National Library of Canada
Acquisitions and Bibliographic Services Branch
395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Direction des acquisitions et des services bibliographiques
395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

Canada

Prejudice reduction with grade primary and one students: A comparison of Multicultural and Anti-racist teaching strategies.

by

Donald B. Dine

Submitted as partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of Master of Arts (Education).

Faculty of Education

Saint Mary's University

Halifax, Nova Scotia

Canada

October 1994

© Donald Bruce Dine 1994

National Library of Canada
Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Acquisitions and Bibliographic Services Branch
Direction des acquisitions et des services bibliographiques

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-95856-1

Canada

Saint Mary's University

Faculty of Education

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommended to the Faculty of education for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Prejudice reduction with grade primary and one students: A comparison of Multicultural and Anti-racist teaching strategies," submitted by Donald Bruce Dine in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MASTERS OF ARTS IN EDUCATION.

Dr. Bernard Davis
Supervisor

Dr. Robert Sargent
Associate Dean of Education

Dr. Michael Larsen
Acting Dean of Education

Date: [illegible]

Saint Mary's University

Release Form

Name of Author: Donald Bruce Dine

Title of Thesis: Prejudice reduction with grade primary and grade one students: A comparison of Multicultural and Anti-racist teaching strategies.

Degree: MASTERS OF ARTS IN EDUCATION

Year Granted: 1994

Permission is hereby granted to Saint Mary's University Library to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduce without the author's written permission.

15 Faulkner Street,
Truro, Nova Scotia
Canada
B2N 3T9
Phone: 902-895-9619

Date: [illegible]

Abstract

This study examined the effectiveness of Multicultural teaching and Anti-racist teaching in reducing prejudice in grade primary and one students. The study involved 92 five- to seven-year-old children. They were administered a pre-test of an adapted Bogardus Social Distance Scale one week before the treatment. Following a presentation of The Black Snowman, by Phil Mendez, the subjects were randomly assigned to a treatment group, Multicultural, Anti-racist, placebo, or control. After a twenty-five minute treatment session a post test was administered. A paired t-test of the pre and post-test indicated that the Multicultural treatment significantly ($p = .0002$) reduced prejudice. The Anti-racist treatment resulted in a small increase in prejudice which was not statistically significant. The results suggest that educators who wish to reduce prejudice should use a Multicultural approach with young children.

Table Contents

Abstract iv

Introduction
The Challenge 1
Demographic Imperative 2
Glossary 5
The Measurement of Prejudice 8
Young Children and Racial Differences 9
Social Theories 15
Cognitive Theories 22
Assimilation & Integration 28
Research: A Curriculum Response 31
Multicultural Education 34
Research: A Cultural Response 41
Anti-racist Approach 43
Research: Anti-racist response 50

Method
Subjects 53
Instrument 53
Procedure 54
Teaching Strategy 55
The Teacher 56

Results 58

Discussion
Multicultural 67
Anti-racist 68

References 73
Appendices 92

The Challenge

The prominent Black writer, bell hooks [sic] (her spelling), lends a unique perspective on racism that provided the personal challenge to take up this research. hooks (1984) said:

> Since men are the primary agents maintaining and supporting sexism and sexist oppression, they can only be successfully eradicated if men are compelled to assume responsibility for transforming their consciousness and the consciousness of society as a whole. After hundreds of years of anti-racist struggle, more than ever before non-white people are currently calling attention to the primary role white men must play in anti-racist struggle. (p. 81)

This was my invitation to explore some possibilities as a teacher in an Anti-racist struggle. The nature of this study raised a number of important issues for all educators in general and teachers of young children in particular. Is it necessary to address prejudice in the classroom? Is it appropriate to address the sensitive issue of racism and prejudice with young children? What do Multicultural and Anti-racist teaching strategies look like in a classroom of young children? Are these strategies appropriate for the cognitive development of these children? Are these teaching strategies effective in reducing prejudice?

"A vision for the future begins today". (York, 1991)

Demographic Imperative

Over the past forty years there has been demographic shift in Canadian society. There has been a significant growth in population among people of color because immigration has shifted from traditionally white countries to nations of color. In 1951 visible minorities represented less than 2 percent of the population in Canada. By the turn of the century, it has been estimated that visible minorities could reach 15 percent of the population of Canada (Ramcharan, 1988).

After the Second World War large waves of immigrants came to Canada. At first Canada gave preferential treatment to immigrants from Europe and the United States; 94 percent of all immigrants came from these regions. During the 1960s immigration into Canada was opened up to include more non-European ethnic groups. In 1968 Hong Kong was the only non-European country that appeared on the list of ten leading source countries of immigrants to Canada (White, 1990). By 1973 the list of ten leading source countries of immigrants included five Third World countries: Hong Kong, Jamaica, India, Philippines, and Trinidad. In 1986 the

percentage of immigrants from Asia had reached 43 percent while the number from Europe declined to 29 percent (White, 1990). By 1986 people of color represented about 6 percent of the Canadian population (White, 1990), and of this population 90 percent were foreign-born (Brenton & Reitz, 1994).

This demographic shift towards people of color has also occurred in the United States. By the year 2000, 46 percent of school-aged children in the United States will be of color (Banks,1991). He believes this demographic shift in population will compel educators and the general public to recognize that the citizens of tomorrow "should acquire the knowledge, skills, and attitudes critical to functioning in a diverse and complex world" (p. 135).

One of these skills must be the ability to interact positively and respectfully with people from diverse ethnic origins. Because most children spend their preschool years with family members of the same race, multiracial schools can provide the first opportunity to interact, on a daily basis, with people of other races (Aboud & Doyle, 1993; Banks, 1984). Schools can provide children with an

opportunity to broaden their social perspectives and learn new skills needed for harmonious relationships.

Schools and teachers have an important role in helping children prevail over the aspects of society that foster prejudice and discrimination. While children are not born with prejudices, they do acquire prejudices before they enter school. The central aim of Multicultural Education must be to reduce the prejudices that children already have by changing their existing attitudes and encouraging new ones consistent with our vision of the future.

If we believe in the vision of Canada as a dynamic, democratic, and pluralistic nation, we must confront and remove the barriers that obscure this vision. If we want an egalitarian society, we must focus on reducing the prejudice that exists in our society. The classroom is the ideal place to begin. It is here that the citizens of the future will learn the skills needed to shape the vision of our country (D'Oyley & Shapson,1990).

Glossary

In the 1960s the early attempts to address the issue of prejudice were identified as "intercultural education" by Van Til (cited in Friesen, 1991). Terms used to identify attempts to address this issue have since expanded to include a wide variety of term: e.g., 'inter-racial', 'multicultural', 'multiethnic', 'ethnic studies', 'bicultural' and 'bilingual'. This variety of terms has created a vague and often confusing situation in the literature about prejudice reduction. For the purpose of this paper the following definitions have been used:

Prejudice - is the "predisposition to respond negatively towards members of a group because of their race..., it is an attitude which may or may not be reflected in behaviour" (Aboud & Doyle,1993, p. 28)

Discrimination - " is the behaviourial component of prejudice" (Fleras & Elliott, 1992, p. 314). Discrimination is the unjustifiable negative behaviour towards minorities on the basis of, color, sex, disability, or other attributes (Pine & Asa, 1991). "Such discrimination may be exercised verbally or non-verbally, personally

or institutionally, consciously or unconsciously, intentionally or unintentionally, through decision or indecision, as much by expression as by silence" (Lynch, 1987, p. 25).

Ethnicity - refers to a commonality among people because of their ancestors; it may include race, national origin, religion, skin color, values, customs, language, and lifestyle (York, 1991).

Ethnocentricity - is the belief in the superiority of one's own ethnic group at the expense, to a varying degree, of all others (McLean & Young, 1988).

Prejudice Reduction - "... Is a deliberate and systematic process that enables individuals to re-orient their values, attitudes, and actions to reduce prejudice" (Lynch,1986, p. 98). Lynch (1987) also asserts that "prejudice reduction is the major component of any coherent educational practice that aims at achieving greater equality"(p. 11).

Race - is a controversial term. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization dispels any credence to the notion that race is a biological distinction (UNESCO, 1951). All people living today are of the same species. Race, in this paper, is a socially defined term that classifies people according to

some identifiable characteristic such as skin color (e.g. Black, or White) or region (e.g. Asian).

Racism - Godfrey Brandt, in his book The Realization of Anti-racist Teaching (1986), recognises racism as a dynamic and oppressive ideology. He states:

> It is an ideology that is located in and realized through structures of power relations in the interface between ethnicity and culture; economics and social process; individuals and institutions. This racism is multi-faceted and dynamic and must be seen not only in terms of xenophobia (race hatred), racial prejudice, bias, ethnocentricity or discrimination, but in terms of power. This power is itself of a varied nature, ranging from the ideological to the material. The elements are reflected in an overall racism that is both overt and covert, hidden and blatant, and is practised both at the individual and institutional levels, within structures and within systems. Racism is exhibited both in policies and practices which could be direct or indirect. (p. 67)

Stereotype - is the process by which members of a group are treated in the same way on the basis of prejudiced, irrational, and non-factual conceptions and information (Lynch, 1987).

The Measurement of Prejudice

The utilization of the metaphor of 'distance' has been used to describe the association between groups. This association is known as 'social distance'. Driedger (1983) defined social distance as the "ecological, emotional, and social detachment from others" (p. 289).

Bogardus (1959) used the concept of social distance to develop a scale to measure the degree of social acceptance/rejection. His social distance scale was made of statements, on an a priori basis, that systematically measured a subject's acceptance/rejection of a group. Bogardus (1959) referred to the sympathetic understanding one has for various groups as 'personal-group distance'.

The subjects were asked to give their first reaction to a statement without any rationalization. Bogardus believed that this first reaction was a better indicator of a person's attitude than an opinion scale (Bogardus,1959). On the Bogardus social distance scale willingness to marry was the highest level of acceptance while the willingness to keep people out of our nation indicated the lowest level of acceptance or the highest level of rejection. The level of rejection of a group is one measure of an individual's

prejudice towards that group. "With appropriate modifications, this type of scale could be adapted to measure the attitudes toward any category of persons" (Krech, Cruthfield, Ballancy, 1962).

A variety of scoring scales has been utilized with the Bogardus social distance scale. They range from counting the number of positive responses (Bogardus, 1959) to calculating a mean score (Deloris, 1989; Ijaz, 1982). The Bogardus Social Distance Scale has been easy to use and has proven to be a reliable measure of attitudes (Katz, 1976; Roger, 1973).

Young Children and Racial Differences

It is difficult to believe that young children - preschoolers, are prejudiced. Most teachers believe that young children are unaware of racial differences and they maintain the general view that children are immune to prejudice (Byrnes,1988). Derman-Sparks, Higa, and Sparks (1980) noted that very few texts on early childhood and child development even mention prejudice. These researchers believe this silence "perpetuates a prevailing majority culture ideology - that children are 'color blind' , i.e., they are unaware of race and racism" (p. 3). This notion that children are

color-blind ignores the considerable body of research which has established that children are aware of racial differences.

Racial prejudice begins with an awareness of race and reacting to differences among people. In 1947 the researchers Kenneth and Mamie Clark investigated the racial identification and the racial preferences of Black and White children. This study involved offering Black and White children the choice between a Black or White doll to associate with a negative or positive attribute (e.g., good, nice, or bad). The majority of the children identified and preferred the White dolls. The significance of this result is discussed later in this section. The results of this study have been instrumental in demonstrating that young children are aware of racial differences.

It is not known exactly when children first begin to observe racial cues but it is assumed to be early in their development (Ramsey,1987; Katz, 1976). Ramsey (1987) observed a variation in the onset of this awareness. This awareness appeared to be directly related to the amount of social contact the children had with other racial groups. She reported that children from racially mixed

communities were able to categorize people by race earlier than those who were not.

By the age of two, children begin to use the words me, mine and you to define their world. They use labels to classify people according to the physical characteristics that they notice. By the age of three and four children have been observed using the social labels of Black and White to refer to people (York,1991; Goodman, 1952). These children could identify, match, and label people by racial group.

Goodman (1952) observed Black and White three to five-year-old children. She not only reported race awareness but twenty-five percent of these children expressed racial preferences by the time they were four. Carrington and Short (1989) noted that five-year-old children had an immature understanding of race. The children did not understand that physical features, such as skin color, were permanent. The children wanted to know if the skin color could be washed away or changed. Goodman (1952) wrote about a Black child who wanted to be White and said, " This morning I scrubbed and scrubbed and it came almost White"(p. 56). While they may not completely understand the concept of race, children do use it.

Ramsey (1987) stated that it is important not to underestimate this point: She said:

> Race is a category that children do use, but the readiness to use race may depend on their previous social contact .... Children may appear color blind because race is not significant in that particular situation; however, low prominence should not be confused with lack of awareness (p.19).

The concept of race continues to develop into the early years of school as children learn about their world (Katz, 1981). By the early grades in school children are aware of many ethnic and racial stereotypes (Beswick,1990; Aboud,1988; Byrnes ,1985; Balch & Paulsen, 1981). Byrnes (1985) reported that White first grade children perceived all people who were different from them as foreigners. Aboud and Doyle (1993) found that 85 percent of kindergarten children had high scores of prejudice measured on the Preschool Racial Attitude Measure (PRAM). These children had a strong pro-White/anti-Black bias.

Other researchers have used the Doll Choice test (Clark & Clark, 1947) to study racial identification and racial preferences in young children. These researchers have not only confirmed the work by Clark and Clark (1947), but they have also show that these results also apply to other racial groups. The research by Milner and

Davey (cited by Milner, 1987) asked five-year-old, Black, Asian and White children to select a doll which looked most like themselves (referred to as A in Table 1). Then the researchers asked the children to choose the doll which most resembled who they would rather be like (referred to as I in Table 1). In all three studies White children always selected the dolls that were white for both questions. This illustrated that White children had a strong pro-White preference.

