

COMBATING EVERYDAY RACIAL DISCRIMINATION WITHOUT ASSUMING RACISTS OR RACISM: NEW INTERVENTION IDEAS FROM A CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT: The aim of this paper is to open up new forms of intervention against everyday racially discriminating practices by analyzing more specific and localised interventions. It is first argued that conceptualising the area in the abstract terms of 'racists' who possess 'racism' is not fruitful, and a variety of reasons for this are provided. Several common situations that have been researched for everyday racial discrimination are then reviewed for the specific practices that have been found. These practices, in turn, are given very diverse analyses (Guerin, 2004) of their possible functions, to assuage readers against seeking only the most obvious 'cause'. In particular, it is emphasised that many practices can be done with 'good intentions' and that those cases need to be conceptualised differently from those with 'intent'. Finally, a variety of possible intervention goals are provided to deal with each strategy that arises in particular contexts to produce the racially discriminating practices. All the suggestions provided are meant as guides only and more detailed research documenting the full contexts for discriminatory practices is urged to guide our future interventions instead of trying just to globally 'raise awareness' of other cultures.

Key Words: racism, racists, interventions, discrimination, social analysis, essentialism

Racism and racial discrimination plague our world and bring unnecessary hardship to those affected. With limited resources and large populations in this world there will always be conflict but there is no need for those conflicts to be violent, and it is further gratuitous for those conflicts to be drawn out along racial divides (Guerin, 2002, 2004).

There have been many approaches to understanding racism and racially discriminating practices and many attempts at preventing or stopping them, across a range of disciplines (e. g., Akrami, Ekehammar & Araya, 2000; Allan & Allan, 2000; Aronson & Patnoe, 1997; ATSIC, 1998; Briggs & Paulson, 1996; Brzuzy, 1998; Cropley, 2002; Donovan & Lievers, 1993; Fernández-Caliences, 1995; Graves, 1999; Hewstone, 1996; Katz & Zalk, 1978; Lamont, Morning & Mooney, 2002; Liebkind & McAlister, 1999; Lindsley, 1998; Pulido, 2000; Reid & Holland, 1996; Sandhu & Aspy, 1997; Slone, Tarrasch & Hallis, 2000; Vrij & Smith, 1999; Wetherell & Potter, 1992; Zajicek, 2002). It is not the aim of this paper is to review these. They include all levels of interventions such as one-on-one counselling against holding prejudice views, school and

¹ This work was supported by grants from the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology (UOWX0203, *Strangers in Town: Enhancing Family and Community in a More Diverse New Zealand Society*) and the University of Waikato. I would like to thank Abdirizak Abdi, Roda Omar Diiriye, Emma Wood and Pauline Guerin for their helpful discussions about the reality of racist talk and the reviewers for helpful comments. Correspondence to: Dr. Bernard Guerin, Department of Psychology, University of Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand. Email: bguerin@waikato.ac.nz

community interventions, media campaigns, and political awareness raising (Guerin, 2005).

Such efforts are many and varied but the starting point for this paper is that the evidence that they are effective or have a lasting effect is not strong (Hill & Augoustinos, 2001; Kiselica, Maben & Locke, 1999; Pedersen, Walker & Wise, 2005). The question for this paper is how to open up some new approaches to intervention that allow new possibilities in handling such problems. The paper will not come up with *the* answer but endeavor to broaden the horizons of what might be tried. Suggestions will be made but these must be taken as suggestions only, and interventions assessed to confirm or adapt them.

One further limit to this paper is that only “everyday” or “mundane” racist practices will be covered (e. g., Broman, Mavaddat & Hsu, 2000; Byng, 1998; Carroll, 1998; Essed, 1991a, 1991b; Feagin, 1991; Hein, 2000). Other events such as rape, physical violence and structural racism need to be dealt with through a range of interventions beyond the scope of one paper. They are certainly important and they are absent here only because they should be treated specifically not because they are considered unimportant.

In order to open up the arena of interventions available it is necessary to challenge some assumptions in this area. One common feature of most of the current intervention attempts is the assumption that the racist talk or discrimination stems from a property of people called racism, with such people being called racists. Not all models explicitly attribute the cause to this, but it is inherent in most current models (see Verkuyten, 2003). Most interventions, likewise, are based on this basic idea and aim to change the general “awareness,” education or understanding that people have of their racism or racist behaviour, or raise the general “awareness” of other cultures and races, with the idea that this will change those people’s actions.

Such models are shown in the top part of Figure 1. People are racist and this leads them to various racist practices (A). The implication of this is that to change the state of things we need to reduce or stop people’s racism and that will stop them doing the various racially discriminating practices (B). This is an essentialist way of looking at racism.

