerated or distorted pictures of others. Even where they reflect elements of truth, these are usually misinterpreted, or combined with inaccurate and derogatory images. This is made especially easy because we hold stereotypes about many groups without having any personal experience of them.

Labelling, stereotyping and judging are all encouraged by our *ethnocentrism*: a tendency to view our ways of believing, behaving and organising society as the best, or the normal and natural way. Thus other people's differences are often perceived as unusual, deviant or threatening.

The sources of stereotypes and prejudice vary, and so do their functions for those who hold them. It is tempting to regard racial prejudice as the result of individual pathology — e.g. the bigot, whose extreme views stem from his or her own maladjustment or badness. This, however, accounts for only some of those prejudiced.

We are all likely to hold stereotypes of others, and, often, negative views about others, even though we have little or no firsthand knowledge of them. Simply growing up in a society and culture where prejudice is widespread will result in our socialisation into those prejudices. Children, as they grow up, learn to classify and categorise. They learn to do this with people too. By the age of three or four, children usually have an awareness of skin colour; soon afterwards they learn to associate colour with cultural and personality characteristics.

Those who have 'picked up' their prejudices and hold them as information fillers, without having any personal investment in whether they are true or not, may change their views as new or more reasonable information becomes available. Here it may be useful to distinguish between a prejudice and a *misconception*.

A misconception is a view or attitude held without sufficient evidence. If its holder can change his or her mind without difficulty in the face of new evidence, he or she is clearly not strongly prejudiced. Thus many Anglo–Australians, learning more about traditional Aboriginal culture, and the history of colonialism, may become more empathetic, and reject the damaging stereotypes they previously held.

While we each 'make our own' of what we are taught, we often develop a strong vested interest in our views and values, and find it difficult to modify them, or even to recognise information and experiences which cast doubt on them. We may have 'caught' our views from others important to us — our family, friends, workmates — and belongingness and their approval is more valuable to us than the accurate representation of others. Or our prejudices may help us to cope with tensions and conflicts generated from other sources. Thus Aborigines in country towns, or recent immigrants, or married women may be used as *scapegoats*. They may be blamed for difficult times and personal troubles, for lack of funds or jobs, thus allowing the blamers to avoid feelings of failure, or to release frustrations which cannot be aimed at others — at home, or in authority — for fear of repercussions.

Each of these sources of prejudice may be amenable to change, although different strategies will be required, depending in part on the functions the prejudice fulfils (see Chapter 4). There are, however, some who hold their prejudices more tightly, from causes less open to change. These are the bigots, those whose personality or emotional needs lead them to feed off prejudice. Their hostile or aggressive behaviour is often directed towards all who are different, including those whose culture or colour makes them appear so. The chances of changing the deeply prejudiced are low, although we may be able to construct situations where they are penalised for acting out their prejudices and so contain the damage done.

We have distinguished between prejudice and misconceptions. We also need to distinguish between prejudice and *opinions* and *values*. Some opinions and values will be prejudiced, but not all need be. We should have opinions, in values areas, on policies, and so on, which are based on and can be justified on reasoned grounds. It is unlikely that any of us accept all views and values equally, and indeed there is no moral or political reason why we should. There may be some cultural values which we do not want taught or practised in Australia. Thus I am strongly opposed to racism or anti-Semitism. It is not that I have a 'prejudice against prejudice'. I oppose them on a variety of reasonable grounds including evidence of enormous damage done when such views have gone unchallenged. I am, however, open to challenge on my views, and must defend them, critically and openly. While it is difficult to establish criteria for judgment, opposing prejudice means scrutinising, contesting, defending — opening up the debate, and constantly analysing our own as well as others' arguments.

Prejudice and discrimination usually go hand in hand. *Racial discrimination* usually refers to behaviour which disadvantages people identified on the basis of their (real or supposed) membership of a racial or ethnic group. It is possible to discriminate without being prejudiced. For example, a publican who has nothing against Aborigines may not serve them, for fear of antagonising his wealthier white patrons. Some may be prejudiced, but try not to discriminate if their peers believe people should be treated fairly, or if they fear a complaint to the Commissioner for Community Relations. However, most attitudes, and prejudices, include a behaviour orientation or inclination to act in a certain way. And the stereotypes we hold affect the ways we respond to, and the expectations we have of, others. Language, including body language, changes depending on how we feel about the people we are with.

Individual discriminatory behaviour therefore covers a whole range of actions, from refusing an Aboriginal family rented accommodation, or hurling abuse at Vietnamese children in the street, through to the less conscious, but often as hurtful, shifts in expression, avoiding the seat next to someone different, or unknowingly using a derogatory label, like 'Abo', when in the company of an Aboriginal person.

We have been talking of prejudice where people are negatively valued on the basis of their race, colour, ethnic origin or culture. A distinction is often drawn between *race* referring to physical characteristics, and *ethnicity* referring to cultural characteristics. However, when people refer to ethnic groups, they usually have a physical image in mind (not necessarily an accurate or a representative

one). People who may see themselves as 'white' may be regarded as of another race by some Australians, leading to generalised pictures of 'Italians' or 'Finns'. Alternatively, when speaking of Aborigines or Chinese, people are rarely speaking only of colour or other physical characteristics. Indeed, colour is often socially significant precisely because it is taken as a clue to, or symbol of, other cultural or social differences.

'Race' is more tenacious, more insidious, more visible than culture (but not more deadly, potentially, as Lebanon or Kampuchea reminds us). Whilst it is a gross oversimplification to say that one can change one's culture or disguise one's ethnic origin, it is true that, if people don't look different, language, accent, appropriate social skills can be learnt, if often with difficulty or even over generations. However a completely acculturated fifth-generation Australian of Chinese origin still looks Chinese and will be treated as Chinese by many other Australians (and so subjected to frequent and offensive questions like 'Where do you come from? How long have you been here? You do speak English well.').

Physical differences do exist and can act as a trigger to racism, when they are taken as evidence of other differences. But race is not a valid biological concept; modern genetics and an increased knowledge of the huge migrations and mixing of peoples over thousands of years have seen to that. Typologies of race, classification of peoples, include anything from three to over a hundred races and are full of ambiguity and inaccuracy. Differences within any one supposed race are often greater than differences between races. However, race remains significant as a social fact. It is important, not because it is 'real' biologically, but because people believe it is real, and therefore make it real in its social consequences.

*Culture* also needs unpacking as a concept. It is often used in a folkloric or backward-looking sense — referring to the exotic, and the traditional, aspects of culture. Thus Greek culture is what (we think) Greeks used to do in Greece. There are dangers here, of misrepresentation, of reinforcing stereotypes, of fossilising culture by failing to recognise both the dynamic everchanging nature of, and the differentiation within, cultures. Culture is also thereby trivialised, used to refer to lifestyle, to food, dance and national dress, rather than represented as ways of organising social relations, including political and economic relations; ways of defining what is right, and of deciding who has power, and what roles people are expected to play, within a group. In this sense, too, culture is often privatised — used to refer to aspects of domestic and social life.

The dangers of this approach to culture (popular in many multicultural programs) become evident when we see that everyone in Australia must come to terms with the dominant culture — an Anglo-derived, industrial, capitalist culture, whose forms of economic and public 'good' are often very different from those of Aboriginal or, for example, Middle Eastern cultures. Cultures define values and interests, as well as identities. It makes no sense to say we value other peoples' cultures while we continue to exclude many of them from the powerful process of negotiating values and interests in the political arena.

*Ethnicity*, too, is a complex concept. We have invented a new category, 'ethnic' Australians, which usually refers to Australians of non-English-speaking background, excluding Aborigines. Is it an updated version of 'new Australian'? Yet we all have an ethnic background — we all have a culture, no matter how mixed and personalised it is, and we all, except Aborigines, have an ethnic origin, or a mixture of ethnic origins, that lie, in the recent past, outside Australia.

Here boundaries can be confusing. I may identify myself as a member of a particular community. Other members of that community may or may not accept me as one of them. And outsiders may label me according to different criteria, regardless of how I or my group feel. The boundaries, too, are constantly shifting, as groups close against others, for cohesion or comfort, or seek to recruit new members and make new alliances.

This reminds us that Aborigines and many ethnic groups are engaged in the process of defining who they are and what they want to become — definitions which may be in competition with, and perhaps incompatible with, officials and other definers (politicians, bureaucrats, journalists, welfare workers, teachers) who direct or staff the institutions which affect us all. At present, race and ethnicity (including language and religion) are important bases for organising and excluding people. Partly for this reason, many conflicts between racial or ethnic groups are conflicts over access to and control of resources, not 'simply' over values, lifestyle or appearance.

This brings us to other dimensions of racism. Much of the attention to racism in Australia, as a force, and as a concept, has been concerned with prejudice and discrimination. Indeed, its use may be restricted to the overt, conscious examples of racism, seen, for example in the 'Asian invasion' graffiti. Many Australians deny that racism is still a problem here, using restricted definitions of vehement racism or intentional harm done. They are, in effect, using a psychological model of prejudice, which they see as the product of individual pathology, mental unbalance or evil intent.

We have already raised the possibility of a social model of prejudice, which suggests that prejudice in a society where prejudice is widespread isn't pathological or 'sick'; rather it is 'normal'. Socialisation into a culture with an historical legacy of racism makes unintended and unconscious racists of us all.

We can take this social model further, seeing prejudice as a surface manifestation of deeper social processes; as a symptom of a wider malaise. This model identifies further dimensions of racism: racism as an ideology; and institutional racism.

Racism as an *ideology* expresses social myths about other racial and ethnic groups. It devalues others, asserting and 'explaining' their inferiority or disadvantage in ways which blame the victim. It is this function and effect of racism as an ideology and not its particular form at a particular time, which is important. In the eighteenth century, for example, inequality for blacks might be blamed on their heathenness; in the late nineteenth century, on their biological inferiority; in the nineteen-sixties, on their cultural deprivation, their poverty, language, or family background, viewed as deficient in some way and so undermining their chances of success in school or the workplace. In each case, the racist ideology explains the victims' inequality by reference to the victims' (supposed) characteristics and weaknesses.

Racism as an ideology thus furnishes common sense explanations about inequality, which distracts attention from the workings of those institutions which may systematically disadvantage people from minority racial or cultural groups. In Australia, social myths about the Aborigines served, and serve, first, to legitimise white colonisation and Aboriginal dispossession, and secondly, to rationalise Aborigines' social location, at the bottom of the ladder. Thus many non-Aborigines grow up believing that Captain Cook 'discovered' Australia; that Aborigines weren't really using the land; that Aborigines had only a (single!) very primitive culture, religion and language.

Ethnocentrism is a vital ingredient in a racist ideology. Here, British rules and norms were used to judge Aboriginal social organisation and economic utility. The application of British law concerning occupancy, land use, property ownership and so on were imposed on Aboriginal Australia. Thus white settlement was established on the legal myth of Australia being uninhabited — thereby removing the possibility of recognition of Aboriginal ownership of the land, law or religion. And out of the consequent damage and dislocation caused by colonisation, emerged the shocking conditions — the squalor, the despair — of many Aboriginal communities, which in turn provided the raw material for 'the stereotyping of the vanquished' (Evans 1975).

'Ethnic' Australians, too, have been, and in some cases still are, victims of racist ideologies. In the nineteenth century, strong xenophobic nationalistic movements declared 'Australia for the white man', and white meant Western European, preferably British. Racist ideologies allowed either the exclusion or the exploitation of other people's labour. The yellow peril has been with us for well over a century, now in its latest style of 'stop the Asian invasion'. Other racial myths have brought forth the creation of whole new social categories (wogs, or Asians) and their association with threat — to jobs, standard of living or lifestyle.

Racism as an ideology is, thus, an historical and social construct. It supports conventionally accepted versions of history and society. It loads our language and fills our images, although in an interactive process where we each put our personal stamp on the shaping. It reinforces the domination of particular cultural groups, whose norms and values it reflects. Thus racism as an ideology can also be seen as *cultural racism*.

Racist ideologies serve as the pool and fuel for racist stereotypes and for individual prejudices — and so can be easily activated by apparently harmless or supposedly non-racist expressions of concern, for example, about the numbers of Asians immigrating to Australia. Here, too, we can see the use of scapegoats to avoid feelings of individual failure or relieve individual frustration. But scapegoating also fulfils social functions, diverting attention from issues of inequality and class, of employment and equity, especially in a recession; and by reinforcing cohesion.

It serves to direct anger and insecurity towards relatively helpless and politically expendable targets. Concerns that immigrants (or Asians?) are taking 'our' jobs, appear to make some kind of sense. They draw upon widely accepted explanations about who we are, and who are our enemies. With encouragement or by default they operate to maintain the status quo, including racism and unequal outcomes. For they are superficial explanations which go, at very best, only part of the way to uncovering the processes at work; and at worst exacerbate everyone's troubles.

Here we are reminded again that prejudice and racism are not simply a matter of bad, or mad, people. Nor only a matter of ignorance — although (hopefully) more critical and more effective explanations of social processes will debunk myths, demystify social and political relations, and suggest social action which can be taken to improve the life chances of Australians, regardless of their racial or ethnic origin. Beyond the differences, beyond ideology and myth, lie interests which are not necessarily shared, nor easily reconciled. Australia is a capitalist society, which means, among other things, that its

ethos is individualistic and competitive — that while we argue about how best to distribute social goods, we are in fact distributing them unequally. And here we seek to delegitimise ascribed characteristics — what we are born with — like race or ethnicity, from functioning as a basis for that distribution.

The debate about whether immigration takes or makes jobs will continue; but an unemployed person in competition with migrants (and married women, and his best mate) may see some of them win and him lose. Alternatively, those whose further social analysis reveals that the system is loaded in their favour — even if only partially — may well decide to defend the loading, seeing no reason to make their lives more difficult. Or they may like being on top and fight to stay there.

Language, social myths, common sense explanations about society — all combine to generate expectations about role and status in everyday life. We play many roles in our lifetimes, and learn what is expected of us, or others, as doctor, nurse or patient; as social worker or pensioner. What we see as normal — expecting the doctor or the judge to be white; the cafe owner to be Greek — shapes our expectations about others. We don't expect the judge to be Aboriginal — indeed there aren't any Aboriginal judges. We might not expect the teacher to be Aboriginal either, although a number are. And we can predict that an Aboriginal teacher would, generally, have less status, less prestige, than a white teacher.

Here we are moving from ideas to practices. We tend to accept situations where Aboriginal students, for example, usually do badly at school; or where the cleaning staff is all Southern European in origin. They are the norm. Racism permeates and operates through expectations, through everyday behaviour and practices which, while they may not be intentionally racist, are racist in their effects.

Here we are in the cauldron of racism. *Institutional racism* refers to a pattern of distribution of social goods, including power, which regularly and systematically advantages some ethnic and racial groups and disadvantages others. It operates through key institutions: organised social arrangements through which social goods and services are distributed. These include the public service, the legal and medical systems, the education system. Powerful decisions are made through them — for example, through laws that are passed by parliament and decisions made by judges; through schools and tertiary institutions which determine what knowledge is tested and rewarded, who is certified as a teacher or lecturer, how students are selected and promoted or failed (Knowles & Prewitt 1969). People working in these institutions hold expectations and beliefs which influence how they do their jobs, and how these institutions affect other people.

Clear patterns of disadvantage, correlating with race or ethnic origin, are evident in Australia (and will be discussed in Chapter 2). For example, Aborigines have the highest infant mortality rate, the worst health profile, the lowest educational outcomes, the highest unemployment rates, of any group in Australia. There is a high degree of occupational segregation too, where the dirtiest, worst paid, most vulnerable jobs are largely held by migrant women. Both these patterns signal the workings of a society in which one's life chances are determined — in part at least — by one's race or ethnic origin.

Institutional racism is most obvious where it is based on discriminatory legislation, such as the 'Protection' legislation which kept Aborigines as second class citizens in Australia; and which still operates, affecting Queensland reserves. While such overt racism is now largely repealed, more subtle or at least less formal processes may still effect discrimination, and in a way which consistently and overwhelmingly disadvantages or injures particular groups of people. Again, some of these effects result from deliberate discrimination; but in many cases, they are not intended, or even noticed. People (with power over other people) may be simply doing their job, applying supposedly universalist criteria, be they an IQ test which favours those whose language and cultural skills match those of the dominant group; or where the test for eligibility for tenancy known as 'social standard' can exclude the most needy from public housing. Our institutions, and their agents, all assume norms which may not be appropriate, and may be discriminatory. They will aggravate, and be aggravated by, an historical legacy which has set patterns of residence, poor schooling, health and housing, in ways that perpetuate a cycle-of-poverty effect. Everything we know about how class operates in Australia — for example, about how few children of unskilled workers ever get to university — suggest that Aborigines and certain migrant groups, once at the bottom of the ladder, are likely to stay there.

(The immigration aspect is a little more confusing, as it depends, partly, on whether new immigrant groups come in to occupy the bottom rungs, and whether earlier groups move up. Given Australia's urban, industrial, English-speaking culture, those coming from rural, peasant, poorly educated non-English-speaking backgrounds will be least able to compete and succeed. The question then becomes: What happens to their children? Do they come to compete equally with those whose origins are closer, in class and culture terms, to the 'mainstream'?)

These concerns lead, logically, to issues of affirmative action — the necessity for taking special steps to overcome disadvantage of the past and present, to give people the opportunity to compete with equal opportunity to succeed, given the present criteria. This is a highly controversial area, and one which gives rise to counter-accusations about reverse discrimination, and supposed double standards. For these reasons, and because race and ethnicity are not the only causes for inequality, it may be preferable to provide skills, resources or support to all those severely disadvantaged, regardless of their racial or ethnic origin. At the same time, some of these groups — like, for example, women, or aged people — may suffer from particular problems and disabilities which require particular responses. Also, Aborigines occupy a unique position here, for their disadvantage, materially and socially, stems directly from their loss of control of their own country and its resources — so that their claims for land rights, compensation, and self-determination aim to redress a wrong whose devastating consequences are still with us all.

An examination of our institutions and social arrangements will reveal that they do not operate openly or equally. It is rather more difficult to determine who is responsible, or how to combat their consequences. Again, while much may be historical or residual, or the unintended effects of cultural loadings, the present distribution of social goods does benefit particular groups, and many of their members may be loath to 'give over'.

A fundamental division in any society is between those who have power over themselves and others, and those who do not; between those who can make decisions, in the economy, politics, legal system, which affect others' lives or livelihoods, and those whose views, values and interests have no effect on who gets what, or what gets on to the political agenda.

People with power in Australia come from, and reflect, the broad interests of certain groups. However we each picture our leaders — for example, as a ruling class of those who own or control the means of producing wealth; or a power elite, a combination of top bureaucrats and politicians, and maybe judges and generals too — we are talking of people who are, overwhelmingly, white, Anglo, male, middle or upper class, middle-aged or more.

This reminds us that differentiation and exclusion take many forms. But culturally, this group reflects and reinforces the Anglo-derived norms of government, business, the law, health and so on. Thus supposedly universalistic or consensus rules — about property, for example, or marriage — reflect the historic and continuing dominance of white, Anglo–Australians. In schools, the textbooks, the versions of history and social science, the use of English, and the individualistic-progressive and competitive teaching philosophy, all reflect this dominant culture. Through schools, students are tracked into different kinds of futures. They emerge at different stages with credentials ranging from high school drop-out to university entrance, which correspond largely with employment outcomes (or the lack of them) in a very unequal occupational and social hierarchy.

Institutional racism, then, also refers to a situation where particular racial or ethnic groups (in this case, white, Anglo–Australians) are in a power position to have their values, interests — and their prejudices — recognised and defended by the public culture and institutions of the society. Just as whites may be unconscious victims of socialisation into a (prejudiced) white culture, we may be unwitting maintainers and beneficiaries of institutional arrangements which work consistently in our favour.

In Britain and America, some writers argue for a distinction between *racial prejudice* and *racism*. Racial prejudice only becomes racism when it is enshrined in and operates through the institutions of a society, distributing goods according to racial or ethnic origin. Thus, according to this view, while blacks may be racially prejudiced, only whites in Britain, or Australia, can be racist, because only the whites have the institutional power to create and reinforce norms and values.

So one definition of racism is *prejudice plus power* (National Education Association 1973:12). This provoking argument reminds us that we of the dominant group are directly implicated in institutional racism. Those who say, for example, when referring to Aborigines, 'Well, I'm not responsible for what my ancestors (or yours) did', may overlook the fact that the consequences of the dispossession are still with us; and that institutions, activated in the ways we play our roles and do our jobs, continually reinforce those consequences. While it is easier (and very much more comfortable) for whites to avoid responsibility for race relations, or for racial or ethnic inequalities, our own life chances and opportunities are loaded in our favour, and against others. We are not in a politically or culturally neutral situation. If we go along with what is, gladly, reluctantly, or unwittingly, we may well be supporting an unfair, and racist, set-up.

For this reason, it may be argued that *racism is a white problem* (Katz 1982:10). In Australia, the advantages of being white accrue automatically, often unnoticed. (The disadvantages of being black may also accrue automatically, but, to the victims, more noticeably.) Whites benefit from such

arrangements, not only by gaining a greater share of the resources and opportunities available, but also by bolstering their self-esteem through membership of higher status groups. But there are costs, too, for whites. Aboriginal and many ethnic children do not receive the education they need or deserve. Nor do Anglo–Australian children. Each of us constantly finds our history distorted, and our searching frustrated by the web of myths and half truths which surround our lives. Because white is taken as the norm, whites rarely see themselves as white, unless they are facing racial threat or conflict. They grossly underestimate the extent to which they, too, are cultural beings, and the extent to which being white is socially, as well as personally, significant. Thus we all remain enmeshed in a situation where we are unable to grapple with the real dynamics; where explanations disguise what is really going on, what is constraining us, too, and what might, in fact, be possible. And we continue to do our jobs and run our social relationships with one hand tied behind our backs. For Australia *is* a multicultural society, and we are increasingly being brought into contact with others, with very little knowledge of or support in dealing with them.

Having opened up the definition of racism to include situations where outcomes systematically disadvantage people from certain racial or ethnic backgrounds, regardless of anyone's intent; and having suggested that racism isn't just 'their' problem, for whites are centrally implicated in its everyday, taken-for-granted operation — we need to add some qualifications.

It is important to emphasise consequences, rather than intentions, for that's what people have to live with. However, it is dangerous and hurtful to label everyone as equally racist. As with honesty, open-mindedness or tolerance, there are degrees; there are people who are more or less racist. The well-intentioned community adviser may be foisting paternalistic or ethnocentric views on others, with racist consequences. However, a distinction must be made between those who cling to their ways, and those who are open to examining their views and behaviour, and able to develop alternative strategies and roles.

As with individuals, so with societies. Racism is 'real' in Australia; however, this does not mean that Australia is simply another South Africa. South Africa is notorious for the extent to which the white government has elaborated an ideology of racism, and for the effort which has gone into institutionalising apartheid. While there were many similarities between apartheid and the reserve system affecting Aborigines under Protection, Australia has progressively dismantled the explicitly racist legislation, and moved towards policies committed to the notion of equal rights and participation. Racism in many of its forms is still with us, but without the official endorsement and huge allocation of resources which secures its pivotal role in social relations in South Africa.

Also, while racism is much deeper and larger and wider (and more personal, cultural and political) than many of us imagined — it isn't everything. There is a danger, having discovered the ramifications of racism in Australia, of assuming that every social problem or deprivation is due to colour or culture. There are other explanations, or more likely connections, which also need exploring. Thus, when analysing the plight of Aboriginal women, much may be due to colour or culture — much may also stem from class factors like poverty, and from being female in a society where equal treatment of women is still far from the norm. Alternatively, some people who currently oppose Asian refugees coming into Australia may equally oppose all immigration, for fear (real or perceived) of the economic consequences.

References to race and culture need not necessarily be racist. Indeed, taking cultural differences, for example, English not being the first language, into account, or recognising and valuing others' country of origin and community, are essential ingredients of a healthy multicultural program. Racism implies some kind of negative valuing, subordination, disadvantage. It is not racist to be aware of the fact that both physical and cultural differences are important parts of our own and others' identity and association. It is not racist to be proud of one's Irish or Indian ancestry, or one's membership of the Greek Orthodox Church — unless it is used to deny or devalue others' belongingness. To argue that we should take special measures to compensate Aborigines for past mistreatment, is righting a wrong, restoring the balance, opening up choice and opportunity. It is therefore directly opposed to racism, which has the effect of locking people out of particular kinds of rights or responsibilities. Thus we are not saying that all individuals should be treated the same, for all are not equal at this point in time, and may need differential treatment to be able to compete equally. And we are not saying that people should not be regarded, or regard themselves, as members of groups, for membership is an important part of being human.

There are also legitimate interests to defend. We each represent different interests, in competition for resources; we may also represent values which we regard as non-negotiable, or at least wish to assert publicly. We need to separate out racist or ethnic chauvinism from a recognition of what we are and what we value; and from an attempt to analyse competing claims.

## Conclusion

Racism, then, is a complex notion, which we have, for convenience, broken down into four dimensions:

- prejudice: negative attitudes
- discrimination: negative behaviour
- ideology: social myths
- institutional racism: patterns of discrimination

Thus, racism operates at both the individual and the social level, with complicated connections between the two. It may be open or disguised, direct or indirect, intentional or unconscious. It is historically and socially constructed — it has grown out of real conflicts, and is sustained, at least in part, because it reinforces the privileges of some (more powerful) groups and the inequality of others (less powerful).

Racist ideologies function to blame the victim. We are increasingly coming to realise that racism cannot be analysed, or combated, simply by attention to, or a change of, its victims. Those who hold the power, or whose race and culture are validated by the day to day workings of our institutions, are part of the problem. To become part of the solution, we must develop definitions of racism and analyses of the problems which are useful and appropriate to where we are working. We must work to change ourselves, and our institutions.

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## 2. RACISM IN AUSTRALIA

How much racism has there been, and is there still, in Australia? What is the nature and extent of racism in contemporary Australia?

Many Australians deny that Australia is a racist society, or that we might still be living with a significant racist heritage. Their view of (white) Australian history is of steady progress in a free land, marked by occasional lapses into racial strife, either of the poisoned-flour variety, or against the Chinese on the goldfields. Such incidents are seen as long ago and far away — often precisely because Australians then took steps to exclude most 'foreigners' and thereby, they say, excluded racial problems.

Close examination reveals a different picture. White Australians have a long history of explicit emotional and dehumanising racism — in beliefs, words and actions. The dispossession and destruction of Aboriginal people was, for decades, swept under the carpet, barely mentioned in school textbooks, the media, or political speeches. Aborigines were excluded from white society and white psyches. Lately, a growing Aboriginal protest movement and the rewriting of Aboriginal and Australian histories have undermined the credibility of the old version, but it is still widely believed.

Australia became a nation at the height of its racism, and one of the first acts of the new Commonwealth Parliament asserted the White Australia Policy. Each new group of incomers has met with resistance, criticism, caricature: from the Italians on the Queensland canefields, in the 1920s, through the 'refos' from the displaced persons camps after World War II, the 'wogs' from southern Europe in the fifties, to the 'boat people' or 'Asians' of today. The abuse has accelerated in times of social distress and economic hardship, but it has never entirely disappeared.

Changes in Aboriginal and immigration policies in the 1960s and 1970s led many Australians to assume that racism was largely an evil of the past; that time, and growing tolerance, would heal the wounds and guarantee a harmonious, or at least non-violent, Australia. Many people did not want to talk about racism, or examine our history too closely, for fear of breaking the fragile peace. Indeed, their reluctance to do so, their concern that it would only aggravate things, suggests they were uneasy, and perhaps not so certain that racism was really fading away.

It is true that explicit expressions of racism were frowned upon in many circles, and the popular culture reflected, for example, through the media and school textbooks, was less blatantly racist. But various forms of racism remained, and so did the legacy of prejudice and social myth, quietly brewing, easy to activate. When Professor Blainey expressed alarm about government 'favouritism' of Asian migration, it was a signal for a variety of racist groups and for individuals, more or less racist, to become more overt. The newspapers provided coverage (although most editorials and leader articles counselled caution and reason and questioned the racist arguments then raging). A public opinion poll revealed in May 1984, however, that 66 per cent of Australians opposed the current intake of Asians.

Given an historical legacy, grim times of high unemployment, and the hysterical nature of much of the reaction, it may be surprising that 30 per cent of Australians still approved the current intake. It may also be significant that the percentage opposing the current level of immigration generally (67 per cent) was almost identical to that opposing the level of intake of Asians. However, the debate has reminded us that racism has not gone away, and that the legacy can be mobilised by those whose political or other interests are more important to them than the offence caused to many Australians.

Perhaps, we can learn from such troubles. Racism isn't solved by ignoring it. It is necessary to identify it and take positive steps to combat it. So we begin with a brief review of racism in Australia's history, before asking how important it is in Australia today.

### Colonisation

We need to begin with history, for it can tell us how we got to be the way we are. The process of colonisation, early contact and conflict between Aborigines and the invading Europeans generated a whole pattern of race relations which, while changing, is still with us. Our images of race, the stereotypes we hold of Aborigines, the language we use concerning them, our view of their place in the land — or lack of it — continue to shape race relations, even today.

When most of us think of Australian colonisation, we think of Britain, and of self-government, and debates today about our anthem or flag or queen. White Australia was a product of British Imperialism but the colonised were, first and foremost, Aborigines, the indigenous people who have now been reduced to a tiny minority in their own land. The year 1988 is the bicentenary of the fatal impact, the collision between two groups who differed radically from each other, and who have yet to resolve the main areas of dispute between them.

Australian human history stretches back for at least 40 000 years — possibly far longer. Aboriginal people lived in small, extended family groups, and belonged to one of some 500 distinct communities. They lived by hunting and gathering, a life that was semi-nomadic, following definite patterns according to season and ceremony. Every inch of Australia was owned, or, rather, each Aboriginal group belonged to, and had responsibility for, particular land. Social relations were elaborate, based on a highly complex kinship system. In the Dreamtime, ancestral beings created the land. They also laid down rules for right behaviour and ritual. Aboriginal society was not undifferentiated. There was variety between groups, for example between desert and coastal people. Within groups, men and women had different roles to play, and older people had more status and responsibility than younger ones. The groups were highly personal, organisation was largely communal, non-materialistic and religiously based, and everyone knew where they belonged — both to group and to land.

Meanwhile, a very different society was developing in the global north. Industrialisation, capitalism, colonialism, were its motive forces. As time went on it generated ideologies of progress, competition and victory, which served its restless, materialistic end. Laissez-faire doctrines sent children into the factories and coalmines in England; and Social Darwinism was used to justify the conquest of people in Africa, the Pacific and Australia.

English language and culture had long been loaded against 'persons of colour'. 'White' carries mainly positive valuations and 'black' negative valuations, established far back in history. Blacks were first condemned as heathens and savages — a denial of humanness, used to *rationalise* Britain's involvement in the slave trade and pursuit of colonial conquest. The nineteenth century saw the development of new 'scientific' theories of evolution, which when applied to humanity pictured a ladder of development, with Aborigines usually placed firmly at the bottom, and presumed, conveniently, to be ready for extinction, in accordance with then current notions of the 'survival of the fittest'. Such ideologies were easily turned to use in overriding Christian and humanist concern about the horrific cost of colonisation in Australia and elsewhere.

There could hardly have been two more different cultures, and across such a gap conflict was inevitable. The strengths of traditional Aboriginal society — the self-governing, self-regulating order which rested on religion and consensus — became weakness in the face of the British invasion. There were no settled villages, no agriculture, which could have provided proof, in English terms, of occupancy and ownership, and industry. There was not a political or military organisation which could mobilise rapidly against the British. Isolation had provided its own defence. On contact there was none, against either the men, the guns, the animals, or the diseases that the Europeans brought.