The non-White children also had a pro-White preference. The results in Table 1 indicate the percentage of non-white children who selected White dolls for each question.

Table 1

Doll Preference by non-White Children

	Milner (1970)		Milner(1974)		Davey(1980)	
	A	I	A	I	A	I
Black	48%	82%	27%	78%	8%	49%
Asian	24%	65%	30%	81%	16%	50%

The Black identity data of the Milner (1970, 1974) and the Davey (1980) studies indicate that during the 1970s there was a

decline in misidentification of race. While not being able to substantiate his opinion, Milner (1987) believed that the decline was a reflection of the "immense advances in developing black consciousness"(p. 176) that occurred during this period.

There was also a decline in the number of non-White children who preferred to be White; however, a significant number preferred to be White. Annis and Corenblum (1993) reported similar results for White and Aboriginal children. White kindergarten children evaluated their 'own-group' more positively than Aboriginal children, who were more negative towards their own-group and showed a consistent preference for White.

One explanation for these results, according to Annis and Corenblum (1993), is that non-White children live in a world dominated by Whites; as a result, they come to internalize the attitude that they are inferior. This attitude of inferiority makes it difficult for them to identify with their own race.

Another interpretation of these results is related to the cognitive development of children which focuses on children's limited ability to attend to racial similarities and reconcile these differences. Children are immature thinkers who tend to confuse the

facts and make false assumptions. Only as children develop more sophisticated cognitive abilities are they able to reconcile racial differences (Aboud,1988).

These explanations represent the two general approaches used to explain the acquisition of prejudice (Aboud & Doyle, 1993). One states that prejudice is a reflection of the differential values associated with different groups in a stratified society (Aboud, 1988). The second focuses on the cognitive structures of children that impose limits on their tolerance and acceptance; these limits result in prejudice. Young children have strong racial attitudes and preferences. By the time these children reach eleven years old, their attitudes are fairly well stabilized (Kattmann, 1979; Hayes, 1969); therefore, it is important that we address the issue of prejudice at an early age.

Social Theories

Social theories tend to view prejudice from either an individual's perspective or a group's perspective. Adorno (1950), in the Neuropsychoanalytic theory, examined why some people are more predispositioned towards prejudice than others. His work suggests personality traits, resulting from certain child-rearing practices,

are responsible for the acquisition of prejudice. Children from authoritarian homes develop guilt feelings. These feelings of guilt result in some unfulfilled need which manifests itself as anger directed towards other groups or individuals. Adorno argues that children from democratic homes develop the self-confidence to accept people without prejudice.

In Allport's (1979) view, prejudice is a psychological condition specific to individuals. Allport (1976) begins with the assumption that "prejudice is not inborn but acquired" (p. 517). While he acknowledges that some children are taught prejudice deliberately by their parents, "much prejudice is caught rather than directly taught" (p. 517). Allport points out that most young children tend to accept their parents' beliefs without questioning them. By accepting their parents' beliefs the children identify with their parents and acquire their prejudices.

"However prejudice is learned it takes root in a personality because it meets certain basic needs or cravings. It works for the individual and may be a pivotal factor in the economy of his life" (Allport, 1976, p. 518). Allport explains this predisposition to prejudice in terms of 'needs'. Individuals need to categorize life

experiences in order for them to make sense of their world. Similar experiences are sorted into the same category. The categories that we place people in also contain the beliefs and attitudes about members of those categories. In Allport's view, this process is guided by the 'law of least effort'. As children view a particular group they focus on a common attribute, thereby accentuating this attribute while diminishing their attention to other attributes. In this manner people generate stereotypes by falsely assuming all members of a group to be alike. A stereotype is an overgeneralization about others based on this tendency to simplify the world. This process does not necessarily lead to prejudice.

To explain prejudice, Allport describes other needs: the needs for security, status, and a positive self-image. Children are not always successful in satisfying these needs. This lack of success leads to frustration. Allport believes frustration motivates most people to try harder, but for some people it becomes a burden. To relieve ourselves of this burden we project our frustrations at some target group by blaming them for our failures. People who are afraid of losing their job or are unable to get a job because of the economy

project their fears towards immigrants by blaming the immigrants for taking jobs away from them.

People can simplify their lives by invoking stereotypical rejections. They do not have to deal with everyone as an individual. If one member of a category is rejected, then all members of that category are rejected; thus, "prejudice is an economical mode of thought" (Allport, 1976, p. 518).

These two approaches to the study of prejudice have been criticized for their reliance on personalities to explain prejudice and for ignoring greater social influences (Lynch, 1987). Aboud & Doyle (1993) believe the work of Allport (1979) and Adorno (1950) are relevant to our understanding of prejudice because they explain why some individuals are prone to prejudice. Their work also explains how prejudice is learned early in life, and challenges the populist view that children are naive to prejudice (Byrnes, 1987).

Bandura (1977), in the Social Learning theory, believes children's attitudes and behaviours are learned through imitation and reinforcement. Children learn their behaviours by observing adults, and then, learn when to imitate this behaviour by reinforcement from the adults. At first, control is external and is

imposed on young children by adults. As children mature, social sanctions gradually replace the external controls. Modelling of behaviours and attitudes , including prejudice, is an important aspect of the Social Learning theory. "In voicing opinions, models transmit ideas and preferences" (Bandura, 1977, p. 47). These preferences include prejudices about race. Children imitate the prejudiced comments and behaviour they see modelled around them. Once language has been acquired the models can be pictorial or verbal.

Bandura argues that children learn behaviour patterns not only from adults but also from their social environment. It is not enough to tell children the facts about racism, they must experience a learning environment that is totally free of any bias. This includes how the teacher reacts to different racial groups, intentionally or unintentionally, the materials the teacher selects and the language used in the classroom. These are all important aspects of the learning environment. If biased materials and language are used (e.g., materials with a Eurocentric bias), children will learn to accept prejudice and discrimination as part of the implicit social norm.

Some researchers have argued that even the language used by a culture may influence one's predisposition to prejudice. The research on color conation illustrates how children learn to associate light colored objects more positively than dark objects (Williams & Morland, 1976; Milner, 1974, 1970; Goodman, 1964; Shanahan, 1972). The Social Learning theory highlights the importance of maintaining a positive presentation of minority groups so as not to reinforce any negative attitudes or stereotypes that an individual already has.

Sleeter and Grant (1988) criticize the Psychodynamic and the Social Learning theories because of their focus on prejudice in individuals. Sleeter and Grant contend that this focus does not adequately explain intergroup relations on a larger scale. They argue that these theories are too focused on the personal aspect of prejudice and ignore the greater dimension of prejudice - racism.

Other theorists have emphasized the combined cultural and social influences on prejudicial attitudes, including group interrelations. The Reference Group theory relates prejudice with conformity to the social customs of a group (Goodman, 1964, p. 250). According to this theory, all people belong to a set of 'in-groups',

starting with their own. As we mature, the number of in-groups increases. A group to which we compare ourselves and judge our own status is referred to as a reference group. Our peer group is a typical example of a reference group. Children learn that agreement with a larger social group is rewarding. As willing participants in the group, individuals adopt the social norms of the in-group. The in-group establishes its own social boundaries; thus, it excludes people who are not members of the in-group. This theory can be applied to all groups, including ethnic groups, gender, and social class (Sleeter & Grant 1988).

According to this theory, children would first adopt the attitudes corresponding to social structure as perceived by their parents. By observation and imitation the children would then learn to evaluate groups the way their parents do. This theory would predict that the levels of prejudice in children should gradually increase until it has reached the same levels as that of their social reference group. This has not been supported in the research. The extensive research on the racial preferences of young non-White children (e.g., Annis & Corenblum, 1993; Davey, 1980; Milner, 1974,1970; Porter, 1971; Clark & Clark, 1947) show non-White

children prefer White over their own ethnic group. The research of Aboud and Doyle (1993) indicates that five year-old children have high levels of prejudice and that these levels take a dramatic drop at around 8 to 10 years of age . Aboud and Doyle (1993) conclude that children are not templates of their parents' values.

While the Reference Group theory explanation of prejudice has some limitations it does have merit. It does explain why prejudice is so common and persistent over time.

Cognitive Theories

Cognitive development theories have also been used to explain the acquisition of prejudice. Piaget (1965) believes that prejudice is a result of the children's immature cognitive processes. According to Piaget (1965), children exhibit certain systematic patterns of thought. These patterns or steps appear to be age-related. Three- to five-year-old children are at the pre-operational level. They tend to personalize their learning and see the people around them as individuals and have difficulty understanding the concept of groupness (Derman-Sparks, Higa, Sparks, 1980). They attempt to explain experiences in terms of their own personal experience. Piaget describes this as 'egocentrism'.

During this period children begin to notice the differences among people. They can name and identify people according to different physical characteristics. They begin to use colors to describe objects and people (York, 1991; Aboud,1988; Derman-Sparks, Higa, Sparks, 1980). This is the time when children begin to figure out their racial identity. By five children classify people by race, gender and age. They see each race as different and they tend to stereotype individuals in each racial group (Katz, 1976).

As children reach the ages of five and six years they begin to move into a new cognitive stage. Piaget (1965) refers to this as 'concrete-operational stage'. At this stage children become more group oriented with a group identity. This is evident in their patterns of play. When younger children play together they play side by side but do not interact with each other. Five and six year-old children begin to play co-operatively. As they become more conscious of belonging to one group they have difficulty accepting the view of members of another group. Aboud & Doyle (1993) report that kindergarten children state their racial preferences as right, and different preferences as wrong. These children were unable to

reconcile different racial preferences. Piaget (1965) refers to this as socialcentrism.

This theory predicts qualitively different types of prejudice at different ages because of changes in cognitive structures (Aboud, 1988). In the cognitive development framework, younger children have higher levels of prejudice until they have more mature cognitive structures that enable them to reconcile racial differences. As children become older, 10 to 15 years old, they become more accepting of different racial preferences and are able to reconcile racial differences. This is supported in the literature by researchers Aboud & Doyle (1993) and Katz (1976) who report higher levels of prejudice in kindergarten students than in older students. According to Aboud and Doyle (1993), these levels appeared to decline 'spontaneously' in 50 percent of the children by the time the children reach grade three. These researchers noted that this drop in the levels of prejudice appeared in children who were able to see similarities between races, able to accept different points of view as being valid, and could see differences among individuals of the same race.

Piaget considered prejudice to be a result of children's perception of their world, first an egocentric perception and then a socialcentric perception. Aboud (1988) has criticized this interpretation of prejudice on two counts. While Piaget's theory explains the shift from self to group, it does not explain the shift of group to individuals that occurs around ten years of age. Piaget assumed that the development of preferences was a random process different for each child. Aboud debates this point on the basis that the ethnic preferences of egocentric children are similar and systematic; therefore, a systematic explanation must be developed.

Aboud (1988) explains prejudice in terms of two overlapping sequences of development. The first sequence is: affective, to perceptions, to cognition. In the beginning children's experiences are dominated by their emotions not by their ethnic identification. As they develop they begin to notice differences. People who are different are disliked. This forms the basis of ethnic self-identification. As perceptions begin to dominate children's experiences they begin to modify their preferences. Cognitive understanding develops when children start to understand categories and unique qualities of individuals. This development should

indicate a "neutralization of the bipolar and intense preferences of young children" (Aboud, 1988, p. 24). This appears around eight to ten years of age.

Aboud believes that this is the time when children will be the most responsive to information and intervention. This theory predicts that earlier interventions will have limited success with children who have not reached this stage of development. These children could respond on an emotional level to an intervention but would not be able to react on a cognitive level.

Aboud believes that prejudice reduction strategies must be based on the appropriate cognitive abilities of the children involved. Five and six year-old children see the world from their own limited perspective. Aboud (1988) suggests that an appropriate approach for this age group would be "to teach the children culturally different ways of living and to let them egocentrically and vicariously identify with the happiness and attachments of children from different cultures"(p. 132).

The cognitive theory has its limitations. Bandura (1977) has criticized the cognitive theory because of the idea that each stage of development is locked into place. This lock step approach to

development suggests that children cannot learn from a dilemma unless they have attained the appropriate stage. Bandura argues that people can evaluate moral conduct in terms of some standard without first adopting a set of preceding standards. He believes good moral conduct can be effectively modelled, even for young children.

Allport (1979) writes that no one theory can account for prejudice. While theorists may differ in their explanations of what causes prejudice, there seems to be a general agreement that prejudice is learned. No one is born prejudiced (Byrnes, 1988; Kehoe, 1981; Allport, 1979). It therefore follows that if prejudice is learned then appropriate educational strategies could be used to reduce it.

The difficulty in changing the attitudes of children lies in the fact that children have had ample opportunity to learn prejudice from their environment long before they ever arrive at school. They have learned by observing, experiencing, and imitating the behaviours and attitudes expressed in their home, school, church, and community (Byrnes & Kiger, 1987). Children entering school have had little or no experience with other cultures because they

have spent most of their early years in a world of people who look like them (Aboud & Doyle, 1993; Banks,1982, 1986). Banks (1982, 1986) refers to this phenomenon as cultural psychological captivity. He argues that children have internalized the negative societal beliefs about other cultures and ethnic groups before they entered school. Children's understanding of their social world develops early.

Assimilation & Integration

The first Multicultural Educational approaches that tried to deal with a multicultural population were based on the concept of integration, which really meant absorption or assimilation in to the mainstream White society (Selby, 1993; Friesen, 1991). Immigrant and non-White children were expected to benefit from a monoculture curriculum that reflected the Eurocentric beliefs and values of the dominant culture. Assimilation policies viewed the child as having a deficit, such as a physical handicap or a cultural deficit. Educational practices were aimed at helping the child overcome this deficit. For example, the Headstart program attempted to provide readiness skills to low-income children before they entered school. This approach was also used to develop pull-out programs that gave extra assistance to children who were seen to be at risk. The

remedial reading and resource programs that became popular at this time were also examples of the assimilation approach.

