

A COMPARISON OF THE EFFECTS OF MULTICULTURAL
AND ANTI-RACIST TEACHING ON STUDENT ATTITUDE CHANGE

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine the effects of Social Studies programs on students' attitudes toward and beliefs about First Nations people in Canada. There were two programs: a multicultural program and an anti-racist program. The multicultural group studied examples of successful First Nations people and the efforts to take responsibilities for their own affairs. The anti-racist group studied the current situation among the majority of First Nations Canadians and then examined historical relationship between the government and First Nations people. Students' attitudes toward First Nations people were assessed by three measures of empathy (sympathy), attitude, and attribution of blame. Scores on the measure of 'belief in a just world' were used as an independent variable to examine the relationship between the just world belief and the way students in the experimental group responded to the three outcome scales. Two hundred fifty-one grade 11 students from two secondary schools in the Lower Mainland participated in this study. Out of two hundred fifty-one, 169 subjects were eligible for the statistical analysis. Students in the multicultural group significantly increased their scores on the measure of attitude toward First Nations people. Students in the anti-racist group significantly improved their scores on the measures of empathy (sympathy) and attribution of blame.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Multicultural developments in Canada during the last decade have had extensive political, sociological and educational implications. In practical terms, however, educators are probably more directly on the firing line than most professions simply because they have to deal with the personal implications of situations involving tolerance, understanding and accommodation (Friesen, 1985, p.159)

Many advocates of multicultural education have argued that it is an essential task for educators to design Social Studies curricula which teach positive accomplishments of minority groups who have contributed to the development of the nation (Parker, 1991). It would be ideal if students learn about and come to appreciate the cultural diversity in which they live. In order for them to become active citizens who will create a truly democratic society, schools should provide students with opportunities to obtain such attitudes. Indeed, teachers in different grade levels and publishers have attempted to develop educational programs designed to achieve goals of multiculturalism and anti-racism in Canadian society (e.g., Beardsley et al, 1992; Rogers, 1990a, 1990b). Many school boards have articulated race relations policies to promote cultural understanding among students and to develop positive race relations in schools. However, in many cases it seems difficult to implement such policies into practice. Even with policies

and programs multiculturalism or anti-racism is not having a significant impact on schools and students' attitudes (Tator & Henry, 1991).

It is also difficult for teachers to know whether or not such special programs or policies are working to improve the school environment for all students. Unfortunately, there have been few studies done on this issue. Banks (1991) examined research reported in ERIC and Psychological Abstracts and found that most intervention studies of the curriculum effectiveness on racial attitude were published in the 1960s and 1970s; no study was published in the 1980s. He suggested that more intervention research should be conducted because results would help educators to develop useful curricula to enhance positive inter-group attitude among students. As cultural diversity has increased in Canada, issues such as conflict and discrimination among different ethnic groups have become vital concerns. However, prejudicial and racist incidents have not completely disappeared from the school environment. How can educators help students develop positive inter-group attitudes and tolerance toward others?

This study will attempt to compare the effects of two different educational programs on students' beliefs and attitudes toward First Nations people. This group was selected as a program topic because their status in Canadian society and relationship with the government are different

from other ethnic minority groups. First Nations people have been in Canada for generations; yet there seems to be unequal power relations between First Nations Canadians and English or French speaking Canadians. The power structure may be similar to the one existing between Korean or Chinese Japanese and other Japanese people. If that is the case, it could be possible to use some of the strategies for the development of positive attitudes toward First Nations people in order to improve inter-group attitude in Japanese society. The results will also provide information on the relationship between the type of program and student belief and attitude. Such information will help educators and policy-makers to promote positive inter-group attitudes in culturally diversified school environments.

Rationale of the Study

The study will examine the impact of two Social Studies programs on students' attitudes toward and beliefs about First Nations people in Canada. One is a multicultural approach and the other is an anti-racist approach. These approaches are considered to be primary strategies to develop positive attitudes and reduce racial prejudice among pupils from various cultural backgrounds.

Advocates of multicultural and anti-racist education have argued for their efficacy as educational strategies. Those who support multicultural education emphasize that acceptance and appreciation of differences is fundamental

for the development of positive inter-group attitudes (Kehoe, 1984a, 1984b). Advocates of anti-racist education assert that students should understand the nature of racism and discrimination in order to develop a non-racist attitude (Lynch, 1987; Thomas, 1984; Tator & Henry, 1991). They advocate teaching students about incidents of past and present racism and discrimination and unequal power relations among different minority groups in society. However, research evidence shows that students may become more prejudiced when they study about such examples (Black, 1973; Kehoe & Echols, 1983). As few studies have compared the effectiveness of the two approaches on students' attitudes toward others, it is difficult to decide which of the two is more effective. Thus, it will be valuable to investigate whether or not the two approaches have an impact on students' attitude and belief, and if they do, to what extent and in which direction students' attitudes and beliefs will be altered.

In this study the relationship between the two treatments and individual 'belief in a just world' will also be examined. Lerner (1980) has shown that people who strongly believe that the world is a just place are more likely to blame victims of misfortunes. Just world believers consider the world as a place where people get what they deserve. Thus, students who believe in a just world may not perceive situations where minorities are

denied equal opportunities or discriminated against as examples of injustice. If that is the case, then educators might have to help students who hold the just world belief to reconstruct their world view before teaching them about social inequalities or injustice. Such an attempt may be a prerequisite for reducing prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory behaviour among students.

Research Questions

1. Is there a significant difference between pre- and post-test scores on the Empathy (Sympathy) Toward First Nations Canadian Scale (Kehoe & Echols, 1983) among students who receive either a multicultural treatment or an anti-racist treatment?
2. Is there a significant difference between pre- and post-test scores on the Attribution of Blame Scale (Kehoe, 1993) among students who receive either a multicultural treatment or an anti-racist treatment?
3. Is there a significant difference between pre- and post-test scores on the Semantic Differential on First Nations Canadian Scale (Osgood, 1958) among students who receive either a multicultural treatment or an anti-racist treatment?
4. Are there interactions among the treatments, subjects' gender, ethnicity, and individual scores on the Just World Scale (Rubin & Peplau, 1975) in relation to change scores on the three affective scales?

Design of the Study

The study will be a quasi-experimental design with multiple experimental and control groups in two different secondary schools in the Lower Mainland. All participants will be pre-tested and post-tested with measures of empathy

(sympathy), attitude, and attribution of blame. All participants will also be pre-tested with a measure of their belief in a just world. Students in the experimental groups will study one of the two different treatment programs. The multicultural program will teach students how many bands are developing their own business and taking charge of services for their communities. The students will then peer teach examples of successful individuals and band enterprises. In addition, the students will view two video programs. Those videos describe and provide many examples of successful First Nations businesses in Canada.

The anti-racist program will teach students the present situation for most First Nations people. It will include statistics and case studies showing the situation of today's First Nations people. The case studies are human interest stories which illustrate the statistics. The students will then investigate the historical and contemporary reasons for the current situation. Students in the control group will continue to study their regular Social Studies curricula which is 'The Government of Canada'.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Multicultural Education and Anti-Racist Education

A fundamental concern among teachers in multicultural classrooms is how to create effective teaching programs which enhance positive inter-group attitudes and reduce conflicts and discriminatory behaviour among students from different backgrounds. Multicultural education and anti-racist education have been two major approaches developed in order to respond to such a concern.