The Aborigines did not stand helplessly by, and watch the seizure; nor did they simply fade away. Our history has been taught as one where, almost instantly, the British became the 'owners', and the Aborigines the trespassers — so that their 'interference' with sheep or cattle (on their own land, polluting their water and damaging their sacred sites!) became worthy of punishment, even death. Yet the story of the widespread, continuous, and valiant resistance mounted by many Aborigines has only recently been retrieved; only recently, too, have we come to know how resilient, and adaptable, many Aborigines were, in the face of such a catastrophe.

The invaders were a mixed lot: convict and soldier, doctor and domestic servant, Irish, Presbyterian — with ethnic and class divisions among those whom we now loosely label as British. They came, over the decades, as escapees from poverty, or revolution, or persecution; for adventure, or opportunity; or because they were sent. Whatever their motives, they came, too, as culture carriers. They carried ideas and values in their heads, and those who had the power to do so, set about establishing and defending institutions which enforced them on everyone — including Aborigines.

The consequent destruction was not simply the result of ignorance of two very different cultures, or even of British ethnocentrism and racism. What was fundamentally at stake was a competition for resources, for control of the land. Britain was calling out for raw materials, and especially with the development of the sheep industry, the settlements required land. Aboriginal dispossession was the inevitable consequence of white settlement — growth, the development of the current economy and political system, necessitated it. The two forms of land use were incompatible, and the fiction which forms the moral and legal basis of Australia — that it was uninhabited in 1770— guaranteed that Aboriginal ownership could not even be acknowledged.

The conflict, the resistance and the destruction of contact was repeated over and over again as the frontier rolled unevenly across the continent over a period of a hundred and fifty years. Frontier conditions continued up to the 1920s and 1930s in some parts of the centre and northwest, and indeed the last large scale massacre of Aborigines was in 1928. But it was not only the violence and the dispossession which wrought their toll. Once defeated, the process of rationalising the defeat, through social myth and racism, continued. So did the displacement of many surviving Aborigines, and their

confinement in reserves, run by white managers or missions. Under the 'Protection' legislation, for much of this century Aborigines were increasingly subject to total control, and a legally enforced inferior status. They needed white permission to leave or return to a reserve, to get a job, to marry; and were subjected to a range of harassing and intimidating restrictions that created 'crimes' which only Aborigines could commit. Racist ideologies and misplaced charity led, too, to the seizing of 'part' Aboriginal children from their families, to be placed in orphanages or fostered to whites, with the hope of protecting them from the 'blood call'. The petty tyranny of white officials, the lack of any kind of accountability, and the powerlessness of the Aborigines, already grieving for loss of land and kin, makes wretched and shameful history.

Aboriginal reserves also operated as labour pools, sources for labour in the pastoral north, but also for seasonal and other rural workers and domestic servants in the south-east. Protection legislation restricted Aboriginal mobility and rights, and so permitted the exploitation of Aboriginal labour, under conditions drastically inferior to those of other Australian workers. Protection legislation also retarded the growth of Aboriginal protest, as for example in the 1930s, when its provisions were used against Aborigines seeking to organise politically.

Protection is not so distant. Aborigines were not counted in the Australian census until 1967. Queensland Aborigines are still subject to discriminatory legislation on the basis of race, Queensland reserves can still be subject to white official control (albeit now with Aboriginal councils, too) and Aborigines have to seek permission to visit reserves where they and their parents were born. Many Aborigines throughout Australia are still living in gross squalor, with appalling rates of illness and early death. These conditions stem directly from the loss of land, the fighting, the incarceration, the loss of both resources and control over their own lives.

Some grasp of the history, the social processes which generated Aborigines' position in Australia today, is necessary if we are to understand these conditions, and the massive social and personal problems associated with them. It helps us to understand widespread Aboriginal anger and despair, as Aboriginal people have been organising and protesting against their plights for far longer than we realise, often with little effect. It can provide explanations which are far more realistic than the 'blame the victim' ideology which would explain it all in terms of Aboriginal weakness. It helps us, too, to re-examine our own stereotypes and views, to see where they are simply wrong (for example about Aborigines having a simple culture, or undeveloped language) or where they may rest on some truth (for example, many Aborigines living in dreadful conditions) but for reasons far more complex than the conventional ones which lay the blame on them.

While some whites battle to reassess Aboriginal history, so do Aborigines, whose claims to land rights, and to self-determination, rest on a history of dispossession and damage very different from the one usually taught in school. History is not a dead issue. We are still living with its workings, and with both relationships and ideologies which were constructed and generated in our colonial past. Most of us have yet to seriously address, let alone challenge, that heritage.

## **Immigration**

Relations between Aborigines and other Australians are, fundamentally, the relations and consequences of colonisation. Relations among all non-Aboriginal Australians are a result of a rather different social process — that of immigration. All people not of Aboriginal descent are comparatively recent immigrants. The history of immigration, in terms of the relations between its groups, has often seen conflict and hostility, but has been, considering its scale and variety, remarkably peaceful. It was achieved at least in part by placing the onus on the newcomers to change, without fundamentally challenging the Anglo-dominant culture and institutions of the emerging society.

Non-Aboriginal Australia has only a short history, and much of that is the movement of people, of labour, of capital, and of rapid social and cultural change for many of its immigrants. Those coming from Britain settled in a country whose language, norms, and social arrangements were familiar, and their cultural skills were highly prized, because they reflected those of public life and work. This is not to deny that they, too, had problems adjusting to life in Australia, nor that some prejudice does not exist among longer-resident Australians, Australians against Toms'. But the resocialisation, the new learning necessary to be able to negotiate the buses, the shops, the health centres, the jobs, was minute compared with the demands on, for example, Greeks from villages, with very little formal schooling.

Some considerable measure of assimilation was, of course, necessary for people to survive, let alone feel at ease or prosper in Australia. The English language is our national language, and those who do not speak it well are excluded from many opportunities and forums. Australia is, also, an urban and capitalistic society — a range of living and occupational demands flow from that fact, too. Class and culture are enmeshed, and their dominant forms have severely restricted the amount, and kinds, of

'cultural maintenance' which is possible here, no matter what the views and values of the immigrants, nor how real the host country's commitment to multiculturalism.

Government policies towards immigration have long represented an attempt to juggle the perceived needs of the new nation — for labour, population and defence; and the historical desire to shape an Australia whose colour and culture was as British as possible. Thus labour shortages, for example, have competed with ideas about whose nation it is, and what it is to become.

Free settlers soon joined convicts in the early settlements, and the gold rushes stimulated a rapid growth in population, from 405 356 non-Aboriginal people in Australia in 1850, to 1 145 586 in 1860. This rapid increase included people from non-British countries, including a significant number of Chinese, who bore the brunt of the racism and the social tensions and economic frustrations of the goldfields. From then on, many of those in a position to express their views agitated for the exclusion of 'coloured' people.

Federation in 1901 saw the confirmation of Australia as a white man's country — white usually meaning English-speaking and certainly not extending beyond north-western Europe. While the Protection policy systematically excluded Aborigines from emerging Australian society, the White Australia Policy effectively excluded 'foreign' non-whites from coming here. Britain was the vital source for 'men', markets, and money. Australia supported Britain in its imperial wars, in the Sudan, South Africa, and World War I especially, confirming its chosen political and cultural identity and alliances. World War II saw Australia still with allies from its colonial heritage, but the bombing of Darwin seemed a dramatic warning of its geographical location.

After World War II, continued fears about defence (the vulnerability of a vast unprotected continent) and a drastic labour shortage (as Australia rapidly urbanised and industrialised) saw a demand for immigrants that Britain could not fill. Definitions of desirable immigrants, of potential Australian citizens were loosened and made wider as the old sources faltered. In 1946 the Minister of Immigration, Calwell, hoped to bring out ten British for every one non-British immigrant, but by the late 1940s he was encouraging the entry of central and eastern European refugees in far higher numbers. In the 1950s and 1960s, assisted passage programs were extended to southern European countries, although British immigrants continued to be favoured.

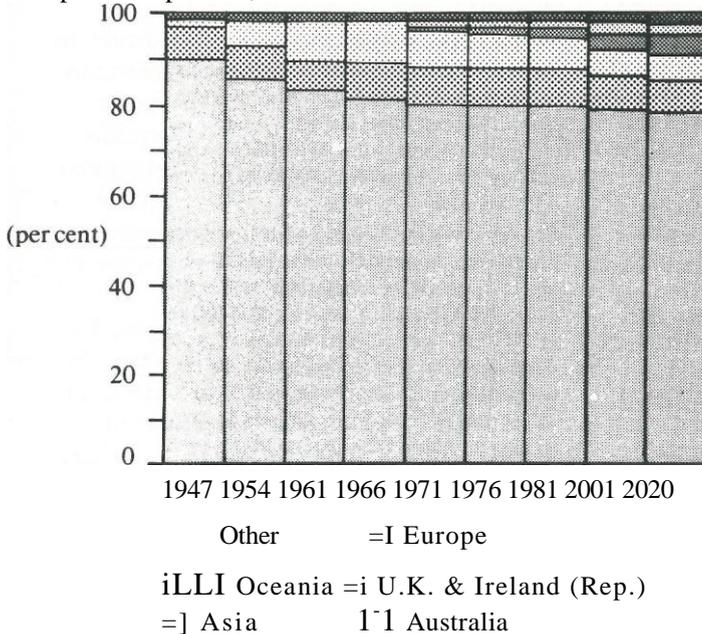
Gradually, Australia began to dismantle its racially restrictive policies, although non-Europeans were usually allowed to immigrate only if they were professionals or highly skilled. They were not assisted, and they had to wait five years before they could become citizens (Europeans needed to wait only three years). Not until the 1970s, with Grassby as Labor's Minister of Immigration, were discriminatory restrictions largely removed from both selection and post-settlement treatment, although favoured treatment for British immigrants continued until the 1980s, and New Zealanders can still come and go relatively freely.

From 1947 to 1974, about 40 per cent of the arriving settlers were British, 11 per cent from Greece, 7 per cent from eastern Europe. Thus Britain continued as the largest single source (as it does today) but no longer the overwhelming one. In the 1970s, changed conditions in Europe led to a slow-down of southern European migration. Increasing numbers of people came from the Middle East, later to be joined by refugees from Central and South America, and from South-east Asia.

Some indication of the size of these movements can be seen in Australia's population expansion, from 7 500 000 in 1945— only half our present day number, to 15 000 000 in 1984. Numbers entering and leaving Australia have fluctuated greatly, with heights for example in 1948-49 (172 851 arriving, 71 505 leaving, a net increase of 101 146) and in 1980, with 147 501 net immigrants; down to 20 000 in 1975-76 (and, indeed, in the debate about numbers, many people forget to mention that we have many departures too: Anglo-Australians, and migrants whose periods of stay vary, and who leave permanently).

Many migrants, but not all, stay; many migrants who stay become citizens. Table 1 shows the actual and forecasted composition of Australia's population by birthplace.

Birthplace composition, 1947-2020



Source: Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, *Australia's population trends and prospects 1984*, AGPS, Canberra 1985.

Immigration is responsible, in a very important sense, for us all, except Aborigines. It is difficult to generalise about those who have come here, however, for they have not only come from many different countries, at different times, and for different reasons. They have also come from different regions, cultural, religious and linguistic groups in any one country, and from different class backgrounds too. They find themselves in different locations here — in a variety of neighbourhoods, and jobs. Some join kin and established networks which can ease the trauma of uprooting and migrating, and provide support and guidance when settling in. Others came alone, or as small families, grieving not only for a lost home, but also for the belongingness and sharing of extended families left behind. Many came with loans to repay, and to work to bring more family out.

Yet for all this variety, Australia's policies and attitudes have been overwhelmingly monolithic and assimilationist. Even as the culturally and, to a small extent, the racially different were allowed in, it was on condition that they became, as much as possible, like 'us'. The country clearly belonged to 'us' now, by some kind of right (a right Aborigines, of course, were unlikely to accept). Assimilation was government policy through the 1950s and 1960s, for Aborigines and immigrants alike. It required that they come to adjust to a life style and manner of being similar to other Australians, sharing their rights and responsibilities, and hopes. While adapted over time, including a gradual shift towards allowing, then encouraging, others to maintain some aspects of their own cultures, it continued to assume that white, British, largely middle-class norms, relations and institutions were unquestionably 'Australian', and that the price of becoming an Australian was assimilation.

### Towards multiculturalism

By the 1970s, it was quite clear that assimilation was not working. Most Aborigines never accepted it. Aboriginal protest movements reaching back into the 1930s gained momentum, and began receiving coverage in the media. International opinion, including anti-colonialist and anti-racist groups in the United Nations, reminded Australia of its geographic location and political susceptibilities. The Labor Government came to power in 1972 with a platform including land rights, and established a separate Department of Aboriginal Affairs. Despite some advances, its policy of 'self-determination' was found wanting by many Aborigines, who were even more critical of the Liberal Government's 'self-management' policy.

Aborigines, as Kevin Gilbert reminds us, are always being 'done unto'. Even now, it is largely whites, despite some notable exceptions, who are making the policies, teaching Aboriginal children, imprisoning or defending them. Many issues remain unresolved. The experiences and needs of communities vary greatly. However, Aborigines show a strong commitment to Aboriginal identity, and to kin; and also share lives in which their Aboriginality, and the prejudice and discrimination it has brought them, is a constant living reality.

Many immigrants from non-British countries also proved reluctant to commit cultural suicide. In the early years, arrivals were concerned with survival, making a home, getting a job, learning to cope. Often exhausted by the effort, they took comfort in family and, if they were lucky, a community, where they knew the language and the rules. They often acquired, where they had the opportunity, much of the new language and culture necessary to negotiate everyday work and living, but they chose to keep aspects of their own. Which aspects they kept depended on the group, and whether it was sufficiently concentrated to support a community, complete with church and club, for example.

Some ethnic leaders also began to protest at their exclusion — from professional jobs, through non-recognition of their qualifications; from trade union support, and so on. There was growing recognition, too, of the social problems and disadvantage facing many migrants, especially those from 'newer' sources, like southern Europe. Thus the affective elements of culture and identity were reinforced by interests, with the result that ethnic groups began to mobilise, and to move from a self-help focus, to pressure group and political activities. They sought, increasingly, to participate in debates about immigration and ethnicity, and to work to increase their members' access to and share of social goods — exercising their right to political participation in their now-own democratic country. The numbers of migrants, their acquiring citizenship rights, including the vote, also encouraged Australian politicians to begin to notice their existence.

### **Australia as a multicultural society?**

In the mid 1970s leaders of the major political parties discovered, and then asserted, that Australia was a multicultural society. The announcement came as a shock to some Australians, and its meaning and desirability is still heavily contested. It is necessary to identify a range of positions concerning multiculturalism, for the debate hinges directly on issues of inequality, and of racism, in Australian society — their nature, severity, and the means by which they might be challenged.

#### **(a) Demographic multiculturalism (or multiculturalism as a fact)**

Here, Australia *is* a multicultural society, because its indigenous people, and its immigrants, come from a variety of cultural backgrounds. Grassby reminds us of this when he gives figures of ethnic groups in Australia:

Aboriginal	160 000
English	6 100 000
Irish	3 500 000
Italian	800 000
Greek	650 000
Maltese	400 000
Arabic-speaking	200 000
Spanish-speaking	150 000

Here, we need to make a distinction between ethnic origin, ethnic identity, and cultural group. Many older Australians may remember an Irish or German ancestor (the basis on which Grassby compiled the list), but may not identify with nor be familiar with the culture or country. Others may identify, e.g. as Greek–Australians, yet be third-generation Australians. They may speak Greek, too, attend the Greek Orthodox Church, belong to a Greek club, and take a keen interest in politics in Greece. Here again we move from ascribed status — ethnic origin — to questions of choice, identity, and belongingness.

#### **(b) Cultural multiculturalism (or multiculturalism as a value)**

Here, we find the assertion that Australia *should* be a multicultural society — that Australians should recognise and value cultural diversity, although within an overall framework of unity. This model urges tolerance, and, often, cultural relativism, i.e. that each culture is of equal value, and should not be judged from the cultural perspective of others. Thus it is a pluralistic one, seeing many cultures

coexisting within some overarching framework. This model of multiculturalism is the predominant model politically, in terms of party pronouncements and policy; and describes many multicultural programs, including most education ones.

This model has recently come under strong criticism, for while there are many cultures in Australia, one is dominant, and confidence and competence in its cultural, including linguistic, skills, are necessary to prosper. To what extent can children, and adults, acquire these skills and still maintain their old ways?

Cultural pluralism also down-plays the crucial role of power and conflict in our society. It avoids questions like: if values or interests conflict, whose should prevail? What happens if there are some values and practices we do not want in Australia? What is it that will ultimately hold us all together?

When people are pushed on these questions, they often retreat to a position that is little different from the old assimilationist one, e.g. they say, 'Well, of course, the legal system, the form of government, the bureaucracy, etc. etc. will remain more or less as they are, but beyond that, they can keep their own culture' — i.e. assimilation where it counts, and multiculturalism where it doesn't.

By restricting 'culture' to mean private, family or lifestyle things, the concept of culture is again privatised and trivialised. This encourages a backward-looking or exotic view of culture, and ignores the politics of culture, both within each group, and between them. Thus it provides no guidance for response when, for example, marriage patterns and sex roles which were functional in a peasant society are asserted by a father in the very different cultural and economic circumstances of Australia, which can provide an income and independence to his daughter.

Cultural pluralism also distracts attention from questions of what is fair, how goals are being shaped, who has power to decide. It distracts attention from racism. For cultural pluralism often implies that ignorance causes prejudice, and so familiarity — more knowledge about, more experience of, other people — will lead to tolerance. This focuses on prejudice, on attitudes, on individuals, and fails to recognise that prejudice is a symptom of far deeper and more complex social forces.

### (c) Political multiculturalism (ethnic rights and inequality)

Political multiculturalism recognises that when we talk about multiculturalism we are talking about interests as well as lifestyles; that ethnic groups are concerned about the material interests and opportunities of their members, and about where they fit in relation to the wider society. It leads to a consideration of ethnic and racial stratification — patterns of social inequality, which correlate, at least in part, with ethnic origin and race.

Thus, the development of the Australian economy required the dispossession of Aborigines and the taking of their land. The consequences of dispossession are still with us, as Aborigines suffer the highest rate of unemployment and of imprisonment, and the worst life-expectancy, of any group in Australia.

Thus, too, the role of immigration was to provide labour for Australia's expanding capitalist economy. Non-Anglo-migrants moved overwhelmingly into the working class but they occupied different positions and had different experiences from most Anglo-Australian workers. For example, women from Turkey, Yugoslavia, Greece and Malta are dramatically over-represented in the process and textile industries, with low pay, poor conditions, and high occupational health risks.

### Annual personal income by racial origin for employed males 15 years and over (column percentages) 1976

<i>Personal income (annual)</i>	<i>Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander</i>	
	<i>European</i>	
\$3000 and less	5	10
\$3001–\$5000	9	18
\$5001–\$7000	25	38
\$7001–\$9000	27	18
\$9001–\$12 000	18	6
Over \$12 000	13	1
Not stated	3	9

Source: John Western *Social inequality in Australian society*, Macmillan, Melbourne, 1983, p. 208.

**Occupation by birthplace, employed population, males and females, 1976<sup>1</sup>** (column percentages)

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Australia</i>	<i>U.K.IEire</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>Netherlands</i>	<i>Yugoslavia</i>	<i>Poland</i>	<i>Greece</i>	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Malta</i>
Professional and managerial	20	21	20	21	4	16	6	7	5
Clerical and sales	28	26	21	20	7	13	16	13	13
Manual workers	42	49	55	52	86	69	75	72	78
Farmers	9	3	3	6	3	2	3	8	4
Members of armed services	1	1	1	1	0 <sup>2</sup>	0 <sup>2</sup>	0 <sup>2</sup>	0 <sup>2</sup>	0 <sup>2</sup>
Total	N = 4 021	181 N = 557	362 N = 65 930	N = 56 298	N = 84 258	N = 34 361	N = 91 709	N = 164 256	N = 32 986

1. Source: 1976 census, 'Inadequate description' category excluded.

2. There are of course some members of these categories but the figures have been rounded to the nearest whole number thus giving an apparent nil category.

Source: John Western, *Social inequality in Australian Society*, Macmillan, Melbourne, 1983, p. 260.

This is where ethnic and Aboriginal rights come in. Some groups are more organised, united, vocal and radical than others; but, like other groups of Australians, trade unionists, farmers lobbies, and so on, they have a legitimate right, in a democratic country, to contest their cut of the cake — and its recipe.

This is hard to accept for many Australians whose values and interests are already, largely or partly, supported by our institutions. If the rules of the game go our way — or perhaps, if they are the only ones we know — we may object to any challenge to them. But in doing so, we need to recognise that the rules are not neutral, nor inevitable, nor necessarily fair. Like everything else in our society, they are social and historical constructs, and some people, from some groups, have had a much more powerful part in the construction than others have had.

Thus while the second model, of cultural pluralism, can focus on culture and have the unintended but negative effect of stressing the differences and divisions between racial and ethnic groups, this model, political multiculturalism, suggests that other divisions — for example, class, and the fundamental cleavage between those with power and those without it — may be more important. Indeed, multiculturalism of the second kind is often seen as a distraction, or an ideological weapon, which disguises areas of shared class interest and keeps the working class divided at a time when hard times might radicalise people. It fosters views about who we are and who outsiders are, which may, again, present apparently reasonable explanations of social reality, while keeping safely away from the real problems and processes. And it can, again often unintentionally, encourage just the kind of communal loyalties and hostilities which feed stereotypes, scapegoating, and conflict.

This is not to say that ethnic origin, culture and community are not important. They are very important to us all. But so are gender, and class, and age. And so is having a job, or getting a decent education or medical care, for one's child. To fasten on migration, or 'Asians', as jeopardising those kinds of things, may again be to attack the symptoms, to leave unnoticed and unchallenged those social processes which determine the wider patterns of inequality, of success or vulnerability or disaster for us all.

## **Antiracism, or equality for all Australians**

Each different model, or definition, of multiculturalism suggests a different way of approaching problems, of saying what is wrong, and why, and therefore what we should do to make it right.

Multiculturalism as a fact recognises that Australians come from a variety of ethnic and racial backgrounds. Multiculturalism as a value suggests that if people feel more valued, and more secure, and if other people are more tolerant, life will be more comfortable, and overt and hurtful discrimination can be reduced, or even removed.

Both of these suggest a *consensus* model of society i.e. overall, our society is O.K., and with some minor adjustments, should take care of everyone.

Political multiculturalism rejects this consensus view, seeing society as made up of conflicting interests, dominated by those with *power*. It therefore suggests that, if racial or ethnic groups wish to improve their opportunities, status or rewards, they must organise and compete for them. They will not be given anything — they must fight for their rights.

Recently, in Britain and in Australia, a related model has been developed, which is often labelled anti-racist, or the *equality* model.

In the 1960s, the civil rights movement in the United States generated intense debate concerning the nature of racism and ways to combat it. Much attention was given to the concept of institutional racism, which often included recognition that racism was a white problem — that white values, white privileges, white practices, were part of the problem.

In the early 1970s the growing Aboriginal protest movement in Australia also spoke in terms of racism, and mounted a challenge to dominant institutions and ideologies. However the rise of multiculturalism here encouraged a shift in the terms of debate from racism back to prejudice, from power to valuing and access.

By the 1980s criticism that multicultural programs had failed to significantly improve ethnic life chances or to rein in prejudice in the face of growing economic hardship, re-focused attention on unequal outcomes, and on the social forces maintaining them. This search was reflected in part by a not dissimilar dissatisfaction with multiculturalism which had already been articulated in Britain. This dissatisfaction had led to a reformulation of the problem. It was no longer seen in psychological or individual terms, but in socio-political terms. Prejudice, for example, was seen as a symptom of deeper social processes, and the question was asked what it is that shapes and sustains such symptoms.

Anti-racism incorporates some aspects of the different models of multiculturalism, but rejects the basic assumptions of 'culturalism'. It recognises the reality of our racial and ethnic diversity and agrees that more knowledge about and valuing of others is a distinct improvement on ethnocentrism and discrimination. It accepts that there are interests and conflicts involved, not just misunderstandings; and that explanations about social relations, including racial and ethnic relations, must rest on an analysis of institutions and social processes. It is concerned to mount just such an analysis, so that action can be taken towards more equality and human rights for all Australians.

Anti-racism seeks to uncover the taken-for-granted nature of much of our social relations and explanations. It questions what is accepted as right, natural, or normal, for that 'commonsense' cements our social arrangements, and dulls us to the functioning of racism and inequality. It renders whole social groups — Aborigines, many ethnic groups, women — largely invisible socially. It marginalises them, keeps them on the edges of society, beyond the edges of power. It creates a huge silence, so that all kinds of things don't get said — or at least, don't get heard.

Thus part of anti-racist action is to reflect the experiences and needs of those who, because of their powerlessness or low social status, are often excluded. It doesn't mean us helping them — it means us working, with them or among ourselves, to open things up, get things into the open, where they can be contested. It helps get a handle on what is really happening to people. Race and culture are important parts of our personal and social identities; they are also crucial determinants (along with our sex and class) of our life chances.

## Conclusions

The various models of multiculturalism remind us that definitions are political, too; that each involves a different way of identifying what the problem really is, a different way of explaining it, of locating blame or responsibility, and of determining possible and desirable forms of action.

Interpretations of our history and of contemporary social relations are also political. Any analysis of prejudice and racism must view these within their historical and social context. Race and cultural relations in Australia and the disputes and debates about them, have been historically and socially constructed, and our perceptions of them are changing as we change. The social location of different groups today, and their life chances, reflect where they have come from and at which point; and on what bases they met with and were incorporated into Australian society.

Our perceptions of others, the stereotypes we hold and social myths we believe about them, are part of the way we see Australia and our place in it — even whose country we think it is, and therefore whose interests should take precedence in a conflict. If we accept what is, as normal, we can be supporting the status quo. Current racist ideologies or assumptions, or the simple acceptance as normal of situations where the worst jobs are, often, migrant women's jobs, all reinforce racism.

We are often unaware of the social origins of our attitudes and beliefs, and everyday practices. Unaware of the extent to which we have 'received' opinions as part of our socialisation, we feel we have freely chosen them, or that they are an accurate reflection of 'reality'.

Yet racism is a part of our history, our society, and our culture. It is, very likely, a part of each of us. We can either go along with it, or we can begin, or continue, to grapple with it, through, for example, a commitment to oppose racism in all of its various forms.

Why should we bother though? Especially if we are in some ways beneficiaries of the present arrangements which systematically favour Anglo-Australian or those of north-western European backgrounds?

### Further reading

#### Colonisation and Aborigines

##### General:

Broome, R. *A boriginal Australians: black response to white dominance 1788-1980*. Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1982.

An excellent general text, from before the invasion to the present time.

##### History:

Evans, R. (ed.). *Exclusion, exploitation and extermination*. ANZ Book Co., Sydney, 1975.

The conflicts between whites and Aborigines, Melanesians (the 'Kanakas') and Asians in colonial Queensland, and the development of racist ideologies and practices to secure and defend white privilege.

Reynolds, H. *The other side of the frontier*. James Cook University, Townsville, 1981.  
Constructing contact history from the other side as Aborigines resist and respond to colonisation.

Rowley, C. D. *The destruction of Aboriginal society*. Penguin, Ringwood, 1970.  
Documenting the process which reduced Aborigines from independence to institutionalisation through 'Protection'.

#### **Contemporary:**

Gale, F. (ed.). *We are bosses ourselves*. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 1983.

Aboriginal women are often excluded or marginalised on account of both race and gender. A conference of women, including Aborigines from many different communities, speaking of their own experiences and goals.

Gilbert, K. *Living black*. Penguin, Ringwood, 1977.

Aborigines talk of their own lives, and the effects of racism upon them.

Jones, D. & Hill-Burnett, J. 'The political context of ethnogenesis: an Australian example'. In M. Howard (ed.). *Aboriginal power in Australian society*. University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1982.

Analysis of the process by which Aborigines are claiming the right to define for themselves who they are and where they are going.

Wilson, P. *Black death, white hands*. Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1982.

A tragic case study of structural violence, and the damage it has done to Aborigines.

#### **Immigration:**

Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs. *Multiculturalism for all Australians*. AGPS, Canberra, 1982.

The 'official' version of multiculturalism.

Bottomley, G. & de Lepervanche, M. (eds). *Ethnicity, class and gender in Australia*. Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1984.

Commissioner for Community Relations. *Annual report 1976-81*. AGPS, Canberra, 1976-82.

Evidence of prejudice and discrimination against Aborigines and vulnerable ethnic groups in Australia.

Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs. *Annual reports*. AGPS, Canberra.

Dugan, Michael & Szwarc, Josef. *'There goes the neighbourhood': Australia's migrant experience*. Macmillan, Melbourne, 1984.

A history of colonisation and migration, conflict and change, with lots of photographs, cartoons and personal accounts.

Human Rights Commission. *Annual report 1981-82—*. AGPS, Canberra, 1982—

Kringas, P. & Lewins, F. *Why ethnic schools?* A.N.U. Press, Canberra, 1981.

Three models of multiculturalism, and the different assumptions each makes about Australian society, and the place of ethnic groups within it.

de Lepervanche, M. 'Immigrants and ethnic groups'. In S. Encel & L. Bryson (eds). *Australian society*. 4th edn. Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1984.

Analysing the social location of migrants, and the relationship between class, gender, ethnicity and race in Australia.

Markus, A. & Ricklefs, M. *Surrender Australia? Essays in the study and use of history: Geoffrey Blainey and Asian immigration*. Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1985.

Views and information on the 'Asian immigration debate', sparked off by Geoffrey Blainey's comments about the dangers of the 'Asianisation' of Australia.

Martin, J. *The migrant presence*. Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1978.

Asking who defines what we know about migrants and migrants' problems.

#### *Migration Action.*

Special issue on the 1984 immigration debate appears in volume VII, no. 2 of 1984.

Milne, F. & Shergold, P. (eds). *The great immigration debate*. Federation of Ethnic Communities Council of Australia, Sydney, 1984.

Norman, N. & Meikle, K. *The economic effects of immigration on Australia*. Vol. 1. CEDA, Melbourne, 1985.

### 3. WHY OPPOSE RACISM?

Why should we confront and combat racism? Or even bother to find out if it exists? And how can we reply to those who argue against such concern and action?

Racism is an anathema. It is a denial of basic humanity, of fundamental human rights. It damages the victims, the perpetrators, and the bystanders. The poison, the anxiety and the hostility generated affects us all. It subverts our society, and sours our social relations. Australia is a lesser, poorer, more troubled and more dangerous place because of it. If we, and our children, are to live in a more fair and less tense society, one whose values and relationships can be open, generous and creative, we must oppose racism in all its forms.

There are many different kinds of arguments against racism, and many to support us taking a stand against it. There are very few — and none that I see as valid — for it, although some may appear, initially, understandable. Each of us needs to work through the arguments, and elaborate our own reasons for taking a stand. We must also develop an armoury against those who remain unconvinced, unconcerned or assert pro-racist arguments. For many maintained silence for so long, or avoided the issues, and we now face lots of objections and doubts among those who should, by rights, support us — fears of being 'too political', indoctrinating people, of aggravating divisions. All these must be brought into the open and worked through, or they will fester and subvert even the best of efforts.

Some of us assume that it is self-evident that racism is obviously wrong, anti-social, and inhumane. This is not so. Indeed many people believe in racist ideologies, while others deny that racism is a problem in Australia, then proceed either consciously or by default to fuel its flames. Others, again, simply accept the current situation, where race and ethnicity make for loaded opportunities and unequal incomes.

So why oppose racism?

For convenience, we can approach the variety of reasons through clusters of arguments. Such a classification does simplify and smudge some of the connections, and it leaves some things out; but it is necessary to highlight both the different possible positions, and the overwhelming nature of the case against racism.

#### (a) Racism is wrong

Morally, philosophically wrong. It is a denial of basic humanity, of people's right to respect as persons. People's right to share our humanity, to be treated as fully human, regardless of their race or culture or country of origin, must be fought for as a *right*. Whether or not it is recognised by a particular society at a particular time, all of us have rights, entitlements, by virtue of our being human. Such rights should not be seen as a gift from good liberals or enlightened legislators, for that makes them dependent on the will and wishes of others, conditional and therefore vulnerable.