In the province of Nova Scotia, the Department of Education acknowledged that Black students were experiencing difficulties in the education system and were leaving school before graduating. The Department provided some funding for an incentive program to encourage Black learners to stay in school. R. Upshaw (1992) commented that "it was quite ironic that the Department of Education would provide an incentive fund for Black students to attend an education system when it was willing to make so few changes to that existing system" (p. 105). The Black students were expected to change their behaviour while the educational system continued with business as usual. The question of why these Black students were leaving school before graduating was never addressed by this type of assimilation policy.

Also in the 1960s, the Intercultural Education Movement developed the human relations approach. This approach the focus was on teaching the students how to get along with each other and to reduce racial tension. It did not, however, try to deal with any of the underlying causes of racism or the prejudice involved. Again

this approach was also based upon assimilation of the minority into the dominant culture. Selby (1993) points out that assimilation puts the onus for change on the minority. " By definition, integration needed only happen where there were children of ethnic minorities to integrate" (p. 64). The all-White schools were not touched by this type of approach.

In the 1970s approaches began to focus on more specific interests, such as Ethnic studies, Women's Studies and Black Studies. Sleeter and Grant (1988) referred to this as the 'Single Group Studies' approach. This approach was based on the notion that " knowing oneself is the beginning of understanding and accepting others" (York, 1991, p. 26). The goals of this approach were to raise one's level of consciousness and to elicit empathy for minorities. The unfortunate result of this approach, according to York (1991), was the implementation of the 'tourist' approach. Multiculturalism was reduced to the three D's: dance, dress, and diet.

In 1977 the Department of Education in Nova Scotia tried to introduce a pilot in Multicultural Studies at grades ten and eleven (Redden, 1990). The initial pilot was stopped after the Department

realised that, as an elective, the course would only benefit those who selected it.

While these approaches began to challenge the concept of a dominant monoculture curriculum and acknowledge the cultural diversity of Canadian society, these courses were often additions to the official curriculum and only benefitted those who were interested in them. They tended to reduce culture to a romantic vision of festivals and holidays. These courses did not deal with such greater problems of prejudice such as racism and sexism.

Research: A Curriculum Response

Over the past forty years educational researchers have tried to respond to the issues of prejudice in a wide variety of ways. This history, according to Kehoe (1981), "is a history of untested assumptions and nowhere is that more notoriously true than in the development of strategies by teachers for changing attitudes in the areas of ethnic prejudice and racism" (p. 3).

The educational response to prejudice has not provided any clear direction to follow. The research literature on prejudice reduction does provide evidence that young children's prejudicial

attitudes can be lessened; however, much of this research is of "ancient vintage" and contradictory (Lynch ,1986).

Various techniques have been used to elicit empathy in an attempt to reduce prejudice. Books, stories, role playing, films and simulations have all been used with some degree of success (Gimmestad & DeChiara,1982; Ruiz,1982; Houser, 1978; Singh & Yancy,1974; Krause,1972; Litcher & Johnson,1969; Fisher, 1968). Although not conclusive, these studies do give some insight into what techniques might work to reduce prejudice.

Litcher and Johnson (1969) used multicultural readers over a four-month period to produce prejudice reduction in White grade two children. Ruiz (1982) was able to reproduce these results with grade two students in a multiethnic classroom during a twelve-week intervention period. But Litcher, Johnson and Ryan (1973) were not able to reduce prejudice in grade two children using a shorter intervention period.

Fisher (1968) read six stories from Black literature to grade five students over a three week period, and concluded that the subsequent discussion among the students resulted in an increased change in attitudes. Singh and Yancy (1974) used realistic fiction

depicting Blacks in a positive manner to reduce prejudice in grade one students . There were thirty one-hour sessions. Each session included a discussion and an art activity. Singh and Yancy reported a significant change in attitudes. They concluded that a planned follow-up activity was an important aspect of their intervention technique.

Attempts to use this strategy with younger children were not as successful. Walker (cited by Lynch, 1987) was not able to change the attitudes of Black and White kindergarten children by combining the reading of stories that portray Blacks in a positive manner with some co-operative work activities. Best, Smith, Graves, and Williams (1975) combined the reading of multiethnic stories to White kindergarten students with art activities. They also reported no significant change in the students' attitudes. This lack of success in reducing prejudice in young children with this technique suggests that their limited cognitive development may be an important component to consider in choosing an appropriate strategy.

While Balch and Paulsen (1978), in their review of the research literature, have concluded that the curriculum area has

been generally ineffective, there are some lessons to be learned. They have synthesized the curriculum response to prejudice reduction into a number of principles:

(a) short term strategies are inadequate;

(b) positive presentation of various groups may be more effective; and

(c) attention must be paid to the stages of cognitive development of the children.

Multicultural Education

The late 1970s marked a new era in Multicultural Education with the emergence of two educational strategies: Multicultural Education and Anti-racist Education. Both of these approaches shared a vision of a egalitarian, pluralistic society, but were different in their emphases.

Cultural pluralism became the cornerstone of the Multicultural approach. It highlighted the cultural diversity of society and promoted self-esteem and respect for others. "Schools should recognize, draw out and celebrate cultural differences.... A sharing of culture at school would enrich the cultural experience of all and

help promote respect, tolerance and understanding" (Selby, 1993, p. 64).

This phase marked the development of intergroup relations and cultural sharing (McLeod, 1987). In education, attempts to understand differences and explore similarities were made to address the problems of a pluralistic society,. From a Multicultural perspective, the crucial problem to be addressed by society was the non-recognition of the minority by the majority (Brandt,1986). Prejudice, misunderstanding and ignorance are the outcomes of this non-recognition; therefore, to solve the problem, more information about the 'other' cultures was needed to promote understanding. This could be achieved through awareness activities and cultural exchanges. Equity and parity should be the outcomes of this process (Brandt,1986).

An analysis by Kehoe (1993) suggests that there are three goals of Multicultural Education: "equivalency in achievement, positive intergroup attitudes, and developing pride in heritage" (p. 3). The second goal of developing positive intergroup attitudes

focuses on prejudice reduction. According to Kehoe (1993) prejudice reduction could be achieved by:

(a) encouraging children to accept and reconcile racial differences (Aboud, 1993);

(b) encouraging the development of empathy (Pate, 1988);

(c) teaching about the similarities between cultures (Kehoe,19. .).

Carrington and Short (1989) believe the goal of Multicultural Education is to foster mutual understanding and respect for others by changing attitudes using a pluralistic curriculum. This is based on the assumption that all students would benefit from a sympathetic portrayal of a variety of cultures. For minority groups this would lead to and increase self-esteem and an improved academic performance. For White children this would lead to prejudice reduction.

In a Multicultural classroom the teacher would endeavour to promote equality and ensure that diverse cultural groups be represented (Ramsey,1987; Banks,1982). Objects related to many cultures would be evident in the classroom (Ramsey,1987). All the lessons would be nonsexist - girls and boys would be treated equally

(Sleeter & Grant,1988). The development of a positive self-image is also important to this approach because one needs to feel good about oneself before being able to respect others (Sleeter & Grant, 1988). The program would focus on cultural similarities as this approach has been found to be effective in promoting positive racial attitudes (Ijaz,1982). Dialogue would be an important vehicle to implement these changes (Carrington & Short, 1989). These initiatives would become an integral part of the total curriculum as apposed to the add-on or elective courses that characterized the earlier attempts of Multicultural educators (Kehoe,1993).

Multicultural Education has been criticized by both the conservative right and the radical left. Both the left and right have used similar methods to criticize this approach. Rather than analyzing the goals of Multicultural Education, they have attacked the more dubious classroom practices that have been presented as Multicultural (Banks, 1986, p. 225).

Since the inception of Multicultural Education in the 1960s, conservatives have expressed concerns about any changes in the curriculum. Brodinski (1977) saw Multicultural Education and other changes as a movement away from the traditional values that he

embraced. It was the contention of this 'back to basics' movement that "we move away from foolish notions and return to the fundamentals, such as, reading, writing, and arithmetic"(p. 522). While references to Multicultural Education may not have been specified, it can be argued that it was one of the foolish notions to be avoided.

Much of the criticism has come from the American right and, while their criticisms are aimed at the American educational system, these criticisms can also be applied to the Canadian educational scene. Their challenges are couched in the language of educational excellence, and are painted with religious and nationalistic overtones (McGee-Banks, 1993). The right has challenged public education on many fronts, arguing for the reinstatement of school prayers, more censorship (McCarthy, 1993), and more parental control (Sillars, 1994). These critics have reduced education to the transmission of knowledge and to the teaching of basic skills (Eisner, 1991; Bloom,1987). They compare the achievement of students from many nations and conclude that their schools are failing their students.

Many conservatives see the egalitarian demands of the social movement of the 1960s and 1970s as directly responsible for today's educational crisis (Bastian et al, 1986). They call for improved skills by returning to the basics. They want more testing and accountability. They believe that all students should have the skills and attitudes to participate in a common culture. The conservative critics see Multicultural Education as a threat to the status quo because it equates the White Eurocentic culture with other cultures. They want minorities to learn to participate in the common culture, and believe cultural concerns are the responsibility of the home. Their views reflect the assimilationist perspective.

The radical critics argue that Multicultural Education does not achieve what the conservatives fear: the creation of significant social change. They (e.g., Milner, 1987; Brandt,1986; Bullivant,1986) argue that Multicultural Education does not deal with the real reasons for ethnic inequalities and oppression. They believe too much attention is directed to cultural issues and not enough is given to structural inequalities in society. They believe that Multicultural Education diverts attention from the real issues and presents a false image of a world that is good in which everyone is equal. Ramcharan

(1988) believes that an emphasis on culture may interfere with the natural process of cultural adaptation to the environment; therefore, this emphasis may be doing a disservice to minorities.

Milner (1987), in discussing the British experience with Multicultural Education, argues that it is not realistic to try and put immigrant children 'in touch with their roots' and to counter stereotyping by informing White children about other cultures. Milner points out that 95 percent of Black children in British schools were born in Britain; therefore the notion of a homeland is a distant concept for these children. He doubts that prejudice can be reduced towards others by simply telling children about people or problems beyond their experience.

Some on the radical left (e.g.; Giroux,1992; Katz,1981; Apple,1982) have criticized Multicultural Education for its unwillingness to restructure the education system to improve the life-chances of minorities. They argue that Multicultural Education maintains the status quo because it ignores the institutional basis of discrimination.

Lynch (1987) points out that the radical left critique has led to a number of positive developments in Multicultural Education. It

has renewed focus on the needs of children. It has brought a greater focus on the role of schools in prejudice reduction and the need for a comprehensive educational response to racism.

Research: A Cultural Response

One of the more effective methods has been to increase the social contact of different racial groups with the use of cooperative-learning groups (Lynch, 1987; Pate ,1988, 1981). The literature on cooperative-learning groupings (Slavin, 1980; DeVries, Edwards, and Slavin, 1978) suggests many ways to create these groups. By design these groups must be racially heterogeneous; therefore, this not a practical strategy for a homogenous population (Byrnes,1988). While recognizing that this is an effective method one must exercise some caution. As Ijaz (1982) points out, social contact per se does not necessarily reduce prejudice. The type of individual from a particular ethnic group contacted, and the conditions of the contact could significantly influence attitudes.

Cultural immersion programs have also had limited success in reducing prejudice in school aged children. Deloris (1989) used a thematic approach during the social studies period with grade three students that emphasized cultural similarities. Using a Social

Distance scale to measure prejudice, Deloris reported a positive shift in attitudes after the intervention program. McPhie (1989) also reported a positive shift in attitudes of grade four students when she used a cultural immersion program. Marin (1988) reported that cross-cultural instruction was a successful strategy to reduce prejudice in White grade five students. Ijaz and Ijaz (1981) did an extensive multicultural study involving 170 White and 152 non-White students. This study was carried out over nine 70 minute periods. While all these studies (Deloris, 1989; McPhie,1989; Marin,1988; Ijaz & Ijaz, 1981) reported positive shifts in attitudes, none of the results was statistically significant.

Kehoe (1984) developed a number of guidelines for presenting information about other cultures:

(a) emphasize the positive achievements rather than the hardships, i.e. poverty;

(b) emphasize the similarities not the exotic;

(c) emphasize the 'we' rather than a 'they' perspective;

(d) develop the concepts of prejudice, ethnocentrism, and stereotyping, and examine their effects; and

(e) emphasize family life and the everyday aspect of other cultures.

Anti-racist Approach

By the late 1970s a new approach began to evolve from the critique of Multicultural Education (Selby, 1993). This approach focused on the issue of racism. While racism may be defined as prejudice plus power, and the intentional or unintentional use of this power to exploit others (Hampton, 1990), advocates for this approach believed racism was a much broader term that encompassed all the social and economic facets of our society (Massey, 1991). For them racism was firmly embedded within the policies and practices of our institutions (Fleras & Elliott, 1992).

Advocates for this approach have used a variety of terms such as emancipatory education (Giroux, 1992), critical thinking (Shor, 1987), social reconstructionism (Sleeter & Grant,1988), Anti-racist Education (Brandt, 1986); thus, they have added to the general confusion about the term Multicultural Education. In order to clarify the discussion for this study, this confrontational approach will be referred to as Anti-racist Education.

