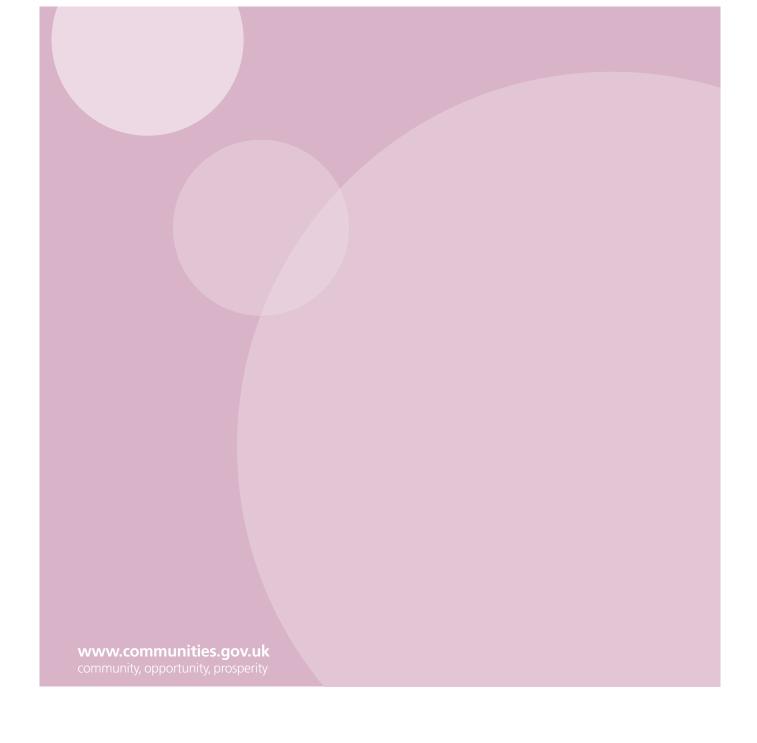**Communities**
and Local Government

Getting the message across: using media to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination

Getting the message across: using media to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination

Mike Sutton, Barbara Perry, Jonathon Parke and Catherine John-Baptiste

Acknowledgements

The authors particularly wish to thank the following people for their advice: Professor Benjamin Bowling (King's College, London); Professor Howard Ehrlich (The Prejudice Institute, Washington D.C. USA), Professor Chris Gaine (University of Chichester); Professor David Mason (Nottingham Trent University); Professor Ray Pawson (University of Leeds) and Professor Nick Tilley OBE (Nottingham Trent University).

Thanks are also due to the two peer reviewers who provided helpful and constructive comments on the draft report. Finally, the authors would like to thank current and former officials at Communities and Local Government including Stella Yarrow, Matthew West, and, in particular, Kaite Emmerson, who managed the research project on behalf of the Department.

If you require this publication in an alternative format please email alternativeformats@communities.gsi.gov.uk

75% recycled
This is printed on
75% recycled paper

Contents

List of tables

List of figures

List of boxes

Executive Summary

Background and aims

Social policy in the United Kingdom increasingly aims to facilitate changes in harmful beliefs, motivations and behaviours. Deeming racism as unacceptable in modern society, racial and ethnic prejudice is one issue that the Government is seeking to tackle. Negative attitudes towards minority groups are viewed by many as a potentially important determinant of social exclusion and disadvantage in the labour market. Therefore tackling prejudice and discrimination is viewed as fundamental to fostering a cohesive society, as well as to ensuring individuals' wellbeing.

Communities and Local Government commissioned this research to examine what works, what is promising and what does not work and why in the use of the media to reduce racial prejudice in England and Wales. The geographical scope of the project was widened early in the project to determine whether valuable additional lessons might be learned from the *One Scotland: Many Cultures* campaign. The research was commissioned as a result of a recommendation in the Government's strategy to redress racial inequalities in the labour force. The review brings together literature on racial prejudice, crime reduction and the social psychology of media use.

The research examines how to design, implement and evaluate the effectiveness of awareness campaigns to reduce racial prejudice. Promising practice is identified along with suitable strategies for minimising short-term and/or long-term racial prejudice.

The central aim of the research is to determine the most effective methods of persuasively communicating messages to counteract racial prejudice so that findings can assist decision making for future media-based initiatives to reduce racial prejudice in the workplace and elsewhere in society. The information in this report can be used to guide implementation, targeting, design, message content, delivery and evaluation of programmes that seek to tackle prejudice and discrimination, and develop greater community cohesion and social inclusion.

Method

The findings in this study stem from a review of the literature concerning effective communication in anti-racism and discrimination, an examination of a number of media-based initiatives to reduce racial prejudice and a retrospective evaluation, using the realist approach, of three national campaigns. Realist evaluation involves examining how a programme is supposed to work and then determines if that basic plan is plausible, durable, practical and valid.

The review comprises material written and published between 1990 and 2005. Focusing specifically upon what is known about good practice in the use of media to reduce prejudice, a total of 65 documents – including published and unpublished reports, CD-ROMS, books, book chapters and journal articles – were examined and reviewed in detail.

Findings

Media-based campaigns represent one medium for effectively influencing people's attitudes on a range of social issues. However, awareness campaigns specifically on race equality and anti-racism have been implemented sporadically across the United Kingdom over the last 15 years. They have been run by central government in Scotland, by organizations such as the Commission for Racial Equality and by independent organizations, and have been used in human resources training in government organisations, educational institutions, and multinational corporations. Although some campaigns have proved effective in influencing people's attitudes, others appear to have reaffirmed stereotypes.

Little research has been conducted into the impact of media campaigns or other prejudice reduction programmes on beliefs, and even less on their impact upon the behaviour of racially prejudiced individuals, victims or those witnessing racial prejudice. Social psychology research on what works and what is promising in reducing prejudice and stimulating attitude change has been largely ignored in the design of media-based initiatives to reduce racial prejudice. This makes it difficult for policy makers to develop a business case for using such media initiatives to reduce racial prejudice, and restricts sharing of good practice among practitioners, local authorities, other organisations, and employers.

Use of the media to reduce racial and ethnic prejudice is a strangely neglected research area. The review of the literature, databases and other sources such as websites revealed that only a handful of programmes and campaigns have been implemented and documented. Fewer still have had any kind of even basic evaluation. This makes it difficult, if not impossible, to point to specific strategies as examples of how to effectively reduce racial and ethnic prejudice. Consequently, this report offers guidelines to consider when planning and implementing campaigns in the future. In particular, this report concludes that campaign designers should understand how the structure, content and delivery of the message are likely to operate, or not operate, as mechanisms for intended change (in particular social contexts) when aiming to deliver a persuasive communication.

Key conclusions are :

- Initiatives using media to reduce racial prejudice can be divided into campaigns (a series of distinct co-ordinated activities) and programmes (effectively stand-alone projects)

- Very little research has been conducted into the actual impact of media campaigns or programmes on beliefs, which has made it difficult for policy makers to develop a business case for using such media initiatives to reduce racial prejudice

- There is currently no definitive evidence of what works in prejudice and discrimination reduction

- However, the evidence from social psychology and realist evaluation lends itself to identifying promising practice in the design and evaluation of campaigns to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination

- Initiatives to date have sought to reduce racially prejudiced beliefs/specific types of racial discrimination in certain settings/specific types of victimisation

- Altering physical and social situational elements, in precise locations where discrimination takes place, may also lead to reduced discrimination in locations beyond those where situational factors are employed

- If a source is seen as having credibility, attractiveness, expertise, status, and power it is more likely to reduce prejudice

- Repetition of the message is more likely to reduce prejudice

- Use of facts and information is not sufficient to change attitudes

- An initiative aimed at those who practise racial discrimination might be unintentionally patronising to those who experience its impacts first-hand

- When presenting a message, contrast is key. Salient communications are more likely to get the intended recipient's attention

- A message is more likely to be effective if it is straightforward, jargon-free and avoids emotionally extreme language

- Realist evaluation can be a useful technique to evaluate the success of an initiative to reduce racial prejudice or racial discrimination.

Recommendations

Relatively recent research emphasises the need to be clear about audience targeting and the need to design campaigns to take account of the attitudes, opinions and complexities of specific audiences that messages are intended for.

The primary aim of an initiative to reduce racial prejudice or discrimination should be to change the lives of victims of racial discrimination for the better. Yet unless careful attention is paid to what we know about effective advertising in initiatives to reduce prejudice, some campaigns and programmes might actually backfire and increase people's prejudice. Efforts to reduce racial prejudice or discrimination may, for example, be interpreted as favouritism towards one ethnic group.

Clearly, there is a need for those who design media based initiatives to gather data about the attitudes and opinions that are held by intended audiences, the factors underpinning them and to assess what motivation there might be for target audiences to accept the messages aimed at them. Initiatives should then be tested with target audiences prior to launching, and monitored throughout, to maximise efficacy and minimise the risk of programme-backfire.

Key recommendations are:

- Understanding how a campaign message is interpreted is critical

- Outcomes may be unintended as well as intended

- To reduce racially prejudiced beliefs, initiatives should utilise knowledge from studies of the social psychology of attitude change

- Emphasise how groups are similar rather than distinct from each other

- Use messages that contradict stereotypes.

- Each message should highlight only one minority ethnic group at a time

- Initiatives to reduce victimisation might be best employed as part of a wider campaign rather than as a stand-alone programme.

- Organisations implementing such initiatives should ensure that surveys to monitor impact are fit for purpose methodologically and in terms of quality

- Campaigns and programmes must set aims higher than simply awareness raising, to measure effectiveness in reducing prejudice and discrimination.

- Thinking about evaluation at the design stage, and budgeting for it at the outset, will better shape the initiative

- The precise mechanism by which an initiative is intended to bring about the aims of the programme must be identified

- The social, political and dynamic context in which a programme is to take place must be understood before initiatives are implemented. This will inform likely replicability.

Section 1. Introduction

This section outlines the policy context to this report and details the aims of the research, design and methodology.

1.1 Background

Social policy in the United Kingdom increasingly aims to facilitate changes in harmful beliefs, motivations and behaviours. Racial and ethnic prejudice is one issue that the Government is seeking to tackle, deeming racism as unacceptable in modern society (Home Office 2005). Negative attitudes towards minority groups are viewed by many as a potentially important determinant of social exclusion (Dustman and Preston 2001) and disadvantage in the labour market (Cabinet Office 2003). Therefore tackling prejudice and discrimination is viewed as fundamental to fostering a cohesive society, as well as to ensuring individuals' wellbeing (Home Office 2005).

Levels of self-reported prejudice today are lower than in the 1980s. However, concerns remain that prejudice may be increasing and that certain minority ethnic groups experience particular hostility (Home Office 2005). In 2003, the Government set out a strategy to redress racial inequalities in the labour market (Cabinet Office 2003) with the aim that:

> *In ten years' time, ethnic minority groups living in Britain should no longer face disproportionate barriers to accessing and realising opportunities for achievement in the labour market.*

This report identified a number of potential barriers to achieving this goal, including racial prejudice and discrimination. It recommended that a review of literature should be conducted to determine how effectively media, in particular awareness campaigns, can be used to alter negative attitudes about people from different ethnic backgrounds.

Awareness campaigns represent one medium for effectively influencing people's attitudes on a range of social issues. However, awareness campaigns specifically on race equality and anti-racism have been implemented sporadically across the United Kingdom over the last 15 years. They have been run by government and independent organisations; they have been used in personnel training in government organisations, educational institutions, and multinational corporations (Duckitt 1992; Landis et al. 1985). However, although some campaigns have proved effective in influencing people's attitudes, others appear to have reaffirmed stereotypes (Cabinet Office 2003).

This research was commissioned in response to the strategy's recommendation to examine what works, what is promising and what does not work and why in the use of the media to reduce racial prejudice.[1] The review brings together literature on racial prejudice, crime reduction and the social psychology of media use. It is intended to assist decision making for future media-based initiatives to reduce racial prejudice in the workplace and elsewhere in society. It provides information that can be used to guide implementation, targeting, design, message content, delivery and evaluation, help tackle discrimination, and develop greater community cohesion and social inclusion.

1.2 Aims of the research

The central aim of the research is to:

- determine the most effective methods of persuasively communicating messages to counteract racial prejudice.

Specifically, the research:

- examines how to design, implement and evaluate the effectiveness of awareness campaigns to reduce racial prejudice

- identifies promising practice and suitable strategies for minimising short-term and/or long-term racial prejudice that can disseminated to a range of key stakeholders, such as local authorities and private sector firms.

1.3 Method

The research is based upon a review of the literature concerning effective communication in anti-racism and discrimination, an examination of a number of media-based initiatives to reduce racial prejudice and a retrospective realist evaluation of three national campaigns. Realist evaluation (Pawson and Tilley, 1997) involves examining how a programme is supposed to work and then determines if that basic plan is plausible, durable, practical and valid.

The review comprises material written and published between 1990 and 2005. Although the literature centres on initiatives to reduce prejudice and change stereotypes, owing to the limited nature of material on racial prejudice, prejudices towards other minority groups such as asylum seekers and immigrants, has also been included in the review. Focusing specifically upon what is known about good practice in the use of media to reduce prejudice, a total of 65 documents – including published and unpublished reports, CD-ROMS, books, book chapters and journal articles – were examined and reviewed in detail. Additionally, many other conference papers, journal articles, books, government and non-

---

[1] This research was originally commissioned by the Home Office, which was formerly responsible for policy on race equality and community cohesion. This responsibility transferred to Communities and Local Government in 2006.

government reports, newspaper/magazine articles, CD ROMS and websites were used to inform what has been written on the more general background in the areas of racism, prejudice, and evaluation in this report.

A more detailed account of the method used is provided in Appendix 1.

1.4 Terminology used

In this report we use the term racial prejudice to mean prejudice against minority 'racial' and ethnic groups or others who are visibly or culturally defined as 'other' than the majority White population.

Reference to 'media' in this report essentially means the mass media, which includes television, radio and Internet broadcasts, websites, and printed media in newspapers, articles in special interest publications, press releases, project reports, posters, advertising and other campaign materials including leaflets, DVDs and even beer mats in pubs. Broadcasts and other media used primarily for teaching or training purposes are intrinsically different and therefore outside the scope of this research.

This review does not include equal opportunities policy training, or educational curricula, since these are more concerned with formal learning processes than with less formal forms of communication of prejudice reduction messages.

1.5 Limitations of this research

This report focuses very specifically upon the use of media to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination. The report, therefore, does not provide a comprehensive analysis of all prejudice reduction techniques.

As well as being purposefully used to reduce prejudice, media can be used to prime and pump racial prejudice and discrimination. This research does not explore how media initiatives change prejudice in one direction or another. Rather, the focus is specifically on informing policy making of media-based initiatives that are most likely to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination.

The quality and quantity of available evidence is not strong enough to generate recommendations for good practice. For example, very little research has been conducted into the actual impact of media campaigns on beliefs, and even less on their impact upon the behaviour of perpetrators, victims or those witnessing racial prejudice. This report instead presents examples of what looks to be promising practice. Evidence suggests that this will most likely be influenced by social and political factors. To date, media-based initiatives to reduce prejudice have relied upon intuitive ideas, rather than employing knowledge of what is more likely to be promising practice. A review of lessons for success in tackling

the roots of racism in the UK and worldwide could not cite any media-based initiatives to reduce racial prejudice in its list of successful programmes (Bhavnani et al. 2005).