(And we are quick enough to criticise other governments or people, if we see them as denying human rights.)

Racism is an outrage to anyone who believes in the equal value of human beings, as human beings. Such a belief rejects arbitrary or ascribed criteria, accidents of birth such as colour or sex, as reasonable grounds for discriminating against or disadvantaging people.

Rights may be defended as rights in themselves — stemming from shared humanity or from believing that all people are equal in the eyes of God.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries gave us a tradition and a language of rights — the 'rights of man', asserted in the French and American Revolutions, rights to freedom, equality and the pursuit of happiness, or property. These rights were claimed by, and for, the emerging industrial bourgeoisie, against the old aristocratic privileges of the English (and later French) king and his nobles. The 'rights' were claimed for individuals, against crown and privilege, in the attempt to open up power to the new rising classes. They were not claimed for women, for the poor, or for those of different colour or culture. Indeed, the economic forces which were generating the new class and giving it a base from which to challenge the old order depended on the exploitation of others — the poor at home and the 'coloured' overseas.

They shaped a two-edged sword, effective enough against the old order, but one whose logic, morality and political appeal could in turn be used against them. So those in Europe, and in the colonies, could, and eventually did, turn the rhetoric against the bourgeoisie and demand justice, freedom, equality, for themselves too. To do so, they had to 'prove' their humanity, and therefore their right to be treated as fully human — a status which many people sought to deny them. However, the language was there, and so was the hope, the idea of human rights, which is power, too.

Many current arguments against racism draw on this tradition of justice, often with references to other liberal values like fairness and rationality, or reasonableness. These, like empathy, can also be

used in a procedural rather than substantive way i.e. they may be ways of determining what is right, by, for example, seeing the other's point of view. While there has been much criticism of the 'justice as fairness' notion, there is still a lot to be said for asking people to examine a proposed social arrangement without knowing at which point or status they will find themselves. Such a procedure does, however, require a degree of imagination. It may also underestimate the extent to which people may be socialised into accepting unequal valuing of differences; or, alternatively, simply assume they would be likely to end up on top.

Ideas about fairness or reasonableness point to a shift in the basis of the debate about human rights — from the individualistic/universalistic philosophy, towards a social contract or utility approach to human rights. The latter often draws on social democratic assumptions about human values and desirable social goods, and is centrally concerned with social inequality. Thus, to political and legal rights of the liberal concern (rights of assembly, free speech, association and so on) it adds economic and social rights — to a decent life; and access to those resources (like education and health care) which are prerequisites for it.

As a consequence, the social democratic tradition seeks to involve the state (seen by liberals as part of the problem). It is more interventionist and often articulates a basic needs philosophy. It can be used to defend the rights of all to security, and access to social goods, as well as to political freedoms.

Increasingly, in the debate about racism, a radical position is being heard. It goes beyond the social democratic identification of needs, to a reassertion of rights but this time using the language of oppression, exploitation and liberation. Like other traditions of rights, it has its own definition of equality. Power and politics are viewed through class analysis, where inequality is the outcome of dominant groups imposing their own values and defending their own privileges against outsiders. It is in the interests of those in power to encourage divisions amongst their victims — the old divide and rule strategy. So race, ethnicity, class and sex all provide the bases for dividing people so that they do not recognise or combine against their real enemies. Thus the excluded, and exploited, are urged to organise, mobilise and fight for their rights. Resting on a conflict model of society, radical analysis argues that these rights will never be 'given'; they must be won.

Beyond these (over-simplified) battlelines lie other disputes. The liberal tradition is an individualistic one — of freedoms for the individual. The radical tradition is collectivist, seeing ordinary people's only chance for justice as lying in solidarity.

Arguments against racism must grapple with the individual/group connections, for it is the category or group basis of racism which means that people are disadvantaged because of their presumed membership of a group. Some would respond to this by seeking to obliterate the categories, to assert each individual's rights as an individual, regardless of colour, creed, or sex. Yet many members of racial or ethnic groups seek both valuing and a fair go (in individualistic terms) while *also* defending their right to maintain their own social identities and associations. Furthermore, some seek to be treated differently because they have different needs, and these often stem directly from past discrimination, or recent arrival (both of which may have a collective aspect).

Thus it is no way out to argue that we should treat everyone the same, or that we are colour-blind, for we may have the unintended effect of denying real needs or identities. We still have to determine what are socially relevant differences, and what are appropriate and justifiable bases for different treatment. While debating such questions, however, we still need to argue that a person's race or ethnicity are not acceptable grounds for devaluing or disadvantaging anyone.

### **(b) Racism damages its victims**

Racism isn't only wrong in theory. It exists, it hurts people, it does damage in all kinds of ways. It deprives some people, and it advantages others at their expense — emotionally and/or materially. It isn't fair, it causes misery and hardship, injury and shame.

Our images of ourselves depend, in part, on what others think of us. It is very hard for people identified with groups which are stigmatised and devalued to feel good about themselves. It makes simply getting through the day difficult, when shop assistants, bus drivers, fellow workers, are cool, offhand, or even abusive. It means that the invisibility of Aborigines, and most ethnic groups (never appearing in the media, for example, unless someone has murdered someone else, or there has been a demonstration) reinforces negative images. That invisibility also suggests that white is normal, is what's expected, and so they, their family, and their group, are somehow abnormal, or deviant.

The damage, as we have seen in earlier sections on institutional racism and stratification or social inequality in Australia, goes far beyond emotional insecurity and anxiety. Racism reduces people's life chances: the likelihood of their getting their fair share of society's valued resources, like education and a good job. In a society where race and ethnicity do count, racism is manifested in students failing in schools, in high unemployment rates, in fear of and confusion about the legal system, or the welfare

system; and in feelings of powerlessness and frustration, in not knowing where to turn to make things better.

Not all people who suffer from racism are at the bottom. Indeed, those who, despite the obstacles, do get somewhere, can attract hostility and jealousy for this very reason. Their stereotype then switches from dumb, lazy and unreliable, to cunning, greedy and receiving favoured treatment either from the government or from their own 'cliquish' group. Jews can be labelled this way, and so, too, can Vietnamese refugees. No attention is paid, in such labelling, to the effects of refugee status, nor to the fact that such groups may have come from class and education backgrounds which mean they experience a drastic drop in occupational status and living standards when first here, but may then work — often with group support — to escape from this trauma.

So, again, we have to avoid stereotyping, or implying that all people from non-Anglo-backgrounds are poor and powerless. However, many of them are, and in these cases, deprivation is not only psychological and social, but material as well.

People are being hurt. Some are facing impossible odds, as they try to hold their families together and provide some kind of security for their children. If nothing works, and no-one cares, then some, desperate ones, might turn to violence. Indeed, it may surprise that there has been so little violence directed against whites, except that we know that those who are most hurt, who lack power and fear authority and reprisals, are more likely to turn their anger against their own families or friends or themselves, as the horrific incidence of domestic violence and self-mutilation in Queensland reserves demonstrates.

There are limits, though, to how long we can expect people to go on bearing the brunt of racism, and not react violently. With a recession, the tensions, conflicts and frustrations in society are already high. Cross the wires with racism, or with anger against racism, and we have highly flammable material. Those who don't care about the human cost to the victim might be persuaded to give a little thought to reducing the cost, in their own long-term self-interest. Thus far, overt racial violence, especially attacks on privileged groups, have been remarkably few, and communal fighting far less than in many countries. That doesn't mean we don't have problems. It means the rest of us aren't paying much for them, yet. It is very much in our interest to find solutions, or at least tackle the problems, before they are forcibly brought home to us.

### (c) Racism damages the rest of us, too

Racism damages its victims — it also damages those who are white, **and** come from the dominant Anglo-Australian group in our society.

We all benefit from living in a society which is relatively free, open and congenial. We hear stories of countries or cities where whites fear to walk at night, or even by day; where white privilege makes them a target for robbery, or revenge. We would not wish such a situation on ourselves or our children.

But in some ways the dominant group is already paying the cost of racism, and will continue to do so until substantial moves are made towards eliminating it.

'White people do not see themselves as white' (Katz 1982:13). Because whites are not being discriminated against because they are white, they are inclined not to notice it, and therefore to ignore the role that white plays in their personal and social identity, in their everyday lives, in their access to social goods. White alone may not be enough — if an accent is 'strong', English poor, or cultural differences conspicuous. But white is part of what whites are, and it has real consequences for them.

Anglo-Australians tend to see themselves as individuals, rather than as members of a racial or ethnic group. They are often unaware of the extent to which they, too, are the products of their culture. They see themselves as modern, tolerant, and rational; it is only the others — Aborigines, Vietnamese, Turks, whom they see as the products of 'culture'. Thus they regard the school, the law, the family in the television advertisement as the norm — *us* as the norm, the rest as strange. This prevents people from reflecting on and assessing the extent to which our culture has shaped our institutions, as well as ourselves, or to recognise that many of our views and values are a result of socialisation into our culture rather than our personal judgment or reflection of reality.

Racism prevents us from analysing ourselves, **and** our own social reality, realistically. It restricts our awareness of the options and alternatives available **and may bind** people into being and doing things that they know they are uncomfortable with, yet they are told such things are right, or normal. It also prevents us from understanding how we got to be where we are, for the history racism teaches us leaves so much out that we cannot make sense of it. We have inherited tensions and guilts and half truths, and have no way of tackling or resolving them. We cannot work out where we fit in so we are tempted to blame others for not fitting in, or being a threat. This aggravates the difficulties we often have in getting on with people who come from backgrounds different from our own.

Breaking out of the racist confines and censorship means making a lot more sense of our own history and society, and our individual place in it. Early in the process, it is we who get to feel culturally deprived, who say 'Why didn't they tell me? I've been cheated. How can I be maker of my own destiny, take responsibility for myself, and teach my children to become responsible, too, when I am surrounded by mirrors and shadows?' Combating racism is necessary for us, so we can reflect on what we were and are, and be part of deciding what we want to become.

#### **(d) Racism stands in the way of other desirable social goals**

This reminds us that racism is not an isolated evil, attacking only its victims or its collaborators. It rots the body public, it unsettles and skews social relations generally, and it corrodes our search for many other social goals.

Australia is a democracy. All citizens have the right to vote, to stand for public office, to voice their views, to organise and to protest (if within limits).

If it is to mean anything, democracy needs an informed and reasonable citizenry. How can we judge between different candidates or parties if we do not have some understanding of how our society works, how power and wealth are distributed, who has access to them, who decides, and who pays?

So we need to make society comprehensible. We need to know what is possible, what constrains our choices; otherwise we may accept what is as normal, inevitable, and so abdicate our democratic rights and responsibilities.

Racism is a facet of our society, a serious obstacle to social progress. It affects us all, so we have a right to know about it. We need, too, to open up and contest issues — what is good? What is desirable? What is fair? What kind of society do we want? What sort of information about society and our role/s within it, do we need? What skills, and support, can help us develop political and social competence — or literacy — so that we are really participating?

There are other desirable social goals which also necessitate eliminating racism.

Freedom means many things to many people. It certainly includes feeling safe to walk down the road or into a public place without risking abuse because of one's colour or accent. It means not being branded by police, for example, who may presume any Aborigine on the street at night is drunk or loitering with intent.

Justice, too, means, among other things, equal protection of and from the law. Evidence on Aborigines, and their experiences in courts and jails, shows we are a long way from that. Some definitions of justice also include fair access to social goods.

Equality, too, can be defined in many different ways, but whether it means equal treatment before the law, equal opportunity in schools or some notion of equity or fair treatment, Aborigines and many ethnic groups don't enjoy it. Any serious attempt to equalise opportunities in any specific area (for example, in schools, or in access to housing) would necessarily tackle racism in that area. An equal employment opportunity scheme or one providing equal access to a particular service would, if successful, make a major contribution to reducing racism.

Another valued social goal is a co-operative and friendly, open society. We are all in this society together. We can continue to compete, to exclude — or we can try to find more co-operative and constructive ways of relating and of resolving differences. This may be unsettling for those at the top, for limiting other people's access or participation is an important source of power. But we are already in hard times, and they may get worse. Most of us have a very strong interest in guaranteeing that the rules of the game are fair, and the decision-makers accountable — for we, too, may be on the receiving end. It's no use accepting a situation where many people are effectively excluded or neutralised, and then calling for help.

We have already asserted that there are legitimate differences in opinions, in values, in Australia. We need to get them into the open, where we can contest them. We need to find ways to explore our own and other people's views, and find ways of coping with differences. Suppressing them isn't going to help, any more than not talking about racism is going to make it go away. And again, it's not just a matter of opinion. We must scrutinise ours, and other people's, and develop procedures and criteria for deciding what should be done.

This is where cultural relativism, and softer forms of multiculturalism, have failed us. It doesn't get us very far to say that all cultural values or ways are equal, or that we, or they, do it because it's our, or their culture.

The differences might not be reconcilable. There are values and priorities we wish to assert, not just for ourselves, but as legitimate and desirable bases for determining social policy, which affect everyone. And, of course, particular cultural and ideological values are already formed in this way. So we are concerned here with the whole debate, and not only those aspects which relate, specifically, to racism.

### (e) Racism stops us doing our job properly

It is a rare person, in Australia, whose everyday job does not bring her/him into contact with people from different racial and cultural backgrounds. It may be easier to put the onus on them, to expect them to cover the gap themselves, to get their English, social skills, knowledge of the society and its norms and expectations 'up to scratch'. However, quite apart from the fact that this is not fair, it often is not possible, either. Cultural capital is a scarce resource. Access to it is not equally distributed, and the way our major institutions, including education and government departments, actually work, helps keep it that way.

We may be dealing with others as colleagues, workmates, students, clients or in some other capacity. Many of those relationships are not equal, for example, if they are our subordinates or students. Being in a position of more power puts a responsibility on us, but it may also make it easy *not* to be open or accountable.

We may find ourselves acting as cultural mediators, if we know how an institution or organisation works and others — who need something from it — don't. Here, we need to be aware of how their cultural background, or language difficulties, make it difficult for them to get the service they need. Students who fail needn't be 'dumb'; people who do not complain needn't be happy. Again, if we are going to give appropriate advice, or do our job properly, we have to know where they are at, and what the cultural barriers or the linguistic static in the exchange may be.

Eliminating, or even recognising, racism, can help us, too. Teachers or adult educators whose best efforts constantly fail, who battle to get a response using methods developed with Anglo–Australians, can start analysing what is going wrong by finding out about the expectations about learning and the role of teachers that are held by the students they face. A training officer with a big government department will not get very far preparing her/his group to meet the needs of non-Anglo-clients if members of the group hold strong prejudices against others, or have false views of how society treats them. Aborigines or 'ethnics' may appear unco-operative, slow, belligerent, if we simply sail in, with unexamined expectations and ways of doing things.

Many of us have a sense of personal or professional responsibility, which means we need to feel we are doing our job properly. We wish to feel, and be seen as, fair in our treatment of others. If things keep going wrong, or we are consistently frustrated by being unable to 'deliver' to people from backgrounds different from our own, our job is tougher, and less rewarding, and our self-image suffers too, unless we take the easy way out and blame 'them' — 'they' are ineducable, or stupid, after all. In which case, we lift the barriers higher, fuel the resentment and resistance of the erstwhile recipients, confirm our prejudices, and we are on the merry-go-round again.

### (f) Eliminating racism is part of our legal and institutional obligations

We are personally and professionally responsible for recognising and combating racism. We are also bound to do so by a variety of obligations and commitments, both domestic and international.

While the accumulated weight of racism presses heavily upon us, there has been some progress, both in recognising its existence, and in seeking to oppose it. While such efforts are often small scale, relying on individuals or groups of goodwill and energy, there are also legislative provisions which form both a support or base for action, and a requirement that we so act.

The Commonwealth Racial Discrimination Act of 1975 makes it unlawful to discriminate on grounds of race. Race is defined as including colour, descent and national or ethnic origin. Part II of the Act makes it illegal to discriminate on grounds of race in, for example:

- refusing access to places and facilities;
- land transactions or providing accommodation;
- providing goods and services;
- restricting entry to trade unions;
- employing or dismissing someone.

Most of the States also have anti-discrimination legislation, directed either specifically at racism, or within a general format which includes racism.

The Human Rights Commission Act 1981 also cites a number of international human rights instruments, which recognise a range of rights for all people. For example, the *International covenant on civil and political rights* asserts the rights of all peoples to include:

- their own language, culture and religion;
- participation in public affairs;
- freedom of expression, movement, association and assembly;
- liberty and security of person;
- equal treatment with others under the law.

So combating racism is prompted by morality, decency, efficiency, professionalism and by legal obligations. Internationally, it is clearly in Australia's interest to be seen as opposing racism, for many members of the United Nations have no patience with those who discriminate on grounds of race (and the fact that some of its members do so is no excuse for us to). We are, too, in a locality a long way from Europe. We have Asian and Pacific neighbours, and we are conspicuous by our whiteness and our affluence. We have the means to tackle, if not to solve, our social problems, and there are many interested in whether we choose to do so. We want an effective say in relations in the region, but our credibility and influence will be jeopardised if we are not honestly and seriously facing our own shortcomings.

### More reasons, more doubt

There are many other arguments to support a stand against racism. Some of them flow from earlier sections, from an analysis of what racism is, and of its continuing significance in Australia. But there are those who may concede much of what has been said, and then raise questions and doubts about our taking a stand.

Some say that we in Australia no longer have real problems with racism. The arguments presented in Chapters 1 and 2 are reinforced by numerous books, articles, reports and experiences of those documenting its reality and its costs.

Others argue that racism does exist, but see it as a problem only for those who are, or work with, those damaged by it. Thus they say 'we have no problems here because we have none of *them* here'. That, of course, may be part of the problem! Why are there so few Aborigines, or Turkish–Australians in colleges of advanced education or in government departments?

Staffing problems, recruitment policies, entry requirements, residual segregation, informal but effective psychological and social barriers, need identifying. And as our consideration of racism has sought to demonstrate, racism is a social process, which perverts all our institutions; it is an ideology which has touched us all. We all have images of and views on race, whether or not we work or mix with people from backgrounds different from our own.

Some feel racism is not a problem because they are unaware of racist incidents or favouritism or exclusion along racial or ethnic lines. This may be because the questions have not been asked; or because a situation in which Aborigines, for example, do badly is considered as normal, rather than taken as a clue to the operation of a racist institution or society. Lack of complaint or criticism from the victims need not mean that all is well.

Some educators or community welfare workers define their role in ways that see students or clients as individuals, and therefore believe they should be 'colour-blind' or treat everyone the same. That would be fine if they all were, already, equal, but treating unequal people equally disadvantages the weaker or less well off ones, and reinforces inequality.

Also ignoring colour or cultural differences in a society where being white and English-speaking is the norm, and where we so rarely recognise or reflect other peoples' experiences, can seem like devaluing them — rendering them invisible. It fails to acknowledge things that are very important to them and that affect how they are perceived by, and treated by, others.

Others may recognise how real and deep racism is, and partly for this reason, they fear aggravating emotions and hostilities, so wish to leave it alone. As the recent furore over 'Asian' immigration and everyday comments about Aborigines reveal, racism does not go away if we ignore it. If we do not tackle it, it may get worse. Part of the reason for this *Handbook*, and other publications like it, is to try to forewarn about dangers as well as to suggest possibilities for helping get things right. Doing it badly might be worse than not doing it at all. But alternatively, if we continue not to do it, we leave it smouldering, to explode when we least expect it and are not ready to handle it. We also lose credibility among those who are already its victims, and who see our refusal to take a stand beside them, or even to examine our own behaviour, as unintended racism, or as evidence that we are collaborating against them.

One frequent objection to anti-racist activities is that racism is a political issue and that we should keep politics out of our job or association. Educators are especially prone to fear the political, partly because they are answerable to people who are sensitive to political pressure. It is indeed an achievement of power that 'political' and 'ideological' are accusations that are levelled at those who challenge the status quo — which is somehow presented as neutral.

Every social arrangement is political; every value or political position is ideological. The present situation is not neutral or fair. It is advantaging some and penalising others, on arbitrary grounds like race or ethnic origin. Not taking a stand allows the present political, unequal, unfair arrangements to continue. Thus not acting becomes an act in itself, with its own consequences. It protects the interests

of the strong, of those who are favoured by the current rules, and it distracts from any questioning about what the rules are, who set them, who gains by them, and who loses.

This *Handbook* is aimed, primarily, at adult educators. Many of us are teachers or community workers, or opinion makers. In these roles, we have a duty and a responsibility to provide people with information. This is not neutral, either — what information we choose, how we structure it, and how we pass it on, influences what people make of it and how they can use it. We must play our role honestly, openly, and so articulate what is going on (to the best of our understanding), rather than disguising it or keeping people away from it. 'Pursue truth as a duty, not as a virtue' (Richardson 1982) is an intimidating command, but one that educators should feel bound to pursue.

A further doubt frequently expressed about combating racism concerns the ethics of attitude change. As adult educators, we are in a position to teach or at least influence people. Are we exploiting our authority, abusing our trust, if we seek to impose our views on others? Yes, we are, if we seek to impose. But the rationale on which this *Handbook* rests rejects such an imposition as both self-defeating and a betrayal of what we are about. Racism has flourished partly because of received wisdom, of an education and political system which has not encouraged self-awareness, or critical consciousness, or an understanding of the workings of our society. If we seek to impose anti-racism, the next educator, or journalist, or pub activist, can impose something else.

We are seeking to open up issues, to equip people with the skills and concepts to grapple with controversies and values conflicts on their own terms. We do so, recognising that we too are still searching; that we, too, should be open to scrutiny, should be defending our position openly and critically. Both ethics and learning theory demand that we are part of a process by which we all take control and responsibility for our own learning. This is precisely the opposite of indoctrination or manipulation, both of which are unethical and, largely, unproductive.

## Conclusion

If we seek to identify and combat racism, we need also to elaborate our own position with regard to racism, and be able to defend it. We need to be able to confront the range of counter-arguments and doubts which any action against racism will activate. We need, too, to be able to rally others, to encourage them to support us, to become involved themselves, to do something.

And then the question becomes — to do what?

## Further reading

Books and handbooks on combating racism usually have introductions or rationales defending their stance. See, for example:

### Britain:

Berkshire Local Education Authority Advisory Committee for Multicultural Education. *Education for equality: discussion paper*. Berkshire, 1982.

### United States of America:

Katz, J. *White awareness*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma, 1982.

Knowles, L. & Prewitt, K. *Institutional racism in America*. Prentice-Hall, New Jersey, 1969.

National Education Association. *Education and racism: an action manual*. National Education Association, Washington, 1973.

Sedleck, W. & Brooks, G. *Racism in American education*. Nelson Hall, Chicago, 1976.

Exploring doubts and resistance of those from the dominant culture to antiracist teaching. See, for example:

Ruddell, D. 'Racism awareness'. (1983) 11,1 *Multiracial Education*, 16-19.

Katz, J. 'Multicultural education: games educators play'. (1982) 10,2 *Multiracial Education*, 11-17.

### See also:

Richardson, R. 'Now listen children'. *New Internationalist* (2 September 1982).

Rules for teaching about controversial issues; aimed at school teachers, but easily adapted to any forms of teaching.

Sivanandan, A. 'RAT and the degradation of black struggle'. (Spring 1985) xxvi, 4 *Race and Class*, 1-33.

Critique of racism awareness courses which ignore the politics of racism.

## 4. HOW TO COMBAT RACISM'

Part B presents a range of strategies for combating racism. Here, we seek rather to establish general guidelines for determining objectives and action, together with some 'do's' and 'don'ts' gathered from the experiences of those working in this area.

Taking the preceding three chapters as one model — it is necessary to analyse the problem, before it is possible to decide what to do about it. So part of the process may be to:

- develop our understanding of what prejudice and racism are, as concepts, and as practice, so we can identify them in ourselves, in others, in the ways institutions operate. We need, for example, to be able to recognise racist stereotypes, or language, and to offer explanations of social problems which discredit racist myths;
- recognise the nature and extent of racism in Australia today;
- analyse our own views, and where we got them from; for example, to recognise that, if we have grown up in a racist society, we will inevitably hold some racist views;
- develop our understanding of the terms of the debate, including arguments which can support our efforts, rally others, and challenge racists.

We also need to develop some understanding of the variety of racial and cultural groups in Australia, so we can recognise inaccurate stereotypes, correct misinformation, realise that behaviour that we expect, like looking people in the eye when talking, may be considered rude or aggressive in other cultures. Here is a risk of reinforcing stereotypes. There are differences within, as well as between, groups. We all share many things, so should recognise the similarities as well as the differences. There are also other social processes which affect our relations, for example poverty or powerlessness, or the experience of migration and resettlement, which flow over cultural boundaries.

We can never know everything, and learning about different groups, about racism, and about ourselves, is an ongoing process.

But we can:

- get the parameters straight (or at least more clear);
- develop concepts we can use as handles;
- develop ways of gathering and testing information;
- find out who to go to/where to go for support, ideas, resources;
- develop strategies, share those that work, discard those that don't.

### Going into action

Which strategies work will depend on who we are, where we are working (whether paid to or not), who we are working with. It is very hard to generalise; however, I will put forward some guidelines, which I have drawn both from my own experiences, and from many others in the field — those who have written up their ideas (and the ones I found most useful are cited at the end of this chapter), and those with whom I have talked, but who are too busy getting on with the job to stop and write it all down.

(a) We need to get our objectives straight.

It helps if we have thought about, and talked about, what we want to change, and why. We are likely to have personal views and goals (whether or not we have made them explicit to ourselves or others). We may also have objectives as part of our job or position; there may be tension between what we are expected to do, and what we want to do. We may have set ourselves objectives which are a compromise, the best we can do, given the situation.

(b) We need to analyse that situation to identify the constraints, and the possibilities.

Some of us, for example adult educators, training officers, have formal opportunities to raise issues, present counter-arguments, and ask people what they are doing about it. Others have to make those opportunities — ask questions at staff meetings, contest racist views in social forums. Others, like those from the Ecumenical Migration Centre, may be called in to help when racism has been identified as a problem. They may meet resistance because they are labelled as biased or do-gooders before they begin. They may also be given only two hours — or even 20 minutes — to do it all. In that time, it is

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<sup>1</sup>Earlier versions of this chapter were published in Human Rights Commission *The teaching of human rights* (Occasional Paper No. 6), AGPS, Canberra, 1985; and presented at a Human Rights Commission/Ecumenical Migration Centre Council/Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission Community Workshop in July 1984, and at a Cross-Cultural Network Sub-conference of the Australian Adult Education Association at Valla Park in November 1984.

only possible to begin to question and raise doubts, to indicate that it's all very complicated, but that resources and ideas about it do exist and so, hopefully, prompt requests for more information or activities.

What we know about the nature of racism also suggests that the targets for change are ourselves, and our colleagues, as well as our students, clients, or outside audience. Thus we often find ourselves working on several levels at once.

(c) We need to clarify our role as adult educators, community workers or cultural mediators.

We may see that role as one of facilitator, sharing and negotiating goals and tasks. Yet many of us also have a clear commitment to oppose racism, and so are not detached, or simply responding to others' needs. We seek certain outcomes. We have our own goals and values, we are part of the process of political, social and cultural action. We have to harmonise our anti-racist aims, and those of being responsive, non-authoritarian and non-manipulative educators.

Many educators are used to occupying a power position, of determining objectives and requirements with little reference to their students. Yet to impose *our* views on *them*, or to disguise the hidden agenda — to pretend to be neutral, for example — is both unethical and, ultimately, counter-productive. We need to communicate openly and fairly, to establish dialogues and set up exchanges.

This can be hard work, and risky as well. Asking questions like: Why are we/you here? Who are we accountable to? What do we hope to achieve? requires flexibility, imagination, and empathy. It won't always work. So we need to reflect on our own role and expectations, and be prepared to discuss these issues with those we hope to affect.

(d) We need to begin where people *are*, and keep in mind what we know about how people learn, where we get our views and prejudices from, how we change them.

In any group, we usually find people with different views, or perhaps sharing the same view, but for different reasons. Any uniform approach might work with some people, will miss others, and possibly antagonise still others.

Some people may be prejudiced simply because they have been socialised into a culture which stereotypes and devalues other people. Or they may not have examined their everyday language and behaviour for unintended racist consequences. Providing them with more reasonable or accurate information or explanations which make some social sense out of the differences, may lead them to change their attitudes.

Other people share prejudices with family or friends, and may cling to those views because they value belongingness or conformity more than concern for an accurate or fair representation of others. Here, we must recognise the push and pull of peer pressure, and attempt to win over opinion leaders, rather than simply approach people as isolated individuals. Others again may blame Asians, or married women, for unemployment, not because they necessarily have anything against them, but because in times of trouble or insecurity, it is tempting to blame others, rather than feel a failure ourselves. Here, providing more effective explanations, for example about what happens to jobs in a recession, might undermine scapegoating and prejudice. In both these cases, what we are saying may directly contradict what people believe, or challenge ways they have of coping with pressures and tensions. They may become threatened or resentful, so they must be given room to accommodate new perspectives.

Some people — the real bigots — may hold their prejudices because of deep-seated personality problems. They need their prejudices, to bolster their own faulty egos, and may react strongly against anyone who challenges their views. The chances of convincing a bigot are near nil, so strategies are needed to stop bigots from disrupting activities in which they are involved. It may be worth pursuing arguments with them, not because they will change their minds but because other people are listening. Anti-discrimination legislation and social pressure can also be applied to discourage them from acting out their prejudices in ways which harm or offend others.

Thus we need to know what people think, and preferably why, so that we can respond appropriately and effectively. We also need an armoury of arguments, so we can select from them. At church groups many support the notion that all are equal in the eyes of God; harassed social workers or union officials may welcome ways of reducing cultural or language barriers, thereby making their job easier.

(e) We need to work up a list of 'do's' and 'clones' in handling controversial issues, and tackling racism.

Again, these will vary depending on our own views; whether the issues are officially on the agenda, or part of our job, or not. Over the years, we all work out 'do's' and 'don't's' through experience, including talking with others in the same field. My list includes:

- Begin gently. If we react too strongly, or make people feel threatened or guilty first off, they will retreat.
- Open up the issues. Get racism on the agenda. Get things out into the open, where we can debate them. Encourage participation, communication, as a general rule, so they can be activated on these issues, as well.
- Recognise that people have real doubts and fears, which may or may not be racist. It doesn't help if we start by saying racism is bad and you're a racist, and so prevent the airing of doubts or objections, which can't then be dealt with.
- Don't assume that you are right or that others necessarily agree that racism is wrong. It's a highly contested area, and unravelling it must be a shared enterprise if it is to succeed.
- Don't just say 'you're wrong'. Don't ask questions eliciting information and then say no. Feed counter information and other perspectives into the discussion. Encourage other people to find the information for themselves — it's much more convincing.
- Don't legitimise prejudice. While encouraging people to express their views, don't simply let them stand, or you may reinforce prejudice. One opinion isn't as good as another; it isn't just a matter of opinion. Encourage everyone (ourselves included) to analyse the views, ask for reasons, work out criteria for judging, suggest other possible explanations.
- Take a clear stand against racism. While remaining open, negotiating, also be forceful about your opposition to racism, and explain why. Say: racism is wrong because . . . Practise the arguments — the same old ones tend to recur. Say, 'that sounds like a stereotype'. Explain why racist language and jokes are offensive; for example, because they reinforce and spread defamatory and hurtful stereotypes, and presume to predict individual behaviour and characteristics from group membership.
- Ask what their evidence is. Give yours.
- Work up a file. Include practical examples, suggestions for action, lists; e.g. we are racist when . . . Have handy facts and figures, for example, 'the facts' about benefits available to Aborigines and refugees. Develop an inventory of racism, a list of questions about, for example, staffing or admissions policies, selection or recruitment criteria, to test out for institutional racism.
- Know your targets. Involve them as much as possible, find out what they think about it and why, use speakers they find credible.
- Make it relevant. Adapt examples, case studies, to suit the audience. Draw out what people want to get out of it, show that they can contribute.
- Keep it interesting. Don't be too ponderous. Vary the format and activities.
- Make it worth their while. Show others that tackling prejudice and racism can help them, too. They can do their job better. They can put names on problems. They can plug into a network, get support; they don't have to keep reinventing the wheel.
- Get a dynamic going. Identify contradictions, use the space between what people say ought to happen, and what's actually happening. If people say they believe in equality, ask what's actually happening to Aborigines, ethnic groups, where they work, or play. Mobilise values they already hold; link them with opposition to racism.
- Appeal to feelings. Information alone is rarely enough; feelings, too, have to change.
- Deal with emotions. Prejudice and racism are highly emotional issues. People get angry, get hurt, reject your views, and maybe you; or they feel guilty or powerless. We can feel these things too. Don't try to suppress these feelings, or pretend that they're not there.
- Keep it simple in presentation and language, but don't oversimplify — there's rarely only one cause, one dimension.
- Personalise and depersonalise. Encourage people to examine their own personal experiences, and views; to empathise, imagine how they might feel in others' shoes. But don't stay with personal anecdote alone. Encourage people to look for connections, patterns; for example, if a drunk Aborigine threatened them and confirmed their prejudice against Aborigines, while a drunk white Anglo–Australian doing the same would merely confirm their prejudices against drunks.
- Recognise differences and similarities. Differences are often seen as the problem. Identify similarities and present understandable explanations for differences. But differences are important and also legitimate. Don't play them down.
- Don't reinforce stereotypes. Don't lump together all Aborigines, or all Italians, or all Muslim schoolgirls. Remind people there are other divisions and processes at work; for example, poverty and age. Reluctance to approach police or government officials, or join a union, may reflect bad experiences in their old country, rather than a suspicious or unco-operative culture.