Anti-racist Education shares many of the underlying principles of Multicultural Education. Both of these approaches are concerned with countering the effects of prejudice, discrimination and racism. They both strive to eliminate bias in the classroom (Sleeter & Grant, 1988). They both advocate the use of a pluralistic curriculum that would reflect the cultural diversity of our society (Thomas, 1984). Both approaches oppose the notion of separate add-on courses to the curriculum; instead, they advocate the incorporation of these approaches into the entire curriculum (Carrington & Short, 1989). Both of these approaches acknowledge the persistence of stereotypes and prejudice (Thomas,1984). While they share many similarities, Multicultural and Anti-racist Education are built on different theoretical frameworks (Carrington & Short, 1989).

Anti-racist Education does not see cultural diversity and the preservation of heritage as the problem (Thomas, 1984). The problem is the significance of power associated with the differences that exist in our society (Hampton, 1990; Brandt, 1986; Thomas,1984). Racism is the problem; therefore, Anti-racism is the solution. Racism is more than just beliefs and attitudes. It is multi-faceted and dynamic, and must be seen in terms of power.

Anti-racist Education must be of matching complexity to be effective against racism (Brandt, 1986). The goal of Anti-racist Education is to confront the inequalities that are inherent in our society.

The dominant culture in the Canadian society is a White male Eurocentric culture, which has the political and economic power. The minorities - women, immigrants, indigenous people, and people of color or visible differences - do not have the same power. This unequal power imposes limits on their ability to earn a living, meet basic needs, and be heard in society. It makes the struggle for self-respect a formidable one (Thomas, 1984). From an Anti-racist perspective, the problem is one of a conflict between the state and the oppressed groups (Brandt, 1986); therefore, Anti-racist Education must emphasize intergroup equity (Kehoe, 1993). It involves everyone.

In her book, Letters to Marcia (1985), Enid Lee lists the characteristics and issues that are encompassed by Anti-racist Education. These characteristics are:

(a) Anti-racist Education is based on the understanding that racism exists in society, including all aspects of schools;

(b) Anti-racist Education identifies the significance attached to racial groups by society and identifies the benefits derived from this significance;

(c) Anti-racist Education exposes the relationship between our personal prejudices and systemic discrimination;

(d) Anti-racist Education is based on the premise that prejudice is learned and can be unlearned;

(e) Anti-racist Education critically analyzes the origins of racist ideas and practices; and

(f) Anti-racist Education exposes the socially constructed barriers which limit individuals and racial groups from improving their life-chances.

Lee (1985), believes Anti-racist Education moves us towards a true multicultural society. "It moves us beyond the comfortable aspects of each other's culture - food, the festivals - to examining the more controversial dimensions of culture which have led to change, and can lead to change" (Lee, 1985, p. 9).

For the Anti-racist teacher this means using a different approach from that of the Multicultural teacher. The Anti-racist teacher must break the silence regarding the role White culture

plays in dominating minorities (Giroux, 1992) . The focus would be on racial differences and racism (Mukherjee, 1988). The Anti-racist teacher would probe the manner in which racism is rationalized and perpetuated by the institutions of society (Thomas, 1984). The Anti-racist teacher would try to uncover the hidden curriculum that perpetuates racism (Massey, 1991). The curriculum would focus on racism today and its historical roots in society (McGregor, 1993). It would address power and powerlessness (Mukherjee, 1988). It would expose stereotypes and racist ideas and critically examine these ideas through discussion (Mcgregor,1993; Selby,1993; Thomas, 1984). It would be collaborative approach best achieved in a group-centred classroom (Brandt,1986).

The oppositional nature of Anti-racist Education raises the issue of teaching controversial issues to young children. Is the grade primary classroom an appropriate place to use an Anti-racist approach? Some researchers (e.g., Carrington & Short,1989; Brandt,1986) studied five- to seven-year-old children in Great Britain. They believe that a primary classroom is an ideal place to use Anti-racist teaching strategies because of the very nature of the setting. Group-centred learning is a very important teaching

strategy in a class of young children. Discussions about behaviour and respect for others is commonplace in these classrooms.

Teachers have the professional responsibility to create a racist-free space by personally selecting materials and developing a learning climate that is consistent with an Anti-racist ideal. To achieve this, teachers need accurate information and help to clarify the issues of racism. Many teachers lack the understanding of the significance racial awareness, racial preferences and prejudice have in children's development. Teachers need training to help them understand Anti-racist Education.

Anti-racist Education is not without its critics. The advocates of Multicultural Education express a concern about teaching children about racism and prejudice in a direct and confrontational manner. Kehoe (1984) sees Anti-racist Education as the bad news story and argues that by focusing on racism directly educators may create a 'boomerang' effect in which racial attitudes become more entrenched.

The research of Lerner and Simmons (1966) and Lerner (1971) describes the reaction of subjects who witnessed a suffering victim but were powerless to help. The subjects rejected and devalued the

victim because the subjects had a need to believe in a 'just world', a world in which people get what they deserve. This concern is only strengthened by the results of a study by Sniderman (cited by Brenton & Reitz, 1994) who found that 70 percent of Canadians believed that immigrants bring discrimination upon themselves by their own personal attitudes and habits. It can be argued that by showing the minority as a helpless victim of prejudice the teachers will lead students to reject and devalue the victim. Kehoe (1984) refers to this as the boomerang effect. This concern also highlights the need for teachers to have human relations training.

Lynch (1987), on the other hand, sees the Anti-racist critique as an important contributor to Multicultural Education. The Anti-racist critique focuses the attention on how discrimination and prejudice inhibit the interrelations necessary for a pluralistic society (Lynch,1987, p. 10).

Research: Anti-racist response

" Much of the writing on Anti-racist teaching suggests the need for more research. Most of the writing does not report on intervention studies to determine if defining and implementing Anti-racist teaching leads to less racism" (Kehoe, 1993, p. 5). Kehoe and Rogers (1978) used the approach of Principle-Testing successfully to reduce prejudice by challenging racist attitudes. In this approach a presentation of a realistic enactment of discrimination was followed by a discussion. The discussion challenged students to apply consistently moral principles. The subjects were required to reflect upon the discussion and apply it to their own thinking. This approached challenged the students to achieve consistency in the application of moral principals.

McGregor (1993) used a meta-analysis to compare the effects of Anti-racist teaching and role playing on student racial prejudice. She examined twenty-six relevant studies, seven of which used Anti-racist teaching. McGregor defined Anti-racist teaching as teaching that "addresses racism directly and targets the cognitive aspects of prejudice" (p. 216). She did acknowledge that Anti-racist teaching was not equivalent to the much broader term Anti-racist Education.

She reported an effect size of +.419 standard deviation over the control groups for role playing. For Anti-racist teaching Mcgregor reported an effect size of +.479 standard deviation over the control groups. Anti-racist teaching did reduce prejudice.

McGregor and Ungerleider (1993) conducted a meta-analysis of research on the effects of multicultural and racism awareness programs for teachers. The mean effect size of the treatment group focusing on race or racism was +.27 standard deviation over the control subjects. The mean effect size for the cultural information treatment was +.09 standard deviation.

This study (McGregor & Ungerleider, 1993) revealed some of the characteristics of a positive prejudice reduction program. The target group towards which the attitude change was directed was not a significant variable. The longer the duration of the treatment the lower the level of prejudice became; however, this positive effect was only true to a point after which the effect decreased. Both the racism awareness and the cultural information approaches produced positive mean effect sizes; however, 30 percent of the studies had negative effect sizes. These researchers expressed

concern that the interventions were not more effective and concluded there was a need for more study in this area.

To approach prejudice reduction in a deliberate and systematic manner teachers must know what strategies are effective for their students. The purpose of this study was to compare the effectiveness of a Multicultural and an Anti-racist teaching strategy in reducing prejudice with grade primary and one students. While these strategies are not equivalent to the broader approaches Multicultural and Anti-racist Education, they are consistent with the general principles of each approach. Multicultural teaching, based on Kehoe's (1984) guidelines (cited earlier in this paper), is a positive approach that focuses on family life and emphasizes 'we'. The Anti-racist strategy focuses on issue of racism through a discussion about slavery and discrimination.

Method

Subjects

This study involved 92, five- to seven-year-old children attending a small junior elementary school in Bedford, Nova Scotia. The school was located in predominately White upper- to middle-class neighbourhoods. The school had two classes of each grade. Each class was multi-ethnic with two or three children representing a variety of cultures; however, there was only one Black child in this population.

Instrument

All the students were given as a pre- and a post-test the Social Distance Scale used by Deloris (1989), which was adapted from the one described by Ijaz (1982). There were nine questions on the survey. The subjects were read the questions by a teacher and they recorded their own responses on a separate sheet. Using the same criteria as Deloris (1989), the subjects were asked to answer yes, no, or maybe. It was assumed that a "Yes" response indicated that the subjects were tolerant of people of different colors. "No", was assumed to indicate prejudice against people of different colors. "Maybe" was considered an indifferent or neutral response.

All the statements were worded in a positive manner so as not to create uncomfortable feelings. The term " a different color than me ", was used to permit subjects of any color to answer each question equally.

Procedure

One week before the treatment session, the teachers administered the pretest to their own classes. On the day of the treatment session, the experimenter read the story The Black Snowman by Phil Mendez (1989) to all of the children and the teachers at the same time. The children and teachers were then randomly assigned to treatment groups using colored tokens. Each colored token represented a treatment group. The treatment groups were control, placebo, Anti-racist, and Multicultural. As a follow-up activity, the teacher of every group except the control group, was given a package of materials and a script for a discussion. The control group did not do any follow-up activity. The other treatment groups began with a review of the story. Each teacher used a copy of the book to review the story. Using the book as a guide the teachers then guided a discussion about specific aspects of the story. The Anti-racist group discussed the negative aspects of slavery and

racism in the context of the story. The Multicultural group focused on such cultural aspects of the story as the Black African cultural. Using the clothes of the characters as a focal point for the discussion, this group stressed the similarities among all people. The placebo group discussed wishes and magic; both ideas were developed in this story. All the treatment groups started and ended the discussions at the same time. The treatment session lasted 25 minutes. At the end of the session the children returned to their homeroom and completed the post-test which was administered by their own teacher. The data was analyzed to determine the effects of each treatment group. The sample size was too small to do a more detailed analysis to determine differential effects of the treatments on student gender or on different age groups.

Teaching Strategy

The teaching strategy selected for this study was labelled by Lynch (1987) as "Awareness Training". It was one of twelve approaches that teachers could use to reduce prejudice. He had strongly criticized this approach its adult-orientated character, its short-sighted, and its promotion of on-off prejudice reduction. He also admitted that awareness training did have a place in the overall

approach to teaching for prejudice reduction. He refers to it as a "first-step".

This approach was selected because it could be adapted to both the Multicultural and the Anti-racist teaching strategies. Both strategies began with the common presentation of a multiethnic piece of literature. Both strategies had follow-up discussions in which children were encouraged to express their views on particular aspects of the story. The children did the talking while the teacher guided the discussions. This approach focused on building empathy towards people who are different. The Multicultural strategy focused on cultural similarities in a positive way. The Anti-racist strategy focused on the incidents of racism as they happened in the story.

The Teacher

The Teachers obviously have an important role in any educational strategy to reduce prejudice. Their own personal beliefs and experiences are all important factors. The elementary school teachers involved in this study volunteered to help in this project as part of a school-wide initiative to address prejudice. Prior to this experiment, all the teachers had taken part in two teacher

professional development activities aimed at raising their consciousness regarding the issues of racism. From discussions prior to the experiment it was apparent that they wanted to believe that racism was not their concern. They believed that young children did not see or judge others by the color of their skin. They expressed their concern that talking about prejudice created more problems. All the teachers believed that overt racial incidents did not happen in their schools; never the less, they all could recall some incident when a child was the target of a racial slur. They did not consider these remarks racist. These incidents were usually dealt with privately, between the offender and that teacher, as an elementary teacher would with any misdemeanour.

They were all skilled teachers with many years of experience teaching these grades but they did not have any special Human and Race Relations training. They all admitted that the issue of racism made them uncomfortable and felt that this issue was best addressed in higher grades. These observations are consistent with the research done by Byrnes (1988). She concluded that adults maintain the general view children are immune to prejudice despite

the research that makes it clear children do express prejudice at an early age (e.g. Ramsey,1987).

The teachers were randomly assigned to the treatment after the story presentation.

Results

This study was designed to compare the effectiveness of Anti-racist and Multicultural teaching strategies with grade primary and one students by measuring changes in attitude as measured on a modified Bogardus Social Distance Scale. To determine whether significant attitude change towards people who had a different color skin had occurred as a result of treatment, student responses to a modified Bogardus Social Distance Scale were analyzed statistically by t-tests, and a one factor Anova. The mean scores were calculated for each treatment and control group. The minimum score of 9 represented the lowest level of prejudice. The mid scale score of 18 was a neutral level of prejudice. The maximum score of 27 represented the highest level of prejudice. The pretest mean score was 16.69. There was no significant difference between the pretest

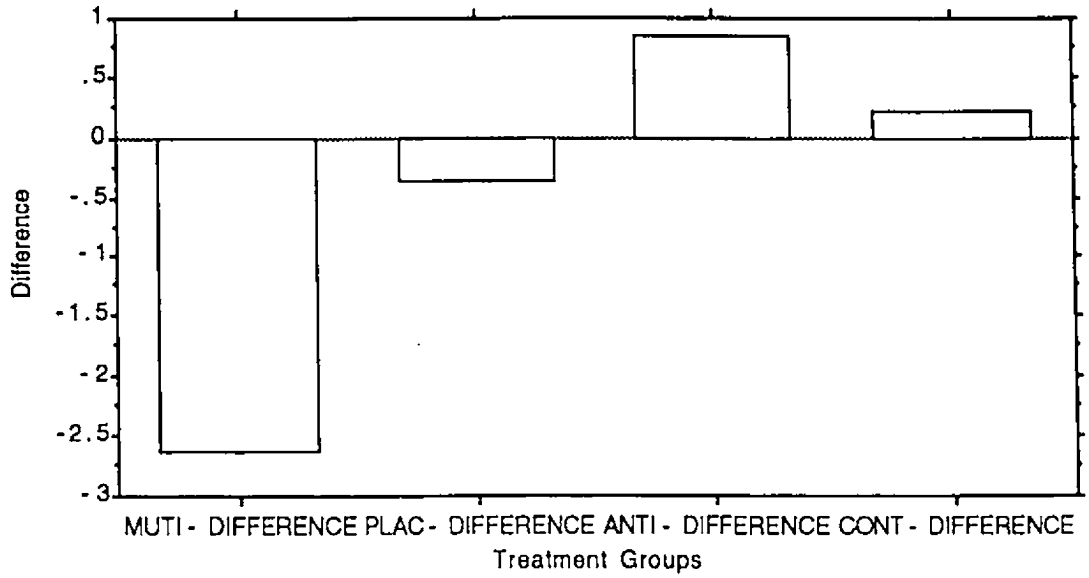
scores of the treatment and control groups. The students generally had a positive view of people of a different color.