Multicultural education emerged as part of educational reforms during the 1960s and 1970s in the United States. The major goal of the reform was to provide educational equity for all. Multicultural education encompasses various educational strategies based on needs of children in different ethnic and social-class groups (Banks & Lynch, 1986). Its focus is mainly on satisfying special needs of minority-group children, changing attitudes and understanding in the majority group, and encouraging children to feel comfortable with cultural diversity (Lynch, 1987). Although educators and theorists define multicultural education in different ways, the following are the three primary objectives: a) assuring equivalency in achievement, b) enhancing more positive inter-group attitude, c) developing pride in one's heritage (Kehoe, 1984a, 1994).

To attain these goals, Kehoe (1984a) and other

advocates of multicultural education suggest practical strategies (e.g., Fleras & Leonard-Elliott, 1992). For example, equivalency of achievement can be attained if teachers change assessment and placement procedures. It is essential to omit ethnocentric bias from teaching materials. It may be useful for the development of positive inter-group attitude to teach about other cultures in relation to similarities and differences between cultures and positive achievement of their members. Pupils can develop positive self-esteem if teachers encourage them to retain their original cultural backgrounds. Moreover, curricula should include cultural contributions of members of different ethnic groups. The major criticism of multicultural education is its superficial approach toward different cultures. Multicultural education is also regarded as a cultural exhibition where students experience different food, clothing, and folk rhymes. Its basic educational prescription is sympathetic teaching of 'other cultures' in order to eliminate the ignorance (Rattansi, 1992). Multiculturalists consider ignorance as the root of prejudice and intolerance. Rattansi argues that multicultural programs sometimes teach about 'other cultures' even in imaginative ways. Other critics of multicultural education assert that it lacks consideration for racism and discrimination which the minority encounter in their actual lives. Many of those critics support

anti-racist education which teaches students about racism and discrimination.

Anti-racist education is "a process...to eliminate institutionalized racism from the school and society and to help individuals to develop non-racist attitudes (Banks & Lynch, 1986, p.196)". It emerged primarily in Britain, but has also become influential among Canadian educators (Banks & Lynch, 1986). In anti-racist programs, students are encouraged to examine the historical roots and contemporary manifestations of racial prejudice and discrimination in their society and understand unequal social and power relations (Tator & Henry, 1991; Thomas, 1984). Students also deal with racial tensions and conflicts and examine their own prejudicial attitudes. The main objective of anti-racist education is to enhance non-racist attitudes and non-discriminatory behaviour among students by helping them understand existing racism and discrimination due to the existing social stratification. Opponents of anti-racist education, however, argue that anti-racist curricula might increase student racial prejudice in spite of their objectives (Black, 1973; Kehoe & Echols, 1983).

Multicultural education and anti-racist education have both similarities and differences. Multicultural education and anti-racist education have a common goal; the attainment of a truly democratic society where people live in harmony regardless of their ethnicity. Major differences between

multicultural education and anti-racist education are their teaching strategies and curricula, particularly at the secondary school level. Materials used in multicultural education are designed to promote the acceptance of cultures which are similar or different with encouragement to accept differences. Their emphasis is on personal contact and learning about the achievement and success of individuals and groups within cultures (Kehoe, 1994). Materials used in anti-racist education are designed to teach about past and present racism and understanding unequal power relations and inequalities in society. As there have been few studies conducted on the efficacy of these two approaches on student attitude change, it is unclear which approach is more effective in the attainment of their objectives.

Attitude and Attitude Change

'Attitude' has been an important research subject in social psychology since the beginning of the twentieth century. Researchers have attempted to identify the nature of attitude and the mechanism of attitude change. Wagner (in Wagner & Sherwood, 1969) described the characteristics of attitude and reviewed studies on individual attitudes and attitude change in an introductory chapter in The Study of Attitude Change. Attitude was defined as the following:

"(1) A predisposition to behave in a particular way toward a given object or (2) a predisposition of the individual to evaluate some symbol or object of her/his (sic) world in a

favourable or unfavourable manner (Wagner & Sherwood, 1969, p.2)". The second definition was adopted from Katz's (1960) definition of attitude and it is a more common definition of attitudes.

In terms of components, an attitude consists of affective, cognitive, and behavioral components. The affective component is one's evaluation of the object of the attitude. The cognitive component is one's knowledge of the object of the attitude and the behavioral component is a predisposition to act toward the object of the attitude. Each attitude contains different amounts of these three elements which construct a particular attitude. Regarding the characteristics of the attitude, Wagner also mentioned the differences between attitude and opinion, belief, and value. According to his explanation, an opinion is 'the verbal expression of an attitude'. The major difference between an attitude and a belief is that an attitude indicates evaluation of an object while a belief may not. Thus, one's belief in an object becomes an attitude when his/her evaluation toward the object is added to the belief. The difference between an attitude and a value is that while attitude indicates an orientation toward an object, value refers to an orientation toward a number of related objects. Thus, one's value toward an object is frequently a collection of all attitudes that the individual has toward different aspects of the object.

Even though attitude is clearly defined and distinguished from other aspects of the human mind, in reality, it is difficult to examine individual attitudes and to predict behaviour from the attitude that people express. In education, there have been many studies of the effects of educational materials on individual attitude change. The following three meta-analyses examined the efficacy of multicultural and anti-racist teaching methods on individual attitude change.

Ungerleider and McGregor (1992) conducted meta-analysis research to compare the effects of race relations training and intercultural training on the attitudes of police and military personnel. The study explains that a race relations approach more directly emphasizes racism and discrimination. A race relations approach also attempts to increase people's awareness of their own racism and ability to fight against harassment based on race. An intercultural approach, which is one aspect of multicultural education, addresses mutual understanding and self-awareness of people from different backgrounds. It provides people with information on different cultures and countries, and trains them to acquire cross-cultural communication skills. The investigators calculated effect sizes of 29 findings of ten studies on the race relations program and the intercultural program. The mean effect size of the average study was +.22, which indicated that an average subject in the

experimental group had less racial prejudice than 58 percent of the subjects in the control group. The mean effect size for studies using a treatment focusing on race and racism was +.10. For studies using an intercultural treatment the mean effect size was +.49. The result of the analysis of variance showed a significant difference between the two treatments ($p=.05$). The researchers concluded that the intercultural training program was more effective with police and military personnel.

McGregor (1993) also conducted a meta-analysis of research on the effects of anti-racist teaching and role taking techniques on student racial prejudice. According to McGregor's definition, anti-racist teaching contains discussions on racial prejudice, discrimination and stereotyping. Anti-racist teaching may create cognitive dissonance among students, but it mainly occurs when students acquire information on racism or discrimination. In the study, role taking techniques are classified as activities that encourage students to take the perspective of others. Role taking techniques include 'value discrepancy' and 'principle testing' discussions which help students to identify inconsistencies within their belief structure. McGregor analyzed findings of 26 studies mainly conducted in the United States from the 1930s to the 1980s. Forty-three effect sizes for the findings of 17 studies were calculated. The overall result indicated that an average

student in a treatment group (either an anti-racist teaching or a role taking program) had more positive racial attitude than 65 percent of the students in the control group (mean effect size = +.44). The mean effect size of the average study of anti-racist teaching was +.48. It means that an average student in the anti-racist teaching group had less prejudice than 66 percent of students in the control group. The mean effect size of the average study of role taking techniques was +.42. Thus, an average student in the role taking treatment had less prejudice than 64 percent of students in the control group. The result of the regression analysis showed no significant difference in effectiveness of the anti-racist teaching and role taking technique. Both approaches yielded modest gains with secondary and post-secondary students in the United States.