- Don't act above it all. It's an ongoing process, none of us ever solve all the problems, even in our heads. We are working with adults — co-operation and mutual respect are essential.
- Don't get too depressed, or depressing. Racism is an anathema, it does terrible damage, it's very hard to fight. But some good things are happening, and good people trying. We can feel better if we know-what's going on. We can make a difference.
- Find a friend. Don't try to do it alone. Build networks, make alliances. Join others who have similar or mutually reinforcing concerns. Having someone to talk with about it helps.
- Accept that you can't please everyone. Nor can you work with everyone. Choose your own space. Don't waste energy needlessly when there's no chance of success. If you're neutralised at work, try tackling the church, the club, the school council. Take a holiday.
- Don't just talk about it. Reflection is necessary for understanding. After that should come action. Find ways to act, encourage others to act against racism, in their individual and social dealings with people, and in their workplace. Ask what are you doing about it?

The list could go on, and your list might be quite different from mine. One reason for making such a list is that it makes explicit the assumptions we're working on, and what we are doing about them; it also helps to compare lists, because friends or colleagues can raise questions, and point out things we're doing that we're not aware of.

(f) We need to institutionalise opposition to racism and its effects.

We need to get racism in particular, and human rights in general, up on the agenda. Many Australians don't realise that we do have problems, or that their everyday practices, how they do the job, have an unequal effect on others. We can alert people to the way structures and institutions operate, to disguise or perpetuate racism.

Here, an invaluable goal is an explicit commitment on the part of departments, associations, or other bodies, to oppose racism, be it a general statement of principle or a policy objective. Even if meant only for rhetorical or public relations purposes, it can be used as a base, a justification for further questioning or action. However, commitment at the top, or where there is a capacity to gather or release information, or mobilise resources, or reward changes, really helps.

In tackling racism, the experiences of Equal Employment Opportunity (E.E.O.) officers can be used. We are concerned with the politics of change, and some knowledge of administrative procedures and decision-making mechanisms is essential. Many an excellent program has failed through lack of innovative or administrative knowhow. In any particular case, we need to know what the situation actually is. Analysing information about what is happening, and how it affects different categories of people, is important. We also need to know the most effective points of intervention; there's no point in spending huge amounts of effort and energy convincing a committee which, in the end, doesn't count; nor going through endless procedures if a single request to do something can suffice.

For these reasons, it is far preferable to have a change agent or contact person who is an insider. It is very difficult for an outsider to go in and try to change things. As always, change is more likely, more effective, and more long-lasting, if it's done with people, rather than to them. Participatory research or information-gathering is an excellent strategy here — as with educators who work together to research what is happening to certain groups of students, or to do interactional analysis on their own teaching. Simply gathering the information may shock people into realising there is a problem, and wanting to do something about it.

If opposition to racism is to make a difference, it doesn't only involve changes in attitudes, but also leads to action. Part of any program should be action-orientated; not only providing people with ideas and strategies, but following up both the willing and the unwilling, with requests for information: What have you done? What is happening in your department, your community centre? What will you do? What additional support or resources do you need now? These questions can also be addressed from outside the organisation. Embarrassment, or fear of adverse publicity, may prod the reluctant or unconvinced into doing something. Anti-discrimination legislation can also be used. What does the law say? Tell people it's not just a matter of choice: they are breaking the law. Evaluation of strategies, and reformulation of tactics and goals, are part of the process. We need to assess where we are going. If there is a formal program, there should be a follow-up and evaluation session, preferably providing a recharging, as well. Otherwise, initial enthusiasm seeps away, or is knocked out of people especially if they came to an off-work course or session, and went back to cynics and opponents.

It may be desirable to develop a code of practice, or at least put on staff seminars or other meetings for discussing what is happening, what is working. Again, this can be time wasted, unless someone works on it — puts together a file of incidents or common complaints, builds up a resource file on possible responses, goes out and gets the information and spreads it around. E.E.O. guidelines suggest possibilities. Invite in people who are doing similar work elsewhere.

(g) We need to develop formal arrangements for consultation with people from other racial and ethnic groups, who are affected by what we do, but may lack representation when we decide to do it. We need information on what they need, or want, from us; we cannot presume to know who they are or where they are going.

Our legacy of a history of racism, of exclusion and discrimination, of the cultural loading of our institutions, is that the people most likely to be victims of racism are least likely to be heard. One obvious answer — to get them in, too, as colleagues or workmates, as police, teachers, union officials, social workers — is something we should be working towards. In the meantime, we need to devise ways of opening or improving communications, for all our sakes.

Yet consultation with Aboriginal and ethnic communities is fraught with difficulties. Not everyone is an expert on their own group. Each group is also differentiated — people are older or younger, male or female, in authority or marginal; and often, there are religious and ideological and class divisions as well. So — who is representative? and how do we identify and contact them?

There are other questions, too. Why should they make the time and effort to help us? Especially if they think we only want information so we can manage them better. We have to prove that we're ~~willing to do what they want, and to do it in a way that doesn't cause offence~~ — questions that they are using to judge with

cause offence)? Again, it depends on the program or work situation. It is preferable to invite community members in to talk, or join committees, after some time has been spent debunking myths and examining stereotypes, which also means that people should be more responsive to new perspectives.

Some spokespeople for Aboriginal or ethnic groups are in high demand, and they get very tired of talking, especially if it's a one-off, and nothing flows from it. Again, we need to find ways to routinise these contacts, to include community representatives in planning, discussion, activities, as a matter of course. We can involve people in other contexts as well; don't wait until the police, or teachers, have trouble with youngsters and then invite the parents in. We should ask them along before there is a problem.

(h) We need to support action to empower people who are victims of racism, and to open up the social and political process to them.

Any democratisation or increased access loosens the restricted systems in which racism thrives. We can work for more opportunities and power, in both public and private sectors, for Aborigines and others from currently powerless groups. As these groups become organised and effective, conflicts and criticisms of those who have traditionally held power or determined the rules may increase, or at least become more obvious. We need to be aware of this, and work to negotiate differences and build lines of communication and co-operation beyond them. It is not possible to combat racism while continuing to exclude or marginalise its victims.

We can also support steps to build up community organisations, and work collaboratively with them in areas of shared concern. We may have to demonstrate that we are not trying to take them over, or tell them what to do — there is a long history of class, racial and cultural paternalism to live down.

A range of social change programs or associations, even if not specifically opposing racism, may have the effect of undermining it. Education, housing, welfare, employment and health are all crucial areas for action, as both Aborigines and recent migrants are over-represented among the poorest and socially most vulnerable people in Australia. Thus, any improvement in occupational health and safety, or in availability of cheaper housing, helps redress the imbalance. Strong political support for such programs is, therefore, an essential ingredient of anti-racist programs.

It may be better to encourage programs on the basis of needs, regardless of race or ethnic origin, to avoid a backlash among poorer Anglo-Australians or earlier migrants, and to recognise that disadvantage may stem from forces lying beyond racial and ethnic differences. Organising on a locality basis, or to meet a particular need, for example, of working women for child-care facilities, strengthens links between people who do share interests, but may have been kept apart by racism, including their own. Such efforts also provide more positive and congenial opportunities for interaction across racial or cultural lines. However, there will still be particular needs of particular groups, often stemming directly from past discrimination or recent arrival.

(i) We must support groups and organisations seeking to combat racism at the community and political level.

Right-wing racist organisations are increasingly active in Australia, especially opposing Aboriginal land rights and non-European immigration, and those who oppose them are often subject to abuse, or left to battle in isolation. We can work for policies and actions which support the victims of racism and those who fight against racism.

## Conclusion

We can take action against racism on a number of levels: within ourselves, with friends or associates, as adult educators, as political activists. We can choose our sites of struggles: at home or play, within our workplaces and associations, the local newspaper or school or political party branch.

There is no set formula for tackling racism, nor are we working entirely in ignorance. There are general guidelines. We do know something about what factors influence learning and encourage personal and social change. There are strategies and resources which others have developed, and which we can use or modify, or add to. Part B of the *Handbook* provides one basis for doing so.

## Further reading

### Ideas and strategies

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*PART B*

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**STRATEGIES**

*Barbara Chambers*



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# The anti-racist program

## 5. HOW TO USE THE PROGRAM

Part A provided a rationale for anti-racist action.

Part B presents the educator or facilitator with a systemic anti-racism program for members of the dominant group in Australian society. This chapter is a bridge between rationale and action so that the facilitator understands how and why the program is structured the way it is.

### Objectives and goals

The anti-racism program is essentially aimed at sensitising participants to racism within Australian society and within themselves so that they are better able to combat it. The focus is on the Aboriginal and Vietnamese experience in Australia. Statistics from the Human Rights Commission show that the greatest, and most recurring, number of complaints about racial discrimination come from Aboriginal Australians. The recent debate about Australian immigration reveals that Vietnamese (Indo-Chinese) Australians are the most recent target of racists.

The program has adapted, for the Australian experience, the approach taken by Judy H. Katz in her book *White awareness*. As she said, the understanding that racism is a largely dominant group problem is achieved most successfully through:

- (i) confrontation — identifying the discrepancies that exist between what one says and what one does;
- (ii) a re-education process — examining history and perspectives through new perceptual filters. If participants can recognise the inconsistencies between ideologies and behaviours at institutional and cultural levels, they can better understand how their own attitudes and behaviours have been permeated by racism. Once whites become aware of this dimension, they will more easily own their racism (and society's) and develop ways to combat it (Katz 1978: 22).

This is not to say that racism is confined to the dominant group. Inter-group racism appears to be an unfortunate human predisposition. However, members of the dominant group in Australia are the gate-keepers or power-brokers in society, who are able to use racism with far-reaching effect.

Because participants are first introduced to racism at a societal level, guilt is kept at a minimum. In our experience, guilt is an unhealthy motivation for change and if induced, can often backlash onto minority groups. Participants need to know that racism is socially constructed and reinforced.

This program consists of five stages which contain appropriate exercises for development of an understanding of racism. By the end of the program, participants will be able to:

- (i) clearly define racism and its associated concepts of prejudice, discrimination, stereotyping and ethnocentrism;
- (ii) identify and analyse institutional racism;
- (iii) identify and analyse cultural racism;
- (iv) define the ways in which one's own attitudes and behaviours have been formed and in what ways they are reflective of and supported by racism in Australia;
- (v) develop and be committed to action on strategies designed to combat racism at the individual and institutional level.

### Teaching an anti-racism program — a word to the facilitator

The development in people of positive anti-racist attitudes and behaviour is a complex process requiring a flexible approach if it is to be successful. Research evidence, from Australia and overseas, tends to demonstrate that courses using 'affective strategies' (feelings) in conjunction with 'cognitive' information (facts) are successful in promoting positive attitudes towards a particular group or issue (Chambers 1981). Most adult educators teaching race and culture courses are conscious of the need to present accurate, up-to-date information. However, they often assume 'right' attitudes on the part of the participants and fail to draw out negative feelings about a particular racial or cultural group. Such courses are not successful in promoting positive attitudes (Chambers 1972 and 1981). Often the opposite is true; participants may maintain and strengthen their negative attitudes as a reaction to what they call 'preaching' or 'biased' teaching. Unless feelings are addressed, participants in such programs

continue to selectively perceive information, based on their existing attitudes. Communication theory, more often used in language studies and public relations strategies, is a useful checklist when planning anti-racism programs. W.T. McGuire's model has been adapted because it is flexible, readily applicable and has stood the test of time and practical experience. Each communication variable, and its associated factors, is discussed below.

- (i) *Source factors*: The source of the information must be credible to the recipients. 'The two major components of credibility are *expertise* (factual knowledge) and *trustworthiness* ("good" motives)' (Zimbardo 1977: 59). If program participants perceive an educator as inexperienced in the field of anti-racism, and ignorant of their particular profession, the information imparted is held suspect at the very least. If the facilitator is seen to be fixed and rigid, has no appreciation of another's viewpoint, then participants may feel that they are being 'set up' or indoctrinated. The educator should adopt the role of a 'neutral' chairperson in discussions. While an educator committed to anti-racist teaching is hardly neutral, it is important that participants are free to discuss their attitudes openly. The climate of the 'workshop' should be egalitarian or democratic rather than authoritarian, with the educator acting as a resource person or facilitator rather than the sole conveyor of knowledge. The facilitator must be aware that the peer group has an important socialising effect on racial attitude formation, maintenance and change. Therefore, group rather than individual processes should be used to effect positive attitude change. Peer group leaders should be co-opted to present positive information as they tend to be opinion leaders as well. In addition, minority group speakers seem to establish a face-value credibility. For example 98 per cent of 113 students enrolled in Aboriginal Studies II at the Canberra CAE in 1976 indicated that Aboriginal speakers were essential to the unit and that college lecturers could not fulfil the same function (Chambers 1981). However, Aboriginal speakers, too, needed to be stimulating and fair-minded to be effective. Aboriginal speakers who attacked the group as racists, tended to polarise student attitudes. Too much emotion, even when justified, can be a turn-off for the audience.
- (ii) *Message factors*: '... include the content and structure of what is said' (McGuire 1969: 172). It has been shown that information alone will not change attitudes except where the student was favourably disposed to begin with, so it is important to emphasise messages that appeal to values, feelings and emotions. This is not to say that information about a particular minority group should be ignored. After all, participants cannot meaningfully discuss their attitudes, or come to terms with the causal nature of minority group action and reaction, unless they are given factual information about these issues.
- (iii) *Channel factors*: These are the media through which the message is presented. A variety of media, both visual and auditory, ensures the maximum information impact on participants. For example, Dugan and Szwarc's book *"There goes the neighbourhood!" Australia's migrant experience*, is imaginative, stimulating, colourful and rigorously authentic. Lectures, films, small group discussions, video-tapes and simulated activities all provide valid channels of information.
- (iv) *Receiver factors*: Any one individual may vary in his/her reaction to source, message and channel factors. Apart from these variables, it is very difficult to determine the attitudes that any individual holds. Even when these are known, the same racist attitude can fulfil a variety of functions. Sarnoff and Katz (1954: 121) demonstrated that there are different motivational bases for the same attitude:

the influence procedure which would affect A's attitude (the poorly informed person) would differ qualitatively from the procedure used in changing the attitudes of B (the conformer) and C (the defense individual).

Person A whose attitudes are a reflection of lack of knowledge or misinformation may only need further information in order to positively change negative racial attitudes. But, as Lorna Lippmann (1973: 9) states, 'one's ideological system has a tendency to remain steadfast and is not easily shaken by mere fact'. Person B who tends to authoritarian behaviour, is motivated to conform to the norm. For this individual the peer group and more particularly senior staff, who take a stand against racism, will positively influence student B's racial attitudes. Person C on the other hand, whose attitudes are a function of psychological problems such as providing a method of acting out inner tension, will not be affected by correct information about a particular minority group. Such a person's attitudes 'derive from an individual's inner needs and have only the most accidental relation to the object of the attitude' (McGuire 1969: 160). This type of person tends to scapegoat less powerful people for unpleasant events that affect him or her. Scapegoating individuals usually feel powerless to change important negative

factors in their lives; for example, unemployment. It is less damaging to self-esteem to blame Asians or any other recent migrant than it is to blame yourself for not being employed. In this case, attitudes will only be changed through counselling and self-insight — a lengthy process that is not always possible in a short program.

Although all individuals rationalise events or scapegoat others at some point in their lives, people who consistently scapegoat a particular racial or cultural group are less common. However, adverse economic conditions do create a sense of powerlessness amongst the unemployed and if unemployment for the 15-19-year-old age group does not improve, we can expect more or perhaps visibly more racial prejudice in Australia.

With most people who have not been exposed to other cultural groups it is fairly safe to assume that they are xenophobic' and/or ethnocentric<sup>2</sup>, but otherwise fairly interested in learning about other cultures. Although the socialisation process may contribute to misinformation about minority-group members and effect a desire to adapt to whatever norms and values a particular social situation requires, the authors are reasonably confident, through teaching anti-racism programs ourselves, and observing them being taught by others in a variety of settings, that teaching for positive inter-group relations is not only possible but probable if the above factors are taken into account.<sup>3</sup>

### Attitude formation and change theories in practice: the facilitator's role

Throughout the anti-racism program, facilitators should be aware of their roles in the process of enacting each exercise. They should also be aware that each exercise will affect to a greater or lesser extent the racial attitudes of participants. Part of this awareness involves a basic knowledge of four major theories of (racial) attitude formation and change. (See P. Zimbardo et al., *Influencing attitudes and changing behaviour*, Addison-Wesley, New York, 1977, for a full account of each theory.)

- (i) *The Yale theory* (Zimbardo 1977: 57): Carl Hovland developed this theory as a result of working with soldiers, during World War II. He was interested to see by what process(es) he could get soldiers to try different sorts of 'bush tucker'; foods that might mean the difference between life and death in warfare, in a strange terrain with only 'exotic' local plants, insects and animals. He found that there were four main variables that influenced the acceptance of persuasive arguments: source, communication, audience and audience reactions. These variables were explained in detail at the beginning of this chapter. In addition, there are four kinds of process that determine the extent to which a person will be persuaded by a communication. These are:

*Attention*: the audience must be actively engaged in any communication. If they are tired, bored, distracted or reluctant to be there, your message will be largely unheard.

*Comprehension*: if the speaker delivers his/her message in highly technical language which is not shared by the audience, then people will switch off. If the message is either too abstract, theoretical, or unrelated to the audience's professional and life experiences, the audience will be bewildered and uninvolved.

*Acceptance*: is the speaker acceptable to the audience? Is the speaker credible? This may depend on the speaker's ability to 'tune-in' to the audience and be accepted as knowledgeable. A member of the peer group is usually acceptable to the audience, as is a respected senior staff member — particularly in hierarchical professions like the police force or public service. If people are genuinely interested in the program, and the program is looking at minority group experiences in Australia, then a fluent, articulate and knowledgeable member of that group will be acceptable to the audience.

*Retention*: the previous three processes will determine how much of the message is retained and retained *accurately*. If, for example, the audience has been restless and inattentive and they couldn't understand an ethnic speaker, whose grasp of English was minimal; and if they disliked the speaker anyway, because he 'looked different' or confirmed their stereotypes, then the message retained will be distorted by all of these factors. People will, under these circumstances, selectively listen on the basis of what they think they already know and what they feel about the topic or ethnic group.

- (ii) *The group dynamics theory* (Zimbardo 1977: 62): This theory was developed by Kurt Lewin. Unlike the Yale theory, which Zimbardo describes as the 'who said what to whom' model, Lewin's theory assumes that the individual is more than an isolated, passive processor of information. The person is viewed as a social being with an intimate *dependence* on others for knowledge about self and the world. A major factor that causes people to change their beliefs, feelings and perceptions 'is the *discrepancy* that exists between an individual's attitude or behaviour (sic) and the group *norm*'

(Zimbardo 1977: 62). It is a variation of the old adage 'if you can't beat 'em, join 'em'. It is a pressure toward uniformity. While Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) demonstrated that the peer group is most influential at adolescence, the push for conformity has been identified by many social scientists and historians as a lifelong preoccupation. (See Ronald Conway *The great Australian stupor*, 1971.) For this reason, Australian adult educators would do well to remember that the peer group and/or opinion leaders should be co-opted in the process of racial attitude change; otherwise, they may well lead the group away from your message and racial attitude change goal.

- (iii) *Cognitive dissonance theory* (Zimbardo 1977: 66): Lewin's theory was extended by Festinger, who assumed that the peer group wasn't the only influence on people's attitudes. Information which is counter to existing ideas can also make a person feel uncomfortable. If the new information is believed, then the old ideas may be discarded. After all, we cannot believe two sets of contradictory information simultaneously. One set has to be thrown out, otherwise we would experience an uncomfortable tension or cognitive dissonance. While groups and social norms might still play a role in highlighting discrepancies or inconsistencies, dissonance could still be a non-social phenomenon. Festinger believed that people should be 'forced to comply' with new information by using simulated experiences such as role-play.

In other words, if people who are racially prejudiced against the Vietnamese are encouraged to read positive information about the Vietnamese culture, and engage in simulated experiences so that they 'feel' what it is like to be a Vietnamese recently arrived in Australia they will start to experience cognitive dissonance.

There are aspects of this theory which I find unrealistic, given that racial prejudice itself is illogical. Festinger appears to place a great deal of faith in simulated experiences (role-playing, socio-drama) rather than actual experience of a particular group. Simulation, while useful, can lead to further stereotyping as people create roles to play. Roles, by definition, are exaggerations of reality and do not take into account the individual occupying that role. In addition, the idea of 'forced' compliance is distasteful to most educators. However, participants in the anti-racism program will be exposed to cognitive dissonance — if the experiences contradict previously held information, beliefs, values and feelings. As any teacher knows, the way we choose curriculum content, structure the course, and assess compulsory assignments means that all participants are forced to comply, albeit temporarily, with what the teacher wants! Simulation exercises, structured and unstructured role-playing, debates and so forth, are all valid strategies for understanding minority-group experiences. Nothing, though, replaces real-life experience. Positive and equal interaction with members of a minority group or discussions of first-hand experience of discrimination are much better and more honest ways to induce cognitive dissonance for the person who holds negative racial attitudes.

- (iv) *Attribution theory* (Zimbardo 1977: 72): In part of this *Handbook* we have mentioned 'blaming the victim' as an aspect of racism. There is another side to this behaviour and that is 'blaming the individual'. As humans, we seek causality as an explanation for some event. When we accept a single cause/effect, or linear and logical explanation, we must miss out on discovering the 'truth'. Very few things in our complex world are as simple as a single cause for an effect, whatever it may be. Most theories of racial attitude formation and change focus on the individual: the so-called pathology of racism. The individual, even the racist individual, can be a victim too of well-meaning and committed educators if they ignore structural or institutional racism. Our very society, which has been described as ruggedly competitive, classist, materialistic, sexist and individual-oriented, supports and encourages blaming or praising the individual for almost anything. A recent example is expressed in the term 'the Hawke Government' rather than the Labor Government or even the Hawke Labor Government. Zimbardo cites two cases: Richard Nixon (and Watergate) and Patty Hearst. In both cases the individual was blamed and not the circumstances or society which created the conditions for such 'deviant' behaviour. In Australia, we look for 'Mr Big', *the politician, the judge, the racist* who is personally responsible for corruption and flagrant violations of civil liberties. Of course the individual is culpable for his/her actions — to a degree. The institutions, practices, structures, values, norms and so forth, which we loosely call society are also partly responsible for racism. A useful example to use in anti-racism courses is this: if Nazis were fascists and racists, and Nazis were Germans, then were all Germans fascists and racists? Or Professor Blainey sparked a debate about and against large-scale Asian immigration and some people agreed with him and engaged in anti-Asian behaviour. Did Blainey cause racism against Asians? Of course not. Professor Blainey is culpable to the extent that as an academic, popular historian and public figure he gave credence or legitimacy to ethnocentrism, but he did not cause people to be racist. In the same way, your stand against racism will not cause anti-racist behaviour in your students, but

you will give credence and legitimacy to such a stance. Are both Blainey's and your positions equal? Perhaps no-one should try and influence other people? If you are unsure, re-read Part A of this *Handbook!* (Also read Markus & Rieckels 1985 and Shergold & Milne 1984 on Blainey.)

In concluding this section, the obvious question is 'which theory is the best one?'. None of them, in our opinion. They all contain pieces of the jigsaw puzzle on how attitudes may be changed, but not one has the total picture. Gather them together, add your own experience of education, and you may find you have a totally coherent framework. We find the Yale or communication theory to be the best starting point — at least as a checklist when planning an anti-racism program, but when actually teaching the course, we apply the processes of group dynamics, cognitive dissonance and attribution to different activities.

## Format

There are five stages in the anti-racism program. Each stage is presented in the following way:

- a list of exercises;
- an introduction, rationale and method;
- the exercises themselves.

Materials used in the exercises — questions, checklists and structured role-plays — follow the discussion of the exercise. Books, films and mini lectures are listed in Part C and references to them will be found at the beginning of each stage and, where applicable, in the exercises.

*Stage 1:* Introduces participants to the key concepts of racism and prejudice and assists them to find clear and unambiguous definitions. This stage is a crucial foundation for the rest of the program because participants become aware that the major factor differentiating prejudice and racism is *power*.

*Stage 2:* Explores institutional racism and the way it functions to maintain the dominant group and its ideology. The inconsistencies between ideas and practices are reinforced here.

*Stage 3:* Probes cultural racism and the way unconscious racial attitudes and behaviours are maintained through language, norms and values. Conceptually, participants come to understand ethnocentrism and society's reactions to cultural differences.

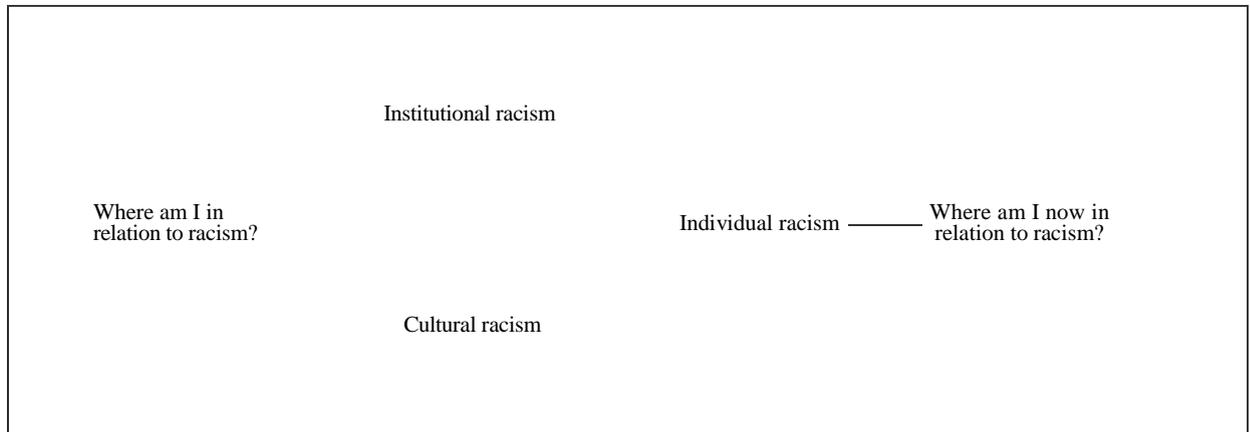
*Stage 4:* Focuses on individual racism and participants explore their own prejudices and role in supporting racism in society. Participants are made aware of the meaning of belonging to the dominant group.

*Stage 5:* Assists participants to develop action strategies to combat personal, institutional and cultural racism.

In every exercise, cognitive, affective and action implications are/should be explored as a matter of course. In my experience, it is quite artificial and unrealistic to tease out these three aspects of self into separate strategies and exercises.

A big question for most educators is: Do we begin with the known and proceed to the unknown or vice versa? Do we begin with macro-perspectives — history, society; or with micro-perspectives — psychology and self? On the basis of trial and error, this program begins with the position of the participants: what they hope to gain from the program, their background and previous experiences with racism. It then moves to the larger society before focusing on the self and intended action.

Diagrammatically it can be represented thus:



However, if you are running a one-day workshop, you may wish to focus on individual racism. As a facilitator, your knowledge of participants, the particular context and the setting empower you to turn the program around to suit your special circumstances.

Many adult educators ask what difference does it make if the course is compulsory or elective? Given the assumption that dominant group members, even if tolerant, are largely unaware of the extent and complexity of racism, the design of the program would be largely the same for both groups. However, in the case of a compulsory course where some participants may be unwillingly co-opted, the facilitator may wish to extend Stage 1 until participants feel more comfortable with each other and more willing to be open about their attitudes and behaviour. In addition, the facilitator has to be very knowledgeable about theories of attitude formation and change and be aware, throughout the program, of the communication variables that can affect participants' responses (see pp. 38-9 of this chapter). In other words, a greater sensitivity and tolerance must be exercised by the facilitator, who must be aware that *nothing* can be assumed about the attitudes and motivational commitment of participants.

### **Groups: why the dominant group?**

As explained in Part A, this program is designed to be used with members of the dominant group so that participants can:

- (i) focus on what it means to be a member of the dominant group in terms of racism and accept responsibility for it;
- (ii) explore and come to terms with their own attitudes and behaviour in an atmosphere of openness, trust and support;
- (iii) achieve this re-educative experience without running the risk of embarrassing minority group members with perhaps the initial insensitivity of some participants or exploiting minority group members as unpaid teachers.

### **Designs: application to your setting**

The program has been designed to be used in a variety of contexts and settings. It is useful for teachers, senior secondary students, police officers, health workers, administrators, counter staff, clerks, church or community groups. It can be adapted to your particular time frame. Altogether, the program covers approximately 60 hours. This makes it suitable for tertiary programs which often run for four hours per week over 15 weeks. For adult educators who wish to run a series of workshops, the program could be run over four weekends. For community groups, the program could be run over six months. The program is flexible and adaptable such that selections can be made from each stage. At the end of the program, a checklist has been provided called *Guidelines for planning an anti-racism program* together with suggested activities for a one-day and five-day anti-racism workshop.

### **Measuring program effectiveness**

Most adult educators want to know if their program is effective. Some critics will argue that anti-racism programs could turn out more subtly effective racists. The only real test of change is not what people tick on a survey but in their actual behaviour. The program is effective if six months later participants are engaged in some positive new behaviour. This might involve action in changing the employment

criteria in a profession — getting support for affirmative action; joining or forming a 'Group Against Racism'; getting a school to run anti-racism or multicultural courses; analysing and changing testing procedures to accommodate people from different cultural and/or language backgrounds; writing letters to the editor about immigration selection procedures or about articles that are racist.

Of course, the facilitator would also like feedback on the program itself. For suggestions about formal attitude-change evaluations see Zimbardo (1977) and Ajzen and Fishbein (1980). In general though, it is quite easy to design your own general program evaluation based on the following techniques:

A. The Likert-scale: a five point scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree.

*Example:* Stage 1 enabled me to define racism (please circle or tick the appropriate response)

<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>
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B. The semantic differential: usually a linear scale with bipolar adjectives. Respondents place a cross on the number or place on the line which best represents their feelings.