A one factor ANOVA was done on the post-test scores of pairs of treatment groups. The multicultural group was significantly different from the Anti-racist (p=.0095, Fisher PLSD= 1.99, Scheffe F-Test= 7.28) and the control groups (p=.0521, Scheffe F-Test= 4.01). There was no significant difference between scores of the other pairs of groups.

A paired t-test of the pretest and the post-test was done for each group. The Multicultural group had a mean difference of -2.65, a paired t value of -4.43, and a two-tailed probability of .0002. The Anti-racist group had a mean difference of +0.79, a paired t value of 1.33, and a two-tailed probability of 0.1956. The placebo had a mean difference of -0.38, a paired t value of -0.63, and two-tailed probability of 0.535. The control group had a mean difference of +0.21, a paired t value of +0.23, and a two-tailed probability of 0.8221.

Table 1

Bar chart of mean difference in prejudice reduction of treatment groups



The effect size of each treatment group was calculated using this formula:

$$ES = \frac{\bar{X}_{post} - \bar{X}_{pre}}{S_{pre}}$$

ES is the effect size, $\bar{X}_{post}$ the mean of the post-test, $\bar{X}_{pre}$ the mean of the pre-test, and S_{pre} the standard deviation of the pre-test.

Table 2

Effect Size Data

Treatment	$\bar{X}$post-$\bar{X}$pre	Spre.	Effect Size
Multicultural	-2.65	2.83	.936
Anti-racist	.86	3.24	.265
Placebo	-.38	2.77	.137
Control	.21	3.73	.056

The Multicultural effect size was .936 standard deviations in the direction of prejudice reduction. The Anti-racist effect size was .265 standard deviations in the direction of increased prejudice. The Placebo effect size was .137 in the direction of prejudice reduction. The effect size of the Control was 0.056 standard deviations in the direction of increased prejudice.

An analysis of the number of yes, maybe and no answers was done for each group to determine how the shift in scores occurred. The Multicultural treatment resulted in greatest change in means

(-2.65) and the lowest level of prejudice (14.61). This effect was the result of an increase in the number of yes responses, and a decrease in the number of maybe responses (-1.04) and no responses (-.83). The Multicultural treatment resulted in the greatest levels of change in the number of yes and no responses.

The Anti-racist treatment resulted in an increase in the level of prejudice (+.86). This increase was a result of a shift of the number of yes responses (-.64) to maybe responses (+.64). This treatment produced the highest level of prejudice (17.29).

The placebo treatment resulted in a lowering of the level of prejudice (.38) resulting from a shift in the number of maybe responses (-.24) to yes responses (+.24).

There was an increase in the level of prejudice of the control treatment group (+.21). There was a shift in all the responses; yes (-.11), maybe (-.05) and no (+.16).

MULTICULTURAL SURVEY: Multicultural Results

Questions	Pre(and Post) Test Results Yes	Maybe	No
1. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to visit my country.	48%(70%)	35%(26%)	17%(4%)
2. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to live in my country.	26%(57%)	61%(30%)	13%(13%)
3. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to attend my school.	26%(57%)	74%(34%)	0%(9%)
4. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to live in my neighbourhood.	35%(65%)	30%(22%)	35%(13%)
5. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to live next door to me.	39%(61%)	26%(17%)	34%(22%)
6. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to play at my house.	44%(70%)	30%(13%)	26%(17%)
7. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to come to a party at my house.	44%(57%)	30%(30%)	26%(13%)
8. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to be my best friend.	48%(65%)	35%(18%)	17%(17%)
9. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to marry me.	13%(9%)	17%(60%)	70%(30%)

[2] These are the results for the Multicultural Treatment and they are presented in the same form as Deloris (1989).

MULTICULTURAL SURVEY: Anti-racist Results

Questions	Pre(and Post) Test Results Yes	Maybe	No
1. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to visit my country.	43%(**46%**)	46%(**43%**)	11%(**11%**)
2. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to live in my country.	50%(**29%**)	29%(**46%**)	21%(**25%**)
3. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to attend my school.	43%(**43%**)	46%(**39%**)	11%(**18%**)
4. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to live in my neighbourhood.	54%(**39%**)	21%(**39%**)	25%(**22%**)
5. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to live next door to me.	57%(**36%**)	18%(**32%**)	25%(**32%**)
6. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to play at my house.	46%(**28%**)	32%(**43%**)	22%(**28%**)
7. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to come to a party at my house.	39%(**32%**)	32%(**46%**)	29%(**21%**)
8. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to be my best friend.	29%(**7%**)	46%(**39%**)	25%(**54%**)
9. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to marry me.	15%(**9%**)	32%(**60%**)	54%(**30%**)

MULTICULTURAL SURVEY: Control Results

Questions	Pre(and Post) Test Results Yes	Maybe	No
1. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to visit my country.	53%(47%)	26%(37%)	21%(16%)
2. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to live in my country.	42%(47%)	47%(37%)	10%(16%)
3. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to attend my school.	42%(47%)	53%(53%)	5%(0%)
4. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to live in my neighbourhood.	42%(53%)	42%(26%)	16%(21%)
5. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to live next door to me.	47%(32%)	26%(47%)	26%(21%)
6. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to play at my house.	47%(42%)	16%(37%)	37%(21%)
7. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to come to a party at my house.	47%(37%)	32%(26%)	21%(37%)
8. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to be my best friend.	37%(31%)	26%(16%)	39%(53%)
9. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to marry me.	16%(21%)	21%(21%)	63%(58%)

MULTICULTURAL SURVEY: Placebo Results

Questions	Pre(and Post) Test Results Yes	Maybe	No
1. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to visit my country.	48%(76%)	38%(14%)	14%(9%)
2. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to live in my country.	52%(52%)	33%(38%)	14%(9%)
3. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to attend my school.	52%(57%)	43%(43%)	5%(15%)
4. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to live in my neighbourhood.	62%(52%)	33%(33%)	5%(15%)
5. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to live next door to me.	14%(61%)	48%(17%)	38%(22%)
6. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to play at my house.	43%(38%)	33%(43%)	24%(19%)
7. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to come to a party at my house.	62%(48%)	14%(29%)	24%(24%)
8. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to be my best friend.	19%(24%)	72%(48%)	9%(29%)
9. I would want somebody who has a different coloured skin than me to marry me.	29%(14%)	71%(24%)	0%(62%)

Discussion

Multicultural

The findings of this study indicate that the Multicultural teaching strategy is an effective method to change levels of prejudice of grade primary and one students, while the Anti-racist strategy is ineffective with this age group. The findings also raise some serious questions about the effects of Anti-racist teaching strategies at these grade levels.

The Multicultural treatment resulted in the largest shift of No answers to Yes answers; therefore, a reduction in the level of prejudice was achieved. The results of this aspect of the study are similar to the results reported by Deloris (1989) and Ijaz (1982), see table 1, except that this study found a statistically significant decrease in the scores to lower levels of prejudice. The effect size ES was -.936. The mean effect size reported by Mcgregor (1993) in a meta-analysis of Anti-racist teaching and role playing was .479 and

.419 respectively. This treatment was more effective than results reported by McGregor (1993).

The results of the Multicultural treatment confirm the work by Kehoe (1981) and Ijaz (1982) who both have emphasized the importance of maintaining a positive approach to prejudice reduction. This appears to be especially important when working with young children because emotions feature prominently when working with five- and six-year-old children. The Multicultural treatment maintained a positive tone and significant changes in attitude occurred. The large effect size of the Multicultural strategy indicates that reading stories about non-White children to young White children, and following this up with a 'positive' discussion can be an effective means of changing attitudes.

Anti-racist

The Anti-racist treatment resulted in an increase in the level of prejudice; although it was not a statistically significant one. The shift of the number of Yes answers to Maybe answers would seem to indicate that this treatment raised some doubts in the subjects. The

possible boomerang effect, as suggested by Kehoe (1984), could not be substantiated statistically; however, it could not be dismissed either. The post-test score of 17.29 was still a neutral position and not significantly different from the control group. Anti-racist treatment in this study was not effective in reducing prejudice..

The absence of any measurable change in attitudes using an Anti-racist teaching strategy may be due to several factors. One possibility discussed by McGregor (1993) was that of a delayed or "sleeper effect". A sleeper effect is a delayed change in attitudes measured by a delayed post-test. It could be possible that the Anti-racist treatment did have some effect that was not measured by this study, however unlikely that may seem.

The fact that the attitudes of the teachers involved in this study were not measured may be seen as an attempt to minimize the role of the teacher. That was not the intention of the study. It is important to recognize that their attitudes may be an important factor. These results may indicate that an Anti-racist approach was not compatible with the teacher's personal beliefs or abilities. The

teacher may need to have some special training before being able to implement effectively this approach. The effects of teacher competency and training are areas that must be investigated by researchers.

The mean effect size for the Anti-racist treatment in this study was -.265 standard deviations. Anti-racist teaching may not be appropriate for young children because of their limited cognitive ability. This is consistent with the results reported by Carrington and Short (1989). The six- to eight-year-old children in their study were not able articulate why a given situation was unjust. This study affirms Carrington's and Short's contention that some Anti-racist teaching strategies may not be appropriate for young children. The dilemma of prejudice and discrimination may be beyond the children's cognitive level of moral understanding.

According to McGregor (1993) Anti-racist teaching strategies were more effective for elementary and secondary students than they were for post-secondary students . Negative effects were reported for race relations training for adults (McGregor &

Ungerleider, 1993). The results of this study for young children and the negative results for adults suggest Anti-racist teaching is not appropriate for everyone, but the results do not preclude that there may be a time in a person's development when Anti-racist teaching strategies may be effective. Aboud (1988) argues that intervention strategies would be most effective with children who can understand the unique qualities of individuals and reconcile racial differences. He believes children develop these cognitive abilities between eight and ten years of age , but more investigation into this area is needed.

This study may be criticized on a number of levels. The overall effect of the treatments may be questioned since the duration of the treatment was only twenty-five minutes. Yet the purpose of this study was to compare the effectiveness of the two methods and was not designed to measure long term effects. This, however, would be the ultimate goal of any prejudice reduction strategy. The effects of long-term strategies is another area on which research could

focus upon; however, the time required for such a study introduces more extraneous variables in to the studies.

Kehoe (1981) recognized that intervention strategies must be modifications of what teachers typically do if the strategies are to be effective tools against racism. The results of this study are important but not because they reveal some new and improved way of doing something. On the contrary, reading of stories and the discussion of them is a daily occurrence in almost every class of five- and six-year-old children. By using multicultural materials and maintaining a positive tone teachers can influence the attitudes of young children. It would be a great leap in faith to propose that this study is a panacea for children's prejudices. The influence of this study is but one small step against the racist influence of our society. We can only imagine the effects of this step if it were taken each day that children attend school.

For those who visualize a Canadian society that is egalitarian, democratic and just, it is journey worth taking.

A journey of a thousand miles begins with the first step.

Chinese Proverb

References

Aboud, F.E. (1988). Children and prejudice. New York: Basil Blackwell Inc.

Aboud, F.E, & Doyle, A. (1993). Social and cognitive determinants of prejudice in children. Multiculturalism, 25(2/3).

Adorno, W. (1950). Applications to individuals and special groups. In T. W. Adorno, E. Frenkle-Brunswil, D. J. Levinson, and R. N. Sanford (Eds.) The authoritarian personality Vol. 2. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Adorno, W., Frenkle-Brunswil, E., Levinson, D.J., Sanford, R.N. (Eds.)(1950). The authoritarian personality Vol. 2. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Allport, G. W. (1976). The nature of prejudice. In M. Smythe (Ed.), Black American Reference Book (pp. 517-520). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice.

Allport, G. W. (1979). The nature of prejudice (25th anniversary Ed.). Reading MA: Addison-Westley.

Annis, R., & Corenblum, B. (1993). Self-esteem and identity development in White and Indian children: Implications for teacher training. Multiculturalism, 25(2/3), 9-19.

Apple, M. (1982). Education and power. Boston: Routlege and Kegan Paul.

Balch, P., & Paulsen, K. (1978). Strategies for the modification and prevention of racial prejudice in children: A review. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Psychological Association (59th), San Diego, CA (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 178 805).

Balch, P., & Paulsen, K. (1981). Methodology for the study of the development of racism. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Rocky Mountain Psychological Association, Denver, Col. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 210 412).

Bandura, A. (1977). Social learning theory. Englewood N J: Prentice-Hall Inc.

Banks, J.A. (1982, February). Reducing prejudice in students: theory, research, and strategies. A paper presented at the Kamloops

Spring Institute for Teacher Education, Faculty of Education Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia.