Another meta-analysis study conducted by McGregor and Ungerleider (1993) examined the impact of teacher training programs on teachers' racial attitudes. One of the research questions was whether or not there was any difference between the effect of the cross-cultural training program and that of the anti-racist training program on teacher attitudes. The two approaches were defined as follows: A cross-cultural approach is a program which provides people with information on different cultures and encourage them to communicate with people from other cultural backgrounds. It also attempts to help people to examine their own cultural

heritages. An anti-racist teaching approach is a program which promotes understanding of the dynamics of racism and helps people develop the ability to fight against racial harassment. The results of the meta-analysis employing findings of 19 studies indicated that 72 percent of the total effect sizes were positive and 28 percent were negative. Regarding the two different instructional approaches, the mean effect size of studies using a cross-cultural training was $+0.09$. The mean effect size of studies applying an anti-racist teaching was $+0.27$. According to these results, the anti-racist approach was more effective than the cross-cultural approach. The results of the police training analysis and this analysis tentatively suggest that multicultural programs are more effective with the police and military personnel and anti-racist programs are more effective with teachers.

Taken together, it is clear that studies on the effects of educational instruction on attitude change have obtained rather inconclusive results. The three meta-analyses suggest that different treatments had different effects on different populations. For example, McGregor's meta-analysis indicated that both anti-racist teaching and role taking techniques were successful with high school and college students in the United States. Yet, results of other meta-analyses supported either of the two approaches. There seems to be no specific way which is effective in

prejudice reduction and in the development of positive inter-group relationship. In each analysis, other variables such as subjects' demographic differences and research designs strongly affect study results, which makes it difficult to evaluate the findings.

The Belief in a Just World

Lerner (1965) has suggested 'the just world hypothesis' to explain the tendency that people sometimes blame those who suffer from misfortunes for their sufferings. Lerner and Miller (1978) described the hypothesis:

Individuals have a need to believe that they live in a world where people generally get what they deserve. The belief that the world is just enables the individual to confront his/her (sic) physical and social environment as though they were stable and orderly. Without such a belief it would be difficult for the individual to commit him/herself (sic) to the pursuit of long range goals or even to the socially regulated behaviour of day to day life. Since the belief that the world is just serves such an important adaptive function for the individual, people are very reluctant to give up this belief, and they can be greatly troubled if they encounter evidence that suggests that the world is not really just or orderly after all (pp. 1030-1031)

Those who believe the world is just tend to avoid the idea that people suffer unjustly because such an idea may indicate that they could also suffer unjustly. Those who believe in a just world will persuade themselves that victims deserve to suffer because of what they have done, and will consequently derogate victims. Most of the

literature on studies of how individual belief in a just world affects their response to other persons' sufferings.

The results of the studies examining the relationship between the degree of belief in a just world and victim derogation showed that subjects with high belief in a just world scores tended to blame victims for their misfortunes more often than those with low scores (e.g., Rubin & Peplau, 1973; Zuckerman, Gerbasi, Kravitz, & Wheeler, 1974 in Rubin & Peplau, 1975). Such findings followed the logic of the just world hypothesis. Not all study results reviewed by Rubin and Peplau supported the hypothesis. The two studies investigating the relationship between individual belief in a just world and their responses to a criminal or criminal activity showed different results in different situations (Izzett, 1974; Gerbasi et al, 1975 in Rubin & Peplau, 1975). The results indicated that even when there was no reason for blaming victims for their sufferings, subjects with high just world scores derogated victims. However, when the harm-doer was clearly presented in the situation, high just world subjects did not blame victims for their sufferings. Instead, they tended to maintain justice by accusing the victimizer. Rubin and Peplau concluded that "people who believe in a just world may feel special hostility toward the agents of unjust suffering, at least in those cases in which the agent has already been singled out and accused of a crime (1975, p.72)". Regarding this finding, Lerner

(1980) suggested that individuals with strong just world belief believe that justice prevails; therefore, the harm-doer should certainly be punished.

There have been few studies conducted on the relationship between educational programs and students' belief in a just world. Three recent pilot studies examined the impact of educational programs on the belief in a just world and interactions between the belief and empathy, attitude, or attribution of blame. In the study conducted by Alexander (1993), students in a Grade 10 Social Studies course studied From Wooden Ploughs to Welfare: Why Indian Policy Failed in the Prairie Provinces (Buckley, 1992). The students studied how Canadians' attitudes and government policies were responsible for First Nations people's disadvantaged situation in the past. They also learned First Nations people could be successful if they were given opportunities. The students were pre- and post-tested with the Just World Scale (Rubin & Peplau, 1975). They were also post-tested with a measure of attribution of blame. Students in two other grade 10 classes completed the attribution measure as the control group. The result showed that there was no change from pre-test to post-test scores on the Just World Scale. Regarding the attribution measure, students who studied From Wooden Ploughs to Welfare were significantly more likely to put blame on other Canadians' attitudes and government policies.

Kehoe (1993) investigated the effects of three different educational programs on students' belief in a just world. He compared a multicultural program, an anti-racist program, and a program from a prescribed grade 10 textbook. The multicultural program taught students about successful First Nations individuals and enterprises. Students also viewed a video program, Ready for Take Off (Wolfwalker Communication, 1988) which provided visual images of articulate First Nations people and companies. The anti-racist program taught students about past and present racism and discrimination many First Nations people have faced in Canadian society. The program included excerpts from The Dispossessed (York, 1990) and Reservations are for Indians (Robertson, 1970) which presented the desperate situation in First Nations communities. The students also watched a video program about a First Nations child going through many foster homes and eventually committing suicide. Students in the control group studied about the Red River and North West Rebellions and the treaties. All participants in the study were pre-tested with the Just World Scale and post-tested with measures of empathy, attitude, and attribution of blame. The results showed no interaction between the just world scores, the three treatment programs, and the scores on the three outcome measures. Students in the multicultural program showed significantly higher scores on the attitude measure than students in the other two

programs. There was no significant difference among the three groups on the empathy measure and the attribution measure.

Segawa (1993) examined the effects of a Social Studies program on students' empathy toward Japanese-Canadians who were interned during World War II and students' belief in a just world. Grade 11 students in the experimental group studied a unit on the internment of the Japanese during World War II (Beardsley, et al, 1992) for approximately nine hours of class time. Segawa pre- and post-tested the students with the Just World Scale and a measure of empathy toward Japanese-Canadians. The results showed that there was no significant change on the scores on the Just World Scale. However, students had significantly higher scores on the empathy measure after the unit, which indicated that they felt more sorry for the internees. Students' anecdotal comments at the end of the unit clearly showed that the majority of the students felt the Japanese were treated unfairly.

Educational programs used in these studies did not have any impact on reducing individual belief in a just world. The findings of the two studies by Alexander and Segawa indicated students did not change their perceptions of the world even though they recognized existing injustice and inequalities in society. According to the just world hypothesis, however, variation in students' belief in just

world should result in variation in responses to dependent measures of the effects of an anti-racist program. Thus, students with high belief in a just world who study the anti-racist program in this study may respond negatively to the affective scales when they see First Nations people suffering from racism and discrimination. This study will attempt to examine such an assumption.

CHAPTER 3: CONDUCT OF THE STUDY

This study was a quasi-experimental design with a control group. The experimental group comprised six classrooms (three for the multicultural program and three for the anti-racist program) and the control group comprised three classrooms. Approximately one week prior to and after the treatment, all participants completed the empathy (sympathy) scale, the attribution scale, and the semantic differential scale. In addition, the Just World Scale was administered as part of the pre-test.