This review also found that there is not enough information available on the effectiveness of media-based initiatives to reduce prejudice and their impact to conduct a full and systematic retrospective evaluation.

Prejudice exists in a variety of forms and may differ considerably in the way it is directed toward and between different groups. This variability means that different initiatives might need to address different issues or stereotypes. Whilst overall there is little consensus in published material to date as to how to respond to or prevent racial prejudice by using media, this report seeks to address that knowledge gap by providing a series of very particular recommendations on how best to target media-based initiatives and campaigns to reduce racial prejudice within particular sections of the community. It also suggests how to evaluate these initiatives to determine what works and what does not work, in what circumstances, and why.

This review of the published results of social psychology experiments finds good evidence that media-based prejudice reduction might work. However, it is likely that a number of practical barriers and hurdles will need to be overcome by those seeking to implement this knowledge in the form of media-based initiatives[2]. While it is important to acknowledge practical difficulties in such areas as funding and implementation, the identification of such specific problems, and providing advice on overcoming them, is beyond the scope of this report.

1.6 Structure of the report

Section 2 provides a brief background to the origins and current context of prejudice in England and Wales. Section 3 describes the research methods used in this study. Section 4 outlines a framework for evaluation. Section 5 explores the relationship between ideas and practice. Section 6 presents a typology of media-based initiatives to reduce racial prejudice, and assesses three national campaigns. Section 7 discusses what is likely to be promising practice for future campaigns. Section 8 concludes with a summary of what has been lacking in the design and evaluation of media-based initiatives to reduce racial prejudice to date, and identifies the way forward for future programmes, campaigns and research.

---

[2] Such as finding funding or convincing the mass-media to adopt initiatives

Section 2. Overview of racial prejudice and discrimination

This section explores how racial prejudice is conceptualised, as well as recent trends in self-reported racial prejudice, racial prejudice in Britain and racially motivated crime.

2.1 What is racial prejudice?

To better understand the complexities of racial prejudice, and its social dynamics and consequences, it is necessary to distinguish very clearly between the terms prejudice, racism and discrimination.

'Prejudice', the focus of this report, can be defined as a mental attitude, feeling or opinion formed either as a result of learning through socialisation or biased media such as websites, books and music. Such attitudes, feelings or opinions may be formed without prior knowledge, thought or reason, or through selective decision making regarding what to believe or disbelieve (based on a definition by US National Association of School Psychologists).[3] Racial prejudice therefore refers to personal beliefs that there are different 'races' of people and that some 'races' are superior to others. However, there is no universally accepted definition of what constitutes racism rather than religious or cultural intolerance. The subject area is subject to change as 'race' is a social construct and 'racism' is constantly evolving (Bowling 1993; Fredrickson 2002; Bhavnani et al. 2005).

'Discrimination' refers to the differential *treatment* that favours or disadvantages one individual, group or object over another. The source of discrimination, however, is prejudice. 'Racism' represents both racial prejudice and discrimination that is systematic in that it is supported, either directly or indirectly, by institutional power and authority. What distinguishes racism from prejudice and discrimination is the use of institutional power and authority to *support* prejudice and enforce discriminatory behaviours with far-reaching outcomes and effects.

Gaine (1989; 2000) describes the different means and levels through which racism operates within a fourfold typology:

---

[3] www.nasponline.org/information/pospaper_rpd.html

Table 2.1: Typology of racism	
Type of racism	**Description**
Structural racism	Part of the fabric of society. Operates on a national scale including prejudicial laws and state institutions – including Government.
Institutional racist practices	Includes educational and employment selection criteria and failure to meet certain cultural needs such as diet.
Cultural racism	Generated and maintained by national agencies, the media and political discourses about conflict. Often exists and grows without any first-hand interaction with its victims. Feeds upon folk wisdom, anecdotes, jokes and shared unchallenged assumptions and established practices rooted in the past.
Personal racism	Shaped by individual life experiences, particularly through exposure to the three sub-types above.

At the extreme end of racist discrimination exist atavistic racisms.[4] This behaviour is most likely to be judged by the majority of people as morally outrageous and unacceptable. There are also some much subtler and complex forms of 'banal racist discrimination' (Back et al. 1996). These include racist discrimination, also described as covert racism and institutional racism, stealth, neo-racism, subtle or modern racisms and cultural racism (Barker 1981; Gilroy 1987; Lentin 2000; TUC 2003; Holdaway 2005). This type of discrimination effectively generates and supports an 'enabling' environment for racial discrimination, in areas as diverse as employment, policing and the investigation of racially motivated offending (Macpherson 1999).

Public banal racial discrimination frequently employs humour to make quite complex jokes based on ethnicity or nationality that can be passed off as everyday banter or simply stereotyping. These acts seek to undermine the dignity of those who are taunted, and fall under the definition of 'racial harassment' in the EC Race Directive[5] (Cabinet Office 2003). Solomos and Back (1996) and Long and McNamee (2004) explain that new racism or cultural racism is often discriminatory in defending a particular way of life against outsiders, rather than as a direct attack on those outsiders. Such discrimination may produce a racist effect but those who discriminate in this way deny that such racist effects are the result of racism.

---

[4] By this we mean blatant and crude racisms rather than the more recently identified subtle, stealth racisms that have been identified as particular problems in areas such as employment.

[5] Council directive 2003/43/EC.

Types of racial prejudice and discrimination vary. Perpetrators of racial discrimination practise what has been termed 'doing difference'. Developing an understanding of out-groups and in-groups is a useful way to measure and understand social distance in society (Paradies 2005). Applied to racial discrimination, those in power (in-groups) dominate 'subordinate' groups (out-groups).

Table 2.2 outlines how beliefs, attitudes, and practices map on to the theories of prejudice (see Fredrickson 2002). Racially prejudiced attitudes can be seen as part of a dynamic racial discrimination continuum, rather than existing on one side of a cut-off between prejudice as thought and discrimination as action.

Table 2.2: Manifestations of racially prejudiced thoughts and actions		
Type of belief/ attitude/practice	**Type of racial prejudice[6]**	**Description**
Subtle racial prejudice and discrimination		
Private prejudiced **beliefs**	*Subtle prejudice*	Personal convictions about unchangeable racial differences. If these thoughts are kept in check this is racial prejudice but not discrimination.
Prejudiced public **attitudes**	*Subtle prejudice/ discrimination*	Responses which are relatively subtle and uncritical behaviours. These represent the unintended or inconsiderate social manifestations of prejudiced beliefs – such as awkwardness, posturing, face pulling or similar relatively subtle examples of ignorance, discomfort or dislike. When such subtle racial prejudice manifests so that it impacts negatively on members of particular 'racial' groups it creates racial discrimination.
Subtle and blatant racial discrimination		
Prejudiced **practices** by individuals	Subtle and blatant discrimination	Prejudiced beliefs leading to direct discrimination (eg in employment and housing). May also take the form of being against anti-racism initiatives.[7] This is racial discrimination and racism.
Prejudiced **practices** that are institutional	Subtle and blatant discrimination	Ingrained facilitation and acceptance of (or ignorance of) direct discrimination within an organisation such as a police force. This is institutional racism.

[6] Adapted from Pettigrew and Meertens (1995).
[7] For example, COI (2003).

2.2 Trends and the extent of racial prejudice today

Currently there are two main national data sources on racial prejudice, discrimination and racism: the British Social Attitudes survey and the Citizenship Survey. Both provide trend data; since 1983[8], annually, the British Social Attitudes survey has asked people about the extent to which they think that they are prejudiced towards other races; the Citizenship Survey, which began in 2001, measures whether people think racial prejudice has increased, decreased or stayed the same in the last five years.

The contexts of the different surveys are known to affect the responses obtained to similar questions about opinions, so the figures from the different surveys should be seen as separate time series rather than continuous trend data.

Qualitative research with a range of different socio-economic and minority ethnic groups (COI 2003) and in-depth interviews in 15 police forces (Holdaway 2005) have also confirmed that covert racism is a real phenomenon. Both studies revealed strong and consistent beliefs that racisms are becoming more subtle.

2.3.1 Trends in self-reported racial prejudice

The British Social Attitudes survey shows a gradual downward trend in the number of people describing themselves as "very prejudiced" or "a little prejudiced" since 1983. However, there was a six percentage point rise (to 31 per cent) in 2002. Rothon and Heath (2003) attribute this to greater focus on immigration in the media. Alternatively, it may have been influenced by the terrorist strikes in the USA on September 11 2001. The 2001, 2003 and 2005 Citizenship Surveys all found that people were more likely to think that racial prejudice has increased over time than decreased (Attwood et al 2003: Home Office 2004; Kitchen et al 2006).The latest figures for the first quarter of the 2007-08 Citizenship Survey also indicate this (Communities and Local Government, October 2007).

2.3.2 Perceptions of change in the extent of racial prejudice

The latest Citizenship Survey figures show that the overall proportion of people who feel that racial prejudice has got worse in Britain over the last five years has increased since 2001, from 43 to 56 per cent in 2007. However, there is a growing difference between the perceptions of White people and those from minority ethnic backgrounds. Just under a third of people (32%) of people from minority ethnic groups feel there is more racial prejudice than five years ago, a proportion that has not changed statistically significantly from 2001 (31%). In contrast, in 2007, 58 per cent of White people feel there is more racial prejudice today, compared to 50 per cent expressing this view in 2005, 49 per cent in 2003, and 44 per cent in 2001.

[8] Excluding 1988.

Amongst White people, those living in wards where more than 5 per cent of the population are from minority ethnic groups are less likely to feel that racial prejudice has go worse in Britain over the last five years (52%) than those living in less diverse areas (60%). In terms of age, young people have more positive views regarding racial prejudice than older people, with 41 per cent of people aged 16-24 saying prejudice has increased compared with 65 per cent of 65-74 year olds (Communities and Local Government October 2007).

2.3.3 Perceptions about becoming the victim of a racially motivated attack

The 2005 Citizenship Survey found that minority ethnic respondents (20%) were considerably more likely than White respondents (4%) to say that they were worried about being physically attacked because of their skin colour, ethnic origin or religion (Kitchen et al 2006).

The 2002/03 British Crime Survey found 24 per cent of Asian people, 21 per cent of Black people, 20 per cent of people from Chinese and Other groups and 13 per cent of people of Mixed race were very worried about being victims of a racially motivated attack, compared to 4 per cent of White people (Salisbury and Upson, 2004).

2.3.4 Who are the victims of racial prejudice and discrimination?

Citizenship Survey 2005 respondents who said either that there was more or less racial prejudice today than five years ago were asked which groups there was more, or less, prejudice against. In 2005, the groups cited most often were Asian people, mentioned by 41 per cent, and Muslims, mentioned by 37 per cent. There was a marked increase in the proportion of people mentioning Muslims as a group experiencing more prejudice (37%) compared with 2003 (17%) (Kitchen et al 2006).

Employment is a key area in which the government is keen to reduce racial prejudice, discriminatory practices and racism. Although there is legislation to reduce the impact of such prejudice and discrimination in the labour market[9], there are concerns that they are still a problem. This is supported by the literature (see Mason 2003 for a summary).

The CRE public opinion survey (1995a) revealed employment as the main concern among minority ethnic groups in Britain. Nearly 13 per cent of all minority ethnic interviewees and 20 per cent of African Caribbean people in Britain believed they were discriminated against by not getting jobs for which they were qualified.

---

[9] Part 2 of the Race Relations Act 1976 makes it an offence to discriminate against applicants for employment, employees or former workers on racial grounds. The provisions in the Act on employment were amended by the Race Relations Act (Amendment) Regulations 2003 to comply with EC Race Directive (2000/43/EC). Most public bodies must comply with additional specific duties on employment, which require them to monitor staff and applicants for employment and promotion by ethnicity and to report these publicly. Larger bodies (over 150 staff) must also monitor a range of other employment related processes (such as grievances and performance assessment).

Among those belonging to minority ethnic groups, latest findings from the 2007-08 Citizenship Survey found that the most frequent reason for people feeling that they had been turned down for a job in the last five years was race (24%) followed by colour (19%). The proportion of people from minority ethnic groups feeling that they have been turned down for a job because of their race is unchanged since 2003. There has also not been a statistically significant change since 2003 in the proportion of people from minority ethnic groups who think they have been treated unfairly with regards to promotion or progression for reasons of race (Communities and Local Government October 2007).

2.3.5 Who is racially prejudiced?

A 2001 overview of survey research on racial prejudice (Saggar and Drean 2001) found that those polled "feel less positive towards minority groups". The review indicated that older, poorer, less educated people and those residing in Northern England tended to be most hostile. Vrij and Smith (1999) summarise the characteristics found to influence general negative attitudes towards minority ethnic groups as:

- age;
- gender;
- education;
- political orientation;
- pride in being British;
- degree to which home neighbourhood is predominantly White; and,
- number of friends from minority ethnic groups.

This suggests the need for messages targeted directly at these particular groups.

Saggar and Drean also found that majority groups held persistently high levels of mistrust, fear and bias towards racial and ethnic minority groups. These attitudes were embedded in erroneous impressions of the size of the minority ethnic population; people tended to overestimate the proportion of the population of England and Wales from minority ethnic groups by as much as a factor of four.

2.3 Stocktake

Key definitions, findings and trends in relation to racial prejudice and discrimination are:

- Racial prejudice refers to personal beliefs that there are different 'races' of people and that some 'races' are superior to others

- Discrimination refers to differential treatment that favours or disadvantages one individual, group or object over another

- Racism represents both racial prejudice and discrimination that is systematic, supported by institutional power and authority

- The British Social Attitudes survey shows a gradual downward trend in the number of people describing themselves as "very prejudiced" or "a little prejudiced" since 1983

- The latest Citizenship Survey figures show that the overall proportion of people who feel that racial prejudice has got worse in Britain over the last five years has increased since 2001, from 43 to 56 per cent in 2007. White people are much more likely to think this than people from minority ethnic groups.

- The 2002/3 British Crime Survey found that White people were much less worried about being victims of a racially motivated attack than all minority ethnic groups

- A 2001 overview of survey research on racial prejudice found that majority groups held persistently high levels of mistrust, fear and bias towards racial and minority ethnic groups.

Section 3. Media-based initiatives to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination

This section provides an overview of existing research on campaigns to reduce racial prejudice. It explores different types of media initiatives, their design, and their advantages and disadvantages in reducing racial prejudice and discrimination.

3.1 Overview of literature on campaigns to reduce racial prejudice

In general, the literature on campaigns to reduce racial prejudice tends to be vague. When such campaigns have been attempted in England and Wales, research has invariably been conducted to determine campaign awareness levels amongst the general population (eg Commission for Racial Equality 1995a). The evaluation reports on initiatives are also ambiguous about whether initiatives are seeking to change what individuals believe, or what they do. Evaluation of these initiatives has also tended to be done as a quick afterthought with a consequent lack of the rigour required to identify good practice. This is compounded by competing theories on how far prejudice determines behaviour and vice versa. Social psychology theories of attitude change in this area have not yet been adequately tested outside of laboratory conditions. However, they do allow us to suggest the way forward for the design and evaluation of future initiatives aimed at reducing racial prejudice and discrimination.