Banks, J.(1984). Teaching strategies for ethnic studies (3rd Ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Banks, J. A. (1986). Multicultural education and its critics: Britain and the United States. In S. Modgil, G. Verma, K Mallick, & C. Modgil. (Eds.), Multicultural education: The interminable debate, (pp. 221-222). London: Falmer Press.

Banks, J.A. (1991). Multicultural literacy and curriculum reform. Educational Horizons, 69(3), 135-140.

Bastian, A., Frucher, N., Gittell, M. Greer, C., Haskins, K. (1986). Choosing equity: The case for democratic schooling. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Bender, D. , & Leone, B. (Eds.). (1991). Racism in America, (pp. 193-200). San Diego, Ca: Greenhaven Press.

Best, D.L., Smith, S.C., Graves, D.L. , & Williams, J.E.(1975). The modification of racial bias in preschool children. Journal of Experimental Child Psychology, 20,193-205.

Beswick, R. (1990). Racism in America's schools. (Report No. EA 49). Washington, DC: Office of Education Research and Improvement (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 320 196).

Bloom, A. (1987). The closing of the American mind: How higher education has failed democracy and impoverished the souls of today's students. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Bogardus, E.M. (1959). Social distance. Los Angeles: Antioch Press.

Brandt, G. (1986). The realization of Anti-racist teaching. Philadelphia: The Falmer Press.

Brodinski, B. (1977, March). Back to basics: The movement and its meaning. Phi Delta Kappa, 58(7), 522-527.

Brown, A. (Ed.). (1972). Prejudice in children. Springfield Ill: Charles Thomas.

Bullivant, B.M. (1986). Towards racial multiculturalism: Resolving tensions in curriculum and educational planning. In S. Modgil, G. K. Verma, K. Mallick, & C. Modgil (Eds.), Multicultural

education: The interminable debate (pp. 33-48). London: Falmer Press.

Byrnes, D.J. (1985). Prejudice: Views of children and teachers in homogenous, rural school. Paper presented at the Northern Rocky Mountain Educational Research Association Conference, Jackson Hole WY., (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 270 277).

Byrnes, D.S. (1988). Children and prejudice. Social Education, 52(4), 267-271.

Byrnes, D.S., Kiger,G. (1987). Assessing racial prejudice and discrimination in modern society. A paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, Washington, DC (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 281 860).

Carrington, B. , & Short, G. (1989). Race and the primary school: Theory into practice. Windsor (England): NFER-Nelson.

Clark, K. (1955). Prejudice and your child. Boston: Beacon Press.

Clark, K., & Clark, M. (1947). Racial identification and preference in Negro children. In K. Clark (1955). Prejudice and your child. Boston: Beacon Press.

Deloris, J. (1989). Improving student's ethnic attitudes: A grade 3 multicultural education program. Multiculturalism, 12(2), 14-16.

Derman-Sparks, L., Higa, C.T., & Sparks, B. (1989). Children, race, and racism: How race awareness develops. Interracial books for children bulletin, 11(3/4). New York: Teachers College Press.

DeVries, D., Edwards, K. , & Slavin, R. (1978). Teams- games-tournaments (TGT) : A review of ten classroom experiments, Journal of Research and Development Education,12, 28-38.

D'Oyley, V., Shapson, S. (1990). Innovative multicultural teaching (pp. 17-35). Toronto: Kagan and Woo.

Driedger, L. (1983). Ethnic and minority relations. In R. Hagedorn (Ed.), Sociology (pp. 261-289). Toronto: Holt Rinehart and Winston.

Eisner, E.W. (1991). What really counts in schools. Educational Leadership,48(5), 10-17.

Fisher, F.L. (1968). Influences of reading and discussion on attitudes of fifth graders toward American Indians. Journal of Educational Research, 62,130-134.

Fleras, A., & Elliott, J.L. (1992). Multiculturalism in Canada: The challenge of diversity. Scarborough Can: Nelson.

Friesen, J. W. (1991). Multicultural education in Canada: From vision to treadmill. Multiculturalism, 14(1), 5-11.

Gimmestad, B.J., & DeChiara, E. (1982). Dramatic plays: A vehicle for prejudice reduction in elementary school. Journal of Educational Research, 76(1), 45-49.

Giroux, H. (1992). Border crossings. New York: Routledge Press.

Goodman, M.E. (1952). Race awareness in young children. London: Collier-Macmillan Ltd.

Hagedorn (Ed.). (1983). Sociology (pp. 261-289). Toronto: Holt Rinehart and Winston.

Hampton, C. (1990). Racism is serious problem for American Indians. In D. Bender and B. Leon (Eds.), Racism in America: Opposing views (p. 47). San Diego: Greenhaven Press.

Hayes, M. T. (1969). An investigation of the impact of reading on the attitudes of racial prejudice. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 123 319).

hooks, B. (1984). Feminist theory from the margin to centre. Boston: South End Press.

Houser, B.B. (1978). An examination of the use of audio-visual media in reducing prejudice. Psychology in Schools, 15, 116-121.

Ijaz, M. A. (1982). We can change our children's racial attitudes. Multiculturalism, 5(2), 11-17.

Ijaz, M. A., & Ijaz, I.H. (1981). A cultural program for changing racial attitudes. History and Social Science Teacher, 17(1), 17-20.

Kattmann, U. (1979). The attitudes of 11 year old pupils toward other people of other races. Studies in Educational Evaluation, 5(3), 243-52.

Katz, L.G. (Ed.). (1981). Current topics in early childhood education. Washington, DC: National Institute of Education.

Katz, P.A. (1976). Attitude change in children: Can the twig be straightened? In P.A. Katz (Ed.), Towards the elimination of racism (pp. 213-244). New York: Pergamon Press Inc.

Katz, P.A. (1976) (Ed.). Towards the elimination of racism (pp. 213-244). New York: Pergamon Press Inc.

Katz, P.A. (1981). Development of children's racial awareness and intergroup attitudes. In L.G. Katz (Ed.), Current topics in early childhood education. Washington, DC: National Institute of Education.

Kehoe, J.W. (1981). Effective tolls for combating racism the schools. Multiculturalism, 4(3), 3-10.

Kehoe, J.W. (1984). A handbook for enhancing the multicultural climate of the school. Vancouver: The University of British Columbia, Faculty of Education.

Kehoe, J. (1993). The limitations of multicultural and anti-racist education. Multiculturalism, 25(2/3), 3-8.

Kehoe, J. ,& Rogers, W. (1978). The effects of principal testing discussions on student attitudes towards selected groups subjected to discrimination. Canadian Journal of Education, 3(4), 73-80.

Krech, D., Crutchfield, R. S., Ballachey, E. L. (1962). Individual in society (pp. 142-160). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Krause, S. (1972). Modifying prejudice: An attitude change as a function of race of the communicator. In A. Brown (Ed.), Prejudice in Children. Springfield Ill: Charles Thomas.

Lee, E. (1985). Letters to Marcia: A teacher's guide to anti-racist education. Toronto: Cross-cultural Communications Centre.

Leon, B. (Ed.)(1986). Racism: Opposing views, (pp. 220-224). St. Paul, MN: Greenhaven Press.

Lerner, M. (1971). Observer's evaluation of a victim: Justice, guilt, and veridical perception. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 20(2), 127-133.

Lerner, M. , & Simmons, C. (1966). Observers reaction to the innocent victim: Compassion or reaction. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 4(2), 211-215.

Litcher, J.W. , & Johnson, D.W. (1969). Changes in attitudes toward Negroes of white elementary school students after the use of multiethnic readers. Journal of Educational Psychology, 60, 148-152.

Litcher, J.H., Johnson, D.W., & Ryan, F.L. (1973). Use of pictures of multiethnic interaction to change attitudes of White elementary school students towards Blacks. Psychological Reports, 33, 367-372.

Lynch, J.(1986). Multicultural education: Principals and practice.London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Lynch, J. (1987). Prejudice reduction and the schools. London: Cassell.

Marin, M. N. (1988). The effects of cross-cultural instruction on racial attitudes and ethnic preferences of selected fifth grade students. Dissertation Abstracts International, 50(30), 623A.

Massey, I. (1991). Developing anti-racist multicultural education in schools. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

McCarthy, M. M. (1993). Challenges to the public school curriculum: New targets and strategies. Phi Delta Kappa, 2, 55-59.

McGee-Banks, C. (1993). Restructuring schools for equity: What have we learned in a decade. Phi Delta Kappa, 2, 42-48.

McGregor, J. (1993). Effectiveness of role playing and Anti-racist teaching in reducing student prejudice. Journal of Educational Research,86(4),215-226.

McGregor, J., Ungerleider, C. (1993). Multicultural and racism awareness programs for teachers: A meta-analysis of the research. Multiculturalism, 25(2/3), 59-63.

McLean, R., & Young, J. (1988). Multicultural anti-racist education: A manual for primary schools. Great Britain: Longman Group Resources Unit.

McLeod, K. A. (Ed.). (1987). Multicultural education: A partnership (pp. 7-11). Toronto: Canadian Council for Multicultural and Intercultural Education.

McPhie, J. (1989). Attitude change through cultural immersion: A fourth grade enrichment curriculum. In S. V. Morris (Ed.), Multicultural and intercultural education: Building Canada, (pp. 217-230). Calgary, Alberta: Canadian Council for Multicultural and Intercultural Education.

Mendez, P. (1989). The black snowman. New York: Scholastic

Milner, D. (1987). Children and racism, (pp. 171-177). In K. McLeod (Ed.). Multicultural education: A partnership. Toronto: Canadian Council for Multicultural and Intercultural Education.

Modgil, S., Verma, G., Mallick, K., Modgil,C. (Eds.). (1986). Multicultural education: The interminable debate, (pp. 221-222). London: Falmer Press.

Morris, S.V. (Ed.). (1989). Multicultural and intercultural education: Building Canada, (pp. 217-230). Calgary, Alberta: Canadian Council for Multicultural and Intercultural Education.

Mukherjee, A. (1988). From racist to anti-racist education: A synoptic view. Unpublished manuscript.

Pate, G.S. (1981,Jan.). Research on prejudice reduction. Educational Leadership, pp. 288-91.

Pate, G.S. (1988, April/May). Research on reducing prejudice. Social Education, pp. 287-289.

Piaget, J. (1965). The child's conception of the world. New York: Humanities Press.

Pine, G. J., & Asa, A. I. (1991). Schools should emphasize ethnicity. In D. Bender and B. Leone (Eds.), Racism in America (pp. 193-200). San Diego, Ca: Greenhaven Press.

Porter, J. (1971). Black child White child: The development of racial attitudes. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Ramcharan, S. (1988). The role of education in multi-racial Canada. Multiculturalism, 11(2), 23-27.

Ramsey, P. (1987). Teaching and learning in a diverse world: Multicultural education for young children. New York: Teacher's College, Columbia University.

Redden, G. (1990). Multicultural education in Atlantic Canada. Multiculturalism, 13(1).

Reitz, J.G., Brenton, R. (1994). The illusion of difference. Ottawa: C.D. Howe Institute.

Roger, J. (1973). The measurement of prejudice. In P. Watson (Ed.), Psychology and Race (pp. 51-52). Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co.

Ruiz, A. J. (1982). Modifying racial attitudes of second graders in a multicultural setting using a curriculum approach. (Practicum Report). Nova University (Eric Document Reproduction Service No. ED 248 991).

Selby, D.E. (1993). Education for a multicultural society: The UK experience. Multiculturalism, 25(2/3), 64-72.

Shanahan, J.K. (1972). The effects of modifying black-white concept attitudes of black and white first grader subjects upon two measures of racial attitude (Doctoral dissertation, University of Washington, 1971). Dissertation Abstracts International, 33(5), 2181A.

Shor, I. (1987). A pedagogy for liberation: Dialogues on transforming education. South Hadley, MA: Bergin and Garvey.

Sillars, L. (1994, Feb.). Great hopes for charter schools. Alberta Report, p. 41.

Singh, J.M. , & Yancy, A.V. (1974). Racial attitudes in white first grade children. The Journal of Educational Research, 67, 370-372.

Slavin, R.E. (1980). Co-operative learning. Review of Educational Research, 50, 315-42.

Sleeter, C., Grant, C. (1988). Making choices for multicultural education: Five approaches to Race, class, and gender. Columbus: Bell and Howell.

Smythe, M. (Ed.). Black American Reference Book (pp. 517-520). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice.

Sniderman, P.M., et al (1991). Political culture and the problem of standards: Mass and elite attitudes toward language rights in Canadian charter of rights and freedoms. Canadian Journal of Political Science, 22(2), 259-284.

Thomas, B. (1984). Principals of anti-racist education. Currents: Reading in race relations,2, 20-24.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (1951). No race is superior. In B. Leone (Ed.), Racism: Opposing views (pp. 220-224). St. Paul, MN: Greenhaven Press.

Upshaw, R. (1992). Education: the Black experience. Racism and education: Different perspectives and experiences (pp. 103-105). Ottawa: Canadian Teachers' Federation.

Watson, P. (Ed.)(1973). Psychology and race (pp. 51-52). Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co.

Williams, J., & Morland, J. (1976). Race color and the young child. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.

White, P.M. (1990). Ethnic diversity in Canada: 1986 census of Canada. Ottawa: Canadian Government Publishing Centre.

York, S. (1991). Roots and wings: Affirming culture in early childhood programs. St. Paul Min: Readleaf Press.