*Example:* Stage 3 was

<i>useless</i>	1	1	1	1	<i>useful</i>
1	2	3	4	5	
<i>enjoyable</i>	1	1	1	1	<i>unenjoyable</i>
1	2	3	4	5	
<i>worthwhile</i>	1	1	1	1	<i>worthless</i>
1	2	3	4	5	

## A final note

This program is a beginning, not an end in itself. The facilitator's role is to help participants develop an awareness of the complexity and persuasiveness of racism and to take an anti-racism stance. For some, change will be rapid and apparent; for others, the change will be slow and invisible; others again will not realise the full impact of the program until after it has finished and they begin to 'see' the reality of racism in their everyday world. The program is, at least, a start.

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## Stage 1

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# Racism: what is it?

### Exercises

1. Establishing goals and objectives
2. Who am I?
3. Discrimination and consequent feelings
4. What do we know and feel about racism?
5. Definitions of prejudice
6. How is prejudice different from racism?
7. Fuzzy concept: racism

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See Part C, pp. 88, 96, 99.

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## STAGE 1: RACISM: WHAT IS IT?

### Introduction

Stage 1 lays the foundations for exploring and understanding racism in terms of self and society. Unless we know what we mean by racism and its component parts of prejudice, bigotry, bias, discrimination and stereotyping, we cannot begin to re-educate our taken-for-granted 'whiteness' or cultural hegemony (dominance). To achieve this, it is necessary to:

- (i) help people to feel comfortable with each other and develop trust and confidence;
- (ii) help people to discover and define key concepts basic to understanding the nature of racism;
- (iii) help people to articulate what they need to know about racism;
- (iv) help people to begin to identify conflicts and contradictions in themselves and in Australian society.

The exercises in Stage 1 have been developed to meet these objectives.

### Rationale

Participants will enter the program from a variety of backgrounds, and will have different experiences and assumptions.

It is important, therefore, to begin where participants are and proceed from there. This includes asking them what they want to know about racism. In this way, participants will feel that the program has some relevance for them and that their thoughts, feelings and prior experiences are important. The facilitator must take what might be a diverse range of people and weld them into a group based on trust and mutual acceptance. In order for the other stages of the program to be effective, the defining process is a crucial step in coming to grips with racism. Terms like bias, prejudice, bigotry and racism should be clearly defined so that participants can use them unambiguously. Most people use these terms imprecisely and interchangeably, so it is important that at the end of Stage 1, the group agrees on the definition of each key concept.

The attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of participants with regard to racism are minimally involved in Stage 1, because people need to feel comfortable within the group before they can begin to explore self and racism. The activities are thus designed to look at contradictions between the words and actions of other people.

## Method

The facilitator will be working on a number of different levels in Stage 1 and will need to deal with:

- forging individuals into a group;
- providing content about racism;
- eliciting beliefs and feelings about and past experiences of racism.

In order to achieve the first and last goals, it will be necessary for the facilitator to adopt a warm, accepting role and not overly correct or confront racist language and remarks during Stage 1. As the program develops and participants analyse language as part of cultural racism, they should modify their own language as part of this process.

Facilitators should strive to be open and honest about their experiences and knowledge of racism and make it clear that while they are knowledgeable about dealing with racism in the dominant group they are not expert on every aspect of racism and cannot speak on behalf of minority group people. Their role is to facilitate an understanding of racism and how to combat it. In Stage 1, facilitators will take an active leadership role, but as the program progresses, participants will take a greater and greater role in directing and exploring racist issues.

### Exercise 1: Establishing goals and objectives

*Goals:*

- to help participants feel accepted;
- to understand the differing expectations of participants.

*Materials needed:*

- notepaper;
- overhead projector and transparencies.

*Instructions:*

- Stimulate discussion by showing overhead transparencies of recent examples of racism — cartoons, headlines etc.
- Assign the participants to groups of four or five, if the group is large, or sit in a circle if it is small.
- Request that someone takes notes.
- Ask participants to share their:
  - names;
  - reasons for participating in the program;
  - their expectations of the workshop.
- Groups report back to the larger group. Facilitator records main points on overhead transparencies.
- Share your (facilitator's) own expectations.

*Time:*

Depending on the size of the group, the exercise may take 15 or 20 minutes.

### Exercise 2: Who am I?

*Goals:*

- to begin developing a climate of trust and support;
- to begin to understand the way we define ourselves in terms of our achieved and ascribed status and in terms of the groups to which we belong.

*Materials needed:*

- notepaper.

*Instructions:*

- Assign, arbitrarily, two people to work together. Explain that each person is to give an answer to the question 'Who am I?'
- Each member of a pair has to complete the sentence 'My name is ..... and I .....
- Each member of a pair has to relate the information to the larger group. The facilitator should attempt to classify the material on a chalkboard, butchers paper or overhead transparency.
- Facilitator should discuss the ways in which we define ourselves in terms of our relationships with others (group membership rather than self-identity).

*Time:*

30 minutes

### Exercise 3: Discrimination and consequent feelings

*Goals:*

- to help participants begin to raise the issue of racism by exploring the concept of discrimination;
- to begin developing a climate of trust, honesty and openness;
- to acknowledge our feelings as well as our experiences of discrimination.

*Materials needed:*

- butchqrs paper or overhead transparency film.

*Instructions:*

- Ask participants to assign themselves to groups of four or five.
- Ask groups to introduce themselves and assign a group leader, who can record the discussion.
- Discussion: 'Have you ever been discriminated against? When? What did it feel like? Why do you think it happened? Was it justified?'
- Participants join larger group and group leaders report on their findings.
- Facilitator asks large group 'What have you learned about discrimination?'

*Time:*

1 hour

### Exercise 4: What do we know and feel about racism?

*Goals:*

- to help participants raise the issue of racism;
- to acknowledge our feelings as well as our information about racism;
- to continue the climate of honesty, openness and trust.

*Materials needed:*

- butchers paper or overhead transparency film.

*Instructions:*

- Ask participants to assign themselves to (new) groups of four or five.
- Ask groups to introduce themselves and assign (new) group leader.
- Discussion: 'What aspects/manifestations of racism concern *you*
  - a) as a member of your profession
  - b) as a member of the community?'
- Group leaders report to the larger group about their group's concerns, experiences, doubts.

*Time:*

45 minutes

### Exercise 5: Definitions of prejudice

*Goals:*

- to help participants clarify the concepts of prejudice, scapegoating and bigotry;
- to help participants realise that prejudice is illogical and that bigotry leads to social isolation and self-hatred.

*Materials needed:*

- film projector.

*Instructions:*

- Show them the film of *Bill Cosby on 'Prejudice'* (Part C pp. 96, 98)
- Ask participants to form groups of four or five to discuss and record notes on the following:
  - What have you learned about racial prejudice?
  - What examples were there of scapegoating?
  - Why is the actor a bigot?
  - Was Bill Cosby a credible source of information?
  - Why?

- How did you feel during the film?
- How effective was the lighting, staging and make-up?
- What function/purpose does humour serve?
- Could this film teach people to be prejudiced?
- Group leaders share concerns and discussion points with the larger group.

*Time:*

2 hours

### **Exercise 6: How is prejudice different from racism?**

*Goals:*

- to help participants distinguish between the concepts of prejudice and racism;
- to develop functional definitions of prejudice and racism.

*Materials needed:*

- butchers paper.

*Instructions:*

- Mini lecture I: '*Race and racism*'. (Part C p. 99)
- Invite clarifying and critical questions from participants.
- Individuals are asked to define prejudice and racism and give examples of each.
- Individuals share their definitions and examples and facilitator records and classifies the information on a large sheet of butchers paper. Facilitator asks: 'How does prejudice differ from racism? from bias? etc.'.
- Facilitator should reinforce definitions which are accurate and ask group to sanction the best definition of racism and the best definition of prejudice that the group will use for the rest of the program.

*Time:*

1-1 1/2 hours

### **Exercise 7: Fuzzy concept: racism<sup>4</sup>**

*Goals:*

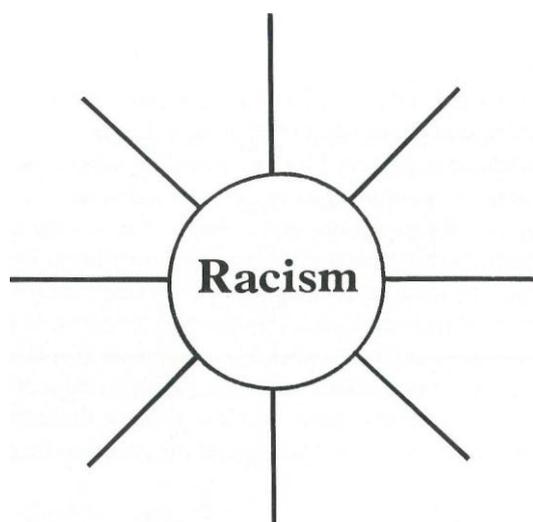
- to clarify further the elements of racism;
- to demonstrate how reflexive our understanding of racism is.

*Materials needed:*

- butchers paper;
- pens or felt markers.

*Instructions:*

- Ask the participants to form groups of four and draw a circle with lines radiating from it (shown below).
- In the middle of the circle write the word *racism*.
- Ask the participants to free-associate with the word *racism* and write their responses at the end of each line.
- Share the wheels in the large group.



## Stage 2

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# Exploring institutional racism

### Exercises

8. Kinds and levels of racism — mini lecture and discussion
9. Naming and discovering discrepancies: an Australian dilemma
10. Dispossession
11. An *aide-memoire* on institutional racism
12. Politics and racism
13. Advertising and institutional racism
14. How does institutional racism benefit me?

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Part C, pp. 88-9, 91, 96.

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## STAGE 2: EXPLORING INSTITUTIONAL RACISM

### Introduction

In this section, you should be building on the preceding work done on trust, openness and a beginning awareness of the definitions of prejudice and racism. The exercises in Stage 2 are designed to:

- (i) confront participants with the depth and breadth of racism in Australian society by looking at institutional racism;
- (ii) confront participants with the knowledge that institutional racism is a white problem because it benefits whites;
- (iii) confront participants with the discrepancy between institutional values and attitudes and actual institutional behaviour.

### Rationale

In order for participants to understand that racism is a white problem some of the exercises show that institutional arrangements operate automatically to perpetuate the disadvantage of those at the bottom.

In Australia, institutions such as legal, political and education organisations have been created, dominated and controlled by Anglo-Celts to enforce those things which benefit them. Australia's 'official' history has been inherited from the British and, to a lesser extent, the Europeans, who for centuries colonised, enslaved and exploited black people in various parts of the world. As a result, this deeply ingrained racism developed into a truly Australian racism. Our current values, standards and norms are our own. They can no longer be blamed on Britain or Europe. If we are to learn not to scapegoat the Vietnamese, the Aboriginal, the migrant in general, then we must be equally intolerant of our national tendency to blame other countries for our present ideologies — including racism.

### Method

What are the implications of institutional racism? Bluntly, it means who gets what, what kinds of issues and options get on the political agenda, and what is seen to be important.

If one accepts one of the formulae introduced in Part A which defined racism as 'Prejudice + Power = Racism', one can see that Aborigines and, most recently, Vietnamese, lack power — power over things and ideas. Other people — almost always white, Anglo-Celtic (and male, middle class) have had the power to define, to impose such things as social categories on others. Depending on what category one belongs to, particular rights, or the lack of them, are determined for you.

Talking about racism in terms of power helps crystallise the problem. It reminds us that power, including ideological power, is a central feature of public and social life. Racism determines life chances. What anti-racism aims to do is challenge this accepted privilege of what is considered normal and natural. Of course, this will be hard to achieve and it is obvious that one of the ways to accomplish this is for our education system and professional education programs to be re-structured.

## Exercise 8: Kinds and levels of racism — mini lecture and discussion<sup>5</sup>

### Goals:

- to deepen participants' understanding of the concept of racism by identifying the different kinds and levels of racism;
- to move participants from Stage 1 to Stage 2, which is concerned with exploring institutional racism;
- to foreshadow the kinds of racism that will be explored in later sections of the program.

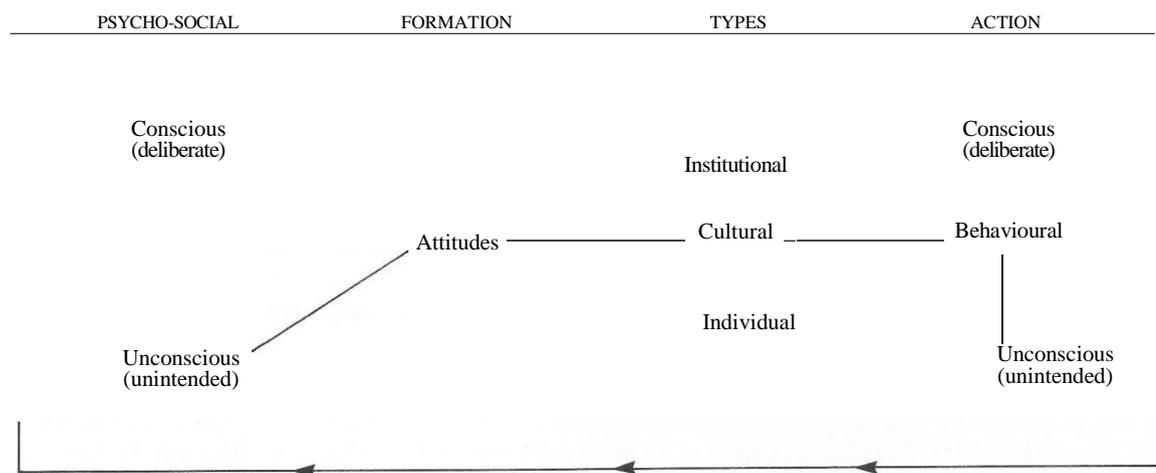
### Materials needed:

- butchers paper;
- chalkboard or overhead transparency.

### Instructions:

- Draw the chart below and share critical comments with participants.

Chart on the kinds and levels of racism



- The outline below may be used as a guide in developing the mini lecture.
- It is important to remember that attitudes reflect opinions, beliefs and feelings. The actualisation of attitudes (action) is called the behaviour.

### Levels of racism

#### A. Conscious level:

- Institutional racist attitudes* may show up in policy statements reflecting beliefs that black children have lower IQ scores than white children; beliefs that Australia's immigration should be restricted to northern Europeans; beliefs that equal employment opportunities for women and Aborigines are reverse racism.
- Institutional racist behaviours* may show up by schools automatically assigning black children to low-level classes; by governments discriminating against migrants from non-English-speaking countries; and by organisations refusing to participate in equal employment opportunity programs.
- Individual racist attitudes* may show up in beliefs about white supremacy; beliefs that the Vietnamese are causing the unemployment of white Australians; beliefs that blacks are genetically inferior.
- Individual racist behaviours* may show up by racist name-calling ('slope heads'); by refusal to hire members of a particular minority group; by refusal to serve members of a particular minority group in a pub or shop.

#### B. Unconscious level:

- Institutional racist attitudes* include a cosmetic company manufacturing make-up suitable for white skins only; when cultural differences are not accounted for in so-called standardised tests; when the uniform requirements of a particular profession — nurses or police — fail to take into account cultural or religious requirements of dress (e.g. Sikh's turbans).
- Institutional racist behaviours* include the teaching of European–Australian history; inadequate medical facilities contributing to Aboriginal infant mortality; failing to provide interpreter services in courts, hospitals, schools, etc.

- (iii) *Individual racist attitudes* include beliefs that there are inferior differences between 'us' and 'them'; that all Australians have equal access to the law, to education, jobs and housing.
- (iv) *Individual racist behaviours* include use of anti-black language ('black as sin' and 'primitive'); laughter at racist jokes.

### **Kinds of racism**

#### *A. Institutional 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 (education, economics, health services, public service, politics). 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'.<sup>6</sup>

#### *B. Cultural racism:*

is the domination of one group over another in terms of language, norms, values and standards. It refers to prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviour against members of minority groups on the basis of their perceived cultural differences, whether these be in dress, music, dance, language, values, religion or so-called customs and social behaviour. In a much deeper sense, those culturally prejudiced may believe that there are major differences in aptitude and intellectual achievement.

#### *C. Individual racism:*

refers to individual prejudiced attitudes and behaviour towards members of a minority group or groups. The individual may hold erroneous beliefs and have negative feelings about members of a particular group and may take action to discriminate against these members. In certain cases, racist individuals may hide their racism under the guise of the institution for whose rules, policies and practices they are not personally accountable.

- Throughout the lecture, participants should be asked to contribute illustrations for each category.

#### *Note to facilitator:*

This exercise is useful for conveying the extent of racism in Australian society. Stage 1 enabled them to clearly and accurately define racism. Stage 2 enables them to explore the dynamics or process of racism. Participants should be told that each kind of racism will be explored in subsequent sections. At this stage, explorations of racism are still safely kept outside of self. Participants are not yet asked to explore their own behaviour. The next three exercises build on and elaborate this exercise.

#### *Time:*

1 hour

## **Exercise 9: Naming and discovering discrepancies: an Australian dilemma<sup>7</sup>**

#### *Goals:*

- to explore discrepancies in society's ideology and behaviour.

#### *Materials needed:*

- butchers paper;
- felt pens;
- masking tape.

#### *Instructions:*

- Divide participants into small groups of four people.
- Ask each group to brainstorm a list of popular ideologies and slogans ('Pair go', 'Australia is a classless society', etc.). Ask each group to write them on butchers paper.
- Ask each group to share its list.
- In the large group ask participants to name examples of areas in which these ideologies are true or not true. You may want to add ideologies omitted. (See list below.)
- Discuss the implications of inconsistencies and the Australian dilemma.
- Discuss how these inconsistencies foster and maintain racism.

#### *Note to facilitator:*

This exercise is the first in dealing with inconsistencies between institutional attitudes and behaviour. It is crucial to an understanding of how racist practice is perpetuated. You may, therefore, suggest to participants that they keep a notebook noting inconsistencies they see in themselves and society.

#### *Time:*

30 minutes

**Commonly known ideologies and slogans**

- Fair go
- If you've got it, you'll make it
- First come, first served
- The Lucky Country
- All are equal before the law
- Australia is a Christian country
- Government of the people, by the people, for the people
- Australia: a multicultural society
- Free press
- Free speech
- We're all equal

**Exercise 10: Dispossession***Goals:*

- to expose participants to institutional racism in history and politics;
- to re-educate participants about the effect on a minority group of past racism.

*Materials needed:*

- film—*Lousy Little Sixpence*;
- 16 mm movie projector;
- screen.

*Instructions:*

- Show the film *Lousy Little Sixpence*.
- Ask participants to share their feelings about the film through 'I learned. . .' statements.
- Discuss other reactions to the film:
  - a) What did you like or dislike about the film? Why?
  - b) What did the film tell you about racism; Aboriginal identity; social justice; political consciousness?
- Finally, ask participants to brainstorm in small groups of four, what they learned about institutional racism. Share with the larger group.

*Note to facilitator:*

Many people who watch this film for the first time find the information difficult to believe. You may wish to refer them to several books in the 'History of race relations' section of Part C (p. 91) — for example, H. Reynolds, *The other side of the frontier* or P. Wilson, *Black death, white hands*.

*Time:*

1 hour

**Exercise 11: An *aide-memoire* on institutional racism<sup>s</sup>***Goals:*

- to be aware of institutional racism;
- to devise action strategies for use in the participants' profession.

*Instructions:*

- Photocopy the *aide-memoire* (below).
- Groups of five read the *aide-memoire* and draw up a chart, which has two columns. The first should answer the questions posed in the *aide-memoire*. The second should record suggestions for future action.
- Groups reform and report their findings.

*Time:*

1 hour

**Racism: an *aide-memoire***

Have racism and its damaging effects been  
 examined as a focus for developing and agreeing on – no  
 organisational policy or consensus? – partly

D  
 D  
 D

What strategies are used for responding to incidents such as	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— racist jokes</li> <li>— racist name-calling</li> <li>— writing of graffiti</li> <li>— circulation of racist literature</li> <li>— racial attacks and conflicts —</li> <li>the activities of organised racist groups?</li> </ul>
Having recognised obvious incidents are staff also aware of the impact of more covert forms of racism on their members or clients:	—for instance, have they considered the circumstances within the institution which may preclude members of particular ethnic groups from achieving their potential?
How is the institution taking steps to combat racism:	—within the objectives, content and activities of training programs, in-service recalls etc.?
Are staff encouraged, within their work environment as well as outside their areas of direct responsibility to:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>—recognise antagonisms and conflicts at an early stage;</li> <li>—develop strategies to guard against them;</li> <li>—find and share ways of resolving them?</li> </ul>
What support is given to staff members and clients in developing strategies to combat racism by:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— the head;</li> <li>— senior management within organisation;</li> <li>— staff with particular knowledge and experience?</li> </ul>
Does the institution create opportunities for staff and/or clients to meet and discuss aspects of racism with:	— individual staff and/or clients when particular incidents have occurred?

## Exercise 12: Politics and racism

### Goals:

- to be aware of racism as an election issue;
- to identify the appeal of racism as a platform issue.

### Instructions:

- Small groups read advertisements such as that in the *Australian* on 30 November 1984.
- Each member then attempts to check out one of the 'facts' mentioned in the advertisement, including the identity of the source.
- Individual members report back to their group. The findings are collated.
- Small groups discuss: To whom is the advertisement directed? Why would it be appealing to the identified target group? What strategies could be devised to combat such advertisements?
- Small groups report their findings and action strategies to the larger group.

### Note to facilitator:

This exercise is best set as a homework task. Copies of the advertisement could be distributed, groups identified, research tasks allocated and a due date given for the assignment. Otherwise, the facilitator would need to have the relevant research material on the spot or readily accessible.

### Time:

variable

### Exercise 13: Advertising and institutional racism<sup>9</sup>

*Goals:*

- to explore the concept of institutional racism through the use of advertisements from popular magazines;
- to increase the participants' awareness of the subtle cultural and institutional effects of the 'rightness of whiteness' syndrome in the images used in advertising.

*Materials needed:*

- an advertisement for each team (for example: Cussons Pearl ad.).

*Instructions:*

- Two teams of three to four participants each are formed and given an advertisement to analyse for images that reinforce 'whiteness'.
- One team will defend the ad. while the other will attack the ad.'s appeal to the 'rightness of whiteness'. The remaining participants will form the observation team.
- The two teams are given about fifteen minutes to prepare a debate. The observers develop criteria to use in judging the behaviour of the debators.
- The debate is held, and the team judged the most convincing and plausible wins.
- The facilitator leads a large group discussion focusing on:
  - a) the difficulties of conveying the 'rightness of whiteness' syndrome to others;
  - b) whether or not advertisements subtly undermine black identity, such that non-whites aspire to achieve the (white) image portrayed in advertisements.

*Note to facilitator:*

Advertisements have to be chosen with care, otherwise the team attacking the ad. will be straining for credibility. Job advertisements that picture whites only are also a good source for this debate.

*Time:*

variable

### Exercise 14: How does institutional racism benefit me?

*Goals:*

- to enable participants to understand that institutional racism benefits some whites;
- to enable participants to devise arguments against institutional racism.

*Materials needed:*

- butchers paper;
- felt pens;
- masking tape.

*Instructions:*

- Divide participants into groups of four or six.
- Ask each group to brainstorm ways in which:
  - a) discriminatory practices in their institution or profession against hiring minority group members would advantage employees;
  - b) an affirmative action policy in their institution for hiring minority group members would disadvantage employees;
  - c) to devise arguments to combat employees' support for discriminatory practice and rejection of an affirmative action policy.
- Ask each group to record their responses in columns labelled (a), (b) and (c).
- Share responses in large group.

*Note to facilitator:*

This exercise ends the section on institutional racism. Because it is meant to be an empowering experience, in that it enables participants to devise arguments against future experiences of institutional racism, the facilitator should be prepared to contribute ideas of his/her own.

*Time:*

1 1/2-2 hours

## Stage 3

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# Exploring cultural racism

### *Exercises*

15. Culture clash
16. Mini lecture: 'Australian colonisation — the fatal impact'
17. Cultural racism: black and white
18. Stop laughing, it's not funny
19. It's not easy being green
20. Cultural interaction — Rafa Rafa
21. Cultural interaction: devising and enacting role-plays

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See Part C, pp. 90, 96-8.

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## **STAGE 3: EXPLORING CULTURAL RACISM**

### **Introduction**

To recap, participants should have been clearly able to define prejudice and racism in Stage 1 and to identify institutional racism in Stage 2. Cultural racism has been introduced in Exercise 8 and participants have been alerted through Exercises 12 and 13 to the fact that institutional and cultural racism are almost inextricably linked. In Stage 3, participants will be introduced to exercises that will:

- (i) help them define cultural racism and understand it;
- (ii) help them to become aware of cultural differences between the dominant Anglo–Celtic and other ethnic groups;
- (iii) help them to see the inter-relationship between their own attitudes, actions and environment that may support cultural racism.

### **Rationale**

If participants are to understand their own racism, they must first understand its roots in the major socialising influences that they have been exposed to since birth: the family, the school, the media and their peers. Socialisation could be more aptly termed cultural transmission and it is this process that unwittingly or deliberately develops and supports one's personal racism. Cultural racism is the domination of one group (Anglo–Celtic or white) over another (Aboriginal and Vietnamese) in terms of norms, values and standards. The effect that this has on minorities will also be explored. It is important that participants look at the values that underlie language — particularly symbols and evaluations — customs, rituals and standards of excellence, beauty, goodness and achievement. Cultural racism supports institutional and individual racism because one's own culture is taken for granted; in reality, it is extremely difficult to 'see' it unless you can compare it to another. Often such comparisons lead to conclusions that one's own is better rather than simply different and dominant.

### **Method**

Because an understanding of cultural racism involves exploring values and attitudes, inevitably there are implications for the participants' values and attitudes. Stage 3 may elicit defensive reactions from some people. The facilitator needs to be particularly sensitive at this point without sidestepping the processing of personal values and attitudes that are part of cultural racism. It is important that participants receive feedback so that they are aware of the ways in which cultural racism affects their individual behaviour. However, there should be some acceptance that racism is a dominant group problem and participants should have developed a trust and confidence in one another. In this stage the facilitator should endeavour to create an awareness of the functions of cultural racism and that racism is perpetuated when the dominant culture judges and evaluates other cultures by its own standards.

Cultural racism comes as the luggage of our history, our language and probably our class structure. The Chinese in Australia and more recently the Vietnamese probably best understand the double-edged sword of cultural and biological racism that has been experienced by Aborigines for over 200 years.

## Exercise 15: Culture clash

### Goals:

- to extend participants' understanding of the historical roots of cultural racism;
- to create a further awareness of cultural differences with respect to values.

### Materials needed:

- video *Women of the Sun* (part 1) referred to in Part C, pp. 96-7;
- butchers paper and felt pens.

### Instructions:

- After watching part 1 of *Women of the Sun*, participants should be divided into groups of four or five.
- Each group should be required to complete a chart, listed below, on comparisons of Aboriginal and European cultural components in the early nineteenth century, based on the preceding lecture and the videotape.
- A blank chart should be pinned to the wall at the front so that each group's contributions may be added to it.
- Group discussion on why the European culture dominated.

### Chart on cultural attributes of Aboriginals and Europeans in the early nineteenth century

<i>Cultural component</i>	<i>Aboriginal</i>	<i>European</i>
Religion		
Language		
Social organisation		
Economics		
Education		
Time		
World view		

### Time:

2 hours

## Exercise 16: Mini lecture: 'Australian colonisation — the fatal impact'

### Goals:

- to help participants understand some of the historical roots of cultural racism.

### Materials needed:

- video *Women of the Sun*, part 2.

### Instructions:

- The lecture outline below can be used as a guide.
- Show *Women of the Sun*, part 2, prior to the lecture.

### Time:

1 hour video + 1 hour lecture — discussion.

### Note to facilitator:

To extend participants' understanding of how cultural and institutional racism interact, you could follow up with another mini lecture on 'Black-white relations: protection and protest' (Part C, p. 100) and show part 3 of the video *Women of the Sun*.

## MINI LECTURE

### 'Aboriginal history: Australian colonisation — the fatal impact'<sup>1</sup> (Jan Pettman)

Currently Aboriginal and white colonial history is being re-written, from *The other side of the frontier* (Reynolds 1978). Why? Why now? (See Curthoys 1982.)

Aboriginal history involves: putting Aborigines back into Australian history; representing Aboriginal experiences and perspectives in Australian history; and history by/from Aboriginal people — oral histories, land rights evidence, autobiographies (e.g. *Mum Shin I* 1983), interviews (Gilbert 1977).

For most of this century, Australian history excluded Aborigines; they were invisible. In the 1970s, Aborigines were portrayed often as passive victims; now they are viewed as participants (Broome 1982; Reynolds 1981).

It is necessary to re-examine Aboriginal and colonial history:

- (i) to analyse the nature of the societies in collision after 1788, and ask to what extent their radically different social organisation and cultural values shaped the conflict;
- (ii) to write/right the wrong — to reflect more accurately and honestly what happened;
- (iii) to help understand how we got to be the way we are now; the consequences of our separate histories, and the legacy of the conflict, in stereotypes, ideologies, in the particular patterns of race relations and of the social disadvantage which emerged and are still, largely, with us;
- (iv) to remind ourselves that many issues, e.g. of Aboriginal status, the significance or otherwise of indigenous status, land rights, are not yet resolved and that competing political claims today represent different versions of Australian, including Aboriginal, history (Curthoys 1982).

The two societies — traditional Aboriginal and early capitalist British — what were their different social and economic bases and cultural values?

N.B. This representation should be recalled from the videotapes of *Women of the Sun* — how accurate? suggesting what consequences? (Rowley 1978).

*Traditional Aboriginal Society:* Hunter-gatherer, semi-nomadic, non-materialistic, communal; based economically, socially, spiritually on the land, bound together through kinship; socially differentiated on ascribed status, age and sex; 40 000+ years of occupancy, self-determining, participatory, conservative.

*Early capitalist Britain (England?):* Rapid technological social change, shift from land-based society to new bourgeoisie; proletarianisation; growth of factories, cities; detachment from rural, small-scale life to appalling living and working conditions; new virulent ideologies of laissez-faire, progress and social Darwinism — rationalisation for colonisation and racism.

*Colonisation of Australia:* Invasion and dispossession; part of the process of industrialisation and urbanisation — capitalism and imperialism; not just conflicting values, or social organisation; also interests, especially over *land*; white development necessitated Aboriginal dispossession; the two forms of land use, and modes of production, were incompatible; colonisation, too, meant a fundamental cleavage between rulers and ruled, on grounds of race, culture, and country of origin; Aborigines were systematically excluded and exploited first by violence and then by the establishment of a separate inferior legal status and their institutionalisation under white 'Protection' and control; the legacy of these phases — in stereotypes and social myths, in systematically unequal institutional outcomes — are still largely with us.

## References

See Part C, pp. 91-3.

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- Gale, F. (ed.). *We are bosses ourselves*. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 1983.

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Harris, M. *The rise of anthropological theory: a history of theories of culture*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1968.

*Mum Shirk autobiography*. Heinemann Educational, Richmond, Vic., 1981.

Perkins, C. *A bastard like me*. Ure Smith, Sydney, 1975.

Reynolds, H. *The other side of the frontier*. History Department, James Cook University, Townsville, 1981

Rowley, C. D. *The destruction of Aboriginal society*. Penguin, Ringwood, 1970.

*Women of the Sun* (video) part 1.

## Exercise 17: Cultural racism: black and white

### Goals:

- to develop an awareness of cultural racism by exploring negative and positive feelings evoked by words;
- to explore the ways in which inanimate colours become symbols for animate objects.

### Materials needed:

- chalkboard or butchers paper.

### Instructions:

- Write the words BLACK and WHITE on the chalkboard or on butchers paper.
- Ask participants to free-associate with the word BLACK. Record their responses.
- Repeat the procedure for the word WHITE.
- Ask participants 'what do you notice about the words associated with each colour?' Why do you think this has happened?'
- Write up the words, in order of the instructions listed above, MIGRANT, ETHNIC, ASIAN, ABORIGINE, MULTICULTURAL. Discuss.