Initiatives using media to reduce racial prejudice can be divided into *campaigns* and *programmes*. *Campaigns* tend to involve a series of distinct co-ordinated activities to achieve a main aim such as a series of different posters or a series of different television advertisements carrying a similar theme. *Programmes* are distinct initiatives that are effectively stand-alone projects.

Little research has been conducted into the impact of media campaigns or programmes on beliefs, and even less on their impact upon the behaviour of racially prejudiced individuals, victims or those witnessing racial prejudice. This supports the findings from the study conducted for the CRE into the use of the mass media to change negative attitudes towards asylum seekers (Finney and Peach 2004). Neither this study nor the CRE research found initiatives designed using the theories and knowledge of effective attitude change outlined later in this report. Such knowledge has been largely ignored in the design of media-based initiatives to reduce racial prejudice (Pate 1981; Maio et al. 2002; Finney and Peach 2004; Coe et al. 2004). This makes it difficult for policy makers to develop a business case for using such media initiatives to reduce racial prejudice, and restricts sharing of good practice among practitioners, local authorities and organisations, and employers.

3.2 How media initiatives work to reduce racial prejudice

Once a media initiative is published or projected, consumers 'read' that product. They may react as conscious, analytical learners, pondering the media's treatment of race and other aspects of diversity. They may try to integrate thoughtfully and critically this learning into their own personal ideational frameworks, attitudinal structures, and value systems. On the other hand, they may uncritically absorb or reject different multicultural lessons. They may react and learn by unconsciously relating these new ideas into their existing knowledge, perceptions, attitudes, values and behaviour.

Using the media to reduce racial prejudice may activate mechanisms that can change beliefs and behaviours – including structural and institutional practice. At the broadest level, media-based initiatives might focus on reducing racial prejudice at different levels, including individual, institutional, sub-cultural levels.

The psychology of advertising literature can be used to generate better understanding of the aims and effects of using the media to help reduce various types of racial prejudice. However, long-term changes in attitudes or behaviour are unlikely to be gained by advertising without accompanying legislative or other social change (Stead et al. 2002). Even good advertising, if used alone, may be harmful as many of those who profess to be non-racist do actually hold private prejudiced beliefs about race and ethnicity (Corr Wilburn Research and Development 2000).

3.3 Types of media campaigns to reduce racial prejudice

The few media-based initiatives to reduce racial prejudice that have been conducted vary considerably in terms of *how* they sought to influence subjects. Building upon Pate's (1981) work, initiatives to reduce racial prejudice using the media sought to:

1. reduce racially prejudiced beliefs, often by general awareness raising

2. reduce specific types of racial discrimination in specific settings (violence, harassment, intimidation, threatening or derogatory physical attitudes); and,

3. reduce specific types of victimisation – often by victim empowerment or encouraging reporting by the public.

A typology of initiatives to reduce racial prejudice is included below.

Table 3.1: A typology of initiatives to reduce racial prejudice			
Type of initiative	**Description**	**National**	**Local**
1. Initiatives to change racially prejudiced beliefs	Seek to alter racially prejudiced beliefs. General aim to reduce racial prejudice by various means including taking away excuses for prejudice and creating understanding of and empathy towards victims. Certain initiatives focus upon institutional racism at the organisational and individual level.	✔	✔
2. Initiatives to reduce racial discrimination in specific settings	Seek to alter discrimination using situational and Routine Activities crime prevention methods[10] but seek to reduce the opportunities for prejudicial behaviour in social settings by various means including taking away excuses for racial prejudice and empowering other people to intervene as *'capable guardians'* to protect and stand up for the targets of racial discrimination. Aim to reduce racial discrimination at particular times/places, by particular types of people/groups and against particular types of people/groups.	✔	✔
3. Initiatives targeted at victims, or potential victims of racial discrimination	Involve victim empowerment – ie aim to encourage victims to take a stand, report victimisation, where to go for help, etc. Can also reduce racial discrimination by creating the perception that there are fewer suitable victims around and a greater number of capable guardians (Felson 1998). Inform minority ethnic groups of services available to help overcome racial discrimination/reach their potential (eg government services to assist small businesses/schemes connecting people with the workplace).	✔	✔

Tables 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 provide a critical overview and description of the main initiatives examined for this review. Other initiatives were identified, but were outside the scope of this report because they were teaching or training programmes, or learning resources.[11]

---

[10] For more information see: www.crimereduction.gov.uk/learningzone/scpprinciples.htm
[11] Many of these were also based outside of the UK.

Table 3.2: Media-based initiatives to reduce racial prejudice by changing beliefs	
Main aim: To change racial prejudice	
Name of initiative	**Scope**
One Scotland: Many Cultures (Scottish Government)	This national campaign was first launched in 2002, following extensive research and consultation. It aims to raise awareness of the negative impact of racism on individuals and society more generally and to promote Scotland's multi-cultural society and the benefits it brings. Campaign promoted through a mix of advertising (TV/radio/outdoor) and supported by PR, dedicated website, national awareness raising projects such as Show Racism the Red Card, Scottish TUC's One Workplace Equal Rights project, and an infrastructure of activities and projects being undertaken across Scottish Government and by stakeholders. Campaign is one strand of the Scottish Government's overall anti-racism strategy, and forms part of its response to its statutory duty to promote race equality.
Commission for Racial Equality poster campaigns (various CRE poster campaigns)	Specific awareness raising of a number of separate issues relating to racial prejudice. Less concern with actual effect of content of messages on specific recipients than with bringing specific issues to attention. National poster campaigns, accompanied by extensive media coverage.
Myth Busters: nailing the myths (Goodwin Development Trust)	Changing racially prejudiced beliefs based on myths/misconceptions about refugees/asylum seekers. Leaflet campaign.
Hull together – Citizens' Day video (Hull Council and Home Office)	General awareness raising programme. Video showing monologues from wide range of minority ethnic people, Gay, lesbian, and transsexual. Also representing older people, teenagers and people with disabilities.
Speak Out against Racism – Defend Asylum Seekers	National Pressure Group Campaign. Published press briefings. Stated aims are to defend asylum rights and oppose prejudice and discrimination against asylum seekers. The 2002 campaign was focused against measures in the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Bill.

Table 3.3: Media-based initiatives to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination by changing discriminatory behaviour	
Main aim: To reduce incidence and prevalence of racial discrimination in specific settings	
Name of initiative	**Scope**
Let's Kick Racism out of Football (Football Association and Commission for Racial Equality). Including the later rebranded campaigns 'Let's Kick Racism – Respect All Fans', 'Kick it Out', and 'Show Racism the Red Card'.	National partnership campaign between football clubs employing a combination of slogan-oriented posters and printed adverts, use of banners and tannoys in stadiums. Other printed matter used including football programmes. Represents a media-facilitated situational crime prevention approach to racist chanting in stadiums. Later rebranded programmes *Let's Kick it Out* and *Show Racism the Red Card* evolved with broader aims of awareness raising and education.
Unite Against Racism in European Football (UEFA and Football Against Racism in Europe guide to good practice)	Printed guide (also available online) to raise awareness and highlight commitment to stopping racial discrimination at all levels in football. Guide contains a ten-point action plan. UEFA makes matched funding available for member associations to implement their own anti-discrimination football projects.

Table 3.4: Media-based initiatives to reduce racial victimisation by empowering potential victims	
Main aim: To reduce discrimination and victimisation prevalence and incidence	
Name of initiative	**Scope**
National Union of Students Anti-Racism Campaign	Awareness raising of threats from discrimination on campus. Forming 'anti-racism collectives'. Reaffirming no-platform policies for the Far Right. Encouraging minority ethnic students to become involved in the union. Encouraging the reporting of 'fascist activity' on campus. Publishing press releases. Publication and distribution of a wall chart of religious festival dates to encourage all students to participate in cultural events. Hosting conferences and other events.
GMB (Negotiators Guide (trade union programme)	Using negotiation to remove discrimination in the workplace. Published a leaflet on how to tackle workplace harassment, sent to every GMB activist. Backed up with a negotiators guide, "Tackling Harassment", and a Race Equality briefing.
Nottinghamshire Police Racist Harassment and Hate Crime reporting campaigns (Nottinghamshire Police, Nottinghamshire and District Racial Equality Council, Community and Race Relations, Gay and Bisexual Men's Health Project)	Informing the public of what constitutes racist harassment or hate crime and what to do if they experience or witness it. Publication of leaflets for police stations/beer mats for pubs.
Unison Northern Ireland Anti-racism campaign (trade union programme)	Encouraging dialogue between local indigenous communities and tackling workplace employment issues for overseas workers. Union organisation of workers such as Filipino nurses. Conference and subsequent printing and dissemination of conference seminar recommendations.

The typology outlined in the three tables groups initiatives with certain types of main aims into subsets of similarity. However, these groupings have been determined by each initiative's main aims and main scope. Several of the initiatives have subsidiary aims and accompanying mechanisms that could be placed in other categories. The typology is based upon a very small number of initiatives, so we can be quite confident that it encompasses the main aims and methods employed by initiatives implemented to date. However, as new initiatives are implemented, the typology will need updating.

3.4 Advantages and disadvantages of the different types of media initiatives to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination

Each of the aims and mechanisms employed in the initiatives described in the typology above has a number of strengths and weaknesses. Those that seek to use media to change racially prejudiced beliefs must utilise knowledge from studies of the social psychology of attitude change described in Section 5 of this report. Initiatives that aim to alter physical and social situational elements in precise locations where discrimination takes place may be effective in that place at particular times. However, they may not take account of the fact that discrimination may simply be displaced to another place and time because the root causes of prejudice are not being addressed. On the other hand, situational measures can actually create a *diffusion of benefits*, whereby certain types of crime and anti-social behaviours are significantly reduced in locations beyond those where situational factors are employed (Felson and Clarke 1998; Clarke and Weisburd 1994). Clearly, this is a promising area for future initiatives aimed at reducing racial discrimination in particular times and places.

Initiatives that aim to reduce victimisation may place responsibility for discrimination in the hands of those who are on its receiving end rather than those who are wrongfully acting upon their prejudices (Sampson and Phillips 1992). Consequently such initiatives might be better employed as part of a wider campaign of initiatives to reduce behaviour and/or beliefs rather than as a stand-alone programme. That said, there may be situations where there is a clear need for prioritising the empowerment of potential victims in order to address a particular vulnerability, increase in discriminatory activity or other trend.

3.5 Stocktake

Key conclusions and recommendations based on existing research on campaigns to racial prejudice and discrimination are:

- Initiatives using media to reduce racial prejudice can be divided into campaigns (a series of distinct co-ordinated activities) and programmes (effectively stand-alone projects)

- Very little research has been conducted into the actual impact of media campaigns or programmes on beliefs

- This has made it difficult for policy makers to develop a business case for using such media initiatives to reduce racial prejudice

- Initiatives to date have sought to reduce racially prejudiced beliefs/specific types of racial discrimination in certain settings/specific types of victimisation

- Reducing racially prejudiced beliefs utilises knowledge from studies of the social psychology of attitude change

- Altering physical and social situational elements, in precise locations where discrimination takes place, may also lead to reduced discrimination in locations beyond those where situational factors are employed

- Initiatives to reduce victimisation might be best employed as part of a wider campaign rather than as a stand-alone programme.

Section 4. The importance of evaluation

This section discusses the techniques used to evaluate awareness campaigns and considers how to effectively evaluate campaigns/initiatives to reduce prejudice. It also outlines why evaluation is so important for reducing racial prejudice.

4.1 Why use realist evaluation to evaluate campaigns to reduce racial prejudice?

We chose the realist approach to evaluation for this research study (for a brief guide to realist evaluation, see Appendix 2). Realist evaluation is not necessarily better than others, but is arguably at least equally powerful. It is particularly useful in terms of its ability to clearly illustrate the types of parameters that media-based initiatives to reduce prejudice and their evaluations need to consider.

Realist evaluation[12], then, can be a useful technique to evaluate the success of an initiative to reduce racial prejudice or discrimination. Realist evaluation states that initiatives and their resources can facilitate social change, but that their success depends upon specific social circumstances. Pawson and Tilley (2004) explain that the essential difference between clinical trials and campaigns or programmes is that the latter take place outside of laboratory conditions, in more complex social settings. Campaigns and programmes work through subjects' reasoning in a unique environment that cannot be isolated from other external influences upon the thoughts and behaviour of both victims and those who are racially prejudiced and/or discriminatory.

> **Box 4.1: Characteristics of initiatives to reduce racial prejudice and/or discrimination which are most likely to succeed**
>
> Those taking account of subjects' characteristics, relationships, social/organisational position, predominant attitudes and behaviour, political climate and economic conditions.

In this review, we have sought to identify evidence of an understanding by those who designed, implemented and evaluated initiatives of the mechanism by which they seek to influence beliefs and/or behaviour change.

---

[12] We have relied extensively upon advice, work and expertise from Professor Nick Tilley OBE of Nottingham Trent University in drafting this section of the report.

4.2 Defining appropriate aims for initiatives to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination

When aiming a message at particular groups, it is important to understand the cultural specifics of a situation. An initiative aimed at those who practise racial discrimination might be unintentionally patronising to those experiencing its impacts first-hand. For example, a survey conducted by the CRE (1995b) found 68 per cent of respondents believed anti-prejudice advertising was vital. However, 50 per cent thought the advertising showed the wrong sort of images of Black and Asian people.

Research with minority ethnic communities reveals that it is important to avoid unrecognisable stereotypes (COI 2003). While people wish to see characters that are recognisable, these characters must also be credible and not stereotypically ethnic. However, what is realistic to one person may be seen as a simple stereotype by another. If a campaign depicts racial discrimination at football matches as coming from far-right neo-fascists, rather than by more everyday supporters, it will not ring true, and so have less impact on prejudice and discrimination at matches.

4.2.1 Identifying and defining positive outcomes

Good evaluation of initiatives relies upon clear, measurable definitions of outcomes, which in turn should reflect positive changes in the lives of those who suffer from racial prejudice or discrimination or in the attitudes/behaviour of those who are racially prejudiced. Examples of such changes are shown in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: Possible positive outcomes from campaigns targeted at victims or perpetrators of racial prejudice or discrimination	
Victims of racial discrimination	**Those who are prejudiced, including perpetrators of racial discrimination**
enhanced perceptions of safety/well-being	changes in attitudes of young people
changes in attitudes of other intended targets of initiatives to reduce racial prejudice	reduced racially motivated offending and recidivism rates
improved conflict resolution skills	positive changes in racially prejudiced attitudes or behaviours
increased victim satisfaction and empowerment	enhanced perceptions of well-being if living in a diverse community
better education or employment prospects	better education or employment prospects

Thinking about evaluation at the design stage will better shape the initiative and ensure that evaluation is budgeted for at the outset. Future media-based initiatives to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination could benefit from taking on board realist evaluation recommendations regarding campaign and programme implementation, monitoring and evaluation. There is a need to implement effective initiatives, rather than those based on idealised notions of what works, or what *should* work.