Appendices

(A) One Factor ANOVA

(B) Paired t Results

(C) Pretest Statistics

(D) Post-test Statistics

(E) Analysis of Responses

(F) Student Responses

Appendix A One Factor ANOVA

Prejudice Reduction Grade Primary & Grade One

Multicultural and Anti-racist

One Factor ANOVA X_1 : TREATMENT Y_1 : SUM POST

Analysis of Variance Table

Source:	DF:	Sum Squares:	Mean Square:	F-test:
Between groups	1	90.49	90.49	7.28
Within groups	49	609.19	12.43	p = .0095
Total	50	699.69		

Model II estimate of between component variance = 3.09

One Factor ANOVA X_1 : TREATMENT Y_1 : SUM POST

Group:	Count:	Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:
MUTI	23	14.61	3.69	.77
ANTI	28	17.29	3.39	.64

One Factor ANOVA X_1 : TREATMENT Y_1 : SUM POST

Comparison:	Mean Diff.:	Fisher PLSD:	Scheffe F-test:	Dunnett t:
MUTI vs. ANTI	-2.68	1.99*	7.28*	2.7

* Significant at 95%

Prejudice Reduction Grade Primary & Grade One

Multicultural and Placebo

One Factor ANOVA X_1: TREATMENT Y_1: SUM POST

Analysis of Variance Table

Source:	DF:	Sum Squares:	Mean Square:	F-test:
Between groups	1	25.84	25.84	1.77
Within groups	42	614.05	14.62	p = .1909
Total	43	639.89		

Model II estimate of between component variance = .51

One Factor ANOVA X_1: TREATMENT Y_1: SUM POST

Group:	Count:	Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:
MUTI	23	14.61	3.69	.77
PLAC	21	16.14	3.97	.87

One Factor ANOVA X_1: TREATMENT Y_1: SUM POST

Comparison:	Mean Diff.:	Fisher PLSD:	Scheffe F-test:	Dunnett t:
MUTI vs. PLAC	-1.53	2.33	1.77	1.33

Prejudice Reduction Grade Primary & Grade One

Multicultural and Control

One Factor ANOVA X_1 : TREATMENT Y_1 : SUM POST

Analysis of Variance Table

Source:	DF:	Sum Squares:	Mean Square:	F-test:
Between groups	1	51.9	51.9	4.01
Within groups	40	518	12.95	p = .0521
Total	41	569.9		

Model II estimate of between component variance = 1.87

One Factor ANOVA X_1 : TREATMENT Y_1 : SUM POST

Group:	Count:	Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:
MUTI	23	14.61	3.69	.77
CONT	19	16.84	3.48	.8

One Factor ANOVA X_1 : TREATMENT Y_1 : SUM POST

Comparison:	Mean Diff.:	Fisher PLSD:	Scheffe F-test:	Dunnett t:
MUTI vs. CONT	-2.23	2.26	4.01 *	2

* Significant at 95%

Prejudice Reduction Grade Primary & Grade One

Placebo and Anti-racist

One Factor ANOVA X_1 : TREATMENT Y_1 : SUM POST

Analysis of Variance Table

Source:	DF:	Sum Squares:	Mean Square:	F-test:
Between groups	1	15.67	15.67	1.18
Within groups	47	624.29	13.28	p = .2829
Total	48	639.96		

Model II estimate of between component variance = .1

One Factor ANOVA X_1 : TREATMENT Y_1 : SUM POST

Group:	Count:	Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:
PLAC	21	16.14	3.97	.87
ANTI	28	17.29	3.39	.64

One Factor ANOVA X_1 : TREATMENT Y_1 : SUM POST

Comparison:	Mean Diff.:	Fisher PLSD:	Scheffe F-test:	Dunnett t:
PLAC vs. ANTI	-1.14	2.12	1.18	1.09

Prejudice Reduction Grade Primary & Grade One

Placebo and Control

One Factor ANOVA X_1 : TREATMENT Y_1 : SUM POST

Analysis of Variance Table

Source:	DF:	Sum Squares:	Mean Square:	F-test:
Between groups	1	4.88	4.88	.35
Within groups	38	533.1	14.03	p = .5589
Total	39	537.97		

Model II estimate of between component variance = -.46

One Factor ANOVA X_1 : TREATMENT Y_1 : SUM POST

Group:	Count:	Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:
PLAC	21	16.14	3.97	.87
CONT	19	16.84	3.48	.8

One Factor ANOVA X_1 : TREATMENT Y_1 : SUM POST

Comparison:	Mean Diff.:	Fisher PLSD:	Scheffe F-test:	Dunnett t:
PLAC vs. CONT	-.7	2.4	.35	.59

Prejudice Reduction Grade Primary & Grade One

Anti-racist and Control

One Factor ANOVA X_1 : TREATMENT Y_1 : SUM POST

Analysis of Variance Table

Source:	DF:	Sum Squares:	Mean Square:	F-test:
Between groups	1	2.23	2.23	.19
Within groups	45	528.24	11.74	p = .6652
Total	46	530.47		

Model II estimate of between component variance = -.42

One Factor ANOVA X_1 : TREATMENT Y_1 : SUM POST

Group:	Count:	Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:
ANTI	28	17.29	3.39	.64
CONT	19	16.84	3.48	.8

One Factor ANOVA X_1 : TREATMENT Y_1 : SUM POST

Comparison:	Mean Diff.:	Fisher PLSD:	Scheffe F-test:	Dunnett t:
ANTI vs. CONT	.44	2.05	.19	.44

Appendix B Paired t Results

Prejudice Reduction Grade Primary & Grade One

Paired t Test Results

Paired t-Test X_1: MUTI - SUM POST Y_1: MUTI - SUM PRE

DF:	Mean X - Y:	Paired t value:	Prob. (2-tail):
22	-2.65	-4.43	.0002

Note: 5 cases deleted with missing values.

Paired t-Test X_2: ANTI - SUM POST Y_2: ANTI - SUM PRE

DF:	Mean X - Y:	Paired t value:	Prob. (2-tail):
27	.86	1.33	.1956

Paired t-Test X_3: PLAC - SUM POST Y_3: PLAC - SUM PRE

DF:	Mean X - Y:	Paired t value:	Prob. (2-tail):
20	-.38	-.63	.535

Note: 7 cases deleted with missing values

Paired t-Test X_4: CONT - SUM POST Y_4: CONT - SUM PRE

DF:	Mean X - Y:	Paired t value:	Prob. (2-tail):
18	.21	.23	.8221

Note: 9 cases deleted with missing values.

Appendix C Pretest Statistics

Prejudice Reduction Grade Primary & One

Pretest Statistics

X_1: MUTI - SUM PRE

Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:	Variance:	Coef. Var.:	Count:
17.26	2.83	.59	8.02	16.41	23
Minimum:	**Maximum:**	**Range:**	**Sum:**	**Sum of Sqr.:**	**# Missing:**
13	26	13	397	7029	5

X_3: ANTI - SUM PRE

Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:	Variance:	Coef. Var.:	Count:
16.43	3.24	.61	10.48	19.7	28
Minimum:	**Maximum:**	**Range:**	**Sum:**	**Sum of Sqr.:**	**# Missing:**
12	23	11	460	7840	0

X_2: PLAC - SUM PRE

Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:	Variance:	Coef. Var.:	Count:
16.52	2.77	.6	7.66	16.75	21
Minimum:	**Maximum:**	**Range:**	**Sum:**	**Sum of Sqr.:**	**# Missing:**
12	22	10	347	5887	7

X_4: CONT - SUM PRE

Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:	Variance:	Coef. Var.:	Count:
16.63	3.73	.86	13.91	22.43	19
Minimum:	**Maximum:**	**Range:**	**Sum:**	**Sum of Sqr.:**	**# Missing:**
9	25	16	316	5506	9

Appendix D Post-test Statistics

Prejudice Reduction Grade Primary & Grade One

Post-test Statistics

X_1: MUTI - SUM POST

Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:	Variance:	Coef. Var.:	Count:
14.61	3.69	.77	13.61	25.26	23
Minimum:	**Maximum:**	**Range:**	**Sum:**	**Sum of Sqr.:**	**# Missing:**
9	22	13	336	5208	5

X_3: ANTI - SUM POST

Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:	Variance:	Coef. Var.:	Count:
17.29	3.39	.64	11.47	19.59	28
Minimum:	**Maximum:**	**Range:**	**Sum:**	**Sum of Sqr.:**	**# Missing:**
13	24	11	484	8676	0

X_2: PLAC - SUM POST

Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:	Variance:	Coef. Var.:	Count:
16.14	3.97	.87	15.73	24.57	21
Minimum:	**Maximum:**	**Range:**	**Sum:**	**Sum of Sqr.:**	**# Missing:**
11	25	14	339	5787	7

X_4: CONT - SUM POST

Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:	Variance:	Coef. Var.:	Count:
16.84	3.48	.8	12.14	20.69	19
Minimum:	**Maximum:**	**Range:**	**Sum:**	**Sum of Sqr.:**	**# Missing:**
11	22	11	320	5608	9

Appendix E An Analysis of Responses

Prejudice Reduction Grade Primary & Grade One

Analysis of the number of Yes, Maybe and No answers

X_1: Multicultural Post-Pre # Yes

Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:	Variance:	Coef. Var.:	Count:
1.87	2.36	.49	5.57	126.27	23
Minimum:	**Maximum:**	**Range:**	**Sum:**	**Sum of Sqr.:**	**# Missing:**
-2	8	10	43	203	5

X_2: Multicultural Post- Pre # Maybe

Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:	Variance:	Coef. Var.:	Count:
-1.04	2.64	.55	6.95	-252.69	23
Minimum:	**Maximum:**	**Range:**	**Sum:**	**Sum of Sqr.:**	**# Missing:**
-9	3	12	-24	178	5

X_3: Multicultural Post- Pre #No

Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:	Variance:	Coef. Var.:	Count:
-.83	1.4	.29	1.97	-169.84	23
Minimum:	**Maximum:**	**Range:**	**Sum:**	**Sum of Sqr.:**	**# Missing:**
-4	1	5	-19	59	5

X_4: Anti-racist Post -Pre #Yes

Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:	Variance:	Coef. Var.:	Count:
-.64	1.77	.33	3.13	-275.07	28
Minimum:	**Maximum:**	**Range:**	**Sum:**	**Sum of Sqr.:**	**# Missing:**
-5	3	8	-18	96	0

X_5: Anti-racist Post- Pre # Maybe

Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:	Variance:	Coef. Var.:	Count:
.64	2.15	.41	4.61	333.94	28
Minimum:	**Maximum:**	**Range:**	**Sum:**	**Sum of Sqr.:**	**# Missing:**
-3	8	11	18	136	0

X_6: Anti-racist Post- Pre *No

Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:	Variance:	Coef. Var.:	Count:
0	2.21	.42	4.89	•	28
Minimum:	**Maximum:**	**Range:**	**Sum:**	**Sum of Sqr.:**	*** Missing:**
-7	6	13	0	132	0

X_7: Placebo Post- Pre * yes

Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:	Variance:	Coef. Var.:	Count:
.24	1.45	.32	2.09	607.26	21
Minimum:	**Maximum:**	**Range:**	**Sum:**	**Sum of Sqr.:**	*** Missing:**
-3	2	5	5	43	7

X_8: Placebo Post- Pre *Maybe

Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:	Variance:	Coef. Var.:	Count:
-.24	1.76	.38	3.09	-738.35	21
Minimum:	**Maximum:**	**Range:**	**Sum:**	**Sum of Sqr.:**	*** Missing:**
-4	4	8	-5	63	7

X_9: Placebo Post-Pre * No

Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:	Variance:	Coef. Var.:	Count:
0	1.76	.38	3.1	•	21
Minimum:	**Maximum:**	**Range:**	**Sum:**	**Sum of Sqr.:**	*** Missing:**
-3	4	7	0	62	7

X_{10}: Control Post- Pre * Yes

Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:	Variance:	Coef. Var.:	Count:
-.11	3	.69	8.99	-2848.15	19
Minimum:	**Maximum:**	**Range:**	**Sum:**	**Sum of Sqr.:**	*** Missing:**
-9	4	13	-2	162	9

X_{11}: Control Post- Pre * Maybe

Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:	Variance:	Coef. Var.:	Count:
-.05	3.01	.69	9.05	-5716.64	19
Minimum:	**Maximum:**	**Range:**	**Sum:**	**Sum of Sqr.:**	*** Missing:**
-6	9	15	-1	163	9

X_{12}: Control Post- Pre *No

Mean:	Std. Dev.:	Std. Error:	Variance:	Coef. Var.:	Count:
.16	1.86	.43	3.47	1180.4	19
Minimum:	**Maximum:**	**Range:**	**Sum:**	**Sum of Sqr.:**	*** Missing:**
-4	4	8	3	63	9

Appendix F Student Responses

	NAME	GRADE	Q1 SCH	Q2 NE!	Q3 NEH	Q4 U...	Q5 L...	Q6 P...	Q7 PA...	Q8 BE...	Q9 M...	GR...
1	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	3	2	1	ONE
2	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	3	1	2	1	ONE
3	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	ONE
4	4	1	2	1	3	2	1	2	1	3	3	ONE
5	5	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	3	ONE
6	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	ONE
7	7	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	ONE
8	8	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	ONE
9	9	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	ONE
10	10	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	ONE
11	11	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	3	ONE
12	12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	3	ONE
13	13	1	1	1	3	1	2	1	1	2	2	ONE
14	14	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	3	ONE
15	15	1	1	2	1	2	3	1	2	3	2	ONE
16	16	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	ONE
17	17	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	3	ONE
18	18	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	ONE
19	19	1	2	2	3	1	2	1	1	1	3	ONE
20	20	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	ONE
21	21	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	2	ONE
22	22	1	2	1	1	1	1	3	1	2	3	ONE
23	23	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	ONE
24	24	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	3	ONE
25	25	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	1	2	3	ONE
26	26	1	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	ONE
27	27	1	1	1	2	3	1	3	1	2	3	ONE
28	29	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	ONE
29	30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	ONE
30	31	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	3	3	3	ONE
31	32	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	ONE
32	33	1	1	1	3	1	1	3	2	2	3	ONE
33	34	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	ONE
34	35	1	1	1	3	2	2	2	3	1	3	ONE
35	36	1	2	1	3	1	1	2	3	3	3	ONE
36	37	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	3	2	ONE
37	38	1	2	2	3	2	2	3	3	2	3	ONE
38	39	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	2	2	3	ONE
39	40	1	2	3	3	1	2	1	1	3	3	ONE
40	41	1	3	1	3	1	3	1	3	1	3	ONE
41	42	1	1	2	3	1	2	3	3	2	3	ONE
42	43	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	3	ONE