Selection of Subjects

Participants in this study were grade 11 students enrolled in Social Studies courses at two secondary schools in Burnaby School District. Initially there were 251 participants in the study but only 169 students completed both pre- and post-test and attended more than two treatment sessions (See Table 1 for detail).

Table 1
Number of Participants in Each Treatment

Treatment	Gender		Total
	Female	Male	
Multicultural	25	28	53
Anti-racist	27	36	63
Control	16	37	53
Total	68	101	169

The researchers assigned four classrooms (two experimental and two control group) in school A and five classrooms (four experimental and one control group) in school B to each treatment. There were some time table restraints which did not allow randomization. Within the time table restraints classes were randomly assigned to the treatment. The use of two different schools raised the possibility of school effects. However, according to the pre-test means for empathy, attitude, and attribution of blame, there was no statistically significant difference among the nine classes. Therefore, it was assumed that the classes in each school were equivalent for the purposes of the study. As students' ethnic backgrounds were identified by students' sir names, ethnic backgrounds were classified as either Asian or European (Table 2).

Table 2
Participants' Ethnic Backgrounds

Treatment	Ethnicity			Total
	Asian	European	not reported	
Multicultural	26	27	0	53
Anti-racist	35	28	0	63
Control	13	20	20	53
Total	74	75	20	169

Procedure

The study was conducted for approximately one month from October 29th to November 24th, 1993. Because of different school schedules, the researchers conducted the study at school A about 10 days earlier than at school B. Approximately one week prior to the beginning of the treatment, all students who participated in the study were asked to complete a questionnaire booklet which contained four different scales. Those scales were the Empathy (Sympathy) Toward First Nations Canadian Scale, the Attribution of Blame Scale, the Semantic Differential on First Nations Canadian Scale, and the Just World Scale (See Appendix A). It took about 25 minutes to administer the questionnaire. Each item in the questionnaire was read aloud, so that each student was able to fully understand what the items meant.

After the administration of the pre-test, students in experimental groups participated in two different programs about First Nations people in Canada. The total treatment time was three hours of class time (75 minutes x 3 days). All the experimental groups (both the multicultural program and anti-racist program) were taught by the same instructor who had taught Social Studies in a secondary school and is currently a university professor. At the end of the treatment, students in the experimental group completed a knowledge test to help review what they had learned during

the three sessions. It took approximately 40 minutes to complete the test. Approximately one week after the end of the treatment, all students completed the questionnaire which included the empathy (sympathy) scale, the attribution of blame scale, and the semantic differential scale. It took approximately 15 minutes to administer the questionnaire.

Instrumentation

The empathy (sympathy) toward First Nations Canadian scale. The scale consists of ten statements which indicate various feelings toward First Nations Canadians regarding the way they have been treated in Canada. Kehoe and Echols (1983) originally developed the empathy scale to measure students' feelings toward minority groups such as Japanese Canadians, Chinese Canadians, and East-Indian Canadians. Reviews of the literature defining empathy (e.g., Katz, 1963; Eisenberg, 1987; Goldstein, 1985; Smith, 1989) suggest some inconsistency in the definitions. However, empathy is generally perceived as the following defined by Katz (1963).

When we experience empathy, we feel as if we were experiencing someone else's feelings as their own. We see, we feel, we respond, and we understand as if we were, in fact, the other person (p.3)

Katz elaborates on the definition of empathy by comparing it to a definition of sympathy. When people feel sympathy for others, they feel sorry for them. People observe another person's behaviour from their own viewpoints. They react to

another person's situation according to their own feelings. It seems from this explanation that the items on the empathy scale developed by Kehoe and Echols is more consistent with the definition of sympathy. Positive responses to the items on their scale seem to be an indication of a sympathetic response to the situation of the minority group. Therefore, the Kehoe and Echols's measure of empathy will be used to assess sympathy for First Nations people (Thus, the scale is called 'the empathy (sympathy) scale').

In this study the scale was revised to contain items related to the affective and behavioral components of attitude. It includes statements like "I feel bad when I hear about the treatment of First Nations people in Canada (item No.1)", "I would sign a petition supporting First Nations self-government (item No.8)", and "I think that the land owned by the government in each province should be given to the First Nations people (item No.10)". Students in the experimental groups studied about First Nations people from the two different programs. Therefore, it was necessary that the scale include various feelings toward First Nations people which students might develop during the program. Students might have put themselves in the situation where First Nations people suffered and felt empathy for them. They might have examined the circumstance and felt sorry for those who were in the disadvantaged position. The primary purpose of this study was to examine

whether or not students would care about First Nations people and if they did how such feelings would change as a result of the intervention. Thus, the items on the empathy (sympathy) scale encompass empathetic and sympathetic feelings for and behavioral responses to the First Nations issues.

Students indicated their responses on a six-point continuum (i.e., strongly agree - moderately agree - slightly agree - slightly disagree - moderately disagree - strongly disagree). The score range of the scale is from 10 to 60 and higher scores indicate more empathy (sympathy) toward First Nations people. A pilot study with grade 10 students as subjects obtained reliability (Cronbach's Alpha) estimate of .84 for the scale. In this study the reliability coefficient for the empathy (sympathy) scale was .86 and its test-retest reliability was .79 ($p < .001$). This data is ideal since test-retest reliabilities of .70 are generally acceptable. The test-retest reliability was calculated with the results of the control group.

The attribution of blame scale. The scale consists of fifteen statements which either blame First Nations people for their disadvantaged situation in society or blame other Canadians' attitudes and government policies. Kehoe (1984b) suggests that people who hold racist beliefs about groups of people tend to develop their beliefs based on personality attributes assigned to the whole group. For example, those

individuals express their racist beliefs by saying 'a group' does not succeed because they do not have the basic intelligence. No measure of this phenomenon was found in the related literature. Therefore, the attribution of blame scale was developed to assess such racist beliefs.

The scale contains items such as: "First Nations Canadians simply aren't willing to work hard; they wouldn't be poor if they really tried not to be (item No.2)", "The policies of the Department of Indian Affairs in the past prevented First Nations Canadians from succeeding (item No.7)", and "First Nations Canadians are being treated fairly today (item No.12)". The items on this scale are based on some knowledge of past and present relationships between First Nations people and the Canadian government. In other words, the attribution scale attempts to measure the cognitive component of attitude. Students indicated their responses on a six-point continuum which was the same as the one for the empathy (sympathy) scale. The score range of this scale is 15 to 90. Low scores indicate respondents' tendencies to put blame on First Nations people; high scores correspond to one's disposition to blame the government and other Canadians for problems that First Nations people have faced. A pilot study using attribution of blame measure with grade 10 students yielded a reliability coefficient (Cronbach's Alpha) of .82. In this study the reliability coefficient for the attribution scale

was .73. The test-retest reliability of this scale was .81 (p<.001).

The semantic differential on First Nations Canadian scale. The scale contains ten sets of adjectives (e.g., weak/strong and friendly/unfriendly). This scale was originally developed by Osgood (1958) and has been extensively used to measure individual attitude. Students indicated their responses on a seven-point continuum. The scores were assigned as [positive adjective e.g., 'good'] 7-6-5-4-3-2-1 [negative adjective e.g., 'bad']. 'Random polarity' of 10 sets of adjectives were ensured so that all the positive or negative responses did not fall on one side of the scale (c.f., Henderson et al, 1978). The score range is 10 to 70 and higher scores indicate that respondents hold more positive evaluations of First Nations people in general. A pilot study using the ten item version with 127 grade 10 students yielded a reliability coefficient (Cronbach's Alpha) of .88. In this study the reliability coefficient for the semantic differential scale was .82 and the test-retest reliability was .85 (p<.001). These three scales have face validity. No other validity data are available for these three measures.