### Time:

1 hour

## Exercise 18: Stop laughing, it's not funny

### Goals:

- to be aware of the racism of some cartoons;
- to be aware of the anti-racist power of some cartoons;
- to understand the selective nature of humour, i.e. what makes me laugh might make you angry;
- to appreciate the cartoon as a political medium, as distinct from other kinds of political media commentary.

### Instructions:

- Photocopy and distribute sets of cartoons you have collected.<sup>11</sup>
- Divide the group into three and give each person a folder of cartoons. Each group asks: 'What is funny? What is offensive? Why do some cartoons make people laugh? What functions do jokes serve in our society? Are cultural or racial or sexist jokes harmless? Harmful?'
- Rejoin larger group and report findings.

### Note to facilitator:

This is flexible in that you, or the group, can select your own cartoons or jokes from the print and electronic media. The exercise will fall flat if you are deadly serious and humourless. The whole point of the exercise is that we do find some things extremely amusing. However, we need to be aware that some humour hurts the subject of the cartoon.

### Time:

1 hour

### Resources

T. J. Martines and A. Matheson. (Part C, p. 94)

## Exercise 19: It's not easy being green

### Goals:

- to enable participants to understand that institutions reinforce the dominant culture;
- to enable participants to 'feel' what it's like to be a part of a different culture;
- to introduce participants to role-playing in a structured way.

### Materials needed:

- copies of the play *It's Not Easy Being Green*, which appears on the next few pages, and props listed in the play.

### Instructions:

- Volunteers should be requested from the group to enact the play. The rest of the group becomes the audience.
- The actors need time to familiarise themselves with the script and their roles. While they are doing this the rest of the group can 'construct' the set.
- The play is performed.
- The actors discuss their role-playing experience.
- The audience responds to the reality of cultural racism in institutions, in this case the school.

### Time:

2 hours

## IT'S NOT EASY BEING GREEN

### Characters:

Teacher Name: **GHIS**

### Student Names:

**ALORP**

**ICKVI**

**DYSAN**

**DYWEN**

**MELCAR**

**ANIGEORG**

### Ring in:

**MICHELLE** or ALAN etc. — randomly picked from the 'audience'.

### Make-up:

green face paint, Michelle or Alan as per 'normal'.

### Props:

benches or chairs, white-board, pinboard and pins, butchers paper and pens, green food and drink, pictures.

### Setting:

Classroom where class files in with right hand on front person's right shoulder. Seat themselves in a circle, on benches, and are excitedly chattering and whispering amongst themselves.

### SCENE 1

**Ghis:** [*Enters the classroom and sits cross-legged on the top of his desk, which is in the middle of a circle of benches*] Glub Glub [*hand action: thumb on nose, wagging fingers*]

**Class:** Glub Glub Ghis. [*Hand actions — thumbs in ears, wagging their fingers*]

**Ghis:** [*Looking at class*] Say Glub Glub to Michelle.

**Class:** [*Responds with hand gestures; thumbs on noses*]

**Ghis:** [*\*If the students do not respond actually assist them by lifting their thumbs to their ears etc.\**]

[*\*If they still fail to respond throw your arms into the air as if in disgust.\**]

[*\*If they do respond look pleased and demonstrate it with body language (by lifting ankle with hand and waving leg in the air).\*\**]

**Ghis:** [*Go back toward desk, and sit on top of it*]

**Dywen:** *[Stands up on her bench and makes excited exclamations]*

**Ghis:** *[Acknowledges Dywen to come out into the middle of the circle then casually lies on the floor]*

**Dywen:** *[Unravels her picture in front of class]*

**Class:** *[Shows approval excitedly, by holding right ankle with right hand and waving ankle in the air]\*\**

*[\*\*Note: This requires a certain amount of flexibility! The group may wish to devise a new easier behaviour.]*

**Dywen:** *[Talks about her garden in the 'Green Language'. Pins the picture up on a nearby pinboard and places a texta on a nearby desk. Then approaches members of the audience and tries to encourage them to add to her drawing, gabbling to them in the 'Green Language'.]*

**Class and Dywen:** *[Become upset and offended when a member of the audience does not understand, and show it through staring]*

**Dywen:** *[Approaches, one by one, two other members of the 'cast' who gladly add to her drawing by scribbling irrelevant lines, in random places]*

**Class:** *[Shows approval each time somebody adds to the drawing, by waving right leg in the air]*

**Ghis:** *[Gets up off the floor, shows his approval by waving right leg in the air to the members of the class and looks down upon the student who fails to add to Dywen's drawing; then moves the pinboard into a corner]*

**Class:** *[Chatter amongst themselves]*

*[The morning bell announces the end of the first class.]*

**Class:** *[File out of the classroom in silence]*

*[Members of the theatre group distract audience's attention while Ghis arranges staffroom furniture. For example, go up to audience members and talk to them in 'Green gibberish'.]*

## SCENE 2

*[Place teacher/Principal label on the teachers: GHIS , DYWEN , ALORP , ICKVI , MELCAR, ANIGEORG and the Principal: DYSAN . Teachers enter staffroom and acquire refreshments (green jelly or green cordial) sit on desks and converse.]*

**Alorp:** *[Reaches for coffee mug]*

*[All freeze in motion.]*

**Alorp:** For those of you who are lost, this is the staffroom setting, we shall be discarding our Green Language and speaking in English so that you can understand.

*[All faces look at Ghis.]*

**Ghis:** I've got a new student in my class, Michelle, and she is one of those Australian kids.

**Dysan:** We've got quite a few Australian students this year.

**Anigeorg:** Yes, I have Inga *[another audience member]*, in my class and she's so slow.

**Dywen:** You know that tall kid with the dark hair, I think his name is Alan *[chosen audience member]* in my class?

**Alorp:** How do you tell them apart, they all look the same?

Ickvi: They've all got washed out faces and personalities to match; in fact I've got one in my next class.

**Dysan:** Have you any idea of how you are going to cope with that?

**Ickvi:** I've been thinking about it and I'm going to try and use pictures to avoid the language problem.

**Ghis:** I'll be interested to see if that works.

**Mclean** I'm worried about the social side of things and wondering how they are going to cope in the playground.

**Ghis:** Yes I noticed they didn't get up when the other students went out to play.

*[The next bell announces the end of recess, all teachers get up and prepare for their next class; change labels.]*

## SCENE 3

*[ICKV , URNLATURN: teacher*

*DYSAN, DYIVEN, GHIS, ALORP, MELCAR, ANIGEORG: students*

*Class file in and already seated when Ickvi enters.*

*Class babbles — as soon as Ickvi enters they sit up straight, in total silence.]*

**Ickvi:** Glub Glub. *[Hand action, i.e. thumb on nose, with wagging fingers]*

**Class:** Glub Glub Urnlatur. *[Hand action, thumbs in ears and wagging fingers]*

**Ickvi:** This morning's lesson is on Gloobees. The purpose of this lesson is to discuss some common household gloobees, questions will be posed on habitats and feeding patterns, so be ready, you might be asked. Put your bliblobs on. *[Class reacts by pretending to put thinking caps on; try getting the audience to do likewise and be prepared to answer questions that might be put to you]* The first gloobee is not a common household gloobee. *[Unravels picture of kitten]* Who can tell me what this gloobee is?

**Alorp and Ghis:** *[Scramble on to chairs]*

**Ickvi:** *[Walks up and down eyeing audience]* Ghis *[Looking at Ghis]*

**Ghis:** Ploopie.

**Ickvi:** Very good Ghis. How many of you in class have a ploopie at home? It's not a very common gloobee, but some of you have them.

**Alorp and Ghis:** *[Scramble on to the chairs again]*

**Ickvi:** Alorp, could you come and tell the class what you feed your Ploopie.

**Alorp:** I feed my Ploopie, Kitty blobs.

**Ickvi:** *[Shakes a leg, approaches one of the members of the audience and asks him/her in Green Language to pin the picture of the kitten on the board. Looks in disgust when he/she doesn't understand what she expects of her/him. Ickvi then asks Ghis who gladly acknowledges Ickvi and pins the picture on the board.]*

**Ickvi:** *[Takes out the next picture, it is of a dog]* The next picture is a . . .

**Dysan:** *[Scrambles on to chair and spits it out]* Gloomglus, gloomglus!

**Ickvi:** Who has one of these? *[Asks someone in the audience slowly]* Do you have one of these, what do you call it? *[Asks someone until someone answers the question]*

**Ickvi:** *[Turning toward theatre members]* Australians call theirs (e.g. 'Rover')

**Class:** *[jeering and laughing at reply]*

**Ickvi:** Where do Gloomglus live? Where do you keep yours, Dysan?

**Dysan:** In the car.

**Ickvi:** Right, of course, so the car is never alone, isn't that a nice thing to have in the car?

*[Ickvi approaches Anigeorg with picture, Anigeorg responds by pinning picture up on pinboard]* **Ickvi:** The next study is *[Unrolls picture of a hairy green monster]*

*[Entire class jumps up onto chairs in uncontrolled excitement.]*

**Ickvi:** We all know what this is. Is there anyone who doesn't have a fluff gloop?

*[Approaches one of the audience]*

**Ickvi:** What do you call your fluff gloop? *[Looks in disgust regardless of answer]*

**Ickvi:** What do you call yours,

Anigeorg? **Anigeorg:** *[Adlibs a name]*

**Class:** *[Approval by leg shaking in the air]*

**Ickvi:** It's comfortable to have a fluff gloop in your bedroom, isn't it? Who can tell me why it's nice to have them around?

**Dywen:** *[Scrambles on top of her chair, and says loudly]*  
Because they glow in the dark.

**Ickvi:** *[To the audience]* What do you do to your fluff gloop before you go to school? *[Waits for an answer]*

**Ickvi:** Is it dead yet? *[Encourages Ghis out onto floor in front of class]* What do you do before you come to school?

**Ghis:** Every morning before. . .

*[Entire class joins in parrot fashion.]*

Every morning before I come to school I must feed my fluff gloop glum gloops.

**Ickvi:** Very nice, some of you know your duties.  
*[Sarcastically]* *[Gives picture to Dysan]* Because she recited it the loudest.

**Dysan:** *[Pins drawing on pinboard and returns to seat]*

**Ickvi:** Now there is a little poem about fluff gloops that we all know. *[Get into poem position]*  
*[Class members all kneel, arm in arm. Ickvi attempts to get some of the audience to do similarly. The bell goes to show the end of class.]*

**Ickvi:** Never mind, you've wasted enough time, we will have to go. *[Directed at audience]*

*[Class members poke out tongues, blow raspberries, etc. at the audience as they file out.]*

#### SCENE 4

*[Teachers: GHIS, DYWEN, ANIGEORG, ICK VI, MELCAR, ALORP]*

*Principal: DYS AN*

*Teachers walk into staff room. Ickvi collapses exhausted into her chair.]*

**Ickvi:** That Michelle is impossible to teach. She doesn't understand a word I'm saying and the other children are laughing at my efforts to get through to her. What am I expected to do with her?

**Melcar:** I can see you have a big problem.

**Ickvi:** I could spend the whole time trying to communicate with her but what are the rest of the children supposed to do? It's an impossible situation.

*[Ickvi goes off to get some green jelly.]*

**Melcar:** *[Aside to the audience]* I wonder if Michelle is really the problem? Maybe it's her teaching methods.

*[Ickvi returns to her seat.]*

**Melcar:** Do you know I've just realised I have that child in my next class?

**Ickvi:** Good luck, here have some of this, you'll need all the help you can get. I can't get over it! I talked slowly and clearly, and I even used pictures, and she still refused to respond!

**Melcar:** Perhaps it's not really her fault?

**Ickvi:** I'm sure she's doing it deliberately. Nobody could be that stupid! *[Ickvi leaves without utensils.]*

*[Bell sounds.]*

**Meteor:** I can see I'm going to have the same problem. I wonder if language is the biggest barrier. I might try to do something about this right now. Maybe I'll be able to find someone who'll understand Michelle.

*[Mekar goes over to Dysan.]*

**Melcar:** Excuse me, Dysan, I was wondering if we could bring in a language expert or translator who might be able to help Michelle by speaking Australian so that she'll understand what's required.

**Dyson:** Sounds like a reasonable idea.

*[Both leave room.]*

**Ickvi:** Did you hear that?

**Anigeorg:** What about the expense!

**Ickvi:** She'll [*the principal*] do anything to avoid finding a real solution to a problem, so that she doesn't have to take responsibility for a decision. One way or another those Australian children are going to have to learn the language and adapt to our ways eventually!

[*All teachers depart.*]

## SCENE 5

[*Sign on the board: 'One week later'.*]

*Translator: ELBON and teacher MELCAR walk into staffroom.*

**Melcar:** So what do you think, Elbon? I was talking to Ickvi a week ago and she seemed to think that Michelle just isn't bright enough to cope, but I wonder whether it's more to do with her background experiences; with family relationships and the Australian culture.

**Elbon:** Having had experience with this situation before, I can't stress enough that the classroom is a totally foreign environment to her as it is to all the Australian children in the school.

**Melcar:** So let me get this straight. You really don't think that Michelle is the problem, but more that we can't appreciate her different language, experiences and so on?

**Elbon:** Definitely! When you gave instructions to the class and I translated them to Michelle, she understood exactly what was required. But it's not just a language problem. While she was talking to me, it became obvious that there are other differences relating to our ways of thinking, discipline techniques, appropriate attitudes, values, skills and knowledge which are unfamiliar to her. She's never even seen anyone wave their foot in the air before. That reminds me, all that enthusiasm in the classroom must seem very strange to her since that sort of thing is not generally acceptable in Australia, and because it's so important in how you evaluate the child, she's at a disadvantage there too.

**Melcar:** Really! I had no idea. I never thought of it that way. So, in order for Michelle to learn, we should be adapting what we teach and how we teach it to enable her to extend herself.

**Elbon:** Yes, she really wants to learn, but the skills that she already has are being wasted and she's feeling very frustrated. So you need to modify your teaching techniques in order to make use of the knowledge that she has, rather than ignore it because it's different.

[*On leaving*]

**Melcar:** My being aware of the situation is obviously a step in the right direction, but right now I'm up to my ears in term reports, so I'll have to worry about it next term.

**Elbon:** Just make sure you don't leave it too long.

## SCENE 6

[*Principal*]

*Mrs Jones (the representative)*

*MELCAR REEMA (teacher)*

*Representative and Principal enter.*

**Principal:** Come into the garden. Sit down Thanks for coming; Reema should be here soon. It was nice of you to come on behalf of Michelle's family.

**Representative:** Yes, you do realise both of Michelle's parents couldn't be here today because of their language difficulty.

**Principal:** We have a couple [*REEMA enters*] of Australian students which. . . **Ah**, Hello Reema. This is Jones, er, Mrs Jones. She's here on behalf of Michelle's family.

**Melcar:** Oh, good. I'm glad someone could come.

**Representative:** I'm here mainly because Michelle has been experiencing great difficulty, which has caused her parents a lot of concern. They weren't pleased with her report.

**Principal:** **Ah**, yes. They went out yesterday.

**Melcar:** I think she's done well under the circumstances.

**Representative:** This doesn't reflect in the report.

Melcar: You must consider how we grade Michelle in comparison to the other children. Her grades are low now but she's put in lots of effort and I've rated that highly on the report.

Representative: But the grades are low. In Australia it's the *grades* that count.

Principal: The culture is very different. The problem seems to be the grades and the grades are low.

Representative: The worry is, if we keep Michelle here, she will always be bottom of the class.

Melcar: But she will be learning.

Principal: How will you compensate, help upgrade her performance?

Melcar: Well, I've been talking to the translator and. . .

Representative: It's really a cultural problem disadvantaging Michelle. Therefore her parents have been seriously thinking about moving Michelle to the migrant school.

Principal: That sounds like a good idea. It certainly would help her.

Melcar: But Michelle would learn more about our ways as a participant. And we would learn more about her culture.

Representative: But that's the problem, she isn't learning in this environment.

Principal: That's true. I think it's best that Michelle is transferred to the migrant school. I can arrange the paper work.

Representative: That would be good. Thank you.

*[Representative and principal stand to leave.]*

Principal: Thank you for coming. I'll see you to your car.

*[They leave.]*

Melcar: *[Sighs, astonished and frustrated]*

SCENE 7

*[MELCAR REEMA: teacher*

*DYSAN, DYWEN, ICKVI, GHIS, ALORP, ANIGEORG: students*

*Class files in, sits down leaving an empty place in the circle. Melcar standing in middle of circle. Class looks at empty place. All class stands on benches looking at the empty place.]*

**Ghis:** Where is Michelle?

**Alorp:** Yes, where *is* Michelle?

**Melcar:** *[Sadly shrugs]*

*[All lights out]*

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Grateful thanks to the Canberra CAE students in Education 3 who wrote the script and gave permission for me to use it in this *Handbook*. They are:

Georgina  
Chris  
Vicki  
Sandy  
Louie

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## Exercise 20: Cultural interaction — Rafa Rafa<sup>12</sup>

### Goals:

- to illustrate the problems encountered when interacting with members of another cultural group;
- to assist participants to understand how culture shapes our values, attitudes and behaviour;
- to assist participants to gain insight into the human tendency to:
  - 'put down' what we don't understand;
  - make judgments before systematically observing or seeking to understand people from a different group.

### Materials needed:

- Rafa Rafa game;
- other cultural props such as candles, beads, caftans, business dress etc.

### Instructions:

as per instructions of game.

This game has been successfully adapted for adults by the introduction of another cultural group: the Omega. Omega is an integrated culture composed of inter-married descendants of Alpha and Beta. Their language is English and they occupy land between Alpha and Beta. They are facilitators or 'travel agents' for Alpha people who wish to visit Beta, and vice versa. Visitors pass through Omega land unimpeded. However, visitors are given 'visas' or 'cultural artifacts' to help them move freely in the new culture they are about to visit (e.g. Alphas are given a set of five cards each and Betas a bone). On their return trip, visitors must return their visas or cultural artifacts. All questions asked by Alphas or Betas of Omegas about the other culture must be answered honestly, although Alphas and Betas are not informed by the Director of the game that they can ask questions of Omega. They are told they must speak English when in Omega land.

### Note to facilitator:

Groups vary enormously in how they develop Rafa Rafa. In some cases, Beta invades and takes over Alpha; in other cases Alpha cuts off its borders to Beta. Omega sometimes performs the function of cultural understanding and enlightenment; at other times Omega has exploited its knowledge of Alpha and Beta to exploit their resources and/or dominate them both. Whatever happens, there are good teaching points to be made here about culture clash, cultural domination–subordination and cultural tolerance and understanding.

### Time:

2 hours minimum plus preparation time if you require participants to bring props

## Exercise 21: Cultural interaction: devising and enacting roleplays

### Goals:

- to enable participants to improve their communication skills with different cultural groups;
- to empower participants by requiring them to devise and enact role-plays based on an actual experience with a member or members of another cultural group.

### Materials needed:

- none.

### Instructions:

- Explain to the group the purposes of this exercise.
- Divide participants into groups of two or three.
- Participants should devise a role-play, after discussing their experiences, and practise enacting the actual outcome of the encounter and a more positive future outcome of such an encounter.
- Each pair should be able to co-opt others to enact their role-play.
- The actual experience and the preferred one should be enacted before the larger group.
- Discussion should follow each set of role-plays.

### Time:

depending on the size of the group, approximately 2 hours; allow 15 minutes for discussion, 15-30 minutes for co-option and rehearsal; 5-10 minutes for the two enactments and 5-10 minutes for discussion of each role-play set

## Stage 4

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# Exploring individual racism

### *Exercises*

22. Being white in Australia means that. . .
23. White is beautiful
24. Whiteness collage
25. Words and phrases that offend
26. Exploration of racist attitudes
27. Evaluating one's understanding of individual racism
28. Discrepancies between attitudes and behaviour

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See Part C, p. 88.

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## **STAGE 4: EXPLORING INDIVIDUAL RACISM**

### **Introduction**

Stage 4 is the most critical in the anti-racism program. Participants have identified and explored the dynamics of racism at the institutional and cultural levels of society. They now need to explore the dynamics of racism in terms of their own personal attitudes and behaviour. The exercises which follow enable participants to:

- explore their dominant culture and positively identify with their whiteness;
- analyse what it means to be white in a dominant white society;
- explore whether or not there are inconsistencies between their attitudes and behaviour;
- focus on ways in which they may be unwittingly perpetuating racism.

### **Rationale<sup>13</sup>**

Being immersed in a dominant culture is somewhat similar to being a goldfish in a bowl: it knows not the water in which it swims. Although Stage 3 may have brought about an awareness that minority groups may have different cultural perspectives, participants may not yet identify with their white culture. Participants need now to look at the human element of institutional and cultural racism.

You may not find any written evidence of structural racism in the employment rules and regulations of the police force, in hospitals, in schools or in the public service. This does not mean that it does not exist. If it was as simple as outlawing racism and sexism, we could now have a society committed to anti-racism and anti-sexism. Clearly we do not. Why? Because every structure or organisation is made up of people who hold attitudes<sup>14</sup> about a whole range of things in our complex society and who have a vested interest in maintaining things the way they are. These attitudes predispose individuals to certain sorts of action which may include racism. If racist or sexist people occupy positions of power and influence within an organisation, then no laws on earth will protect an Aborigine, Vietnamese or female from discriminatory practice. Take, for an example, an interviewing panel to select a nurse for a promotion within a hospital. If one or more members of that panel are racist then they can ask questions or make recommendations that sound reasonable and which give no indication of racism. Laws alone cannot prevent this happening, partly because such persons are alerted to the fact that overt racism is unlawful and partly because no-one can really prove that someone 'thinks' racist thoughts, is motivated by them and discriminates against an applicant on that basis. Affirmative action programs for women and Aborigines can partly assist anti-discrimination because government agencies, and some private agencies, are directed or encouraged to positively discriminate on the basis of sex and race if all other factors are equal, in order to achieve a proportional and representative number of women and minority group members in any type of employment. In other words, it makes for a more equal situation. Not an unequal one. However there is a great deal of opposition to affirmative action —

because various individuals claim that it is positive discrimination and therefore it prejudices the life chances of majority group members. A recent case of such opposition appeared in *The Australian* (Friday, 7 September 1984). The deputy Vice-Chancellor, Associate Professor David Stove, of Sydney University, had claimed in *Quadrant* that 'inferior women candidates are ousting better men in the present anti-sexual-discrimination climate'. He claimed that in the first half of 1984, 66 per cent of new appointments to tenurable positions had gone to women at Sydney University. It was subsequently shown that only 33 per cent of new appointments had gone to women, compared with 23 per cent for the 1981-83 period. Despite this fact, he still maintained 'that if the figures were wrong it did not defeat his argument about the trend in appointments'. Any legislation the Government may devise will not affect this sort of prejudice. You cannot make laws for positive attitudes. The contradictions in Professor Stove's arguments are obvious. If women have achieved 33 per cent of tenurable positions, then they are still under-represented in the university because men achieved 67 per cent of tenurable positions. So his logic is flawed but his negative attitude towards women academics at Sydney University remains unchanged.

## Method

In Stage 4 then, we are focusing on individual attitudes and behaviours. Attitudes are composed of beliefs, feelings and predispositions to action. A concrete example of an attitude may be analysed thus:

'The Vietnamese get heaps of money from the Government and they take any job that they can get.'  
(Belief)

'I don't like the Vietnamese.'  
(Action)

If you link the above statements you might have an attitude that is expressed as something like this: 'With our high unemployment figures, the last thing we need is more Vietnamese refugees. They work for practically nothing and are pulling down our hard-won union conditions. In any case, they don't have to work because the Government gives them so many handouts.' Can you be a bludger and a hard worker at one and the same time? Of course not. Yet the student didn't see this apparent contradiction because her 'feelings' about the Vietnamese were based on dislike. You can't change dislike by pointing out logical contradictions in her argument. She might change her beliefs and opinions so that they appear consistent, but this won't necessarily change her core attitude or feelings about the Vietnamese.

### *Note for facilitator:*

The role of the facilitator here is to point out such contradictions and confront participants wherever possible with their prejudice. It is important that participants do not get away with denying their whiteness either by taking refuge in an ethnic identity or by blaming their ancestors. They must be made to realise that whatever their ethnic identity, being white enables them to participate in the dominant culture. Similarly, they enjoy the advantages of a system that discriminates against minority groups and by denying responsibility for it, whites perpetuate that system.

While it is important that participants do not deny their whiteness, it is equally important that they don't wallow in guilt. The facilitator must assist participants to work through such feelings by pointing out that such energy would be better transformed into action. Otherwise, participants will lack motivation and commitment for Stage 5: Anti-racist action.

## Exercise 22: Being white in Australia means that. . .

### *Goals:*

- to illustrate the advantages white people have by virtue of their whiteness;
- to focus on the difference between white, Aboriginal and Vietnamese experiences in Australia today.

### *Materials needed:*

- butchers paper;
- felt pens;
- masking tape.

### *Instructions:*

- Write the sentence 'Being white in Australia today means that. . . ' on butchers paper.
- Ask participants to complete the statement three or four times. Ask participants to share their responses and write them down on butchers paper.
- Now ask participants to clarify their sentences, if necessary, and discuss them.

- Write the sentence 'Being Aboriginal in Australia today means that. . .' on butchers paper. Repeat the procedure for the second and third instructions above. Ask the group to discuss the different meanings the sentence takes on.
- Write the sentence 'Being Vietnamese in Australia today means that. . .' on butchers paper. Repeat the procedure for the second and third instructions above. Ask the group to compare these sentence completions with those for whites.
- Finally, discuss the following:
  - In Australia how does being white differ from being Aboriginal? Vietnamese?
  - What advantages do we as white people seem to have?

*Note to facilitator:*

You may have to supplement information by drawing participants' attention to demographic information on Aboriginal health, housing, imprisonment rates, education participation and so forth. Similarly, you could show figures on the unequal participation of non-English-speaking migrants in the workforce.

*Time:*

1—1½ hours

### **Exercise 23: White is beautiful<sup>15</sup>**

*Goals:*

- to further explore what it means to be white in Australia;
- to enable participants to explore their feelings about being white;
- to encourage participants to accept their whiteness.

*Materials needed:*

- paper;
- pens.

*Instructions:*

- Ask participants to think about the slogan 'White is beautiful' in terms of what it means to them personally and then to write down their responses.
- Ask participants to share their responses.
- Discuss the following:
  - a) What problems did participants have in responding to the slogan?
  - b) What does this mean for how we see ourselves?
  - c) What is the Australian culture?
  - d) How do people feel about being part of the dominant culture?
  - e) Do people resist identifying with the dominant culture? Why?

*Note to facilitator:*

If guilt about being white comes to the surface, help participants to see that it is a self-indulgent emotion that prevents constructive action.

Some groups find it difficult to identify elements of the dominant culture. Divide them into small groups to explore this issue if they cannot handle it individually.

You should reinforce the positive aspects of the dominant culture and of being white. There is no point in constantly dwelling on the negative or unintentionally lowering participants' self-concept.

*Time:*

1—1½ hours

### **Exercise 24: Whiteness collage<sup>16</sup>**

*Goals:*

- to allow participants to express in a non-verbal way what whiteness means to them.

*Materials needed:*

- magazines;
- butchers paper;
- glue or paste;
- masking tape.

*Instructions:*

- Divide participants into groups of four or five.
- Ask each group to construct a collage on the theme of 'whiteness' by pasting together words or pictures from magazines to form a composite picture. Collages should then be stuck to the walls.
- Participants in small groups write down their reactions to each others' collage.
- A nominated leader from each group explains what they were trying to express.
- The facilitator leads the group in a discussion of similarities and differences among participants' perceptions of whiteness.

*Note to facilitator:*

This exercise follows on from Exercise 23 and seems to overcome any residual difficulties with defining whiteness.

It allows participants to express unexplored and deep feelings about whiteness through using a nonverbal medium. Other people's perceptions of a group's efforts often provide insights into feelings that were expressed but that individuals in the group were not conscious of having.

*Time:*

2 hours

**Exercise 25: Words and phrases that offend***Goals:*

- to enable participants to understand that each of us are offended by certain words or phrases;
- to develop a sensitivity in participants about words and phrases that offend others.

*Materials needed:*

- a set of blank index cards — sufficient for each person to have three;
- butchers paper;
- felt pens;
- pens;
- sets of cards based on 'Words and phrases that offend' (below).

*Instructions:*

- Each person is given three blank index cards and asked to write down three words or phrases that personally offend them.
- Participants are divided into groups of five. A group leader for each is nominated and he/she collects the cards and shuffles them. The group sits in a circle and the cards are put in a stack in the middle. One person takes the first card, reads it aloud and then leads the group in a discussion of why the word or phrase offends. The group leader briefly records the responses. The next person takes a card and repeats the procedure and so forth round the group until all cards have been read.
- After all cards have been discussed, the author of each card may wish to clarify why a word or phrase offended them if the group has failed to adequately explain it.
- The facilitator now hands out a set of prepared cards (based on the statements below) to each group. They repeat the procedure used on their personal set of cards.
- The facilitator asks each group leader to share the group responses to each card. The group discusses different interpretations and the facilitator clarifies any word or statement that puzzled participants.

*Note to facilitator:*

Participants are asked to make up their own cards as a first step in appreciating that words and phrases affect people differently. Some people are not offended by some phrases but others are and human beings need to be sensitive to what upsets others.

The first personal exercise leads participants to appreciate the second exercise which demonstrates that certain words and phrases are offensive to minority group members.

Participants are therefore discouraged from saying 'Well, I don't understand why that offends someone. It doesn't offend me.' They must actively seek to understand why it does offend someone.

*Time:*

1 1/2-2 hours

**Words and phrases that offend**

- A white person to a black person: 'I think your people have made great progress'.
- A white teacher about Aboriginal children: 'If we let them take the books home, they'll just get them dirty or destroy them'.

- A white person to a Vietnamese acquaintance: 'You're different from most Vietnamese I know'.
- A white person to an Aborigine: 'Some of my best friends are Aborigines'.
- A white person to an Aborigine: 'I didn't know you were Aboriginal — you don't act like one'.
- About any group: 'They *all* do that'.
- A white person to a black person: 'I don't understand what you people want'.
- A white person to an Aboriginal: 'Why, you don't look Aboriginal'.
- A white person to a Vietnamese person: 'Tell me about your boat trip over here'.
- A white person to an Aboriginal: 'You must be so proud of Evonne Cawley'.

### Exercise 26: Exploration of racist attitudes

#### Goals:

- to help participants become aware of racist attitudes — their own and others;
- to explore the assumptions behind some of these attitudes;
- to help participants understand why and how these attitudes are racist.

#### Materials needed:

- butchers paper;
- pens;
- set(s) of cards based on 'Exploration of racist attitudes' (below).

#### Instructions:

- Participants should sit in a circle. One person takes a card and reads it aloud to the group and then acts as facilitator for discussion.
- The facilitator asks: 'Is it racist? If so, how is it racist? Why is it racist?' Participants share their responses. The facilitator should ask: 'Have any of you held that attitude in the past? What changed your attitude? On what assumption(s) is this attitude based?'
- Once discussion has been exhausted, the next person picks up a card, reads the statement aloud, acts as facilitator. When the set of cards has been discussed, the group should make a list of things they have learned about racist attitudes and the assumptions that support them.

#### Note to facilitator:

In large groups, divide the participants into clusters of five or six. Some answers to the question: 'On what assumption is this attitude based?' appear below. It would be preferable to design your own set of cards, based on the racial or cultural group you wish to focus on and the types of racist comments you have heard in your job context.