	NAME	GRADE	Q1 SCH	Q2 NEI	Q3 NEA	Q4 U...	Q5 L...	Q6 P...	Q7 PA...	Q8 BE...	Q9 M...	GR...
43	44	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	ONE
44	45	1	1	2	1	3	2	1	1	1	3	ONE
45	46	0	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	1	3	ONE
46	47	0	2	3	2	1	1	2	3	3	3	P...
47	48	0	2	1	3	2	1	2	1	2	3	P...
48	49	0	2	3	3	3	2	3	2	1	1	P...
49	50	0	2	2	3	3	2	3	2	1	2	P...
50	51	0	2	1	1	3	1	3	1	3	1	P...
51	52	0	2	1	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	P...
52	53	0	2	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	P...
53	54	0	3	3	1	1	3	3	3	3	3	P...
54	55	0	2	2	1	3	1	3	3	2	2	P...
55	56	0	1	1	3	2	2	2	2	2	3	P...
56	57	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	P...
57	58	0	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	P...
58	59	0	1	2	1	3	2	1	3	1	3	P...
59	60	0	2	1	1	1	1	2	3	2	2	P...
60	61	0	2	1	2	3	1	2	2	1	3	P...
61	62	0	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	P...
62	63	0	2	1	2	2	1	2	3	1	3	P...
63	64	0	1	2	3	2	3	2	1	2	3	P...
64	65	0	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	3	P...
65	66	0	2	3	1	1	2	1	1	1	3	P...
66	67	0	1	3	3	3	2	1	2	1	2	P...
67	68	0	2	1	1	3	3	3	1	1	3	P...
68	69	0	2	3	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	P...
69	70	0	2	3	1	1	3	1	1	2	3	P...
70	71	0	2	2	2	3	3	2	1	3	3	P...
71	72	0	2	1	2	3	2	1	1	2	3	P...
72	73	0	2	2	1	3	1	2	1	1	2	P...
73	74	0	2	2	2	3	1	1	3	3	1	P...
74	75	0	1	1	3	1	3	1	1	2	3	P...
75	76	0	1	3	2	1	2	3	2	3	3	P...
76	77	0	1	1	3	3	3	3	3	1	2	P...
77	78	0	3	2	1	3	2	1	2	1	3	P...
78	79	0	2	1	3	1	1	1	2	3	1	P...
79	80	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	P...
80	81	0	3	3	1	3	2	3	2	2	3	P...
81	82	0	2	3	3	1	1	2	1	3	3	P...
82	83	0	2	3	3	2	2	3	2	3	2	P...
83	84	0	1	1	2	3	2	3	1	2	3	P...
84	85	0	1	2	1	1	2	3	1	2	3	P...

	NAME	GRADE	Q1 SCH	Q2 NEI	Q3 NEI	Q4 U...	Q5 L...	Q6 P...	Q7 PA...	Q8 BE...	Q9 M...	GR...
85	86	0	1	2	1	3	2	1	1	1	1	P...
86	87	0	2	1	2	1	3	1	3	3	3	P...
87	88	0	2	3	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	P...
88	89	0	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	1	P...
89	90	0	1	1	2	1	2	1	3	1	3	P...
90	91	0	1	3	2	1	2	1	3	3	3	P...
91	92	0	1	3	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	P...
92	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
93	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•

	GEN...	1B	2B	3B	4B	5B	6B	7B	8B	9B	N	TREATM...	#yes	# m...
1	FE...	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	MUTI	2	6
2	FE...	1	1	2	2	1	2	3	3	3	2	CONT	5	3
3	FE...	2	1	2	1	2	3	2	1	3	3	ANTI	4	4
4	M...	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	3	4	ANTI	3	3
5	FE...	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	3	5	CONT	4	4
6	FE...	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	3	6	ANTI	6	2
7	FE...	1	2	2	1	1	3	1	3	2	7	ANTI	5	3
8	M...	3	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	8	ANTI	5	4
9	M...	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	9	ANTI	4	5
10	FE...	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	10	MUTI	5	4
11	M...	2	2	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	11	ANTI	4	4
12	FE...	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	12	CONT	6	1
13	M...	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	13	PLAC	5	3
14	FE...	2	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	3	14	MUTI	6	2
15	M...	1	1	1	3	2	1	3	3	3	15	CONT	3	4
16	M...	2	2	3	2	1	3	3	3	3	16	CONT	4	4
17	FE...	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	3	17	ANTI	6	2
18	M...	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	18	CONT	5	4
19	M...	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	19	MUTI	4	3
20	M...	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	20	PLAC	4	5
21	FE...	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	3	3	21	PLAC	5	4
22	FE...	2	3	2	1	1	2	2	3	3	22	CONT	5	2
23	M...	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	23	PLAC	6	2
24	M...	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	24	ANTI	5	3
25	FE...	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	25	PLAC	4	4
26	M...	3	3	3	2	1	3	1	3	3	26	MUTI	0	1
27	FE...	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	3	27	PLAC	4	2
28	FE...	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	29	PLAC	6	3
29	FE...	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	30	CONT	7	1
30	M...	2	2	2	1	2	3	3	3	3	31	CONT	2	3
31	FE...	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	3	32	PLAC	4	5
32	M...	2	2	3	1	2	2	2	2	3	33	PLAC	4	2
33	M...	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	34	MUTI	0	9
34	M...	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	3	1	35	PLAC	3	3
35	M...	2	1	3	1	1	3	3	3	3	36	MUTI	3	2
36	M...	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	3	37	ANTI	2	6
37	FE...	3	3	2	1	1	2	3	2	3	38	PLAC	0	5
38	FE...	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	3	39	MUTI	2	5
39	FE...	1	3	3	1	1	3	2	2	3	40	MUTI	3	2
40	M...	2	1	3	1	1	3	3	3	3	41	PLAC	4	0
41	M...	1	2	3	1	3	3	2	3	3	42	MUTI	2	3
42	FE...	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	43	PLAC	4	4

	GEN...	1B	2B	3B	4B	5B	6B	7B	8B	9B	N	TREATM...	#yes	# m...
43	M...	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	44	PLAC	5	4
44	FE...	2	1	2	2	3	1	1	1	3	45	ANTI	5	2
45	M...	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	3	1	46	CONT	4	2
46	M...	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	47	PLAC	2	3
47	FE...	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	3	3	48	PLAC	3	4
48	M...	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	49	MUTI	2	3
49	M...	2	1	2	1	2	1	3	1	3	50	CONT	1	5
50	M...	3	3	3	1	3	3	3	1	3	51	ANTI	5	1
51	FE...	3	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	52	ANTI	1	4
52	FE...	2	3	2	1	1	2	2	3	3	53	CONT	0	2
53	M...	1	1	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	54	ANTI	2	0
54	FE...	1	3	1	2	3	3	1	3	3	55	ANTI	2	4
55	M...	2	1	3	2	1	3	3	2	3	56	CONT	2	5
56	M...	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	57	CONT	9	0
57	M...	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	58	ANTI	3	5
58	M...	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	3	59	MUTI	4	2
59	FE...	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	60	ANTI	4	4
60	M...	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	3	61	MUTI	3	4
61	M...	1	1	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	62	PLAC	3	3
62	FE...	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	1	2	63	MUTI	3	4
63	M...	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	64	PLAC	2	4
64	FE...	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	3	65	PLAC	4	4
65	FE...	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	66	MUTI	5	2
66	M...	2	2	3	1	2	1	1	1	3	67	ANTI	3	3
67	M...	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	3	2	68	MUTI	4	1
68	FE...	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	69	MUTI	3	5
69	M...	3	3	1	1	2	1	3	1	3	70	MUTI	4	2
70	M...	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3	71	PLAC	1	4
71	M...	2	1	1	2	3	1	2	1	3	72	MUTI	3	3
72	FE...	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	73	MUTI	4	4
73	M...	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	3	1	74	CONT	2	6
74	M...	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	3	75	ANTI	3	3
75	M...	2	1	1	1	2	2	3	2	2	76	MUTI	2	3
76	M...	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	1	77	ANTI	3	1
77	M...	2	3	2	2	2	3	2	3	2	78	CONT	3	3
78	M...	2	1	2	1	2	1	3	2	2	79	ANTI	5	2
79	M...	2	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	2	80	ANTI	5	4
80	M...	2	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	2	81	ANTI	1	3
81	M...	1	2	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	82	CONT	3	2
82	FE...	2	3	2	3	3	2	2	1	2	83	CONT	0	5
83	FE...	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	84	PLAC	3	3
84	FE...	2	2	3	3	3	1	1	1	2	85	MUTI	4	3

											N	TREATM...	#yes	# m...
85	FE...	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	86	MUTI	6	2
86	M...	2	2	3	1	1	1	2	1	3	87	ANTI	3	2
87	M...	1	2	1	1	2	2	3	2	2	88	ANTI	5	3
88	M...	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	89	ANTI	2	0
89	FE...	1	2	3	1	3	1	1	3	1	90	CONT	5	2
90	M...	3	1	3	2	1	3	2	3	3	91	ANTI	3	2
91	M...	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	92	ANTI	5	3
92	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
93	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•

	# no	#YESP	#M...	#N...	SUM PRE	SUM POST	Difference P...
1	1	8	0	1	17	11	-6
2	1	3	3	3	14	18	4
3	1	3	4	2	15	17	2
4	3	5	3	1	18	14	-4
5	1	3	5	1	15	16	1
6	1	3	5	1	13	16	3
7	1	4	3	2	14	16	2
8	0	4	4	1	13	15	2
9	0	5	4	0	14	13	-1
10	0	8	1	0	13	10	-3
11	1	3	5	1	15	16	1
12	2	8	0	1	14	11	-3
13	1	7	2	0	14	11	-3
14	1	4	4	1	13	15	2
15	2	4	1	4	17	18	1
16	1	1	3	5	15	22	7
17	1	5	3	1	13	14	1
18	0	7	2	0	13	11	-2
19	2	8	0	1	16	11	-5
20	0	5	4	0	14	13	-1
21	0	3	4	2	13	17	4
22	2	2	4	3	15	19	4
23	1	6	2	1	13	13	0
24	1	3	6	0	14	15	1
25	1	5	3	1	15	14	-1
26	8	2	1	6	26	22	-4
27	3	5	3	1	17	14	-3
28	0	5	4	0	12	13	1
29	1	8	0	1	12	11	-1
30	4	1	4	4	20	21	1
31	0	5	3	1	14	14	0
32	3	1	6	2	17	19	2
33	0	8	0	1	18	11	-7
34	3	4	4	1	18	15	-3
35	4	3	1	5	19	20	1
36	1	4	4	1	17	15	-2
37	4	2	3	4	22	20	-2
38	2	4	4	1	18	15	-3
39	4	3	2	4	19	19	0
40	5	3	1	5	19	20	1
41	4	2	2	5	20	21	1
42	1	6	3	0	15	12	-3

	# no	#YESP	#M...	#N...	SUM PRE	SUM POST	Difference P...
43	0	5	4	0	13	13	0
44	2	4	3	2	15	16	1
45	3	6	1	2	17	14	-3
46	4	4	3	2	20	16	-4
47	2	4	3	2	17	16	-1
48	4	7	2	0	20	11	-9
49	3	4	3	2	20	16	-4
50	3	2	0	7	16	23	7
51	4	4	1	4	21	18	-3
52	7	2	4	3	25	19	-6
53	7	2	1	6	23	22	-1
54	3	3	1	5	19	20	1
55	2	2	3	4	18	20	2
56	0	0	9	0	9	18	9
57	1	1	8	0	12	17	5
58	3	4	4	1	17	15	-2
59	1	5	4	0	15	13	-2
60	2	7	1	1	17	12	-5
61	3	2	3	4	18	20	2
62	2	4	5	0	17	14	-3
63	3	0	2	7	19	25	6
64	1	5	3	1	15	14	-1
65	2	7	1	1	15	12	-3
66	3	4	3	2	18	16	-2
67	4	4	4	1	18	15	-3
68	1	5	4	0	16	13	-3
69	3	4	1	4	17	18	1
70	4	1	0	8	21	25	4
71	3	4	3	2	17	16	-1
72	1	6	3	0	15	12	-3
73	1	6	0	3	18	15	-3
74	3	4	4	1	18	15	-3
75	4	3	5	1	20	16	-4
76	5	1	1	7	20	24	4
77	3	0	6	3	18	21	3
78	2	3	5	1	15	16	1
79	0	0	3	6	13	24	11
80	5	0	3	6	22	24	2
81	4	5	3	1	19	14	-5
82	4	1	5	3	22	20	-2
83	3	3	6	0	18	15	-3
84	2	3	3	3	16	18	2

	# no	#YESP	#M...	#N...	SUM PRE	SUM POST	Difference P...
85	1	9	0	0	13	9	-4
86	4	4	3	2	19	16	-3
87	1	3	5	1	14	16	2
88	7	1	8	0	23	17	-6
89	2	5	1	3	15	16	1
90	4	2	2	5	19	21	2
91	1	4	4	1	14	15	1
92	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
93	•	•	•	•	•	•	•