The just world scale. Rubin and Peplau (1973, 1975) have developed the scale to measure individual belief in a just world where people get what they deserve and deserve what they get. Rubin and Peplau's study (1973) which

comprised a sample of 180 undergraduate students at Boston University, and Merrifield and Timpe's study (1973) which comprised a sample of 62 students at Oklahoma state University, showed that the Just World Scale had high internal consistency in both samples (KR-20 =.80 and .81, respectively; Rubin and Peplau, 1975, p.70). The findings of Rubin and Peplau's study, concerned with the national draft lottery, also contributes to the predictive validity of the Just World Scale. In this study, subjects with high belief in a just world showed less empathy toward those who had draftable low numbers in the lottery (i.e., victims of unfortunate sufferings) than subjects with low belief in a just world. The result supported the just world hypothesis. Furham and Procter (1989) have conducted an extensive review and critique of the literature. They pointed out that belief in a just world as measured by the scale has been correlated with authoritarianism, religiousness, belief in the Protestant work ethic, internal locus control beliefs, tendency to admire political leaders and social institutions, and a tendency to have negative attitudes toward the disadvantaged. In this study the reliability coefficient (Cronbach's Alpha) of the Just World Scale was only .58, which raised a question about the reliability of the scale with this population.

Treatment

Multicultural program. Fifty-three students (female

25, male 28) in three classrooms participated in studying the multicultural program on the First Nations people in Canada. The program consisted of three parts which were a) a lecture on the current First Nations situation in Canada, b) peer-teaching on successful First Nations individuals and companies, c) video viewing and review of the program. The main objective of this program was to help students understand that First Nations people are taking charge of their own affairs and can be successful in life. The program especially emphasized current economic development among First Nations people.

Day 1 : The instructor gave students a lecture on the current situation of First Nations people in Canada. In each class, at the beginning of the session, the instructor asked students what they knew about First Nations people in Canada. As students had already learned some historical events related to First Nations people such as the fur trade and the Northwest Rebellion in grade 10, this strategy was used to enhance students' interest toward the program. This question was also useful to let students connect the historical and contemporary First Nations issues. The lecture provided information on First Nations bands who were taking charge of their own services and adapting them to their own cultures. Statistics on bands' business and economic development were also given to the students. The main theme of the lecture was to let students be aware that

the First Nations situation had been changing and the people were willing to take charge of their own affairs.

Day 2 : The instructor divided students into two groups and distributed 10 different work sheets to students in each group. On each sheet there was a brief description of First Nations persons like Harry Laforme, Margaret Cozry, and Shiela Bonspille or companies run by First Nations people such as Peace Hills Trust, Great Northern Trucking, and The Pas shopping centre. Students taught other students in their own groups about the person or the company that their work sheets described. The instructor told students not to read but to tell other students about their examples in their own words. During this activity, the instructor walked around the classroom and made sure that students took some notes about the examples. After this activity, the instructor distributed magazine articles on Roger Gruben and Susan Aglukark who were also successful First Nations individuals. The instructor asked students to find 5W. (Who, What, Where, When, and Why) for each article. Students were engaged individually in this activity until the end of the session.

Day 3 : Students watched two videos, "Ready for Take Off" (Wolfwalker communication, 1988) and "Rebuilding the Aboriginal Economy" (Industry, Science, and Technology, Canada, 1991) which provided detailed information on the current business situation among First Nations people in

Canada. The programs mentioned that there were 5,000 successful First Nations business in Canada. For example, Sumas Clay Products made bricks and chimney flues, and Proshred was a mobile document shredding company. The videos also presented clear visual images of First Nations people who were well-dressed and capable of improving economic situation for their people. During this activity, students took notes about the content of each video. A watching guide was provided. This activity lasted for about 45 minutes. Then the instructor reviewed the content of the program and gave students some advice regarding the knowledge test.

Anti-racist program. Sixty-three students (female 27, male 36) in three classrooms participated in studying the anti-racist program on First Nations people in Canada. The program consisted of two parts which were a) a lecture on the current First Nations situation in Canada and b) an examination of historical relationship between First Nations people and the Canadian government. The lecture was given on Day 1 and students were engaged in the second activity on both Day 2 and Day 3. The main objective of this program was to help students understand the cause and effect of racism and discrimination against First Nations people. Students first learned about living conditions for the majority of First Nations people today. Then they explored causes of the situation, especially the historical

relationship between the government and First Nations people in the 19th century. Government policies were examined and possible effects were discussed.

Day 1 : The first day's activity was a lecture on the current living condition among First Nations people in Canada. The instructor first asked students about their images of First Nations people. It was followed by a brief discussion of First Nations people's life style in the past. Then the instructor asked students if they knew what today's First Nations people's living conditions were like. After listening to students' answers, the instructor started the lecture. It included statistics and case studies on unemployment, welfare, education, incarceration, child care, housing, suicide, violence, infant mortality and life expectancy. At the end of the session, the instructor gave students a brief introduction to the next two sessions.

Day 2 & Day 3 : Each student received a two-page question sheet and a reading package for this activity. The reading package consisted mainly of excerpts from Buckley's book (1992), From Wooden Ploughs to Welfare. Related topics were as follows: land policies which left First Nations people with an inadequate land base and then proceeded to literally steal part of that land base from them, educational policies which systematically denied native culture and encouraged First Nations people to assimilate to the white world and did not accept them after all. The reading package also

included materials about farm policies, Superintendent Read, and policies of Department of Indian Affairs. Each question and reading was paired, so that students were able to answer questions by reading sections indicated on the question sheet. Together with the instructor, students read the reading materials and answered questions during the remaining two sessions. Sometimes they had additional discussions about the questions which helped students understand the content of the program. As the last part of this activity, students studied case studies of discrimination against First Nations people as well as survey results indicating that the Canadians tend to blame government policies for the current situation and to show support for land claims and self-government.

Data Analysis

Independent variables were treatment, gender, ethnic background, and individual scores on the measure of belief in a just world. Dependent variables were difference on the measurements of empathy (sympathy), attitude, and attribution of blame. The design of the study was two dimensional. Means and standard deviations of each measure were calculated. The results of the one-way analysis of variance on pre-test scores on the three dependent variables (the empathy (sympathy) scale, the attribution scale, and the semantic differential scale) showed no significant difference among the three groups. Thus, it was decided to

administer Analysis of Variance on difference scores between pre- and post-test among the three groups. According to Willett (1990), the observed change score is "... an unbiased estimator of the underlying true change (p.634). Although some statisticians have suggested that Analysis of Covariance is a more appropriate method to compare differences between two scores among groups (c.f., Keppel, 1982; Mcmillan & Schumacher, 1989), the change score method has been considered as an equally suitable method for examining individual change (Willett, 1990).