> **Box 4.2: What should be the main aim of an initiative designed to reduce racial prejudice/discrimination?**
>
> To change the lives of victims of racial discrimination for the better, not merely for organisations to manage the projects well, or simply to raise their own profile or the profile of any particular initiative. Theoretically, this may be achieved over the longer term by reducing racial prejudice or more immediately by reducing the current incidence of racial discrimination.

4.2.2 'Evaluation cop-out'

Many campaigns and programmes set their aims low in order to be certain of an outcome that can be shown to be successful. This, however, constitutes what may be termed *evaluation cop-out* (see Box 4.3 below).

> **Box 4.3: Is a project on reducing racial prejudice showing 'evaluation cop-out'?**
>
> 'Evaluation cop-out' is easy to identify, and is found where:
>
> - projects that should be aiming to change beliefs and behaviour claim to be primarily awareness raising or raising their own organisation's profile;
> - projects, whatever the stated aim, seek to evaluate changes in awareness only;
> - projects, whatever the stated aim, evaluate implementation processes only.

Coe et al (2004) believe that all aims should make a difference to victims, leading to criticism of initiatives that set out primarily to change racially prejudiced beliefs. The implication is that attitude change should be seen as a (possible) means to a desired end, and not the end in itself. Finney and Peach (2004) explain that if attitude or behaviour change is not measured, it is difficult for initiatives to prove their success, and thereby secure further funding. This can discourage organisations from mounting future campaigns or programmes that aim to change negative attitudes and behaviour. In the design of initiatives to reduce racial prejudice the aims should be meaningful. Raising awareness, or achieving good project management of initiatives to reduce racial prejudice, will count for

little if the initiatives do not change harmful beliefs or behaviours, or their impact. Policy makers and organisations interested in reducing racial discrimination should stop future funding and implementation of social marketing initiatives that seek to hide behind objectives which are aimed low.

4.3 Evaluating initiatives to reduce racial prejudice – mechanism, context and outcome pattern

Initiatives to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination are targeted at social interactions which exist in a complex social context. Evaluation of their effectiveness needs to take account of the mechanism, context, outcome pattern, and of the context-mechanism-outcome pattern configuration. *Mechanism* is the way a component of the initiative brings about change. *Context* describes the features of the conditions in which a programme or campaign is implemented. Knowledge of context is crucial to the policy maker, because the best initiatives are most likely to be well targeted and well informed by the current social situation, and the dynamics of the behaviour of those who are part of the situation. *Outcome* patterns are the intended and the unintended consequences of initiatives. Examination of outcomes determines whether the operation of particular mechanisms has led to change.

4.3.1 Factors to take into account when evaluating initiatives to reduce racial prejudice/discrimination

While few media-based initiatives to reduce racial prejudice or discrimination have been implemented to date, the following factors (developed from Pawson and Tilley 1997; 2004) are likely to prove useful for evaluating future programmes and campaigns. Figure 4.1 can be used at the design stage of a media-based initiative to reduce prejudice or discrimination. This will make success likelier; guide subsequent monitoring and ongoing assessment; and ensure data are gathered for the final evaluation.

4.3.2 Criteria for assessment of initiatives to reduce racial prejudice or discrimination

A checklist for practitioners designing and implementing campaigns to reduce racial prejudice or discrimination is shown below.

Figure 4.1: Checklist for assessing initiatives to reduce racial prejudice or discrimination		
Design		
1. Are the likely mechanisms of successful practices in place?	Y	N
2. Are the objectives and aims well defined?	Y	N
3. Are the specified aims and outcomes realistic?	Y	N
4. Are target audiences identified?	Y	N
5. Is the initiative sustainable (sustained change may take time)?	Y	N
6. Is it modelled after other successful initiatives?	Y	N
7. Is it practical?	Y	N
8. Is it replicable?	Y	N
9. Is it generalisable?	Y	N
Nature of message		
1. Does the message avoid the use of unrecognisable stereotypes?	Y	N
2. Does the message emphasise positive similarities?	Y	N
3. Does the message include positive role models of in- and out-groups?	Y	N
4. Is the message unambiguous?	Y	N
5. Is the medium appropriate?	Y	N
6. Is the medium readily available and/or widely circulated or visible?	Y	N
Evaluation		
1. Are the impacts of the initiative measurable?	Y	N
2. Have mechanisms such as pre-initiative baseline measures, budgeting and allowing time for evaluation been built in?	Y	N
3. Has evaluation been conducted of the proposed type of initiative. If so, how well? Have evaluation mechanisms such as pre-initiative baseline measures, budgeting and allowing time for evaluation been built in?	Y	N
4. How were target audiences identified?	Y	N
5. How were target audiences' responses measured (quantitatively or qualitatively, both, or neither)?	Y	Y

Figure 4.1: Checklist for assessing initiatives to reduce racial prejudice or discrimination *(continued)*		
Resources for implementation, monitoring and evaluation		
1. Is the leading organisation appropriate (given its mandate etc)?	Y	N
2. What is the organisational base of the body responsible for implementation? What is the history of its "success" in other initiatives?	Y	N
3. Are the staff implementation, monitoring and evaluation resources adequate given the scope of the initiative?	Y	N
4. Are there community partners, or is there multi-agency support?	Y	N
Definition of problem		
1. Are the particular requirements and sensitivities of the target audiences understood and accounted for in the design of the initiative?	Y	N
2. Are the problems of racial prejudice and/or discrimination to be targeted adequately identified, defined, conceptualised or understood?	Y	N
3. Who is doing what to whom, in which way, why, where, when and with what effects?	Y	N

These are idealised criteria, and no single initiative is likely to include all of them. Nonetheless, the more of the above criteria that are fulfilled, the likelier the success of the initiative. Appendix A provides a further guide to the use of realist evaluation at the design, monitoring and the final evaluation stage.

4.4 Stocktake

Key conclusions and recommendations about the importance and the techniques of evaluating campaigns to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination are:

- The realist approach to evaluation can be a useful technique to evaluate the success of an initiative to reduce racial prejudice or racial discrimination

- An initiative aimed at those who practise racial discrimination might be unintentionally patronising to those who experience its impacts first-hand

- The primary aim of an initiative to reduce racial prejudice or discrimination should be to change the lives of victims of racial prejudice or discrimination for the better

- Allow for the fact that social and political change may affect delivery

- Understanding how a campaign message is interpreted is critical

- Thinking about evaluation at the design stage, and budgeting for it at the outset, will better shape the initiative

- The mechanism by which an initiative is intended to work must be identified

- The context in which a programme is to take place must be understood before initiatives are implemented. This will inform likely replicability.

Section 5. Designing an effective initiative to reduce racial prejudice or discrimination – the importance of the right message

This section provides detailed information on how to design a media-based initiative to reduce racial prejudice or discrimination.

5.1 Introduction

Most knowledge about what works in racial prejudice and discrimination reduction is derived from controlled social psychology experiments in laboratory conditions. Media-based initiatives to reduce prejudice and discrimination have traditionally relied upon intuitive ideas, rather than employing such knowledge of what is likely to be promising practice. Reviewing social psychology theory allows us to produce recommendations on how best to target media-based initiatives and campaigns to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination within particular sections of the community.

Relatively recent research emphasises the need to be clear about audience targeting and the need to design campaigns to take account of the attitudes, opinions and complexities of specific audiences that messages are intended for (Hornsey and Hogg 2000; Mullen 2001; Crisp and Hewstone 2001; Plous 2000). Vrij and Smith (1999) found that, unless careful attention is paid to what we know about effective advertising in initiatives to reduce prejudice, some campaigns and programmes might actually backfire and increase people's prejudice. Efforts to reduce racial prejudice or discrimination may, for example, be interpreted as favouritism towards one ethnic group. Clearly, there is a need for those who design media-based initiatives to gather data about the attitudes and opinions that are held by intended audiences, the factors underpinning them and to assess what motivation there might be for target audiences to accept the messages aimed at them. Initiatives should then be tested with target audiences prior to launching, and monitored throughout, to maximise efficacy and minimise the risk of programme-backfire.

The power of the medium first has to get people's attention. Next, it is important to consider how that message is structured, how/from whom the message is conveyed and what the message is trying to say. The remainder of this section is a detailed discussion of the importance of message structure, content and delivery.

5.2 Message structure

Message structure refers to how a message is composed (ie the language that is used and its level of clarity) and the form that it takes (ie its size, its colour, and whether it moves or is static). When considering what works in persuasive communication, it is important to consider how the recipient becomes aware of the message. Components of a successful media-based campaign to reduce racial prejudice will attract the audience's attention by being sufficiently different from other competing stimuli in the environment. Myers and Richards (1967: cited in Mullen and Johnson 1990) suggest that we tend to focus our attention on the irregular aspects of a situation. It is important to contrast messages in order that they are persuasive in achieving their aim of reducing prejudice or discrimination.

5.2.1 Presentation of the message

Mullen and Johnson (1990) suggest that contrast may be achieved through:

- Colour – In the past when colour advertisements were less common, they were considered to be more effective in attracting attention. Today, black and white may attract attention more effectively as it can be more distinctive. However, colour may have a more subtle function. For example, in media campaigns to reduce racial prejudice, a monochrome poster may be more effective for minimising differences between ethnic groups and emphasising similarities.

- Movement – A moving billboard will attract more attention than a static poster. However, research suggests that presenting information in printed rather than audio or audio-visual formats leads to better recall (Furnham et al. 1990) and appears to be better at changing attitudes (Chapman et al. 2002).

- Size – In general, "bigger is better" because it is usually easier to perceive. However, size can also be used to contrast a message. For example, a smaller poster in the context of many larger posters may be more effective.

- Salience – If an object or experience is salient it is essentially distinctive. The relationship between the main focal point of the stimuli and its context has an influence on how the message is observed. For example, a poster designed to reduce racial prejudice featuring a couple in an interracial relationship (the focal point) may attract more attention in the context of ten other couples who are either all White or all Black than if they were presented alone.

5.2.2 Message construction

When constructing a persuasive message, attention must be paid to how the argument is crafted. Simple, straightforward language should be used to explicitly deliver the argument, to minimise the possibility of misinterpretation. This is particularly important in relation to issues as contentious as racial prejudice and discrimination, as misunderstanding may further facilitate prejudice or discrimination.

Other issues to consider when devising an effective message to influence others are:

- Message ambiguity – Unclear, vague or incomplete stimuli may attract the recipient's interest (Heller 1956: cited in Mullen and Johnson 1990). However, this does not apply to prejudice reduction messages, where it is essential that the intended meaning of messages is clearly communicated. This is because implicit messages require the audience to "make sense" of cryptic or ironic messages.

- Intended meaning – Bettinghaus and Cody (1994) note that use of technical jargon, legal terms or euphemisms may restrict the effectiveness of communication to persuade. Care must be taken when deciding whether to use words such as 'apartheid', 'discrimination' or 'sectarianism' in favour of more commonly used words such as 'racism', 'prejudice' or 'unfairness'.

- Language intensity – Intense language is considered to be emotional, as are positive or negative evaluative terms (eg 'distressing', 'deadly'; or 'fantastic', 'breathtaking'). Using expletives reduces the effectiveness of messages. According to research by Bradac et al (1980) language intensity is positively related to attitude change in general. High intensity messages will result in the skills, knowledge and/or expertise of the individual delivering the message being seen as devalued as a result. However, Scherer and Sagarin (2006) found obscenity had no effect on the credibility of a speaker, but did increase persuasiveness of pro-attitudinal speech.

- Message sidedness – A one-sided message usually conveys only the positive aspects of an issue; a two-sided message will convey both the positives and the negatives. Bettinghaus and Cody (1994) conclude that two-sided messages are more effective among recipients with a higher level of education; when trying to convince people who are initially in disagreement with the issue; or, in situations where there is a prevalent counterargument or negative message (from external sources). One-sided messages are more effective with people who are already in support of the message being communicated.

5.3 Message content

Research investigating the impact of message content is relatively limited. While some campaigns may be constructed based on a "common sense" approach (eg invoking fear in a public health campaign may cause action), this may be problematic as the effect of emotion in persuasive communication is not always intuitive.

Emotion involves feelings that can generate changes mentally (eg positive or negative thoughts) and physically (eg change in heart rate, pupil dilation). Ray and Batra (1983) explain that messages that contain or evoke emotions can focus people's attention to communication channels, particularly messages that may not otherwise attract our attention.

We would suggest that emotional appeals in campaigns may be effective through classical conditioning (see Pavlov 1927). By repeatedly associating a positive emotion with a particular message, that message may automatically invoke a 'positive response'. If an appeal for racial equality is consistently paired with a stimulus which evokes "happiness", such an emotional response may develop for racial equality regardless of the reasoning or rationale for this position. However, most research findings in this area are based on product sales. Further research is needed in the context of influencing more complex social phenomena such as racial prejudice and discrimination.

The key emotions used in persuasive communications are discussed below.

5.3.1 Fear

The aim of a fear appeal is to generate a negative state of arousal whereby a failure to engage in a particular way of thinking will produce negative consequences. This method is often employed in the use of the media for promoting health – such as the dangers and social disadvantages of smoking. Successful fear appeals must induce the correct level of fear; convince receivers that they have the ability to make the behaviour change; convince receivers that the undesirable stimulus is not inevitable; and empower members of the general public to intervene to stop discrimination as capable guardians (Felson 1998). Those who intervene in this way thereby raise risks, and perceived risks, for those who practise racial discrimination.

To enhance the likelihood of people changing their perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours, messages should provide the necessary information to make that change where appropriate (Bettinghaus and Cody 1994). In the case of reducing prejudice and discrimination, such a change could begin with something as straightforward as refusing to laugh at racist jokes. It may not be possible to include such information directly; however, people could be directed to a website or phone number where they could learn more about how to make that behaviour change.

Campaigns or programmes that use high levels of fear may be ineffective, as they may encourage people to deny that a message is true (Janis and Feshbach 1953). As Shaughnessy and Shaughnessy (2002) note: "When a warning is given, all too often, there can be a 'warning fatigue' to the extent that people become desensitized." Evoking a low or moderate fear response may be more effective in changing attitudes and behaviour. More work is needed, since use of fear appeals in reducing racial prejudice and discrimination has not been adequately researched.

5.3.2 Humour

Humour affects persuasion in different ways. A humorous idea may occupy our thoughts and then indirectly deny receivers the opportunity to make a counterargument since they are too busy giving consideration to the humorous material (Osterhouse and Brock 1970; Lammers, Leibowitz, Seymour and Hennessey 1983). However, a more common aim is to condition the positive feeling of the humour to the product or message so that it eventually evokes "happiness" independent of the humorous material. Humour may be a useful persuasion tool where the topics under debate are taboo and difficult to approach. It may also facilitate the engagement of an audience by "softening" the topic.

"Talk to Frank" is an example of a website-based social marketing initiative employing humour, in which funny and ironic communications are used to engage young people curious about or using drugs, who may ordinarily be reluctant to discuss this issue. Such an appeal, however, is unlikely to be suitable for many types of communications to reduce prejudice for a number of reasons. First, humour is often culturally sensitive, and subject to sensitivities about where, when and with whom it is and is not socially acceptable. Secondly, associating humour with issues relating to racial prejudice may be interpreted as insensitive (Madden and Weinburger 1984). Ironic humour is often lost on many people. Although jokes or humorous material may induce a positive feeling for the receiver, there is no evidence to suggest that this makes the argument more convincing. Humour is, however, most effective among a young, male or better-educated audience.