#### Time:

45-60 minutes

### Exploration of racist attitudes

1. 'I'm not prejudiced, but I do believe that we should limit our immigration program to Europeans.'  
(A 25-year-old student teacher at Canberra CAE, during a discussion on immigration)
2. 'I've got nothing against the Vietnamese, personally, but we have got high unemployment in this country and they do work for practically nothing.'  
(A 20-year-old unemployed youth in Canberra, who has been looking for unskilled work for two years)
3. 'What can I do about racism amongst the staff? I've only been teaching here for a year.'  
(A first-year-out teacher at a Sydney government primary school, in the Western suburbs)
4. (about any minority group) 'What do they want?'  
(Anyone could say this at any time in any place, but it was said recently, by a police recruit after a lecture on Aboriginal land rights.)
5. 'I don't understand what you people (Aborigines) are saying.'  
(A variation on the preceding statement. A first year environmental design student was heard to say this after a lecture given by an Aboriginal speaker, who was talking about the inadequate houses designed by white architects for Aborigines.)

6. 'Why should **I** be responsible for what my ancestors did to Aborigines.'  
(An Australian-born Liberal Studies student aged 40, who had just been shown the film *Lousy Little Sixpence*)
7. 'Blainey is right, you know. This Government cares more about Asian immigrants than Australians, who were here first.'  
(A journalist, over lunch, during a heated debate about Professor Blainey's recent statements on the Labor Government's immigration and unemployment figures)
8. 'Racism exists only where minorities exist.'  
(A nurse studying part time, who said that Australia was (and should be) a homogeneous society, not a multicultural one)
9. '**I** am not personally responsible for the recruitment policies of this company.'  
(A counter salesperson with a cosmetic company, which actively opposes selling to blacks (and employing them) because it doesn't suit the company's image)
10. 'These days, whenever a minority person sneezes, 37 white people rush up and wipe his nose.'  
(Adapted from Judy H. Katz's book *White awareness*. Variations of this statement have been made by people who oppose multicultural education, Aboriginal land rights, Vietnamese resettlement programs, and so forth.)
11. 'How can I be pro-black without being anti-white?'  
(A bewildered law student after a series of lectures on the history of black–white relations in Australia)
12. 'I think fear of the old 'yellow peril' from the north is stupid. But you must admit that the Government seems to be helping them to take us over peacefully. Ha Ha.'  
(A business-owner in Darwin, in response to an interview about the arrival of several Vietnamese 'boat' people)

### Some possible interpretations

#### Assumptions/attitudes:

1. A seemingly rational reaction to an irrationally based xenophobia. It is an ethnocentric viewpoint; an anxiety about maintaining the status quo. It reveals an insecurity and need for constancy, stability, etc.
2. A defensive way to attribute a structural problem (unemployment) to a minority group. It reminds us of Hitler's scapegoating of Jews for Germany's economic ills. It distracts us from the real cause, the real problem and real solutions.
3. One person cannot change the system, the structure, the attitudes of staff. Indeed this is so, but it should not be an excuse for inaction. The person is put off by a hierarchical system and doesn't believe he/she has any power within it. Again, a rationalised powerlessness, which leads to the maintenance of the status quo.
4. Pretends ignorance of legitimate minority demands for the basic rights of all people — justice, equity, pluralism, human-heartedness, etc.
5. Reveals ignorance of legitimate minority group demands for human rights. It assumes that the minority person has a problem with communication. It smacks of 'if you just tell me, I'll help you', etc.
6. Avoids responsibilities for *current* racism. We are all responsible, to some degree, for failing to take action and/or by benefiting from a white racist society.  
**In** the case of Aboriginal grievances, this sort of attitude tends to be linked with 'but it's all so long ago' and 'I'm a migrant. My ancestors didn't do that to Aborigines.'
7. Denies or minimises how little things have changed for minorities in basic ways.  
Denial of equal rights. Mistaken belief that Vietnamese get something for nothing.
8. An avoidance of white responsibility for dealing with white racism. The statement blames minorities for *causing* the problem — a special example of 'blaming the victim'.  
Could it also be heavy-handed and prejudiced Australian humour? e.g. 'Hitler had the right idea' or 'the Tasmanian solution to the Aboriginal problem was a good one'. Either way, scapegoating is dangerous.

9. I am powerless to change anything I don't like in society. It's an avoidance of responsibility: 'Don't blame me, I don't make the law, I just apply it'.
10. Denies the fact of institutional racism and every person's responsibility to combat it. A resentful reaction of someone who thinks he/she is being deprived of something that minorities are getting. This type of statement is based on misinformation. When challenged to substantiate such an assertion, the person usually blusters. It could also be a reaction to a feeling of guilt about minority-group status.
11. Thinks that if you are for something or someone you must automatically be against someone else. Assumes there can be no true pluralism. Such a statement is made by a person who needs to feel secure in the 'fact' that life situations can be labelled good/bad, right/wrong and so forth.
12. A heavy-handed humour to disguise real fears and real prejudice.

### Exercise 27: Evaluating one's understanding of individual racism<sup>17</sup>

#### Goals:

- to evaluate participants' understanding of whiteness and racism;
- to help participants see inconsistencies in attitudes that are racist;
- to further participants' understanding and owning of whiteness.

#### Materials needed:

- copies of 'We're all the same under the skin' (below);
- pens.

#### Instructions:

- Ask participants to read 'We're all the same under the skin'.
- Ask them to underline the assumptions (implicit/explicit) with which they agree.
- Ask them to share their underlined statements.
- Discuss the following:
  - a) What are the assumptions being made?
  - b) Why do you agree/disagree with them?

#### Note to facilitator:

There are many racist assumptions underlying the handout. Some participants may still be at the stage where they don't understand how their whiteness has advantaged them. By denying their whiteness and the importance of colour in the way life chances are distributed, they are also denying racism.

It is important to highlight the inconsistencies between ideology and behaviour.

Some of the issues to be covered are:

- the writer's beliefs in Australian myths — if you work hard you'll make it; equality; the lucky country;
- the writer's denial of colour — rejecting whiteness; not wanting to be stereotyped;
- the writer's inconsistencies — not wanting to divide people but talking about black and white, etc.;
- the writer's lack of awareness of institutional racism — 'handouts' — reverse racism; wanting a society based on individuality.

#### Time:

45 minutes

#### 'We're all the same under the skin'

I don't know why people make such a fuss about being black or white or yellow. We're all the same under the skin. If we could only treat people exactly the same. You know: do unto others as you wish to be done unto you. I'm sick of being labelled racist just because I don't believe that Aborigines should get more benefits than we do. That's half the problem. If we were all treated the same there wouldn't be any racism. Look, my parents emigrated to this country after World War II. No-one did anything special for us. We just worked hard for what we've got. Now, my son was born on this land and I don't see why he shouldn't be entitled to land rights as much as Aborigines. My ancestors didn't take land away from the Aborigines, so I don't see why we should be blamed for it. In any case, it's all in the past and best forgotten. Aborigines should just work hard, like anyone else, if they want to get on or buy land. I never have agreed with discrimination against minority groups, but I feel as if I'm being discriminated against now. It's getting so if you're a member of a minority group you'll get a job ahead of someone who has worked twice as hard and is better qualified, too. We're all individuals and should be treated as such. We shouldn't divide ourselves up into blacks and whites. As I said, we're all the same under the skin.

## Exercise 28: Discrepancies between attitudes and behaviour<sup>18</sup>

### Goals:

- to identify one's anti-racist values and attitudes;
- to identify one's behaviour based on those values and attitudes;
- to explore discrepancies between attitudes/values and behaviour.

### Materials needed:

- paper;
- pens.

### Instructions:

- Hand out sheets divided into four columns as follows:

I	II	III	IV
Values/ attitudes	Actions taken	Consistency	

- Ask participants to think of positive anti-racist values and attitudes they hold, for example, 'Whites are responsible for racism'. List those in column I.
- Ask participants to list in column II specific actions they have taken in relation to that attitude, for example, 'I have pushed for an affirmative action policy in my profession'. If none, they should leave the column space blank.
- Participants should tick (✓) column III if they have taken an action that is consistent with that attitude or value. Otherwise they should put a cross (x).
- Participants should leave column IV blank until it can be completed in Stage 5.
- In small groups of four or five, ask participants to discuss their lists. In the large group, ask them what they have learned about their attitudes and behaviours.
- Participants can complete their lists privately.

### Note to facilitator:

Depending on your time frame, participants can be asked to record over one week their behaviours that are consistent or inconsistent with that attitude or value. It assists participants to see for themselves gaps between attitudes and behaviours.

It should be emphasised that this exercise focuses on positive anti-racist attitudes.

These exercises lead into Stage 5: Anti-racist action strategies.

### Time:

45 minutes

## Stage 5

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### Anti-racist action strategies

#### *Exercises*

29. Dealing with cultural interaction: role-plays
30. Brainstorming ideas for anti-racist action
31. Developing action on personal inconsistencies
32. Strategies for dealing with racist actions
33. What do I do when . . . ?
34. . Plus and minus: anti-racist action
35. Evaluating the program

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See Part C, p. 89.

## **STAGE 5: ANTI-RACIST ACTION STRATEGIES**

### **Introduction**

The purpose of this stage is to empower participants to 'act not just think' about racism and it is the ultimate purpose of the anti-racism training program. In order to help participants to achieve this purpose, the exercises in this stage are designed to:

- (i) assist participants to explore possible action strategies;
- (ii) enable participants to define and develop a course of anti-racist action;
- (iii) assist participants to develop an on-going support group;
- (iv) assist participants to name future steps for continuing to explore racism.

### **Rationale**

If the training program is to be judged successful, participants must be willing to commit themselves to anti-racist action.

If all the program has done is to make participants feel guilty and powerless in the face of the complexity of racism, then it has failed. Members of the dominant group need to not only understand the nature of racism and its various forms but to be able to do something with that understanding which will change the system of racism.

### **Method**

The facilitator's task in this last stage is to assist participants to develop goals for future action. This may involve assistance with clarifying steps to attain goals, sharing resources and action ideas and informing participants of existing anti-racism networks within the community. Finally, it should be reinforced that the end of the training program is a beginning of an anti-racism process, not the end.

### **Exercise 29: Dealing with cultural interaction: role plays**

#### *Goals:*

- to sensitise participants to different cultural practices;
- to sensitise participants to cross cultural settings.

#### *Materials needed:*

- none.

*Instructions:*

- Group 1. (Counter Staff): You are on the information desk (in your particular professional area) and an Asian woman whom you assume to be Vietnamese approaches you. You cannot understand what she is saying. What do you do next?
- Group 2. (Police): You have been called to the scene of an accident involving two cars. An Asian man, whom you assume to be Vietnamese, is the driver of one vehicle and a white man is the driver of the other vehicle involved in the accident. Both drivers appear pale and shaken, but otherwise unhurt. The Vietnamese male attempts to talk to you, but you cannot understand him. What do you do next?
- Group 3. (Nurses/Doctors): You are on duty in the Casualty Department of your hospital. A woman is brought in on a stretcher; she is accompanied by a female friend. It appears as if she has been the victim of a brutal, physical assault but she is conscious. You call the doctor (nurse) on duty and ask the friend to wait outside. She refuses to do so and because she appears not to understand, you speak slowly and gently and attempt to guide her outside. The doctor (nurse), male, walks in and the patient becomes agitated. She and her friend both speak at once and in a language you cannot understand. The patient refuses to allow the male doctor (nurse) to touch her. You presume they are southern European, possibly Greek. What do you do next.
- Group 4. (Lawyers): You are on a roster for Legal Aid and a man is shown in to see you. He attempts to explain to you in slow, accented English that his friend has been wrongfully charged with assault and hasn't a lawyer. He is due to appear in court tomorrow. You determine that both men are Aboriginal, from near Papunya, in the N.T., but you are unable to determine the nature and circumstances of the assault. You further ascertain that they are on a study tour in your town/city. What is your next move?
- Group 5. (Teachers): You receive a message in the staff room that Mr Andreoni is here to see you about his son, Michael. When you go into the Principal's office, she tells you that Mr Andreoni is concerned about his son's behaviour at home. He refuses to speak Italian at home and wants to stay at his friend's house all the time. His schoolwork is suffering and he refuses to spend time helping his mother, who can't speak English, do the shopping. Mr Andreoni wants to know what sort of school is this that encourages his son to show no respect for his parents? What do you say?

*Note to facilitator:*

As you can see, there are five scenes portrayed. Depending on the professional background of your group, pick the scene/s that match. If they are all from one profession, divide the participants into groups of three or four. Ask them to discuss the scene, enact it and discuss conclusions or alternative conclusions. Each group should then role-play the whole scene and ask for comment. Remember, discussion about each role-play should be strictly confined to talking about roles *not* actors. The 'audience' may make suggestions for improving the conclusion, but they should not comment on the acting ability of role-players, nor should they refer to the actor by his/her real name.

If the scenes do not reflect any of the professional backgrounds of your participants, photocopy the Triad workshop on employment, below, and ask participants to complete it in groups of three. The main point to remember is that they *must* justify their choices. Often attitudes toward race, culture, class and age are unwittingly revealed and need to be discussed.

*Time:*

depending on the size of the groups, approximately 1 1/2 hours allowing 1/2 an hour for rehearsal for each group; 5-10 minutes for each enactment and 5-10 minutes discussion on each role-play

1 hour for the Triad workshop on employment

**Triad workshop on employment**

**If** you had to pick a *potentially* effective employee for your organisation, which one would you choose? The employee may be a teacher's aide, an executive assistant, class 7 clerk, or student teacher, etc. You specify.

Please list in order of priority, first, second and so forth through to nine.

1. Miko: aged 25, works as an actress in a small but trendy theatre; she has high level grades in the Higher School Certificate and is very enthusiastic and creative; she was born in Taiwan. (No \_\_\_\_)
2. Ryan: aged 21, studying Liberal Arts at a University and is on TEAS, will graduate next year; he is quiet, intelligent and gets good grades; he was born in Australia. (No \_\_\_\_)

3. Janet: aged 45, she is the wife of a BHP Manager; her children have left home and she is very involved with community support groups; she is bright, sociable and eager to carve out a new role for herself, now that her children have left home; she was born in Scotland. (No. \_\_\_\_)
4. Peter—Lim: aged 29, he was a doctor, but would have to do two more years of training in order to practise medicine in Australia; he is presently working in a Vietnamese restaurant as a chef; he was born in Vietnam. (No. \_\_\_\_)
5. Peter: aged 23, he is actively involved in an executive position with the Young Liberals; he has a business studies diploma; he was born in Holland. (No. \_\_\_\_)
6. Maria: aged 28, she has trained as a pre-school teacher, but is looking for other challenges; she was born in Italy. (No. \_\_\_\_)
7. Michael: aged 34, he is a clerk in the Department of Aboriginal Affairs; he is studying Business Law at a CAE on an Abstudy grant; he was born in Australia. (No. \_\_\_\_)
8. Prue: aged 45, she owns her own boutique; she has good business sense, a sociable manner, enjoys reading and is an active member of the Chamber of Commerce; she would like other challenges; she was born in the U.S.A. (No. \_\_\_\_)
9. Simone: aged 40, she has two adolescent children who take up a lot of her time; she has an Economics/Law degree and is actively involved in community arts; she was born in France. (No. \_\_\_\_)

*Please justify your first and last choice:*

1. I picked \_\_\_\_\_ first because s/he \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

2. I picked \_\_\_\_\_ last because s/he \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

### **Exercise 30: Brainstorming ideas for anti racist action**

*Goals:*

- to stimulate participants to think about appropriate anti-racist strategies.

*Materials needed:*

- butchers paper;
- felt pens;
- pens;
- paper;
- 'Checklist of action ideas' (below) as a handout.

*Instructions:*

- Divide participants into groups of four or five.
- Ask each group to brainstorm ideas for anti-racist action and nominate a group leader to make notes of them.
- Reform large group and ask each group leader to report ideas.
- Facilitator lists ideas on butchers paper.
- Facilitator hands out 'Checklist of action ideas' (below) and goes through each point. Participants note new ideas from the group on the bottom of the sheet.

*Note to facilitator:*

Anti-racists, indeed most humanists or small 'l' liberals, tend to be fair-minded, tolerant, and conscious of human rights. It is very difficult to prod them into action, especially collectively, about social change. It is important that they do take positive steps to counter racism because bigots are much more alert to opportunities to proselytise their ideology: they have a vested interest in doing so.

*Time:*

1 hour

**Checklist of action ideas**

1. *The law:* Write to the Human Rights Commission in your State/Territory and ask them for information about anti-racist legislation and pamphlets, posters and booklets which explain specific behaviours that are unlawful and procedures to be followed if someone believes they have been discriminated against. For instance, there are very good pamphlets, in various major ethnic languages, that identify racial discrimination in public places like hotels, or in employment and so forth. There are also informative booklets on prejudice, statistics on the cultural composition of the Australian population, cultural profiles and research papers.
2. *Letters:* Either singly or as part of a campaign, write letters to your M.P., Senator, the major newspapers, and senior staff about specific examples of racism in Australian society or in your workplace.
3. *Unions:* Most of the major unions have policies on most forms of discrimination. If your's doesn't, explore the possibilities of getting it onto the agenda. You need to do your homework, which includes finding out where a sample of people from your union stand on the issue of racism, obtaining help to draw up a motion or plan of action, and lobbying members to support it.
4. *Employers:* Apart from the considerable weight that unions can exert on discriminating practices of employers, organisations and employees, any professional group or individual can lobby senior staff about the need for an affirmative action committee, anti-discrimination strategies to ensure equal opportunities in employment, in-service courses, re-training, support to attend appropriate conferences, release time to attend 'English as a second language' classes and so forth.
5. *Politics:* Anti-racist activists should always scrutinise the pending legislation and public platform policies of political parties to ensure that they do not reflect stereotypes, cultural bias, ethnocentrism, discrimination or any other components of racism. Make sure you know what your local member's stand is on immigration and multiculturalism. It might affect you or your community.
6. *Interactions:* Students have said that the most difficult anti-racist stance to take is when dealing with family, friends or colleagues. The racist joke, the off-hand racist remark and so forth are very difficult to rebut in a social or work situation. If they are a caring family or a real friend, you should be able to mildly express your disapproval about such remarks. If you really care, try and elicit why someone thinks negatively about a particular group and try and counter the effect. Nevertheless, you should always weigh up what effect your disapproval will have and be thoughtful about how to show it. It may be mild, witty or forceful. Just remember, if you care about changing racist attitudes, confrontation is rarely successful. Save confrontation or anger as a last resort. You may as well get it off your chest if it's a hopeless case anyway! They will be under no illusion about where you stand on racism.

**Exercise 31: Developing action on personal inconsistencies<sup>19</sup>***Goals:*

- to assist participants to close the gap between inconsistencies in their attitudes and behaviour;
- to assist participants define their next steps in their exploration of personal racism.

*Materials needed:*

- sheets developed in Exercise 28: 'Discrepancies between attitudes and behaviour';
- pens.

*Instructions:*

- Participants should have the sheets they started in Exercise 28.
- Ask participants to write 'Actions I can take' at the top of column IV. Ask them to list actions or further actions they can take so that their behaviour and attitudes are more consistent. Indirect and

direct action may be considered. Indirect action may include further reading or keeping a diary of behaviour over several weeks.

- Ask them to star one action on the list that has top priority.
- Ask participants to share their lists with the group.

*Time:*

45 minutes

### **Exercise 32: Strategies for dealing with racist actions**

*Goals:*

- to assist participants to develop strategies for dealing with racist situations;
- to enable participants to safely reverse some of these situations through role-play.

*Materials needed:*

- blank index cards;
- pens.

*Instructions:*

- Ask participants to write down a description of a racist situation they have observed, heard about or had to deal with personally. Ask them to explain on the card each person's role in the situation. Collect the cards and shuffle them.
- Divide participants into groups of three or four and hand one card to each group and ask the group to develop a role-play which portrays an anti-racist stance or outcome. It doesn't matter if there are not enough roles for each member of the group; the others can contribute ideas.
- Have group members enact the role-play. Discuss with the group and ask for alternative actions.
- Repeat the process for each group.
- Add Triad workshop on cultural cues, below.

*Time:*

30 minutes for discussion

**10** minutes for each role-play

#### **Triad workshop on cultural cues**

*Case study:*

A person in your organisation, who works for you, tells you that she has noticed racism in the work-place. It manifests itself in jokes, teasing about people's ethnicity, non-promotion of people from Asian and southern European backgrounds, etc.

Colleagues have told her that she is imagining things and is pro—'ethnic' and therefore racist in reverse.

Discuss the following questions in your triad and record your responses.

*Q.1* What do you advise her to do?

*Q.2.* If there is conflict between her secure position/career path and the action you advise her to take, how will you resolve it? In the short term? In the long term?

### **Exercise 33: What do I do when. . .?**

*Goals:*

- to further assist participants to develop strategies for dealing with racist situations;
- to further assist participants to gain confidence in devising anti-racist strategies.

*Materials needed:*

- one situation written on a card from the list 'Racist situations' (below).

*Instructions:*

- Divide participants into groups of four.
- Hand each group a card on which is written a racist incident.
- Ask each group to come up with an anti-racist action or strategy in response to the racist incident. Ask them to question:
  - a) What risks are involved? Are they worth it?
  - b) What resources do I need to take effective action?

- c) What resistance might be encountered?
- d) What support do you have?
- e) Will my action be successful?
- 0 What further steps must I take to achieve success?

- Ask each group to share the incident and their response to it with the larger group.
- Discuss alternative strategies.

*Note to facilitator:*

This exercise enables you to cover incidents not raised in the previous exercise based on participants' experience of racist situations. Other incidents relevant to your context should be added to the list. In the case of incidents involving actual discrimination, you would need to be aware of legal redress through the Human Rights Commission so that you could feed that into the discussion.

*Time:*

1 1/2 hours

**Racist situations**

1. You are in the dressing room prior to a sporting match and someone says that the opposition has several Aborigines on the team and that we could un-nerve them with some racial abuse. What would you do?
2. You are at a dinner party and someone tells a racist joke. What would you do?
3. You read an article in a national newspaper where the author is blaming the incidence of racial violence on the minority group. What would you do?
4. You see a debate on television where Vietnamese immigrants are blamed for high unemployment. What would you do?
5. You are in a pub and the publican refuses to serve an Aboriginal because he/she is Aboriginal. What would you do?
6. You are in a real estate office and the person behind the desk refuses to assist a Vietnamese person because he/she says that none of his/her clients will rent to an Asian. What would you do?

**Exercise 34: Plus and minus: anti-racist action**

*Goals:*

- to assist participants to become clear about their motives for becoming anti-racist activists;
- to assist participants to explore the costs and benefits of being racists and anti-racists.

*Materials needed:*

- copies of 'Plus and minus: acting against racism' (below);
- pens.

*Instructions:*

- Hand out sheets 'Plus and minus'.
- Ask participants to fill out the sheet as honestly as possible.
- Discuss responses in large group.

*Note to facilitator:*

Make sure that 'do-gooder' motives that are liable to emerge as a response to point 6 on the 'Plus and minus' sheet are discussed as unrealistic and paternalistic.

Participants need to appreciate their motives for engaging in anti-racist action and the price they pay for being racists or anti-racists. Only by confronting these issues will participants be clear about their intended anti-racist actions.

*Time:*

30 minutes

**Plus and minus: acting against racism<sup>20</sup>****I. How am I benefiting from racism?**

2. What price am I paying for racism?
3. What would I give up by taking anti-racist action?
4. What are my worst fears about what would happen if members of minorities were in power?
5. What constraints are there on helping change institutional racism?
6. What personal needs would I satisfy by being anti-racist?

**Exercise 35: Evaluating the program***Goals:*

- to evaluate the anti-racism program;
- to evaluate the effectiveness of the facilitator.

*Materials needed:*

- copies of 'Evaluation sheet' (below);
- pens.

*Instructions:*

- Hand out copies of the 'Evaluation sheet'.
- Ask participants to complete the sheet.
- Ask participants to share with the group their feelings about the program.
- Thank participants for their involvement in the program and for what you have learned from them.

*Note to facilitator:*

The 'Evaluation sheet' gives important feedback to the facilitator so that he/she may modify the program for future groups.

*Time:*

1 hour

**Evaluation sheet**

1. How helpful has this program been for you in understanding racism?  

<i>Not at all</i>		<i>Somewhat</i>		<i>Very</i>
<i>helpful</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>helpful</i>		<i>1 helpful</i>
	1	2	3	4
	1	2	3	4
2. How helpful has this program been for you in planning anti-racist action?  

<i>Not at all</i>		<i>Somewhat</i>		<i>Very</i>
<i>helpful</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>helpful</i>		<i>1 helpful</i>
	1	2	3	4
	1	2	3	4
3. List those aspects of the course that you found most helpful in meeting your requirements and why.
4. List those aspects of the course that you found least helpful in meeting your requirements and why.
5. What changes, if any, would you recommend to improve this program?
6. How would you evaluate your facilitator?  

<i>Not</i>		<i>Somewhat</i>		<i>Highly</i>
<i>effective</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>effective</i>		<i>1 effective</i>
	1	2	3	4
	1	2	3	4

Why?

7. Additional comments:

## 6. ADAPTATIONS TO THE PROGRAM

### Introduction

The exercises in Part B may be implemented as a total package or they can be used as a smorgasbord. Exercises may be integrated with other courses or used in once-off, short programs. If you decide on a smorgasbord make sure that your selection has coherence and that you have chosen from each stage. In other words, present a balanced diet! Two suggestions are made in this chapter for shorter versions of the program. The first is a one-day workshop and the second a five-day workshop. The total *Handbook* should be used as a resource for mini lectures, workshop activities and tutorial exercises. Exercises and strategies will be largely unsuccessful if you do not insist that participants acquire accurate, up-to-date information from books, kits, films or other media sources. Knowledge, attitudes and skills should be part of each section of your program. Otherwise, you'll have 'graduates' who are on-side but useless in defending or arguing an anti-racist position.

If one of the objectives of an anti-racism program is to influence positively the attitudes and actions of people toward minority groups in society, then the following guidelines, based on Part A: Rationale, may be useful and should be considered by any planning team.

### Guidelines for planning an anti-racism program

- (i) The planning group should, after reading relevant literature, brainstorm anticipated arguments for the status quo and develop counter arguments. If possible find out from a representative sample of participants what their beliefs, opinions and feelings are about various ethnic groups, Aborigines and immigration. A specific program can then be developed, rather than a general multicultural course, which may be largely irrelevant to participants' attitudes and concerns.
- (ii) Once a program has been planned, considerations should be given to the following factors related to information credibility and communication effectiveness:
  - involving the target group, e.g. nurses, police officers or teachers in the presentation of information. Not only does this prevent the tendency of course planners to rely on outside consultants, who may not understand the constraints of a particular profession, but colleagues with expertise have a greater credibility in the eyes of participants. Peer group influence is one important factor in the development and maintenance of racial attitudes;
  - involving prominent members of a minority group in the presentation. In the teaching profession for example, minority group members who are also teachers fulfil the functions described above. They have dual credibility — credibility as teachers, and as members of the minority group being studied. Sometimes though, outside consultants must be used. It is of little use running a sensitisation program on the Vietnamese in Australia if the program participants have never met a Vietnamese person before and/or do not understand relevant cultural values, or if previous contact has been of an unequal nature. The only contact police, for example, tend to have with the general public is when they are engaged in unlawful behaviour — criminal activities, domestic violence, drink-driving and speeding. If you add to that the visibility of a particular group — language, skin colour — then it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the police, like other people dealing with the public, would over-generalise from this kind of contact and believe that all members of a particular minority group were, say, violent, drunken and dangerous drivers. Over-generalisations of this nature need to be challenged by correct information and exposure to lawful members of that particular group;
  - adopting a non-confrontation approach for each segment of the program. That is, information-givers should be supportive and considerate of participants' experience and opinions. This is particularly important if information-givers are not members of that particular profession. It is then too easy for participants to dismiss the speaker, and thereby the subject matter, as unrealistic and ignorant of their particular problems;
  - using a variety of media (films, guest speakers, video tapes). This is just good teaching practice and requires no elaboration;

- presenting issues in a wider social setting. Instead of focusing exclusively on negative aspects of minority group and majority group relations, discussion should reflect the changes in race relations over the last 200 years. One of the best ways to do this is to begin a program with a history of inter—group relations in Australia. Participants can not only indulge in a scandalised reaction to the racism of the nineteenth century, but also see that there have been some positive changes in policy and attitudes. It is also a safe way to introduce participants to racial theory and practice, before focusing on contemporary racism and, more sensitively, their racial attitudes. Participants should also be made aware of the heterogeneity of Australian society and of community attitudes towards powerless groups in general. That is to say, concepts like power and control in Australian society influence how each of us react to minority group members. Members of strongly hierarchical professions, such as police officers, teachers and public servants, tend to modify their behaviour when talking to a 'superior' or 'subordinate'. Minority group members tend to be classified as 'subordinates', unless they are visibly represented in the profession as 'superiors'. So negative attitudes are not simply racial but classist as well;
- communicating simply and directly and avoiding the use of complicated language and professional jargon;
- using peer-group pressure by identifying peer leaders and involving them in workshop situations;
- aiming at maximum participation and avoidance of too many lecture presentations;
- information which is current, accurate and logical about a particular minority group is an important basis for any inter—group relations program. However, information alone will not affect a negative attitude, if the person actively dislikes members of a particular minority group. Feelings are often the core of an attitude, therefore it is important to include strategies which expose and explore emotions, and values, such as simulation exercises;
- in longer programs, perhaps of 6 or 12 months duration, consideration should be given to a study of the language of a particular group. Professionals who can speak Italian, Greek or a relevant community language are advantaged because misunderstandings are minimised and their task is carried out more efficiently.

Two adaptations to the program follow, based on the preceding guidelines:

### **A one-day anti-racism workshop for adult educators**

*Time:* 9.00 a.m.-5.00 p.m.

*Program:*

- |       |  |
|-------|--|
| 9.00  | Introduction: two-way exchange on who we are and why we are here   |
| 9.30  | 1. Stimulus film: <i>Bill Cosby on 'Prejudice'</i>   |
| 9.45  | 2. Mini lecture on the nature of prejudice/racism in Australia (Part C, p. 99 of the <i>Handbook</i> )   |
| 10.30 | 3. Discussion: What aspects/manifestations of racism/prejudice concern <i>you</i> ? (As a teacher, police officer, public servant, administrator, etc.)  |
| 11.00 | Morning tea: informal sharing of experiences   |
| 11.30 | 4. Strategies for use in combating racism/prejudice. Facilitator may choose to present a range of simulation exercises, games, films and videos. For example: each small interest group selects one or two anti-racism strategies from the following exercises:<br><i>Exercise 3:</i> Discrimination and consequent feelings (p. 46) <i>or</i><br><i>Exercise 4:</i> What do we know and feel about racism? (p. 46)<br><i>Exercise 7:</i> Fuzzy concept: racism (p. 47)<br><i>Exercise 11:</i> An <i>aidememoire</i> on institutional racism (p. 51)<br><i>Exercise 17:</i> Cultural racism: black and white (p. 57)<br><i>Exercise 18:</i> Stop laughing, it's not funny (p. 57)<br><i>Exercise 26:</i> Exploration of racist attitudes (p. 69) |
| 12.30 | 5. Report back, let us know about your concerns, strategies, doubts and where you could use such materials   |

- 1.00 Lunch together
- 2.00 6. General hints for implementing anti-racist teaching, based on 'Do's and Don'ts' (Part A of *Handbook*) and 'Guidelines for planning an anti-racism program' (Part B, Chapter 6 of *Handbook*)
- 3.00 7. Five minutes each from resource people — who they are, what they're offering (use Part C of *Handbook* for ideas)
- 3.30 8. 'Hands on' materials, resource people
- 5.00 9. Summary and evaluation

*Note to facilitator:*

This model was first used in October, 1984. The authors were requested to run an Anti-Racism Workshop by the A.C.T. Schools Authority. It was held at the O'Connell Education Centre — an ideal venue in the A.C.T. You will need to be extremely well-prepared for such an intensive program. In order to be able to respond flexibly to the needs of participants, a variety of activities and handouts will be needed. The venue should include a large meeting room, and several smaller rooms for groups of five to ten people. Each room should be equipped with an overhead projector, a film room should also be supplied with butchers paper, masking tape, texta pens, overhead transparency film, etc. Rooms should be well-lit, comfortable and welcoming. Coffee and tea dispensers should be readily accessible!