Limitation

As the study was conducted in two school settings, the number of participants and the amount of time for the implementation were limited. Although an attempt was made to conduct the study as precisely as the procedure planned in the study proposal, some modifications had to be made in the actual study. For example, it was not possible to recruit three classes from three different high schools. Instead, the study was conducted in two different high schools. Due to the school schedule, it took twelve days to finish the programs in school A; whereas, it took only three days in school B. The post-test was administered only once and shortly after the completion of the treatment, the study examined the short range impact of educational instruction on students' attitudes and beliefs. Regarding subjects' demographic characteristics, numbers of female and male

students in each group were not equivalent. Nor were ratios of Asian and European students among the three groups equivalent. Moreover, this study did not examine possible variations in responses to the treatment within students with Asian background or those with European background.

A problem of measuring students' attitudes is that scores on attitudinal measures are occasionally affected by their knowledge of the socially desirable responses (Banks, 1991). Thus, it seems difficult to evaluate students' attitudes and beliefs precisely by using such scales. In order to reduce this effect as much as possible, students were assured that all questionnaires would be kept confidential and their classroom teachers would not see them. In fact, all data including subjects' identifications were converted to numerical figures immediately after each testing. Students' identifications (i.e., their names) were used only for matching their pre- and post-test results.

Another concern regarding the measurement was 'pre-test sensitization'. In order not to affect the classroom environment and students' ordinary attitudes, the pre-test was administered one week prior to the beginning of the treatment. At the administration of the pre-test, participants received a brief explanation of the purpose of testing. The explanation emphasized that students were simply helping university researchers. McGregor (1993) has shown that there is no significant difference in outcomes of

the intervention whether or not the study included pre-testing. Another indicator of lack of pre-test sensitization was a comparison of pre- and post-test scores of the control group. No statistically significant change was found in the control group of this study.

One significant limitation of this study was associated with the instructor variable. The classroom teachers were unable to teach the new programs. Different classroom teachers would also have introduced a further confounding variable. Thus, the decision was made to have all treatments taught by the same person. The limitation of that decision was that the individual was a former high school teacher, had considerable knowledge about First Nations issues, had personal contacts with some First Nations people and was a university professor. It could be assumed that the implementation process may have been different if the classroom teachers taught the programs. Thus, further investigations will be required before generalizing the results of this study.

CHAPTER 4: IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS

In this section, the implementation process of the two treatments will be explained. The description is based on records from the field notes taken by one of the experimenters during the administration of the treatment program.

Implementation Process in School A

Two classrooms participated in the study as experimental groups and two classes participated as control groups in school A.

The multicultural program. Compared to the anti-racist class, students in this class were more vocal and active. About 65 percent of students in this class had European backgrounds. An average of 23 students attended classes during the experiment. Some students already had detailed knowledge about historical events and traditional rituals regarding First Nations people (e.g., the fur trade, North West Rebellion, native dance etc). However, some students also had biased images toward First Nations people. Students pointed out a drinking problem as a stereotypical image of First Nations people. They showed little interest in the topic on the first day. Two particular students disrupted the class and the instructor was often interrupted during the session. The instructor especially had difficulty getting students to work on the peer-teaching activity on the second day. Students seemed bored with the

activity and simply copied things written on the activity sheets. Towards the end of the activity, however, students became somewhat more interested in this group teaching exercise. Regarding the third day activity, there was a slight change in this class. Students were supposed to view two video programs on that day. Due to unforeseen circumstances, it was postponed until the next session. Instead, the instructor gave students a hand-out and told them about the main points to look for when watching the videos. Then students reviewed the program with the instructor. Students viewed the video programs at the next session under the supervision of their classroom teacher. Some students' misbehaviour and confusion regarding the video may account for the lack of impact of the multicultural curriculum in this class (Note 1).

The anti-racist program. About 70 percent of the class who participated in the anti-racist program were students with Asian backgrounds. An average of 22 students attended classes during the treatment. The general characteristic of the class was rather quiet, and the instructor had a hard time getting responses from the students. At the beginning, students did not have much knowledge about First Nations people. However, as they studied the program, the students came to show their understanding of what they had studied. Approximately 16 out of 20 students did their homework and four actively participated in discussions with the

instructor.

Implementation Process at School B

Four classrooms participated in the study as experimental groups and one classroom participated as a control group. Two classes studied the multicultural program and the other two studied the anti-racist program.

The multicultural program. Approximately 50 percent of students in both classes had Asian backgrounds. An average of 21 to 22 students attended classes during the experiment. The program structure and instructor's teaching plans were basically the same as in school A. In both classes, there were some students whom the instructor had difficulties dealing with. At the beginning of the program, students had specific images of First Nations people such as poor, oppressed, segregated, alcohol, carvers, wise etc (from the observation note). In both classes the peer-teaching activity on Day 2 seemed very successful. Students also had more time to work on individual activities (finding 5W. for the two articles). Students in both classes viewed the video programs on the third day and reviewed the whole program.

The anti-racist program. About half the students in both classes who participated in studying the anti-racist program had Asian backgrounds. In both classes, an average of 24 students attended sessions during the experiment. The instructor presented the same type of instruction as in

school A for three days. Through observation, it was assured that the instructor attempted to give as similar an instruction as possible. However, it was necessary that the instructor occasionally took more or less time for an activity or told students about additional examples of related issues.

Such incidents or other small changes are unavoidable in natural settings. There was much more similarity in what was taught than differences. The differences would include additional examples. One difference between class G and H was that in the first day students in class H made statements such as: Why is their situation so bad? What can we do about it? We should give them a chance. Stop stereotyping (Students' responses from the observation record). Other students in the same class also mentioned rights of other minority groups. As the students worked on the activities on Day 2 and Day 3, they seemed to become more interested in the topic and showed some understanding of what they were learning. These responses could be interpreted as an indication of interest and could have contributed to the greater change by this class on the empathy (sympathy) scale.

Moreover, a student in class H made an important comment at the last session. He told the instructor that no one had ever told him anything about a successful Indian. He wondered whether there was any possibility for them

(First Nations people) to be successful. He was also uncertain if they (First Nations people) could survive without the government's support (a student's response from the observation record). The instructor briefly told him that there were many successful First Nations people in Canada and that some of them had been working on economic development for their communities. Since the other group was studying exactly what the student wanted to know, the instructor intentionally refrained from any further explanation at that time.

The observation records reflected the instructor's effort to maintain teaching style and quality as much as possible throughout the implementation process. Those records were also useful when the experimenters analyzed data and interpreted their findings.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

Table 3 indicates means and standard deviations of the nine classes. There are some anomalies but there is no clear pattern of variations by classes. Thus, further analyses were made among three treatment groups.

Table 3
Pre- and Post-Test Means and Standard Deviations of Three Outcome Scales of all the Classes

Class	Empathy(Sympathy)		Attribution		Semantic Differential	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Ant. 1	34.89	35.89	52.21	55.32	32.11	28.53
B.S (A)	7.08	10.00	8.15	10.36	8.40	7.84
Ant. 2	37.42	40.29	56.38	62.38	33.42	35.38
B.C (G)	9.68	9.07	10.01	9.11	11.12	8.32
Ant. 3	34.50	39.90	59.00	61.85	34.25	31.30
B.C (H)	10.00	10.12	11.24	9.96	10.74	11.73
Mul. 1	31.76	28.41	52.24	51.59	33.29	35.41
B.S (B)	7.66	8.40	9.17	6.70	10.60	10.77
Mul. 2	40.20	40.45	59.20	59.50	33.75	46.75
B.C (E)	9.44	8.24	9.17	7.85	8.53	14.89
Mul. 3	33.50	33.63	55.50	54.13	36.94	43.75
B.C (F)	13.41	10.31	9.89	6.38	10.40	11.22
Con. 1	36.29	29.21	56.07	52.21	30.64	29.64
B.S (C)	13.18	10.89	13.68	13.02	11.65	12.23
Con. 2	39.47	40.63	58.89	60.84	38.37	40.84
B.S (D)	8.94	9.83	8.82	10.85	10.30	11.45
Con. 3	31.60	30.40	55.30	53.80	33.25	32.70
B.S (I)	8.01	6.17	9.39	7.47	8.12	9.26

Note. Bold numbers indicate standard deviations
 B.S = school A B.C = school B
 () indicates classes in each school.
 Ant. = Anti-racist group
 Mul. = Multicultural group
 Con. = Control group

The Empathy (Sympathy) Toward First Nations Canadian Scale

Research Question: Is there a significant difference between pre- and post-test scores on the Empathy (Sympathy) toward First Nations Canadian Scale among students who receive either the multicultural treatment or the anti-racist treatment?