5.3.3 Love

Also termed "warmth", this covers a range of positive feelings relating to family, relationships, friendships and nostalgia. Aaker, Stayman and Hagerty (1986) found warmth to be related to the recall and the liking of an advertisement. However, they warned that feelings of warmth may not last long following the advertisement. To date, there is little evidence to suggest that an emotional appeal of this nature should be used in communication or initiatives to reduce racial prejudice or discrimination.

5.3.4 Hate

Shaughnessy and Shaughnessy (2002) suggest that hate can be one of the easiest emotions to evoke, and that people's endorsements often better reflect what they hate rather than what they like or love. Although hate is not normally used directly in media campaigns or advertising, it must be countered if initiatives to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination are to be successful.

5.3.5 Guilt

Shaughnessy and Shaughnessy (2002) argue that since guilt is one of the most uncomfortable feelings to experience, we are quick to remove it, giving limited consideration to the consequences. For example, in the UK, guilt is featured in many public awareness campaigns related to drink-driving.

When using guilt in initiatives, the target of communication to reduce racial prejudice must feel the message applies to them. Individuals showing more subtle forms of racial prejudice may be hardest to reach as they may feel they have nothing to feel guilty about. Therefore, appeals to guilt to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination should be tailored to stealth and banal racisms, not just atavistic racism.

5.3.6 Empathy

The ability to understand the thoughts and feelings of others has positive effects on attitudes and behaviour towards those people (Davis 1994; Oswald 1996; Batson et al. 1997; Litvack-Miller, McDougall and Romney 1997). Research also suggests that lack of empathy may facilitate negative attitudes and anti-social behaviour (Eysenck 1981; Miller and Eisenberg 1988; Lisack and Ivan 1995; Johnson et al. 1997).

There is some evidence that empathy has been successful in improving attitudes and behaviour towards out-groups through other inter-group relations programmes (see Stephan and Finlay 1999). Batson et al (1997) argue that empathy can alter attitudes and behaviour because individuals begin to value the welfare of out-group members through the recognition of their suffering. Moreover, this endures over time and applies to groups who are viewed negatively. There may be limits to the extent that one may induce empathy for some groups (eg rapists and paedophiles), although Batson et al add that these limits would be on the conditions under which it is possible to induce empathy, not on the attitude effects once empathy is induced. Furthermore, McGregor (1993) found that empathy initiated via role playing of an out-group member may enhance attitudes towards that member, particularly if attitudes were originally negative.

Stephan and Finlay (1999) emphasise the need for awareness of the negative consequences of empathy. A receiver who identifies too much with the out-group may fear a similar fate awaits them and may disengage with all related information.

5.4 Emphasis

5.4.1 Emphasis on similarity

A common error in past prejudice and discrimination reduction initiatives has been to emphasise differences among and between racial and ethnic groups. This tends to reproduce social and cultural distance, rather than overcome it. Research by Mullen (2001) found that the larger the degree of 'foreignness' of a representation in media the more negative was the viewer's response. Messages should not typically feature the distinct traditions and values of the out-group, but the things that they share with the in-group (eg working, raising families, going to the park). In this way, members of the out-group are shown to be connected to, rather than disparate from, the in-group (Vrij and Smith 1999). This is a complex area, however, and some very delicate balances need to be maintained as more recent research (Hornsey and Hogg 2000) indicates the necessity of ensuring that positive similarities should not be emphasised at the expense of ethnic minority group identity.

5.4.2 Appropriate representation of minority ethnic group members

An integral part of an explicit prejudice and discrimination message is the inclusion of representatives from the out-group. As people may not extend the same stereotypes or racist attitudes to all racial or ethnic groups, each "message" should highlight only one minority group. At the same time, it is most effective to include in the message many representative members (Vrij and Smith 1999). The use of only one or two positively portrayed representatives can be explained away by those holding racist attitudes as the exception that proves the rule (Johnston and Macrae 1994); they may be thought atypical of their group.

While messages should be clear and unambiguous (see Table 5.1) they need to take account of the ways that different people weigh up a range of factors when assessing other people (Levy 1999). Research by Crisp and Hewstone (2001) found that people tend to use more than one discriminating factor to evaluate individuals in a range of different social settings. Therefore, close attention should be paid to possible negative effects that might be associated with other attributes in a message, such as gender or clothing styles. And it is important to recognise that there are different reasons for why people are racially prejudiced. Consequently, targeted initiatives to reduce specific types of prejudice may need to be finely tuned to specific attitudes, behaviour or people (Plous 2000).

5.4.3 Use of images that contradict stereotypes

The emphasis on similarities between in-groups and out-groups demands the use of images and ideas that contradict steretypes (Johnston and Macrae 1994). Where information that runs counter to traditional stereotypes is featured in a message or image, this too can reduce the tendency toward stereotyping (Johnston and Macrae 1994), and where many atypical representatives of a group are presented, this has some effect on reducing racial prejudices. However, the intended audience must attend to the message. This may be difficult to ensure, since individuals tend to seek information that confirms their expectations of how the world works. Additionally, impacts may be short-lived (see Hill and Augostinos 2001).

5.5 Message delivery

The way that prejudice reduction or discrimination reduction messages are conveyed is referred to as message delivery. This has five components, discussed below.

5.5.1 Source of the message

Petty et al (1997) draw attention to the source of the message, noting in particular the significance of credibility, attractiveness, and minority/majority status of the source. Bettinghaus and Cody (1994) comment on the importance of audience perceptions of the source's expertise, attractiveness, celebrity status, power, and similarity. The higher the rating of the source on these dimensions, the stronger the likelihood that the message will affect change in attitudes. Research in the area of prejudice reduction confirms those observations (Dasgupta and Greenwald 2001; Vrij and Smith 1999; Vrij, Akehurst and Smith 20013).

5.5.2 Message repetition

Bettinghaus and Cody (1994) argue that repeating the communication will improve persuasion by increasing the opportunities to learn the content of the message. Short-term, "one-off" initiatives tend to be ineffective, and may in fact be counterproductive. On the other hand, the audience will reach a point of satiation after multiple exposures (referred to as "wear-out threshold"; Corkindale and Newell 1978). At such a point, the reader has extracted the maximum information from the message. However, if the message remains the same, but other aspects of the stimuli change, the life cycle of the communication can be prolonged. Repetitious communications relating to racial prejudice should deliver the same message but using different contexts and mediums.

5.5.3 Temporal order of messages

Consideration should be given to whether key arguments may be more effective if presented first or last. Rosnow and Robinson (1967) argue for the former when recipients are receiving information that is familiar or important or relevant to their own lives, with the latter more persuasive in the opposite situation.

5.5.4 Contrasting messages

The delivery of different messages in a series which "contrast" in their nature is worth considering (eg delivering "a hard-hitting" anti-prejudice advertisement among a series of humorous commercials). The contrasting message may be more successful in attracting attention and changing attitudes and, therefore, behaviour.

5.5.5 Using facts and knowledge to persuade

Emphasis on central messages rather than the context has a stronger impact when communicating anti-prejudice messages (Vrij, Akehurst and Smith 2003). Convincing arguments in favour of prejudice reduction must be emphasised in a campaign. Simply communicating "facts" or information may increase "knowledge" about a particular group, but does not necessarily result in changes in attitudes (Hewstone et al. 1994; Hill and Augostinos 2001). For "ambivalent observers", the effect might be to strengthen negative attitudes (Maio et al. 2002). The social psychology of media use in attitude/behaviour change is summarised in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Key psychological mechanisms of persuasive messages for reducing racial prejudice and discrimination					
Mechanism					
Structure of a message		**Content of the message**		**Delivery of the message**	
Perceiving the message	**Message construction**	**Emotion in persuasion**	**Strategy**	**Influential source will be:**	**Situation**
Message communications delivered in **Colour** are usually more effective than black and white	Messages should be clear and **Transparent** – ambiguity or irony is not recommended for racial-related communications	Evoking high levels **Fear levels** can lead to message avoidance/denial. Message should enable recipients to deal with threat	Persuasive anti-racial communications should **Use messages that contradict stereotypes** of minority out-groups	An **Expert**	**Message repetition** will enhance recall and persuasion to a point known as "wear-out threshold"
Ambiguous presentation of messages may attract more attention. However these are not recommended in race-related communication to avoid misinterpretation	**Simple use of language** is required to avoid misinterpretation of message to be decipherable to all abilities	Persuasion using **Humour** can engage previously uninterested recipients and connect content to a positive emotion. Not recommended for sensitive issues, eg race-related communication	Emphasis should be placed on **Positive similarities** between racial and ethnic groups rather than perceived differences	**Well-liked**	Arguments used in a persuasive communication should always present the **"Central merits"** of the proposed position to allow recipients to fully consider the issue
Moving communications are more easily perceived	**Language intensity** can make a message more persuasive but may have the reverse effect under certain conditions	Using **Guilt** can be very effective. Recipients must feel guilt applies to them for it to be successful. May not be successful on more subtle, stealth forms of racism	Avoid messages addressing more than one ethnic group	**Attractive**	Key components of a message should be **Presented at the start** of a communication if information is familiar and/or seen as relevant
Salient and Novel messages attract more attention	Under most conditions a **Two-sided message** discussing both sides of an argument will be more effective than a one-sided message	**Empathy** may have relevance for race-related communication. Research suggests recognition and relation to an out-group member's suffering can alter attitudes and behaviour	Include **High number of representatives** from the ethnic group. Therefore, any positive attributions can not be explained away as a "one-off"	**Powerful** **Similar** to recipients of message	Key components of a message should be **Presented at the end** of a communication if information is new, unknown and/or initially seen as irrelevant

The scope of this review has been media initiatives (although there are alternative strategies for tackling racial prejudice, such as training and ongoing education). The complexity of the information found in academic research papers is a likely reason why so few media-based campaigns to reduce prejudice have been implemented and properly evaluated. This review shows that the use of good intentions and intuition to design messages is not likely to be effective. To change behaviour through a campaign, it will most likely be necessary to remind the audience of the consequences of that action for both themselves and for others. Simply stating the moral message is unlikely to be enough to bring about the desired attitude or behaviour change. In sum, when designing an initiative to reduce racial prejudice or discrimination, the issues of message structure, content and delivery outlined in this section should be considered, to enable it best to achieve its aims.

5.6 Stocktake

The following conclusions and recommendations emerge when designing initiatives to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination:

- If a source is seen as having credibility, attractiveness, expertise, status, and power it is more likely to reduce prejudice

- Repetition of the message is more likely to reduce prejudice

- Use of facts and information is not sufficient to change attitudes

- Presentation: contrast is key. Salient communications are more likely to get the intended recipient's attention

- Construction: a message is more likely to be effective if it is straightforward, jargon-free and avoids emotionally extreme language.

- Use of fear (if accompanied by a sense of how to minimise the problem that provokes it), hope, humour (if caution and sensitivity are applied) or guilt may all be effective.

- Emphasise how groups are similar rather than distinct from each other, although not at the expense of group identity

- Each message should highlight only one minority ethnic group at a time

- Use messages that contradict stereotypes.

Section 6. Examining three national initiatives to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination

This section retrospectively examines three campaigns which have sought to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination. It summarises the strengths and weaknesses of their design and evaluation, and draws together lessons learned.

Only three national programmes or campaigns to reduce racial prejudice/ discrimination have enough documentation to enable a full retrospective evaluation of their design. Two were from England and Wales. 'Let's Kick Racism out of Football' campaign is supported and funded by the game's governing bodies, including its founding body, the Professional Footballers' Association (PFA), the FA Premier League, the Football Foundation and the Football Association. The second was the Commission for Racial Equality's poster campaigns. To provide more breadth of information, the Scottish Government's *One Scotland: Many Cultures* campaign was also included, despite being outside the original geographical scope of this project.

The evaluation criteria (included in Section 4) are based upon the realist evaluation framework (see Chapter 4). The development of the criteria has been ongoing, since it was dependent upon the nature and types of initiative identified and examined. These criteria, set out in Tables 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3 examine, for each of the three initiatives: aims, type and scope, main focus, time and context, the theory on which it is based, the mechanism by which it seeks to work, whether it was evaluated and how, known outcome patterns, what lessons were learned and whether there is any evidence of promising practice.

The main aim of conducting a retrospective realist evaluation is to determine whether theories about how an initiative might work are supported by an analysis of outcomes. The approach considers whether it is sensible to attribute the operation of particular mechanisms to any claim of positive change or to any apparent unintended consequences.

6.1 Case study 1 – *One Scotland: Many Cultures* campaign

The campaign has run in Scotland since September 2002. It is described as an anti-racism campaign. The context of the campaign, according to the Scottish Government, is a broad intention to celebrate and respect multiculturalism, to head off the effects of Scottish birth rate decline by encouraging people from abroad to live in Scotland, to make the most of existing Scottish talent, to not allow the threat of terrorism as an excuse for racism, to make it clear that there is

no place for racist taunts against asylum seekers and refugees, and to encourage good citizenship in Scotland (Scottish Executive 2003). It aims to raise awareness of the damaging effects of racist attitudes and behaviour on individuals and society more generally, and to promote the benefits of a culturally diverse Scotland.

We would categorise this as a general awareness-raising campaign to establish greater tolerance and understanding of minority ethnic groups in Scotland. Our analysis of the campaign's reports suggests that the underlying theory by which this is to be achieved is one of frequent exposure to media images and documentary style video dialogues in short television advertisements. The precise mechanism by which it is meant to work is by creating empathy by way of moral exhortation. The campaign has been monitored and evaluated by successive surveys. Each survey interviewed around 1000 respondents.

Table 6.1 is a summary of the strengths and weaknesses of the campaign design and evaluation. Our review reveals that the campaign's mechanism was unlikely to work effectively because it failed to take account of key social psychology lessons on effective attitude change. Further, the campaign's own monitoring and evaluation of its effectiveness was undermined by poor design of the surveys used to measure public opinion. Finally, the broad main aim to raise awareness is too weak. The summary below is based on five waves of surveys, up until April 2005. Two further waves have subsequently been carried out (Scottish Executive Social Research, 2006).

Table 6.1: Retrospective evaluation of *One Scotland: Many Cultures* campaign	
Programme name: *One Scotland: Many Cultures* (Scottish Executive) 2001-2005	
Aims and justifications	Very broad aim to generally address problems of all racisms in Scotland by raising awareness of particular types of behaviour as racial discrimination.
Type and scope	Television/radio/cinema advertising. Posters/advertising on buses. Website.
Main focus	Racially prejudiced beliefs, public attitudes, actions constituting discrimination by individuals or organisations. Atavistic racism/ Banal racism/Stealth racism
Theory	Frequent exposure.
Mechanisms	Empathy. Moral exhortation.