This program can be expanded to a five-day workshop without too much trouble. A suggested workshop plan follows.

A five-day program on anti-racism for adult educators

Day 1

*a.m.*

- *Introduction:* who are we and why are we here.
- *Exercises 1 and 2* (p. 45)
- Small group discussions on past experiences with racism: *Exercises 3 and 4* (p. 46)

*p.m.*

- Report back in large group while facilitator records main points on overhead transparency or butchers paper.
- Show film *Is it Always Right to be Right*. Discuss.
- Report back in last hour on progress. Foreshadow next day's activities.

Day 2

*a.m.*

- *Exercise 5:* Definitions of prejudice (p. 46)
- Show film of *Bill Cosby on 'Prejudice'*. Discuss, using guidelines in Exercise 5.
- *Exercise 6:* How is prejudice different from racism (p. 47), including mini lecture on *Prejudice and racism in Australia* (see Part C of *Handbook*).
- Discussion of lecture.

*p.m.*

- *Exercise 7:* Fuzzy concept: racism (p. 47)
- *Exercise 26:* Exploration of racist attitudes (p. 69)
- Foreshadow next day's activities.

Day 3

*a. m.*

- *Guest speakers:* invite at least four guest speakers, with first hand experience of racism. If possible include at least one 'authority' figure from the profession, who is prepared to make a statement about anti-racism and the profession. This person should begin the session.
- *Speaker 1:* Mini lecture for about 20-30 minutes e.g. authority figure on racism/anti-racism in the profession (police force, health, teaching, law, etc.). Follow this with a question-answer discussion for 30 mins. Group can then have coffee/lunch with the speaker. This enables more relaxed and informal contact and discussion.
- Continue with other three speakers.

Day 4

*a.m.*

- Facilitator should recap Day 3's activities and invite reaction.
  - Facilitator should provide reference lists so that participants may privately follow-up on any group that interests them.
  - *Exercise 11:* An *aide-memoire* on institutional racism (p. 51)
- P.m.-*
- *Exercise 17:* Cultural racism: black and white (P. 57)
  - *Exercise 18:* Stop laughing, it's not funny. (p. 57)
  - Foreshadow next day's activities.

Day 5

*a. m.*

- Facilitator should recap Day 4's activities and invite reaction.
  - What action can be taken to combat racism?
- Exercise 30:*  
Brainstorming ideas for anti-racist action (P. 75)

*P.m.*

- Feedback on activities, including feelings, relevance of materials, application and so forth.
- Formal evaluation of five-day program

## Notes

1. Xenophobia: fear of foreigners or fear of the different.
2. Ethnocentrism: a belief in the superiority of one's own group, culture or nationality.
3. See *Education News*, vol. 15, no. 9, and Larsen, K. 'Race and culture courses: an approach to attitude change', reprinted from the *A.I.A.S. Newsletter*, no. 8, June 1977.
4. Adapted from Judy H. Katz, *White awareness: handbook for anti-racism training*, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1982, p. 48.
5. *ibid.*, p. 55.
6. R.J. Samuda & W.H. Tinglin quoted in M. Abmed Ijaz, 'Racism: attitude or behaviour?' (Summer-Fall 1983) *Currents*, 14.
7. Adapted from Judy H. Katz, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
8. Adapted from Inner London Education Authority, *An aide-memoire for the inspectorate, education in a multicultural society*, ILEA, London, 1981.
9. Adapted from National Education Association, *Education and racism: an action manual*, NEA, Washington, D.C., 1973, pp. 28-9.
10. Adapted from a lecture given by Jan Pettman at Canberra CAE in 1985.
11. Useful cartoons can be found in issues of the *Canberra Times* e.g. 28 April 1984, 9 May 1984, 22 May 1984, 20 August 1984, and the *Sunday Telegraph* e.g. 9 September 1984.
12. An adaptation of a commercial simulation game by Simile II, Del Mar, California, 1976.
13. The rationale section may be used as a framework for a mini lecture, if required.
14. Attitude may be defined as a tendency to evaluate an object or the symbol of that object in a certain way.
15. Adapted from Judy H. Katz, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
16. Adapted from National Education Association, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
17. Adapted from Judy H. Katz, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
18. *ibid.*, p. 164.
19. *ibid.*, p. 169.
20. *ibid.*, p. 176.

*PART C*

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**A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF  
ANTI-RACIST MATERIALS AND  
RESOURCES**

*Barbara Chambers*



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# Readings and Resources

Part C lists resources and references that are useful in implementing an anti-racism teaching program. Included are lists of readings that are necessary for both facilitator and participants to:

1. understand the concept and nature of racism;
2. recognise racism not only within themselves but also within structures and institutions; and
3. provide strategies to help combat racism in its various forms.

In addition to the readings and simulation exercises, sources such as films and video-tapes will provide alternative perspectives that will help clarify racism for the participants through various media — documents, dialogue, fiction and so on.

My experience has been that structured and unstructured exercises, films, tapes and readings help participants better understand the issues of racism on a number of levels. Different people learn differently, and variety in experience will help make the program more meaningful. It is important that you use the readings and resources such that they are relevant to the time available to you; the geographical and sociological context in which you are trying to teach; the participants' readiness, prior culture — contact experience and academic level of ability. There is not, and never can be, a universal anti-racism teaching program.

## READINGS

As readings provide a vital role in supporting and developing theories, I have presented a core of reading that I feel is essential in presenting new perspectives and data on white racism. Before participants attempt any exercises they, and the facilitators, should be asked to read material to prepare them for the experience offered in the exercises. In addition, the readings will add focus, rigour and meaning to the experiences.

*The readings and resources are divided into four sections:*

Section 1: Basic and supplementary readings for participants and facilitators

Section 2: Resources — handbooks and manuals

Section 3: Films and useful organisations

Section 4: Mini lectures

*A note to facilitators:*

The use of handouts from the readings is a good way of utilising and ensuring a wider range of resources and perspectives for aiding the participant. Clearly the lists are not exhaustive. They aim to provide a foundation plus sources for further exploration. All facilitators should capitalise on relevant articles in newspapers, journals, magazines and record, on videotape wherever permissible, current affairs programs on radio and television. For example, the local newspaper and radio station are good sources of relevant material on race and culture in your area. It cannot be emphasised enough that this *Handbook* is a beginning, not an end experience in itself.

## Section 1

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# Readings

## Racism

Looking at racism in terms of types, including attitudinal and behavioural racism on individual and institutional levels.

### Basic reading

ALLPORT, G.W. *The nature of prejudice*. Addison-Wesley, Reading, Massachusetts, 1954.

One of the best books on the nature of prejudice. It would be impossible to understand the psychology of racism without reading this seminal text.

AJZEN, I. & FISHBEIN, M. *Understanding attitudes and predicting social behaviour*. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1980.

For the serious reader of the theory and techniques of attitude change, this book is essential reading. Attitude testing techniques are simply described and easy to adapt and apply.

BANTON, M.P. *Racial and ethnic competition*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983.

BIDOL, P. *Racism definition list. New perspectives on race*. P.A.C.T., Detroit, 1972.

HOPPER, F. *Connexions: the language of prejudice*. Penguin, Ringwood, 1979.

*Let's end the slander; combating racial prejudice in teaching materials*. Office of the Commissioner for Community Relations, Canberra, 1979.

Practical techniques are given for combating racial prejudice in teaching material.

LIPPMANN, L. *The aim is understanding*. Australia & New Zealand Book Company, Sydney, 1977.

LIPPMANN, L. *Generations of resistance: the Aboriginal struggle for justice*. Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1981.

An essential textbook for any person interested in black—white culture contact and racism in Australia.

*Race in the classroom*. All Teachers Against Racism and Fascism, London, 1980.

### Supplementary reading

ALLEN, S. 'The institutionalisation of race'. (1973) 15, 1 *Race*, 99-104.

BANTON, M.P. *The idea of race*. Tavistock, London, 1977.

MASON, D. 'After Scarman: a note on the concept of "institutional racism"'. (1982) 10, 1 *New Community*, 38-45.

SEDLICK, W. & BROOKS, G. *Racism in American education*. Nelson Hall, Chicago, 1976.

SIVANANDAN, A. *A different hunger: writings on black resistance*. Pluto Press, London, 1982.

SIVANANDAN, A. 'Race, class and power: an outline for study'. (1973) 14, 4 *Race*, 383-91.

*Teaching and racism*. All Teachers Against Racism and Fascism, London, 1978.

## Anti-racism

### Basic reading

FEAGIN, J. & FEAGIN, D. *Discrimination American style: institutional racism and sexism*. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1978.

The authors describe in concrete detail the mechanics and effects of institutional discrimination in employment, housing, health and social services, education, politics and the courts. They look at what has not been done to eradicate discrimination and suggest strategies to combat racism.

GASELKO, N.H. & MICHAELIS, J.V. *Reducing adolescent prejudice: a handbook*. Teachers College Press, New York, 1981.

Although the target group of this book is adolescents, it is an excellent beginning text for the adult educator.

KATZ, J.H. *White awareness: handbook for anti-racism training*. University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1982.

A refreshing approach to anti-racist teaching. This book focuses on white prejudice and shifts the attention from the black victim to the white protagonist.

KNOWLES, L. & PREWITT, K. *Institutional racism in America*. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1969.

The authors have written a fine description and analysis of institutional racism. Often the focus in the literature is on individual prejudice, from a psychological perspective. The structural manifestations of racism are exposed in this book.

OUSELEY, H., SILVERSTONE, D. & PRASHER, U. *The system*. Runnymede Trust & South London Equal Rights Consultancy, London, 1981.

This book is important reading for a number of reasons. It shows what can be done if there is a commitment to change things at a societal and individual level. Ouseley et al. also review what positive action means in practice and what can be done in a relatively short period. The book also demonstrates how far we still have to go and how hard the road is towards racial equality.

VERMA, G.K. & BAGLEY, C. (eds). *Race education and identity*. Macmillan, Melbourne, 1979.

This book is a contrast to Katz's analysis of American prejudice because it focuses on the British experience of racism.

ZIMBARDO, P. et al. *Influencing attitudes and changing behaviour*. Addison-Wesley, New York, 1977.

Zimbardo et al. have written a stimulating, readable book on the functions, effects and changes of attitudes. It is not simply a book about race attitudes; it provides the context for understanding social attitude development.

### Supplementary reading

CLAYDON, L., KNIGHT, T. & RADO, M. *Curriculum and culture: schooling in a pluralist society*. Allen & Unwin, Hornsby, 1979.

DODGSON, P. & STEWART, D. 'Multiculturalism or anti-racist teaching?'. (1982) 10, 2 *Multiracial Education*, 41-51.

Education and Racism. National Education Association of the United States, Michigan, 1973.

GREEN, A. 'In defence of anti-racist teaching'. (1982) 10,2 *Multiracial Education*, 19-35.

HALL, S. 'Teaching about race'. In J. Tierney (ed.). *Race, migration and schooling*. Holt, Rinehart & Winston, London, 1982.

KATZ, J. 'Multicultural education: games educators play'. (1982) 10,2 *Multiracial Education*, 11-17.

PETT/VIAN, J. Multicultural education or anti racist education? Paper given at the SPATE '83 Conference, Brisbane, 1983.

## *Cultural racism*

Although race is no longer a useful or accurate classificatory term for humans, the *concept* of racism still exists. Therefore it is useful to apply the concept to that collection of negative prejudices, discriminations and stereotypes that people have about people who are demonstrably different in some way. Ethnocentrism is a cultural attribute, to some degree, of us all. But cultural racism can be and should be eradicated. The following list will help an educator committed to such a social goal.

### Basic reading

- CHAMBERS, B.E. *Why can't they be like us. A race relations report on the attitudes of teachers and pupils towards Aboriginals.* Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 1981.
- CITRON, A.F. *The rightness of whiteness.* Michigan Ohio Regional Educational Laboratory, Detroit, 1969.
- COMER, J. 'White racism: its roots, form and function'. In R.L. Jones (ed.). *Black psychology.* Harper and Row, New York, 1972.
- GILBERT, K. *Living black.* Penguin, Ringwood, Victoria, 1977.  
An Aboriginal writer who presents a series of interviews with Aboriginal people. A perception of how they see themselves and their backgrounds. It reveals a mixture of hopelessness and optimism, of apathy and energy: it is the essence of the contradiction of living as a black in Australia today.
- KATZ, J. *White racism.* University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1982.
- PETTMAN, J. Combating ethnic prejudice and racism amongst adults. Paper delivered at the Community Relations Workshop, Melbourne College of Advanced Education, 14 July, 1984.

### Supplementary reading

- BANKS, J. *Multi ethnic education.* Allyn & Bacon, Boston, 1981.
- BANKS, J.A. & GRAMBS, J.D. *Black self-concept: implications for education and social science.* McGraw-Hill, Sydney, 1972.
- BANTON, M.P. *Racial and ethnic competition.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983.
- DODGSON, P. & STEWART, D. 'Multiculturalism or anti-racist teaching?' (1982) 10,2 *Multiracial Education*, 41-51.
- GRASSBY, A. *The tyranny of prejudice.* Australasian Education Press, Melbourne, 1984.
- GUNDARA, J. 'Approaches to multicultural education'. In J. Tierney (ed.). *Race migration and schooling.* Holt, Rinehart & Winston, London, 1982.
- KAPFERER, J. & MCCONNOCHIE, K. 'Three models of multicultural education'. (1980) 8 *South Pacific Journal of Teacher Education*, 27-37.
- KING, L. *Confessions of a white racist.* Viking Press, New York, 1971. KOVEL, J. *White racism: a psycho-history.* Pantheon, New York, 1970. LIFFMAN, M. 'The education of professionals in a multicultural society. (1982) 5,3 *Migrant Action*.
- MOORE, H. *Ivory tower or grass roots: the relation between theory and practice in the education of professionals for the multicultural society* (Multicultural Australia Paper 14). CHOMI, Melbourne, 1981.
- PETTMAN, J. Multicultural education — cultural politics in the classroom. Paper presented at the SPATE '82 Conference, Frankston, Victoria, 6-9 July 1982.
- SMART, R. *Intercultural training for Australians?* (Multicultural Australia Paper 10). CHOMI, Melbourne, 1982.
- STORER, D. (ed.). *Ethnic family values in Australia.* Compiled by the Institute of Family Studies. Prentice-Hall of Australia, Sydney, 1985.
- STRAKER-WELDS, M. (ed.). *Education for a multicultural society: case studies in ILEA schools.* Bell & Hyman, London, 1984.

## History of race relations

While racism is essentially an illogical, emotive reaction to physical or cultural differences, no participant in an anti-racism program can ever hope to combat these and society's prejudices unless he/she understands its roots and the effect it has had on Australian cultural action and interaction. The resources that follow do provide a vicarious insight into white action, black reactions.

### Basic reading

HARRIS, S. *It's coming yet. . . an Aboriginal treaty within Australia between Australians*. The Aboriginal Treaty Committee, Canberra, 1979.

HOWARD, M. (ed.). *Aboriginal power in Australian society*. University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1982.

MANSFIELD, B.C. 'The origins of "White Australia" '.(1954) 26, 4 *Australian Quarterly*.

REYNOLDS, H. *The other side of the frontier*. History Department, James Cook University, Townsville, 1981.

YARWOOD, A.T. & KNOWLING, M. J. *Race relations in Australia: a history*. Methuen, North Ryde, N.S.W., 1982.

An account of history that shows how Australian attitudes and Australian people were shaped. It reveals how these attitudes almost destroyed the culture of the Australian Aboriginal. It also describes the negative social relations between Australians and the Chinese, Pacific Islanders and Japanese.

### Supplementary reading

BERNDT, R.M. (ed.). *Aborigines and change: Australia in the '70s*. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 1977.

BIRCH, A. 'The implementation of the White Australia Policy in the Queensland sugar industry 1901-1912'. (1965) 11, 2 *Australian Journal of Pacific History*.

CRONIN, E. 'The Chinese community in Queensland, 1874-1900'. (1973) 2 *Queensland Heritage*.

GALE, F. (ed.). *We are bosses ourselves*. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 1983.

HARRISON, B. 'The Myall Creek Massacre'. In I. McBride (ed.). *Records of times past*. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 1979.

HUTTENBACK, R.A. 'The British Empire as a "white man's country" '.(1973) 13 *Journal of British Sociology*.

JACOBS, P., LANDAU, A. & PELL, E. *To serve the devil: a documentary analysis of America's racial history and why it has been kept hidden*. (vol. 1: Natives and slaves). Vintage, New York, 1971.

Loos, N. *Invasion and resistance: Aboriginal-European relations on the North Queensland frontier 1861-1897*. Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1982.

READ, P. *The stolen generations: the removal of Aboriginal children in N.S.W. 1883-1969*. N.S.W. Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, Sydney, 1982.

REYNOLDS, H. 'Racial thought in early colonial Australia'. (1974) 20, 1 *Australian Journal of Pacific History*.

ROBINSON, F. & YORK, B. *The black resistance*. International Publishers, Camberwell, Vic., 1977.

ROWLEY, C.D. *The destruction of Aboriginal society*. Penguin, Ringwood, 1970.

SHERINGTON, G. *Australia's immigrants 1788-1978*. Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1980.

SMITH, L.R. *The Aboriginal population of Australia*. AGPS, Canberra, 1980.

VAN DEN BERGHE, P. *Race and racism*. John Wiley, London, 1967.

WILSON, P. *Black death, white hands*. Allen & Unwin, Melbourne, 1982.

## Oral history

This section is regrettably short, because there is little material written for adult educators. The interested scholar should consult the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies for more information.

## Basic reading

THOMSON, B. 'Taking racism personally'. In D. Ruddell, (ed.). *Recognizing racism*. City of Birmingham Education Department, Birmingham, 1982.

## Supplementary reading

*Aboriginal history*. Editorial Board and Management Committee, Scopac Printery, Canberra, 1979.

TATZ, C.M. (ed.). *Black viewpoints: the Aboriginal experience*. ANZ Book Co., Sydney, 1975.

## Contemporary issues

This section covers issues such as: education, economy, employment, health, housing, land, law and government. It is impossible to compile a complete list, but the books that follow have been used extensively by the authors and their students.

## Basic reading

*Australian Aborigines in the news* (Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies). Australian Commonwealth Aboriginal Studies Working Group report to the AEC. AGPS, Canberra, 1982.

BOSTOCK, W.W. *Alternatives of ethnicity: immigrants and Aborigines in Anglo-Saxon Australia*. Corvus Publishers, West Brunswick, Vic., 1981.

This book gives a sensitive account of the experiences and problems faced by immigrants and Aborigines. The author takes a linguistic approach and stresses that the original language and culture must be maintained by migrants and Aborigines before they can come to terms with the ethnicity of the dominant culture.

BROOME, R. *Aboriginal Australians: black response to white dominance 1788-1980*. Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1982.

BROPHO, R. *Fringedwellers*. Alternative Publishers, Sydney, 1980.

This book provides an Aboriginal perspective on the growth of Australia: not a nation growing bigger and better than we too often hear, but where a race of people struggle to maintain their identity.

CURTHOYS, A., & MARKUS, A. (eds). *Who are our enemies? Racism and the working class in Australia*. Hale and Iremonger, Melbourne, 1978.

LIPPMANN, L. *Generations of resistance: the Aboriginal struggle for justice*. Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1981.

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## Text-book misrepresentation

### Basic reading

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- Guidelines for selecting bias-free textbooks and storybooks*. Council on Interracial Books for Children, Broadway, N.Y. 1981.
- HILL, M. & BARLOW, A. *Black Australia: an annotated bibliography*. Australian Institute of Advanced Studies, Canberra, 1984.
- HOUSTON, J.H. *Combatting racial prejudice in school text books*. Paper presented at 49th Congress, Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science, Auckland, N.Z., 1979.
- Let's end the slander; combating racial prejudice in teaching materials*. Office of the Commissioner for Community Relations, Canberra, 1979.
- Both this book and the one by Hill & Barlow analyse the reality of racial prejudice in Australian literature and school books.
- LIPPMANN, L. 'Newstyle racism in textbooks'. (1973) 30,5 *Educational Magazine*, 4-5.

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*White control and minority oppression*. Racism/Sexism Resource Centre for Educators. Viewpoint, New York, 1982.

## Section 2

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### Resources

#### *Handbooks, Manuals*

*Aboriginal studies resource list.* Compiled by Alex Barlow, for the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 1983.

Attorney-General's Department Library. *Human rights in Australia.* Compiled by Roy Jordan for Attorney-General's Department, Canberra, 1981.

*Audio-visual aids for teachers. Education for a multicultural society.* Commission for Racial Equality, London, 1982.

Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs. *Directory of Australian multicultural films and videos.* Compiled by Alleyn Best for the AIMA. Melbourne, 1985.

*Bibliography of racial, ethnic and feminist resources.* Pennsylvania Department of Education, Pennsylvania, 1983.

*Clearing House on Migrant Issues: Stocklist.* Ecumenical Migration Centre, Document Unit, Richmond, Vic., 1983.

GASELKO, N.H. & MICHAELIS, J.V. *Reducing adolescent prejudice: a handbook.* Teachers College Press, New York, 1981.

This book is designed for school students. It is, however, an excellent source of ideas.

HILL, M. & BARLOW, A. *Black Australia: an annotated bibliography and teacher's guide to resources on Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders.* Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 1984 (1978).

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National Education Association. *Education and racism: an action manual.* National Education Association, Washington, D.C., 1973.

ORZECH, S. *Prejudice — strategies for curriculum development* (Multicultural Australia Paper 26). Richmond, Vic., 1983.

PETTMAN, RALPH. *Teaching for human rights.* Human Rights Commission, Canberra, 1984.

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SHIMAN, D.A. *The prejudice book: activities for the classroom.* The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York, 1979.

SHIRTS, R.G. *Rafa Rafa: a cross-culture simulation.* Simile II, Del Mar, California, 1976.

*Teaching cross-cultural awareness.* Attorney-General's Department, Canberra, 1982.

## Section 3

### Films and organisations

#### Films

<i>Location</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Time</i>	
Sydney Film Makers Co-operative, P.O. Box 217, Kings Cross, N. S.W.	<i>Black Britannia Burning an Illusion Backroads</i>	57 mins 107 mins 60 mins	
	<i>Women of the Sun four-part series — 1824, 1890, 1939, 1981</i>	60 mins each	
Special Broadcasting Service, Channel 0/28, G.P.O. Box 21, Sydney, N.S.W.	<i>A Shame Like Alice</i> in two parts	28 mins each	
	<i>Just Who's Prejudiced?</i>	28 mins	
	<i>The Outside Within</i>	20 mins	
	<i>The Cost</i>	21 mins	
	<i>Two Different Worlds</i>	21 mins	
	<i>Third Class — Third Rate</i>	26 mins	
	<i>The Kamikaze of Industry</i>	20 mins	
	<i>A Matter of Communication Do</i>	20 mins	
	<i>No Go Gentle</i>	26 mins	
	<i>Lousy Little Sixpence 1909-1930</i>	55 mins	
	Department of Aboriginal Affairs, MLC Tower, Woden Town Centre, Phillip, A.C.T.	<i>My Brown Skin Baby — They Take 'im Away</i>	44 mins
	Australian National Library of Australia, Parkes Place, A.C.T.	<i>Bill Cosby on 'Prejudice'</i>	20 mins
<i>Is It Always Right To Be Right?</i>		10 mins	
<i>Working Together</i>		10 mins	
<i>Stop The Money Going Out</i>		13 mins	
<i>Ticket To Ride</i>		30 mins	
NAEDC Video Library	<i>This Is Working</i>	27 mins	
	<i>The Women Of Utopia</i>	18 mins	
	<i>An Apprehension Not a Prejudice</i>	17 mins	
	<i>Aborigines: A Resource Untapped</i>	81/2 mills	

#### *Endnote:*

Each address provided here should enable facilitators to obtain current catalogues of films/videos so that they can make appropriate selections of material. Other sources of current information, particularly on Asian immigration and Aboriginal land rights, include the ABC's *Four Corners*, *Nationwide* and *Pressure Point*. Channel 0 provides almost compulsory viewing for the student interested in ethnicity and race. Occasionally other commercial channels show films which explore individual, cultural and institutional racism. The Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies has the best

selection of films on Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, but these cannot be loaned, only bought. However, the National Library has most of them and they can be hired. The Commonwealth Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs also keeps films/videos and interested people can contact them for information. Adult educators interested in anti-racist teaching will probably know their own State's/Territory's resources best, so no attempt has been made to list media agencies across Australia.

*Note to facilitators:*

A word of caution. All films and videos need to be located within a framework of stringent, critical analysis. I have never viewed a film/video that can stand on its own without some discussion of the accuracy of material presented, the ideological position of the film maker and the impact on the audience's mind and emotions.

<i>Title</i>	<i>Recommendation</i>
<i>Black Britannia</i> <i>Burning an Illusion</i>	Recommended by Josie Crawshaw, formerly adult educator with the Aboriginal Development Commission.
<i>Backroads</i> <i>Women of the Sun</i>	• Four-part series covering the periods of black–white contact of 1824, 1890, 1939 and 1981. Highly recommended. Each video can either begin a segment of an anti-racism course as a stimulus, or conclude it as a summary.
<i>A Shame Like Alice</i> in two parts <i>Just Who's Prejudiced</i> <i>The Outside Within</i> <i>The Cost</i> <i>Two Different Worlds</i> <i>Third Class — Third Rate</i> <i>The Kamikaze of Industry</i> <i>A Matter of Communication</i> <i>Do No Go Gentle</i>	Several teachers and public service adult educators recommended these films/videos to me. I have not seen any of them, and therefore cannot endorse any of them. However, any film should be previewed by the user; the audience should be given background information on it; and a thorough discussion should ensue after it has been shown.
<i>Lousy Little Sixpence</i>	Highly recommended, as it focuses on racism, Aboriginal identity and social justice. The film covers the period 1909– 1930 and shows the emergence of a visible Aboriginal political consciousness and activism.
There have been several treatments of <i>Away</i>	<i>My Brown Skin Baby — They Take 'im</i> Highly recommended. the 'kidnapping' of so-called 'half-caste' Aboriginal children, the most emotionally devastating of which was portrayed in <i>Women of the Sun</i> . It was an appalling aspect of Australian history and its repercussions are felt today. All over Australia children — often of Aboriginal mothers and white fathers — were sent to church or state homes for their own 'protection'. The racist ideology was clear: white blood means you are capable of being 'civilised' and children were 'saved' from being tainted by 'full blood' ways. Girls, in N. S.W. , were placed in a home, which also trained them as domestic servants. Boys too, in N.S.W. were placed in a home, which also trained them as agricultural labourers or 'pastoral fodder'. This film examines the policies which sanctioned this extreme form of racism and the feelings of the families of the kidnapped children.
<i>It's a Long Road Back</i>	Highly recommended. Coral Edwards was one of the 'brown-skinned babies' taken away from her family. She was sent to Cootamundra Girl's Home — a training institution providing domestic staff for white women. I like this video because it was produced by Coral Edwards and tells the story of herself and other women, in a simple direct way. Coral Edwards is still fighting to re-unite Aboriginal children with their families.

*Bill Cosby on 'Prejudice'*

Highly recommended. This film is always fresh and relevant. Bill Cosby in his own inimitable and humorous way, portrays the idiocy of bigotry. It should leave no-one in the audience untouched. The message is clear; we are all prejudiced to some degree. An excellent film for discussing personal racial attitude development.

*Is It Always Right To Be Right?*

An effective but rather simplistic treatment of inter-group relations. It should be used as an introductory stimulus to a discussion of the nature of inter-group relations. Its advantage is that it looks at prejudice between groups of people, rather than simply racial conflict.

*Working Together**Stop The Money Going Out**Ticket To Ride**This Is Working**The Women Of Utopia**An Apprehension Not a Prejudice**Aboriginals: A Resource Untapped*

A superb collection of positive videos about Aborigines and the workforce. They are a welcome change for facilitators and participants who may be at that stage in any anti-racism course where the prospect of social change seems unlikely. The videos are accompanied by a glossy handbook, which provides details on the background i.e. content of each video.

## Section 4

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### Mini lectures

#### *Mini lecture 1: 'Race and Racism'*

Jan Pettman

What is prejudice? stereotyping? ethnocentrism?

#### **What is racism?**

1. Prejudice — negative attitudes, based on a pre-judgment, those classified on the basis of physical (or cultural?) characteristics.
2. Discrimination — behaviour which disadvantages members of racial (and ethnic?) minorities.
3. Racial ideology -- social myth, identifying people on the basis of real or presumed characteristics, and imputing inferiority. The explanation may vary over time, e.g. from biological determination to cultural deprivation. What matters is its function: to justify or explain inequality in ways that blame the victim.
4. Institutional racism — embedded in social, economic and political structures, reflected in everyday practices of e.g. schools, welfare agencies, courts.

#### **Related issues**

1. Race is a *social* category — what matters is what people believe to be true. (Race compared with ethnicity.)
2. Individual compared with institutional racism including unconscious and unintended racism.
3. Relationship between the individual, social and structural dimensions.
4. The role of stereotypes in facilitating prejudice and racism. What are white stereotypes of Aborigines? Aboriginal stereotypes of whites? Where did they come from?
5. What is the relationship between race and class? A racist society is an unequal society; racism = ascribed status. Racism is a 'rewarding ideology and a profitable way of life' — for whom?
6. Is Australia a racist society? Is racism everywhere the same phenomenon? Are there unique features in Australia?

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VAN DEN BERGHE, P. *Race and racism*. John Wiley, London, 1967.

## *Mini lecture 2: 'Black—white relations: protection and protest'*

*Jan Pettman*

**Protection** — a legally inferior status, on the basis of race. Institutionalisation of Aborigines, under the control of white managers and white law.

*Rowley* documents the process 'from Aboriginal tribesman to inmate'.

Protection— why?

— with what consequences, for Aboriginal and other Australians?

*Lousy Little Sixpence, Women of the Sun* parts 2, 3 — Whose story? How does this story compare with what you were taught about Aboriginal and Australian history?

Role of Aboriginal labour?

Policies for 'part' Aborigines — including the seizing of the kids, and their training as apprentices and servants.

The history of Aboriginal protest and mobilisation — the 1930s (*Lousy Little Sixpence, Women of the Sun*, part 3, Broome, Homer).

The role of World War II?

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*Lousy Little Sixpence 1909-1930* (film).

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TATZ, C. M. *Race politics in Australia: Aborigines, politics and the law*. University of New England Publishing Unit, Armidale, N.S.W., 1979.

THAIDAY, W. *Under the Act*. North Queensland Black Publishing, Townsville, Qld, 1981.

TUCKER, M. *If everyone cared: an autobiography of Margaret Tucker*. Grosvenor, London, 1983 (1977).

*Women of the Sun* (video) parts 2, 3

## Mini lecture 3: 'Aborigines as a minority group?'

Jan Pettman

Accelerated Aboriginal protest and political organisation over the last 15 years — why?

1. What is the nature of Aboriginal power and politics?
2. What is the nature of Aboriginal incorporation into white society and their status within it?
3. How have those involved in Aboriginal affairs perceived and defined Aborigines?

The study of race relations in Australia until recently has been largely *ahistorical*, *atheoretical*, piecemeal, using a social problem or a welfarist approach (Wild). Alternatives — class, status, power; race as a separate area of social theory; caste; minority group, culture of poverty, internal colonialism? What is distinctive about Aborigines today? Issues of prejudice and discrimination, of culture, of Aboriginal identity (Langton, Berndt). What do they share with other disadvantaged groups?

What factors influence the creation of and recruitment into Aboriginal ethnicity? What role do whites, including governments, play? What is the role of the emerging Aboriginal elite? (Howard, Langton, Gilbert).

What is the relationship between Aboriginality (culture), discrimination (race), poverty (class) and indigenous status (colonialism) in Aboriginal politics?

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- GALE, F. (ed.). *We are bosses ourselves*. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 1983.
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- HOWARD, M. (ed.). *Aboriginal power in Australian society*. University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1982.
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