Pre- and post-test group means and standard deviations on the empathy (sympathy) scale are shown in Table 3.

Table 4
Pre- and Post-Test Means and Standard Deviations on the Empathy (Sympathy) Scale

Treatment	n	Pre-test		Post-test	
		Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D
Multicultural	53	35.47	(10.81)	34.53	(10.16)
Anti-racist	63	35.73	(9.05)	38.84	(9.75)
Control	53	35.66	(10.31)	35.75	(10.20)

Note. Min and Max scores of the scale - 10 - 60

The result of the analysis of variance on change scores between pre- and post-test showed a significant difference among the three groups (Table 4). The result of the multiple range test indicated that students in the anti-racist group significantly increased their empathy (sympathy) scores after the treatment compared to the other two groups ($p < .05$). In other words, students who studied the anti-racist program felt more empathy or sympathy toward First Nations people as a result of the program.

Table 5
One-Way Analysis of Variance: Change Scores on the Empathy (Sympathy) Scale by Treatment

Variance	df	SS	MS	F-ratio	F prob.
Between	2	837.4370	418.7185	9.2533	.0002
Within	166	7511.5807	45.2505		
Total	168	8349.0178			

Note. SS = Sum of Squares, MS = Mean Square

Students in the multicultural group had no significant increase on their empathy (sympathy) scores after studying the program. Regarding interactions among the independent variables, no interactions were found between the treatment and gender, ethnic background, or scores on the Just World Scale.

The Attribution of Blame Scale

Research Question: Is there a significant difference between pre- and post-test scores on the Attribution of Blame Scale among students who receive either the multicultural treatment or the anti-racist treatment?

Pre- and Post-test group means and standard deviations on the attribution of blame scale are shown in Table 5. The result of the analysis of variance on change scores between pre- and post-test showed a significant difference among the three groups (Table 6). The result of the multiple range test determined that students in the anti-racist group significantly increased their attribution scores compared to the other two groups ($p < .05$). This result indicated that

Table 6
Pre- and Post-Test Means and Standard Deviations on the Attribution Scale

Treatment	n	Pre-test		Post-test	
		Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D
Multicultural	53	55.85	(10.26)	55.34	(7.73)
Anti-racist	63	55.95	(10.13)	60.08	(10.12)
Control	53	56.79	(10.42)	55.91	(10.85)

Note. Min and Max scores of the scale - 15 - 90

Table 7
One-Way Analysis of Variance: Change Scores on the Attribution Scale by Treatment

Variance	df	SS	MS	F-ratio	F prob.
Between	2	923.7398	416.8699	6.4616	.0020
Within	166	11865.5502	71.4792		
Total	168	12789.2899			

Note. SS = Sum of Squares, MS = Mean Square

students who studied the anti-racist program put more blame on government policies and other Canadians' attitudes for the current situation among First Nations people. Students in the multicultural group did not show any significant change on their attribution scores after the program. No interactions were found between the treatment and gender,

ethnic background, or scores on the Just World Scale.

The Semantic Differential on First Nations Canadian Scale

Research Question: Is there a significant difference between pre- and post-test scores on the Semantic Differential on First Nations Canadian Scale among students who receive the multicultural treatment or the anti-racist treatment?

Pre- and post-test group means and standard deviations for the semantic differential scale are shown in Table 7.

Table 8
Pre- and Post-Test Means and Standard Deviations on the Semantic Differential Scale

Treatment	n	Pre-test		Post-test	
		Mean	S.D	Mean	S.D
Multicultural	53	34.57	(9.74)	42.21	(13.30)
Anti-racist	63	33.29	(10.12)	32.02	(9.69)
Control	53	34.40	(10.23)	34.81	(11.68)

Note. Min and Max scores of the scale - 10 - 70

The result of the analysis of variance on change scores between pre- and post-test showed a significant difference among the three groups (Table 8). The result of the multiple range test indicated that students in the multicultural group significantly increased their semantic differential scores compared to the other groups ($p < .05$). In other words, students who studied the multicultural program had more positive evaluations of First Nations people as a group. The result of two-way ANOVA found no

Table 9
One-Way Analysis of Variance: Change Scores on the
 Semantic Differential Scale by Treatment

Variance	df	SS	MS	F-ratio	F prob.
Between	2	2493.0514	1246.5257	13.6895	.0000
Within	166	15115.4693	91.0570		
Total	168	17608.5207			

Note. SS = Sum of Squares, MS = Mean Square

interactions between the treatment and gender, ethnic background, or scores on the Just World Scale.

The Just World Scale

Research Question: Is there any interaction among the treatment, gender, ethnicity, and individual scores on the Just World Scale in relation to change scores on the three affective scales?

The study also attempted to test the just world hypothesis by examining interactions between the treatment and individual scores on the Just World Scale. The result of two-way ANOVA showed no interaction between the belief in a just world and the anti-racist or multicultural treatment. One possible explanation for the lack of interaction was the low reliability of the Just World Scale.

Discussion

According to the findings, it is clear that both the multicultural and anti-racist programs yielded statistically significant effects on the outcome measures but in different

ways. The multicultural program had a highly positive effect on the semantic differential scale which attempted to measure students' general attitudes toward First Nations people. As the program contained many examples of successful First Nations people and provided positive visual images with the video materials, the result is understandable. The students in this group did not show significant change on the other two scales. The results were mainly due to the way in which First Nations people were described in the program. First Nations people were not presented as an oppressed, powerless, and helpless individuals whose situation needs to be improved. Those individuals who appeared in the multicultural program were well dressed, competent, and active people who enthusiastically work for development and independence of their communities. Thus, the students in the multicultural program did not feel sorry for First Nations people or blame anyone (either First Nations people or the rest of the society, especially the government).

The anti-racist program had significant positive effects on the measures of attribution of blame and empathy (sympathy). They demonstrated more empathy or sympathy toward First Nations people and put more blame on the government and other Canadians' attitudes as a result of the treatment. In the anti-racist program, First Nations people were presented as a disadvantaged group in Canadian history

and it was shown that they had suffered from many difficulties as a result of governmental policies. The program let students perceive First Nations people as victims of racism and discrimination; therefore, the students in this group became more emotionally concerned about First Nations people and were less likely to blame them after studying the program. The students did not significantly change their attitudes toward First Nations people. This may be because they studied information on First Nations people which showed them to be poor and unsuccessful.

It is worth noting that students in both groups changed their responses to the outcome measures in accordance with the characteristics of the two unique programs. Although neither of the approaches had effects on all the outcome scales, the results were all in the positive direction. Thus, the study provided support for the efficacy of both approaches on modification of different aspects of attitudes or beliefs toward First Nations people.