Table 6.1: Retrospective evaluation of *One Scotland: Many Cultures* campaign *(continued)*	
Evaluation, sample, method, type of data collected	Four omnibus (quota sampling) surveys of general population. Two pre-campaign and five post-campaign waves, each with about 1000 respondents. Across all waves, between 97 and 99 per cent of respondents were White. No minority ethnic booster sample. Wording of some questions altered after Wave 1. Some additional elements added. Lack of comparable data from Wave 1 in some cases. Some particularly ambiguous questions – such as asking people to rank being impolite or verbally offensive to people from other ethnic backgrounds as either: not racist, slightly racist or strongly racist. Yet the survey does not allow for explanations of the context of such abuse, which may not be racially motivated at all. (Some questions were amended in the Waves 6 & 7 survey).
Outcome patterns	Findings regarding level of racial victimisation can only apply to White people in Scotland. After prompting, 70 per cent were aware of the campaign strap-line in 2003, 72 per cent in 2004 and 43 per cent in 2005. No impact over time upon self-definition as racist/not racist. Significant, progressive rise in perception of racism as serious in each wave until Wave 5 where those viewing racism as a very serious problem fell from 23 per cent in Wave 4 to 9 per cent in Wave 5. Raised measures of positive attitudes to race-related issues in Wave 3 but by Wave 4 the levels returned to those prior to the campaign. In Wave 5 the majority of measures of positive attitudes showed some improvement.
External validity	The television advertising fails to take account of key social psychology theories of racially prejudiced attitude change. Messages in some adverts very ambiguous and contain ambiguous irony. Both sides of argument not presented. Some adverts use more than one minority ethnic group and fail to include many representatives of any one group. Conforms to minority ethnic stereotypes with Asian shopkeepers and doctors and Black footballers. Adverts do not use well-liked, attractive, powerful or expert individuals as commentators. Adverts provide no information on how to make a behaviour change.
Time and context	September 2002 to August 2005. Two pre-campaign surveys were conducted in July and November 2001. Three subsequent surveys were conducted in October 2002, April 2004 and April 2005 to evaluate audience awareness of the campaign and its impact, compared to baseline pre-campaign survey measures. Full details of all five waves are provided on the One Scotland website: http://www.onescotland.com/onescotland/75.10.42.html.

Table 6.1: Retrospective evaluation of *One Scotland: Many Cultures* campaign *(continued)*	
Lessons learned **Any evidence of promising practice?**	Poor survey design in several areas led to ambiguous findings. No change in discrimination or on levels of victimisation of minority ethnic groups. Surveys should include minority ethnic booster sample to record pre- and post-victimisation. Those in higher socio-economic groups more likely to admit to being prejudiced yet less likely to express racist attitudes as discriminatory behaviour. For those in lower socio-economic groups the reverse is true. Even the measure of awareness of the programme found significant reduction in awareness between 2004 and 2005. The 2005 survey report reveals that, having run for three years, only 9 per cent recalled having heard of the campaign, unless prompted by the interviewer when the figure then rose to 43 per cent.

6.2 Case study 2 – *Kick Racism out of Football* campaign

Around 15 per cent of professional footballers in England and Wales are Black – yet less than 1 per cent of season ticket holders at Premier League clubs are from minority ethnic groups (UEFA and FARE 2003). There is a well-known association between racism and football crowds (Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research 2002). Racial discrimination on UK football terraces has been particularly overt in the past, and some discrimination remains today.

It is widely believed that there is a need to make football stadiums more welcoming places for minority ethnic fans and players. Research carried out in 2001 (Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research 2002) at Leicester University revealed that 60 per cent of clubs with large local minority ethnic populations said that they not been successful in attracting minority communities to matches. The research also cites the 2001 FA Premier League National Fan Survey of the impact of racism on minority ethnic fans. That postal survey, of 7,633 fans, found that 7 per cent had identified racism against spectators and 27 per cent had witnessed racism against players. Clearly more detailed and representative research is needed, however, to determine the extent to which such racism influences relatively lower levels of attendance at football matches by minority ethnic people.

The *Kick Racism Out of Football* campaign has been running since 1993. The original initiative was launched by the Commission for Racial Equality in association with the Professional Footballers' Association (PFA). The campaign is a multi-agency, multi-method movement to tackle racism in football that began in the wake of several high-profile racist incidents involving fans and players at football matches. The campaign has been rebranded several times, but for simplicity, all versions are referred to in this report as the *Kick Racism Out* campaign.

At its inception, *Kick Racism Out* aimed to promote anti-racism in football stadiums in England and Wales, with particular emphasis on using the media to increase awareness of the impact that discrimination (such as racist chants from the crowd) has on players. The campaign published a dedicated magazine, used a series of adverts in other publications and displayed posters at stadiums across the country. From 1995, the campaign also employed a range of other mechanisms. Targeted at the grassroots level, these included funding plays, tournaments and coaching sessions, and using tannoy systems and banners at matches. The initial aim was to encourage all professional football clubs to reduce racist discrimination among supporters at matches. This was then taken further to include reducing other types of intimidation by fans and ensuring that racial prejudice and discrimination was tackled in all areas of football – including organisational and business levels.

Public opinion survey research conducted by the CRE in May 1995 (1995a) of 748 White respondents (73%), 123 Black (12%), 102 South Asian (9%) and 49 others found that the campaign was recalled by nearly 26 per cent of all those interviewed. Another survey among football supporters, conducted by Market Research Solutions Ltd (CRE 1995a), found that the campaign was recalled by 50 per cent of football supporters leaving the grounds on match days. However, qualitative research conducted by Back et al (1996) concluded that it is not possible to distinguish the real impact on racial prejudice and racism from the different components of the campaign: the interplay between media initiatives and organisational and grassroots activities.

Table 6.2 summarises the strengths and weaknesses of the *Kick Racism Out* campaign design and evaluation.

Table 6.2: Retrospective evaluation of *Kick Racism Out* campaign	
Programme name: '*Kick Racism Out*'	
Aims and justifications	Very broad aims: to reduce racism among all supporters in stadiums and later to also reduce all types of supporter intimidation at matches.
Type and Scope	National partnership campaign. Combined slogan-oriented posters and printed adverts, use of banners and tannoys in stadiums. Other printed matter (eg leaflets). Involved 91 of the 92 professional football clubs. Wider non-media programme of training and educational activities in communities.
Main focus	Culprit-oriented towards existing and potential racist supporters of all ages. Prejudiced public attitudes; prejudiced practices by individuals/groups; prejudiced practices that are institutional; Atavistic racism; Banal racism

Table 6.2: Retrospective evaluation of *Kick Racism Out* campaign *(continued)*	
Theory	Situational crime prevention and also Routine Activity theory. Rebranded programme *Show Racism the Red Card* adopts some lessons from psychology to reduce racially prejudiced beliefs.
Mechanisms	Shame culprits. Create empathy for victims. Facilitate more 'capable guardians' to intervene/deter racism. Reduce number of motivated culprits. Emphasise positive similarities.
Evaluation, sample, method, type of data collected	Academic research: • Observation at matches • Interviews with five community officers attached to professional clubs • Postal survey of 92 football supporters (with 82 per cent response – therefore not particularly robust due to limited sampling strategy Limited research and inconclusive findings.
Outcome patterns	Confusion among fans due to poor co-ordination of communication. Some support. Some negative reactions. Rated as having positive impact by 27, neutral by 32, and negative by 1. Programme inspired additional anti-racism initiatives. Evidence of press condemnation of racist reporting and racism at matches.
External validity	Fits well-known and Home Office-recommended crime reduction methods to impact on offenders and 'capable guardians' (to intervene or deter racism) and social psychology theories of mechanisms of attitude change. While not evaluated, the later rebranded campaign *Show Racism the Red Card* uses well liked and high-profile Black players to speak out against racism and explain how it affects them.
Time and context	1993-1996 – a time of several widely publicised incidents of racism among English supporters. Since evolved into *Show Racism the Red Card* – which is currently running and has as yet not been evaluated.
Lessons learned **Any evidence of promising practice?**	Develop finite aims and ways to achieve them. Use research knowledge of racial prejudice dynamics to ensure message is seen as realistic. Ensure audience can view key message. Ensure context of slogans and 'ownership' of programme are adequately explained. Ensure medium of message is suitable for particular target audience/s. Provide adequate guidelines for implementation and dissemination to partnership. Consider incorporating existing local initiatives. Don't gloss over complex realities of racism – few racists are right-wing extremists. Show audience how to challenge racial prejudice. Ensure they are supported. Should have used realistic evaluation guidelines to design, monitor and evaluate this initiative.

There is clear evidence that the campaign as a whole has resulted in a growing 'movement' to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination in all areas of football. The campaign takes account of knowledge from social psychology of how best to use media to facilitate attitude change. The mechanisms for change use proven crime and anti-social behaviour reduction techniques. The campaign could be very effective in reducing prejudice and discrimination. However, lack of evaluation knowledge at the design stage makes it impossible to undertake a reliable retrospective evaluation of impact. At the time of writing, no evaluation has taken place regarding the specific impact of media campaigns on racism in football since Back et al's work.

6.3 Poster campaign by the Commission for Racial Equality

In 1995, the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) ran a poster campaign to remind people about racism and to seek to reduce racial prejudice. One poster depicted the work undertaken by cleaners to show that, due to structural inequalities, these were the main openings for many minority ethnic groups. Another poster was of a contented Black baby side by side with a White baby.

A survey conducted by the CRE (1995a) revealed that approximately 20 per cent of interviewees recalled the baby poster, whereas only 6 per cent recalled the 'openings for cleaners' poster. Among White respondents, 6 per cent 'agreed a lot' that the advert would make them rethink their attitudes and 23 per cent 'agreed a little' that it would. The figure was highest (47%) for those aged 16-19 years.

Table 6.3 summarises the strengths and weaknesses of the CRE poster campaign.

Table 6.3: Retrospective evaluation of poster campaign by the Commission for Racial Equality	
Programme name: Poster campaign by the Commission for Racial Equality	
Aims and justifications	Draw attention to racial prejudice/raise the profile of the CRE. CRE belief that racial prejudice cannot be reduced unless people are constantly reminded of it.
Type and scope	National poster campaign. Non-verbal poster communication plus extensive media coverage. Less concern with content than bringing issue to attention.
Main focus	To change racially prejudiced attitudes among everyone (private prejudiced beliefs/prejudiced public attitudes/prejudiced practices by individuals/groups). Discrimination reduction focus on Atavistic racism/Banal racism/Stealth racism
Theory	Salience and novelty. Love. Positive similarities. Frequent exposure.
Mechanisms	Visible exposure/discussion of racial prejudice and discrimination. Seek to influence specific perception that racial prejudice is not an in-born trait, but is socially constructed and can be reduced by such awareness.
Evaluation, sample, method, type of data collected	Ethnically stratified sample survey in 1996 (1026 respondents). Conducted, analysed and published by CRE. Independently conducted, randomised experiment comparing CRE crime and jobs campaign with modified campaign based on research recommendations. (190 respondents). Published in academic journal.
Outcome patterns	61 per cent of White interviewees thought the advert appropriate for the message. Six per cent agreed a lot that it would make them rethink attitudes. Twenty-three per cent of all groups agreed a little that it would. Sixty-eight per cent thought it would not affect 'real racists'. Thirty-six per cent thought it would change attitudes. Strong evidence that campaign increased prejudice. Independent academic evaluation using modified CRE campaign. Partly produced neutral effect; part reduced prejudice.
External validity	Some of the ideas used, but not all of the actual poster designs employed, fit social psychology theories of attitude change. An independent academic experiment changed the posters to fit these theories. Results showed that the campaign did not adequately conform to social psychology theories of attitude change and was not likely to reduce prejudice and discrimination.
Time and context	1996. Slick imagery campaign run by high profile marketing company Saatchi & Saatchi. Black and White baby poster. CRE mid-1990s campaign using posters of brains, car thieves, cleaning jobs, and limited job opportunities.
Lessons learned Any evidence of promising practice?	People agreed that anti-racism and anti-racial prejudice adverts are a good idea. No evidence that the campaign changed attitudes. Campaigns can increase prejudice. Best to design programmes based on research evidence of what works/promising practice and to avoid what does not work.

This case study exemplifies the difficulties of design and the need to pay heed to research. Vrij and Smith (1999) noted that a CRE poster campaign failed to incorporate theoretical knowledge of how best to use media to reduce prejudice. They found that those who were shown the campaign materials held more prejudiced views than a control group. Earlier academic research findings (Weber and Crocker 1983; Johnston et al 1994) found that it is important to use many typical members of a single ethnic group when stressing positive similarities rather than one or two. It is also important to concentrate on one ethnic group at a time, as people hold different prejudices about different ethnic groups (Kleinpenning and Hagendoon 1991).

To assess how effective a campaign has been in changing people's prejudice and/or discriminatory behaviour, an evaluation needs to be more sophisticated and sensitive than to merely ask people whether an initiative would change their attitudes.

6.4 Stocktake

The three campaigns suggest the following key conclusions and recommendations for future initiatives:

- There is currently no definitive evidence of what works in prejudice and discrimination reduction

- However, the evidence from social psychology and realist evaluation lends itself to identifying promising practice in the design and evaluation of campaigns to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination

- Realist evaluation frameworks should be used in the design, implementation, monitoring and final evaluation

- Campaigns and programmes should use knowledge from social psychology on effective attitude change

- Organisations implementing such initiatives should ensure that surveys to monitor impact are fit for purpose methodologically and in terms of quality

- Campaigns and programmes must set aims higher than simply awareness raising to measure effectiveness in reducing prejudice and discrimination.

Section 7. What might work, what might be promising – in what context, and what is unlikely to work?

This section describes what looks promising when designing and evaluating awareness campaigns to reduce racial prejudice. It discusses changes in communication, the targeting of resources, and misinterpretation of campaign aims.

7.1 The significance of diverse and changing communication

Recent improvements in technology have led to a greater range of possible communication options which could potentially be utilised to help reduce racial prejudice and discrimination. However, the power of different media to influence beliefs, actions and lives depends largely on the technology itself, as well as the way it is used. This is the essence of McLuhan's phrase 'the medium is the message' (McLuhan 1964).

In consequence, prejudice or discrimination reduction poster campaigns are likely to have a different bearing (in terms of access or impact) upon particular groups of recipients than campaigns using websites, broadcast television or DVDs. Not everyone who drives past posters on a city ring road has access to, or an inclination to visit, an anti-racism website (Gaine et al. 2003). Network television no longer has a national monopoly. Media use is ever growing, and audiences can be selective about the messages they view (Kosnick 2000; COI 2003). Future media-based initiatives to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination must therefore be selective and precise in how they target their campaigns at the people they want to influence.

7.2 Targeting to make the most of scarce resources

As with many areas of prejudice and discrimination reduction, considering where to target resources is not straightforward.

7.2.1 Local versus national campaigns

Racially prejudiced attitudes and behaviour vary according to educational attainment levels, age and geography (Gaine 2000; Singh et al. 2002). There may be particular regional differences as well as similarities articulated and experienced between people in different parts of the country.