In terms of the belief in a just world, the study did not obtain results which concurred with the just world hypothesis. That may be accounted for in part by the low reliability data of the measure. Although the scale obtained higher reliability in other studies, it was probably because almost all of the reliability studies were conducted with adult subjects.

CHAPTER 6: Conclusion

The historical patterns of immigration to British Columbia, coupled with the more recent influx of newcomers have combined to create a more culturally diversified social climate in British Columbia. The concepts of multiculturalism and anti-racism have become important components of school programs to accommodate students with various cultural heritages. At the same time, educators have struggled with their tasks to teach students both real and ideal aspects of society. Students should be able to respect both themselves and others by building positive attitudes toward a variety of cultures and their diversities. Yet, students also need to understand that racism and discrimination against certain cultural groups do exist.

There have been very few studies that have evaluated the efficacy of the curriculum in the development of positive inter-group attitudes and reducing racism. Such studies are important because they provide information on educational strategies which contribute to the modification of students' attitudes. This study compared the effects of two Social Studies programs on students' attitude toward and beliefs about First Nations people in Canada. One hundred and sixty-nine grade 11 students in two secondary schools in the Lower Mainland area completed the programs and questionnaires. One program was the multicultural program

which taught students about successful First Nations people and businesses in Canada. The other was the anti-racist program which taught students about past and present situations among many First Nations people and the historical relationship between the Canadian government and First Nations people.

The results reveal that students who studied the multicultural program developed more positive attitudes toward First Nations people. Secondly, students who studied the anti-racist program showed more empathy (sympathy) toward First Nations people and put less blame on them for the current situation in many First Nations communities.

The results of meta-analyses conducted by McGregor (1993) and McGregor and Ungerleider (1992, 1993) suggest that both strategies have different effects on different population. The multicultural approach is reported to be effective among high school and college students and police and military officers. The anti-racist approach is reported to be effective among teachers. The findings in the present study indicate that both multicultural and anti-racist programs had some positive effects on the attitudes and beliefs among some secondary school students in Burnaby.

In a similar intervention study conducted by Kehoe (1993), the anti-racist program obtained no effect on the empathy and attribution scale. The anti-racist program used in Kehoe's study included excerpts from the book, The

Dispossessed (York, 1990) and Reservations are for Indians (Robertson, 1970) and a video about a tragic story of a First Nations child. Although Kehoe expected that the students who studied the program would increase their empathy scores and come to put less blame on First Nations people, there was no significant change on either empathy scale or attribution scale. One major difference between Kehoe's (1993) study and this study was the content of the anti-racist program. The material used in this study is far more explicit than the Kehoe (1993) material in showing the relationship between the current situation and past and present government policies. Although there are some other practical differences, the Kehoe (1993) findings and the findings from this study are both valuable. They suggest that not all programs have positive impacts regarding students' attitudes and beliefs. The two studies show the importance of analyzing the content of curricula and evaluating anticipated outcomes.

The present study suggests that more positive attitudes may be developed when emphasis is placed on the positive achievements of First Nations people and the similarities between First Nations people and other Canadians. Also, greater empathy for First Nations people and the attribution of responsibility for their situation to government policies may be attained by explicitly showing the relationship between government policies and their lack of success. Both

methods may make valuable, but different contributions to the development of more positive attitudes toward and beliefs about First Nations people.

Further interventions should investigate the characteristics of various programs to develop a set of principles for effective multicultural and anti-racist programs. Researchers should also examine effects of combining anti-racist and multicultural instruction on students' attitudes and beliefs. The findings of the present study support an assumption that such a program might increase students' empathy toward a minority group and help students to develop more positive attitudes and beliefs about them.

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Footnotes

Note 1: The result of the multiple range test among the change scores on the semantic differential scale of the nine classes indicated that the change scores of the multicultural class in school A was not different from any of the anti-racist classes nor the control classes.

Appendix A

Empathy (Sympathy) Toward First Nations Canadian Scale

Attribution of Blame Scale

Semantic Differential on First Nations Canadian Scale

Just World Scale

Empathy (Sympathy) Toward First Nations Canadian Scale

1. I feel bad when I hear about the treatment of First Nations people (Native Indians) in Canada.
2. I am disappointed when I hear that many Canadians will not support improvements for First Nations Canadians.
3. I feel sorry for the way First Nations people are being treated today.
4. I would sign a petition supporting First Nations land claims.
5. I would join a group marching to City Hall to protest the treatment of First Nations people.
6. I feel sorry for the way First Nations people were treated in the past.
7. If the government is treating First Nations people the way they do, there must be good reasons.
8. I would sign a petition supporting First Nations self-government.
9. I would be prepared to pay more income taxes if it meant First Nations people would be more successful.
10. I think that the land owned by the government in each province should be given to First Nations people.

Attribution of Blame Scale

1. First Nations Canadians (Native Indians) are poor because the wealthy and powerful in Canada keep them poor.
2. First Nations Canadians simply aren't willing to work hard; they wouldn't be poor if they really tried not to be.
3. First Nations Canadians are poor because society in Canada doesn't give all people an equal chance.
4. First Nations Canadians are born without the talent to get ahead.
5. First Nations Canadians are poor because they grew up with it and it is a way of life for them.
6. The policies of the Department of Indian Affairs in the past prevented First Nations Canadians from succeeding.
7. The policies of the Department of Indian Affairs at the past time are preventing First Nations Canadians from succeeding.
8. The majority of people in Canada today believe that First Nations Canadians cannot succeed and that is one reason they don't succeed.
9. Because they have different life style, First Nations Canadians teach their children values and skills which are different from those which are required to be successful.
10. If given the chance First Nations Canadians are just as likely to be successful in business as other Canadians.
11. First Nations Canadians work as hard as anyone else if they are given the opportunity.
12. First Nations Canadians are being treated fairly today.
13. First Nations Canadians were not treated fairly in the past.

14. First Nations Canadians are poor because the government policy keeps them that way.
15. First Nations Canadians are poor because of what other Canadians believe about them.

Semantic Differential on First Nations Canadian Scale

I think First Nations people (Native Indians) are

Weak								Strong
Powerful								Powerless
Unpleasant								Pleasant
Friendly								Unfriendly
Unsuccessful								Successful
Clean								Dirty
Lazy								Hard Working
Wealthy								Poor
Responsible								Irresponsible
Similar to me								Different from me

The Just World Scale

1. I've found that a person rarely deserves the reputation he has.
2. Basically, the world is a just place.
3. People who get 'lucky breaks' have usually earned their good fortune.
4. Careful drivers are just as likely to get hurt in traffic accidents as careless ones.
5. It is a common occurrence for a guilty person to get off free in Canadian courts.
6. Students almost always deserve the grades they receive in school.
7. Men who keep in shape have little chance of suffering a heart attack.
8. The political candidate who sticks up for his principles rarely gets elected.
9. It is rare for an innocent man to be wrongly sent to jail.
10. In professional sports, many fouls and infractions never get called by the referee.
11. By and large, people deserve what they get.
12. When parents punish their children, it is almost always for good reasons.
13. Good deed often go unnoticed and unrewarded.
14. Although evil men may hold political power for a while, in the general course of history good wins out.
15. In almost any business or profession, people who do their job well rise to the top.
16. Canadian parents tend to overlook the things most to be admired in their children.

17. It is often impossible for a person to receive a fair trial in Canada.
18. People who meet with misfortune have often brought it on themselves.
19. Crime doesn't pay.
20. Many people suffer through absolutely no fault of their own.