Therefore, different areas can appear to have populations with particular racial prejudices, who practise discrimination in different ways. Valentine and McDonald (2004) suggest that national strategies are the best option for campaigns but there is also a need for locally sensitive bespoke regional programmes and policies that challenge White people's anger and frustration at their perceived disadvantage in resource allocation and cultural rights. This finding is supported by Coe et al (2004), and Finney and Peach (2004). More research is required to determine whether initiatives aimed at reducing racial prejudice and discrimination within White groups should be tightly focused and tailored to particular communities in particular regions and neighbourhoods – or other geographic levels.

7.2.2 Specific ethnic groups

Where media-based initiatives to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination aim to operate at a national level, they should be targeted at the right sections of the community in order to be most effective in terms of impact and resource efficiency. We recommend that national initiatives should be avoided unless they are to be viewed by known selective audiences, as applies to some specialist terrestrial and satellite/cable television or radio broadcasts, cinema screenings, or specialist press.

Ultimately, which sections of the community should be targeted depends upon whose attitude or behaviour the initiative is seeking to change. Gaine (2000) speculates that programmes might need to differ in type and intensity between areas that have different types, or varying levels of, ethnic diversity. This calls into question how best to target resources where programmes aim to change racial discrimination rather than just prejudice.

7.3 What looks like it might work and what does not work?

Table 7.1 provides examples of what is likely to be promising practice in designing programmes and campaigns to reduce racial prejudice. Table 7.2 outlines what the evidence indicates should be avoided. Appendix 3 contains an example illustrating the complex reality of initiatives to reduce racial prejudice.

Table 7.1: What is likely to be promising in reducing racial prejudice that will clearly make a difference to people's lives

Likely to be promising practice?	Why?
Campaigns based on reducing prejudice/discrimination against one ethnic group at a time.	People have different prejudices against different ethnic groups.
Campaigns that stress positive similarities and use many typical members of one ethnic group.	Recipients of information are less able to explain away positive attributes as exceptional to the norm.
Campaigns that seek to reduce prejudice/discrimination by particular types of people in particular situations/places at particular times against particular targets.	Utilise useful and proven knowledge from criminology regarding how to measure dynamics of problem. Use best practice knowledge from existing evaluations of crime and harm reduction programmes.

Table 7.2: What does not work in reducing racial prejudice

What is less likely to work?	Why?
Simply seeking to raise awareness of issues or organisational profile – 'evaluation cop-out'.	Simply raising awareness of an issue as a problem is likely to increase rather than reduce racial prejudice and discrimination. There is no way to measure impact and provide evidence to support the funding of future initiatives.
Simply seeking to reduce racially prejudiced beliefs.	Different types of racial prejudice and discrimination occur in different places, at different times, to different people. It is necessary to back up initiatives with other elements that will make racial discrimination more difficult and risky to carry out.
Nationally focused campaigns	Research suggests problems with racial prejudice and discrimination and the types of prejudice and discrimination vary between regions, cultures and demographic, economic, political and historical factors. Therefore, national or international broadcasting, literature, or cinema media are best used where the audience is known to be predominantly of a particular social or demographic group.

Table 7.3 shows that it is important to assess any perceived downside of media-based initiatives to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination and to weigh these against intended benefits. In some cases, the downside can be lessened by careful audience targeting or by carefully constructed messages.

Table 7.3: Contrasting social circumstances and mechanisms for change: understanding the complexity of reducing racial prejudice and discrimination	
Positive circumstance/mechanism	**Contrasting circumstance/mechanism**
Having fewer minority ethnic people in lower socio-economic positions removes association between certain ethnicities and poverty and reduces competition for scarce resources in poorer areas (Glock et al. 1975).	May create competition for scarce resources in better housing and jobs – leading to new racial prejudices.
Individuals with high degree of self-worth/ identity have lower degrees of prejudice (Rubin 1967).	British national identity is sometimes colour-coded (Nayak 2003) and associated with the politics of the far right.
An increase in personal interracial relationships, and campaigns that depict such relationships, may send out a clear message that we are an enlightened multi-racial society – that it is people and not skin colour that counts.	May challenge families, friends and neighbours by going against expectations, background and culture. In predominantly White 'Eurocentric'[13] society, may facilitate aspects of 'pigmentocracy'[14], further disadvantaging those with darkest skin tones
It is important to have realistic media representations of minority ethnic groups.	One person's realistic representation may be seen by another as a patronising stereotype.
Explaining positive similarities between different groups of people is good for changing prejudicial attitudes.	This may ultimately promote ignorance regarding the reality of cultural diversity. Minority ethnic observers may not be happy with campaign, as belonging to a distinct group often plays an important role in developing and maintaining identity.
Replacing assimilative strategies with those celebrating cultural diversity seeks to override implicit bias of White 'Eurocentrism'. Will be informed by wider debate.	Multiculturalism can lead to a glossing over of the structural nature of much racism (eg differential employment opportunities; Lentin 2000). May also prevent social cohesion.
The current focus by academics, police and policy makers on extreme hate crimes may obscure more common everyday prejudice (Valentine and McDonald 2004).	Everyday prejudice (verbal abuse, incivility, pity and sympathy or unwitting derogatory language) can create an environment in which hate can flourish (Perry 2001).

[13] Where emphasis is placed upon predominantly White European culture and values at the expense of those of other cultures.

[14] A hierachy of power determined by human skin colour.

Section 8. Conclusions and the way forward

This section presents conclusions and implications for policy makers and practitioners.

8.1 Conclusions

This review has revealed little consensus on how to respond to or prevent racial prejudice and discrimination by using media. Authors' recommendations come most often by way of a conclusion, so are not fully developed theoretically. Discussions have largely taken place at the level of anti-racist organisations and within government agencies, and have not led to rigorous assessments of resultant media-based programmes. Yet the starting point for evaluation of such initiatives to reduce racial prejudice should be within the organisations that fund and implement them.

There is no evidence to date that awareness campaigns aimed at the general population are an effective way to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination in specific situations. Intercultural education that presents only facts in order to change attitudes will not reduce prejudice and discrimination, since facts are interpreted through experience and biases of recipients. Recipients may simply see the message as 'manipulative propaganda'. Similarly, initiatives to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination that aim merely to raise awareness, or to evaluate their impact in this area alone, constitute evaluation cop-out, and cannot present evidence that they have changed racially prejudiced attitudes or behaviour.

This review found no evidence that using media effectively to reduce racially prejudiced attitudes and behaviour can be done with intuition and good intentions alone. Using media effectively is scientifically complicated, and intellectually and creatively challenging. Those planning initiatives will have to negotiate sensitive regional, social, political, ethnic and cultural nuances.

8.2 Implications for policy makers

1. Future funding should not be available for projects that seek simply to raise awareness. Use of facts and information is not sufficient to change attitudes.

2. More precision is needed in targeting media-based initiatives and campaigns to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination at particular sections of the community. Referring to only one minority ethnic group at a time is more likely to be effective.

3. For a campaign to have reach and impact, target audiences must understand, have access to and engage with the type of media used.

4. Allow for the fact that social and political change may affect delivery.

5. Programmes and campaigns must be more focused on specific areas of life. For example, some police forces have admitted that they suffer from institutional racism. Currently there is a drive towards improving recruitment, retention and progression of minority ethnic police officers. The findings in this report will be useful for police forces wishing to use media to reduce racial prejudice and discrimination within the service.

6. Initiatives to reduce victimisation might be best employed as part of a wider campaign rather than as a stand-alone programme.

7. Altering physical and social situational features in precise locations may lead to reduced discrimination beyond those areas where work is conducted.

8.3 Implications for practitioners

1. Benchmark prejudice prior to the campaign to monitor and evaluate success. Projects must be monitored so that the correct audiences are reached with the desired results.

2. Budget for evaluation at the design stage. Evaluation will determine whether aims have been met, and offer lessons regarding future promising practice.

3. Where the target audience is a minority ethnic group, conduct preliminary research on media consumption patterns and then, where appropriate, engage in active outreach work.

4. A message's impact will depend on presentation style, ease of understanding, and emotional pitch. Repetition of the message is more likely to reduce prejudice.

5. Positive similarities should be emphasised. When emphasising differences, highlight the value that difference adds to minority and majority groups.

6. Understand how and in what context change is achieved to inform other initiatives of what does and does not work.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Research method – review of literature and programmes

To determine the scope, nature, quality and applicability of current literature on practices to reduce racial prejudice and related research findings, a literature review was undertaken that involved published materials, other relevant and available documents, and websites. The review included research and information disseminated by government agencies, advocacy and similar organisations.

Limitations of method

The method used was an academic research literature review, a widely respected and accepted method in which the authors have many years of experience and expertise. Research reviews aim to identify, examine and synthesise knowledge from previous studies. Two main factors influenced the choice of research method: the clear lack of applied experimental or quasi-experimental research designs in this area, and the lack of evaluated initiatives.

Search strategies for the identification of relevant studies

To identify appropriate documents, a web search was conducted at the outset. This made use of commercial search engines (eg Google and Google Scholar), academic search engines (eg Ingenta.com), and other electronic search mechanisms, such as those available through library databases (eg sociological abstracts). The literature search followed leads suggested by other sources identified in the early stages, ie works cited and web links. The databases used include:

ABI/Inform	Journal Citation Reports (Social Science)
British National Bibliography	Proquest Criminal Justice Periodicals
Criminal Justice Abstracts	PsycINFO
Criminology Full Text Collection (Sage)	Scholars Portal
EBSCOhost Academic Search Premier	Sociofile
Google	Social Science Citation Index
Google Scholar	Social Science Plus Text
IBSS	Social Services Abstracts
Ingenta connect	Sociological Abstracts

Combinations of key words were used to initiate the search. References for relevant literature, such as academic journal articles were then used to download material from academic databases and websites. Where papers were not available online they were ordered through Nottingham Trent University Library and the University of Ontario Institute of Technology library. These papers and reports revealed further references that were sought online and through the respective university libraries. In addition, the above databases and others were examined as a parallel strategy to identify other useful materials.

Once obtained, the literature was examined for information about effective and ineffective approaches to the successful transmission of messages to reduce racial prejudice. The aim was to identify, first, the mechanisms by which racism is 'learned' and 'unlearned', and second, research that explores in depth how messages to reduce racial prejudice are most effectively communicated through broadcast, web and printed media.

Scope of the review and features of literature meeting inclusion criteria

Both the programmes and the broader literature on the social psychology of prejudice reduction were reviewed. Included are campaigns that have been assessed and evaluated to varying degrees, as well as others that have been implemented but not assessed or evaluated.

The search for materials was narrowed down using the following selection criteria to determine which literature would be examined in more depth:

- Sociology literature

- Social psychology literature

- Criminology literature

- Reports relating to initiatives that are no more than ten years old

- Reports written in English

The review does not include training or educational programmes, newspaper and magazine articles, or editorials. Instead the focus is upon self-consciously interventionist mechanisms that allow examination of:

- Poster campaigns (eg the Commission for Racial Equality's poster campaign)

- Situational based media campaigns (eg *Kick Racism out of Football*)

- Media-based awareness-raising campaigns (eg *Kick it Out* and *Show Racism the Red Card*)

- Advertising campaigns including slogans (eg *One Scotland; Many Cultures*)

- Anti-racist Internet websites (eg www.antiracist.com)

- Television programming which includes the insertion of anti-racist plot lines

- Other performing arts campaigns focusing on anti-racist messages and symbolism (eg art/photographic exhibits, theatre and film).

Quality assessment of the literature

Identifying the most important variables that are relevant to media messages to reduce racial prejudice included:

- Examining relationships between ideas and practice;

- Understanding the differences, similarities and defining characteristics of the various types of initiative implemented;

- Reviewing the social psychology and sociology literature on the effectiveness, design, implementation and audience reaction to various initiatives to reduce racial prejudice and their component parts – then examining this knowledge within the realist evaluation framework (Pawson and Tilley 2004);

- Reviewing initiatives to reduce racial prejudice to determine whether they constitute good practice, or are likely to be promising in achieving attitude and behaviour change – focusing upon reducing racial prejudice in particular – and then examining them within the realist evaluation framework.

Appendix 2. Summary of the use of realist evaluation at the design, monitoring and final evaluation stages to understand and explain the impact of initiatives

Realist evaluation is based upon a distinctive account of the nature of initiatives; how they work; what is involved in explaining and understanding programmes and campaigns; the research methods needed to understand how programmes and campaigns work; and the proper products of evaluation research. The points below, derived from Tilley (2005), provide a brief guide to using realist evaluation.

Be aware that:

- this is not a research technique – rather it is a 'logic of inquiry'

- the end product of a realist evaluation is never a simple pass/fail verdict, but an understanding of how its inner workings produce diverse effects

- initiatives never work indefinitely, in the same way and in all circumstances for all people

- social programmes and campaigns are theories embedded and active in parts of open social systems

- the idea of employing experimental control groups, while suitable in the controlled environment of a laboratory, is out of place when evaluating initiatives in open social systems where factors cannot be controlled

- layers of social reality are part of and surround programmes and campaigns

- an initiative may change the social and political conditions that made it successful in the first place, so a stream of fresh initiatives may be required

- since programmes and campaigns are products of the human imagination in negotiation with people in particular places at particular times, they will never work indefinitely, or in the same way, in all circumstances, for all people

- whilst it is impossible to provide the exact recipe for success, realist evaluation can offer policy makers vital clues as to the right ingredients.

Do not:

- rely upon a single outcome measure to deliver a fail/pass verdict; test initiatives against a range of output and outcome measures

- neglect the fact that triggers for change in most interventions are located in the reasoning and resources of those touched by the initiative

- neglect the fact that programmes and campaigns are inserted into or impact upon real systems of political and social relationships which affect the real bases for changes.

Do identify:

- the potential process, based upon theory, through which the initiative may bring about change, then test it in order to determine what it is in the programme or campaign that brings about change

- the context explaining for whom and in what circumstances an initiative will work

- outcome – the intended and unintended consequences of the initiative that result from the activation of different mechanisms in different contexts

- what works, for/with whom, where, when, why, in what way and with what effects.

Appendix 3. An example of the complexity of initiatives to reduce racial prejudice

Following the terrorist attacks in America on September 11 2001, Maio et al (2002) conducted research in Britain with over 60 men and women to test the impact of messages supporting or criticising Muslims. Participants initially favourable toward Muslim people subsequently showed more implicit prejudice towards the group after reading the message that supported their immigration and less implicit prejudice after reading messages which opposed their immigration. In contrast, participants who were initially unfavourable toward Muslim people subsequently exhibited less implicit prejudice toward them after reading the message that opposed their immigration.

Thus the positive messages backfired among participants who were initially favourable towards Muslims, but not among participants who were initially unfavourable toward them. This was an example of reverse psychology.

References

Aaker, D. A., Stayman, D. M. and Hagerty, M. R. (1986) Warmth in advertising: Measurement, impact, and sequence effects. Journal of Consumer Research, 12 (4), 365-381.

Attwood C, Singh, G., Prime D, Creasy R and others, (2003), 2001 Home Office Citizenship Survey: People, families and Communities. Home Office Research Series 270 London: Home Office.

Back, L. Crabbe, T. and Solomos, J. (1996) Alive and Still Kicking. Report by the Advisory Group Against Racism and Intimidation. London: Commission for Racial Equality.

Barker, M. (1981) The New Racism. London: Junction Books.

Batson, C. D., Polycarpou, M. P., Harmon-Jones, E., Imhoff, H. J., Mitchener, E. C., Bednar, L. L., Klein, T. R. and Highberger, L. (1997) Empathy and attitudes: Can feeling for a member of stigmatised group improve feelings for the group? Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 72, 105-118.

Bettinghaus, E. P. and Cody, M. J. (1994). Persuasive Communication. New York: Thomspon Learning.

Bhavnani, R., Safia, H. and Mirza, S. (2005) Tackling the Roots of Racism: Lessons for Success. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Bowling, B. (1993) Racial harassment and the process of victimization. British Journal of Criminology, 33 (2), 231-250.

Bradac, J., Bowers, J. and Courtright, J. (1980) Lexical variations in intensity, immediacy and diversity: An axiomatic theory and causal model. In R. N. St. Clair and H. Giles (Eds.), The Social and Psychological Contexts of Language (pp. 294-317). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Cabinet Office (2003) Ethnic Minorities and the Labour Market. London: Cabinet Office.

Chapman, B., Mirlees-Black, C. and Brown, C. (2002) Improving public attitudes to the Criminal Justice System: The impact of information. Home Office Research Study 245. London: Home Office.

Clarke, R.V. and Weisburd, D. (1994) Diffusion of crime control benefits: observations on the reverse of displacement. In R.V. Clarke (Ed.), Crime Prevention Studies, Vol. 2. New York: Criminal Justice Press.

Coe, J., Fricke, H.J. and Kingham, T. (2004) Asylum attitudes: A report for the Commission for Racial Equality on public attitude campaigning. London: Commission for Racial Equality.

COI (2003) Ethnic Minority Communities: Qualitative Research Report. Prepared by Turnstone Research, Connect Research and Consultancy. Common Good Research Programme. Crown Copyright.

Commission for Racial Equality (1995a) Public opinion Survey: Advertising and Campaign Profile. Public Attitude Survey. CRE Research.

Commission for Racial Equality (1995b) Advertising and Campaign Profile and Attitude Survey. Management Summary Report. CRE Research.

Communities and Local Government (October 2007), Statistical Release Citizenship Survey, April-June 2007, England & Wales. London: Communities and Local Government

Corkindale, D. and Newell, J. (1978). Advertising thresholds and wearout. European Journal of Marketing, 12, 327-378.

Corr Wilburn Research and Development (2000) Qualitative Research for Evaluating the Potential for a Race Equality Campaign. Unpublished Report prepared for the Central Office of Information (COI ref 4367), Hercules Road London.

Crisp, R. J. and Hewstone, M. (2001) Multiple Categorization and Implicit Bias: Differential category dominance and the positive-negative asymmetry effect. European Journal of Social Psychology. 31. 45-62.

Dasgupta, N. and Greenwald, A.G. (2001) On the malleability of automatic attitudes: Combating automatic prejudice with images of admired and disliked individuals. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 81, 800-814.

Davis, M. H. (1994) Empathy: A Social Psychological Approach. Madison, WI: Brown and Benchmark.

Duckitt, J. (1992) The Social Psychology of Prejudice. London: Praegar.

Dustmann, C. and Preston, I. (2001) Attitudes to ethnic minorities, ethnic context and location decisions. Economic Journal, 111, 353-373.

Eysenck, S. B. G. (1981) Impulsive and anti-social behaviour in children. Current Psychological Research, 1, 31-37.

Felson, M. (1998) Crime and Everyday Life. Thousand Oakes, California: Pine Forge Press.

Felson, M. and Clarke R.V.G. (1998) Opportunity Makes the Thief. Policing and Reducing Crime Unit: Police Research Series. Paper 98. London: Home Office.

Finney, N. and Peach, E. (2004) Attitudes towards asylum seekers, refugees and other immigrants. A Literature review for the Commission for Racial Equality.

Fredrickson, G. M. (2002) Racism: A Short History. Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Furnham, A., Gunter, B. and Green, A. (1990) Remembering science: The recall of factual information as a function of the presentation mode. Applied Cognitive Psychology, 4, 203-212.

Gaine, C. (1989) On getting equal opportunities policies – and keeping them. In M. Cole (Ed.), Education for Equality. London: Routledge.

Gaine, C. (2000) Anti-racist education in 'White' areas: The limits and possibilities of change. Race, Ethnicity and Education, 3, 1.

Gaine. C., Hallgren, C., Dominguez, S.P., Noguera, J.S. and Weiner, G. (2003) "Eurokid": an innovative pedagogical approach to developing intercultural and anti-racist education on the Web. Intercultural Education, 14, 3. September. 318-329.

Gilroy, P. (1987) There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack. London: Routledge.

Glock, C. Y., Wuthnow, R., Pilavin, J. R. and Spencer, M. (1975) Adolescent Prejudice. New York: Harper and Row.

Hall, N. (2005) Hate Crime. Cullompton: Willan Press.

Hewstone, M, Carpenter, C, Franklyn-Stikes, A and Routh, D. (1994) Inter-group Contact Between Professional Groups: Two evaluation studies. Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology 4. 347-363

Hill, M.E. and Augoustinos, M. (2001) Stereotype change and prejudice reduction: Short- and long-term evaluation of a cross-cultural awareness programme. Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology, 11 (4), 243-262.

Holdaway, S. (2005) The Challenge of Creating a Multi-Racial Police Force. ESRC Society Today.

Home Office (2005) Improving Opportunity, Strengthening Society: The government's strategy to increase race equality and community cohesion. London: Home Office.

Home Office (2004), 2003 Citizenship Survey: People, Families and Communities. Home Office Research Study 289 London: Home Office.

Hornsey, M. J. and Hogg, M. A. (2000) Assimilation and Diversity: An Integrative Model of Subgroup Relations. Personality and Social Psychology Review. Vol 4. No 2. 143-156

Janis, I. L. and Feshbach, S. (1953) Effects of fear-arousing communications. Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, 48, 78-92.

Johnson, M. E., Brems, C. and Alford-Keating, P. (1997) Personality correlates of homophobia. Journal of Homosexuality, 34, 57-69.

Johnston, L., Hewstone, M., Pendry, L. and Frankish, C. (1994) Cognitive models of stereotype change (IV): motivational and cognitive influences. European Journal of Social Psychology, 24, 237-265.

Johnston, L. and Macrae, C. N. (1994) Changing social stereotypes: The case of the information seeker. European Journal of Social Psychology, 24, 581-592.

Kitchen S, Michaelson J, Wood N (2006) Citizenship Survey: Race and faith topic report, Department for Communities and Local Government 2007

Kleinpenning, G. and Hagendoorn, L. (1991) Contextual aspects of ethnic stereotypes and interethnic evaluations. European Journal of Social Psychology, 21, 331-348.

Kosnick, K. (2000) Building bridges: Media for migrants and the public-service mission in Germany. European Journal of Cultural Studies. Vol 3(3) 321-344.

Lammers, H. B., Leibowitz, L., Seymour, G. E. and Hennessey, J. E. (1983) Immediate and delayed effects of humor on cognitive responses to advertising stimuli: A trace consolidation approach. Journal of Business Research, 11, 173-185.

Landis, D., Brislin, R.W. and Hulgus, J.F. (1985) Attributional training versus contact in acculturative learning: A laboratory study. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 15, 7.

Lentin, A. (2000) 'Race', racism and anti-racism: Challenging contemporary classifications. Social Identities, 6, 1. 91-106.

Levy, S. R. (1999) Reducing Prejudice: Lessons From Social-Cognititve Factors Underlying Perceiver Differences in Prejudice. Journal of Social Issues. Vol 55. No 4. 745-765

Lisack, C. and Ivan, D. (1995) Deficits in intimacy and empathy in sexually aggressive men. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 10, 296-308.

Litvack-Miller, W., McDougall, D. and Romney, D. M. (1997) The structure of empathy during middle childhood and its relationship to pro-social behaviour. Genetic, Social and General Psychology Monographs, 123, 303-324.

Long, J. A. and McNamee M. J. (2004) On the moral economy of racism and racist rationalizations in sport. International Review for the Sociology of Sport 39/4. 405-420.

Macpherson, W. (1999) The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry. London: HMSO.

Madden, T. J. and Weinburger, M. G. (1984) Humor in advertising: A practitioner's view. Journal of Advertising Research, 24, 23-29.

Maio, G.R., Watt, S.E., Hewstone, M. and Rees, K.J. (2002) Effects of Anti-Racism Messages on Explicit and Implicit Intergroup Atitudes. The Moderating Role of Attitudinal Ambivalence. Paper presented at the conference of the European Association of Experimental Psychology, San Sebastian, Spain.

Mason, D (2003). Changing patterns of ethnic disadvantage in employment. In D. Mason (Ed.), Explaining Ethnic Differences: Changing Patterns of Disadvantage in Britain. Bristol: The Policy Press.

McGregor, J. (1993) Effectiveness of role playing and antiracist teaching in reducing student prejudice. Journal of Educational Research, 86, 215-226.

McLuhan, M. (1964) Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man. London: Routledge.

Miller, P. A. and Eisenberg, N. (1988) The relation of empathy to aggressive and externalizing anti-social behaviour. Psychological Bulletin, 103, 324-344.

Mullen, B. and Johnson, C. (1990). The Psychology of Consumer Behaviour. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Mullen, B. (2001) Ethnophaulisms for Ethnic Immigrant Groups. Journal of Social Issues. Vol. 57. No 3. 457-475

Nayak, A. (2003) 'Boyz to Men': masculinities, schooling and labour transitions in de-industrial times. Education Review l55 (2), 147-159

One Scotland campaign research (2001-2005)
http://www.onescotland.com/onescotland/75.10.42.html

Osterhouse, R. A. and Brock, T. C. (1970) Distraction increases yielding to propaganda by inhibiting counterarguing. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 15, 355-358.

Oswald, P. A. (1996) The effect of cognitive and affective perspective taking on empathetic concern and altruistic helping. Journal of Social Psychology, 136, 613-623.

Paradies, Y. (2005) Anti-racism and indigenous Australians. Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy, 5, 1, 1-28.

Pate, G. S. (1981) Research on Prejudice Reduction. Educational Leadership. January. 289-291.

Pavlov, I. P. (1927) Conditioned Reflexes: An Investigation of the Physiological Activity of the Cerebral Cortex (translated by G. V. Anrep). London: Oxford University Press.

Pawson, R. and Tilley, N. (1997) Realistic Evaluation. London: Sage.

Pawson, R. and Tilley, N. (2004) Simple Principles for the Evaluation of Complex Programmes. In M. Kelly, A. Kanaris, A. Morgan, B. Naidoo, E. Barnett-Page, C.

Perry, B. (2001) In The Name of Hate: Understanding Hate Crimes. New York: Routledge.

Pettigrew, T. F. and Meertens, R. W. (1995) Subtle and blatant prejudice in Western Europe. European Journal of Social Psychology, 25, 173-185.

Petty, R. E., Wegener, D. T. and Fabrigar, L. (1997) Attitudes and Attitude Change. Annual Review of Psychology, 48, 609-647.

Plous, S. (2000) Responding to Overt Displays of Prejudice: A Role-Playing Exercise. Teaching of Psychology/. VOl27. No 3. 198- 200.

Ray, M. L. and Batra, R. (1983) Emotion and persuasion in advertising: What we do and don't know about affect. Advances in Consumer Research, 10, 543-548.

Rosnow, R. L., and Robinson, E.J. (1967). Experiments in Persuasion. Academic Press: London.

Rothon and Heath, A. (2003) 'Trends in racial prejudice'. In A. Park, J. Curtice, K. Thompson, L. Jarvis and C. Bromley (Eds.), British Social Attitudes: Continuity and change over two decades – The 20th report. London: National Centre.

Rubin, I. M. (1967) Increased Self-Acceptance: A Means of Reducing Prejudice. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 5 233-238.

Saggar, S. and Drean, J. (2001) Public attitudes and ethnic minorities. London. Cabinet Office Performance and Innovation unit. Available online at www.strategy.gov.uk/downloads/files/british.pdf

Salisbury, H. and Upson, A. (2004) Ethnicity, Victimization and Worry About Crime: Findings from the 2001/02 and 2002/03 British Crime Surveys. Home Office Research Study No 237. London. Home Office

Sampson, A. and Phillips, C. (1992) Multiple Victimisation: Racial Attacks on an East London Estate. Crime Prevention Unit Series. Paper 36. London: Home Office.

Scherer, C. R. and Sagarin, B. J. (2006) Indecent Influence: The positive effects of obscenity on persuasion. Social influence, 1 (2), 138-146.

Scottish Executive (2003) Anti-racism campaign runs again. http://www.Scotland.gov.uk/pages/news/2003/02/SESJ200.aspx

Scottish Executive Social Research (2006), One Scotland Many Cultures 2005-6 – Waves 6 and 7 Campaign Evaluation http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2006/09/14141401/0

Shaughnessy, J. and Shaughnessy, N. J. (2002) The Marketing Power of Emotion. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research (2002) Racism and Football. Factsheet No. 6. University of Leicester. Available online at: http://www.le.ac.uk/footballresearch/resources/factsheets/fs6.pdf#search= %22racism%20and%20football%20crowds%22

Solomos, J. and Back, L. (1996) Racism and Society. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Stead, M., Mackintosh, A., Tagg, S. and Eadie, D. (2002) Changing Speeding Behaviour in Scotland: An Evaluation of the 'Foolsspeed' Campaign. Centre for Social Marketing, University of Strathclyde. Taken here from: Coe, J., Fricke, H.J. and Kingham, T. (2004) Asylum Attitudes: A report for the Commission for Racial Equality on public attitude campaigning. London: Commission for Racial Equality.

Stephan, W. G. and Finlay, K. (1999) The role of empathy in improving intergroup relations. Journal of Social Issues, 55, 729-743.

Sutton, M. (2005) Complicity, Trading Dynamics and Prevalence in Stolen Goods Markets. In N. Tilley (Ed.), Handbook of Crime Prevention and Community Safety. Collumpton: Willan.

Swann, G. Powel, C. Bannon, A. Killoran and T. Greenhalgh (Eds.), An Evidence-Based Approach To Public Health and Tackling Health Inequalities: Practical Steps and Methodological Challenges. London: Sage.

Tilley, N. (Ed). Handbook of Crime Prevention and Community Safety. Collumpton: Willan.

TUC (2003) Black Voices at Work. Available from the Trades Union Council. mpower@tuc.org.uk

UEFA and FARE (2003) Unite Against Racism in European Football: UEFA guide to good practice. UEFA.

Valentine, G. and McDonald, I (2004). Understanding Prejudice: Attitudes towards minorities. Stonewall. Available from http://www.stonewall.org

Vrij, A. and Smith, B. (1999) Reducing ethnic prejudice by public campaigns: An evaluation of a present and a new campaign. Journal of Community and Applied Psychology, 9, 3, 195-215.

Vrij, A., Akehurst, L. and Smith, B. (2003) Reducing ethnic prejudice: An evaluation of seven recommended principles for incorporation in public campaigns. Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology, 13, 284-299.

Weber, R. and Crocker, J. (1983) Cognitive processes in the revision of stereotype beliefs. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 45, 961-977.