It is important to be clear at this point, that for those experiencing racism this is likely how they experience such events since everyday attributions are heavily focused on internal attributions (Miller, 1984). Such internal attributions are strategically or discursively useful for everyday conversation, for example, by allowing reference to a negative out-group, by allowing a conception of the problem beyond an abstract social/structural cause, by shifting the responsibility for change to other person, or by making it more difficult for someone to challenge your statements (Edwards & Potter, 1993; Guerin, 2003a). So there are good reasons why people would experience things this way. The argument is also not saying that if we refrain from explaining such practices in terms of an internalized “racism” then those people doing such things can be excused somehow. The argument is saying that such practices are still bad and need to be changed

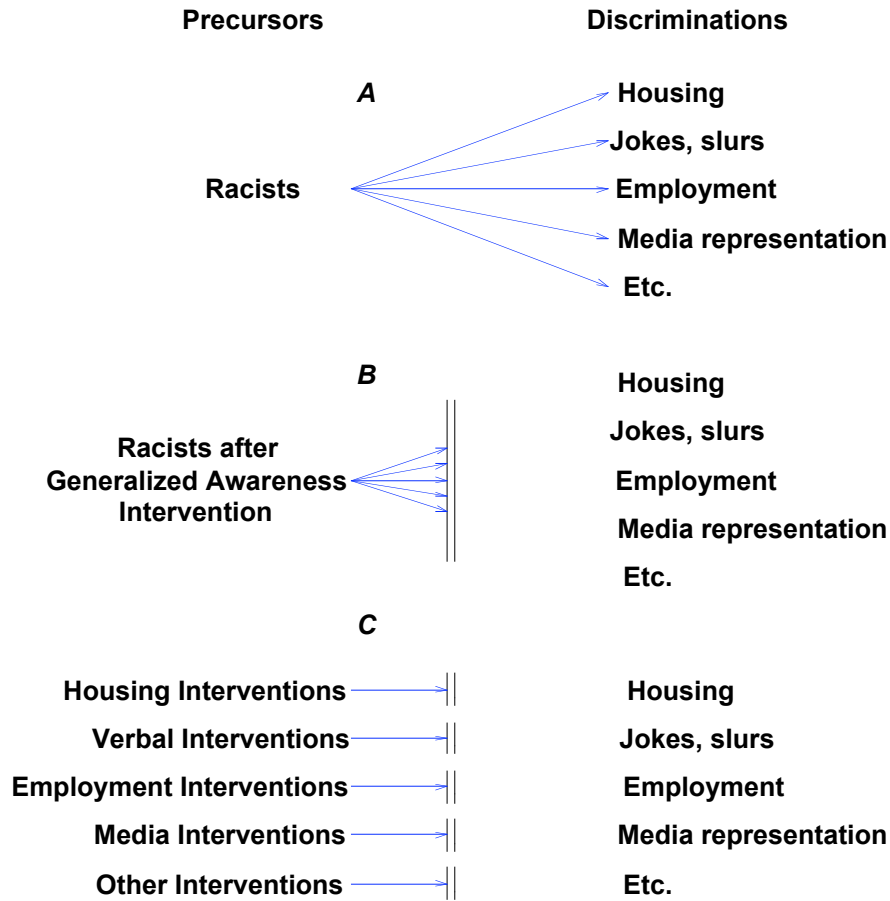


Figure 1. Traditional Ways of Viewing Racism (A) and Interventions against Racism (B), with the Conceptual Model of this Paper (C).

but that explaining them conceptually (verbally, discursively) as caused by racists or racism does not help. As has happened many times, psychology and the other social sciences have taken the common lay-attributions of what causes a problem (“Some people are racists”) and worked to solve those problems (“How do we change people’s racism?”) without re- thinking these everyday internal attributions more contextually (“In what contexts will people do these discriminating practices?”). So the argument does not deny the everyday experience of people in such situations that they are being racially discriminated against and that such episodes are extremely painful and stressful to them, just how that gets talked about and what should be done about it.

The point, then is that models such as Figure 1A have a certain conceptual efficiency about them: that we can get at the source quite easily—racist people and their racism—in

order to make changes that will have far-reaching ripple-effects over an extensive variety of their behaviours and situations (Figure 1B). On the other hand, such conceptual efficiency can be misleading, and the use of such abstract and essentialistic terms merely a discursive strategy to satisfy our academic or lay audiences (Guerin, 2001b, 2003a). But it is no use satisfying the listeners of our conceptual talk if we cannot make any related changes in the real world of racially discriminative actions and consequences. That is, the functioning of the conceptual talk about reducing racism and changing racists might be more for the benefit of having an influence on listeners than for doing anything about the problem (Guerin, 2003b). This applies to the talk of both lay-persons and academics. While “awareness-raising” interventions no doubt have some extremely beneficial effects, this paper attempts to put the language surrounding such interventions into a more contextual framework (Guerin, 2005).

The aim of this paper, therefore, is to suggest some alternative avenues both for conceptualizing the problem of racial discrimination and also for interventions, without recourse to calling people racists or assuming that there is a property of the world called racism that people “possess” sometimes. This in line with a broader attempt at taking our explanations and conceptualizations out of the person—away from internal or essentialistic attributions—and looking at the social, economic, historical and cultural contexts out of which the actions and practices arise, and from these analyses derive interventions (Bentley, 1908, 1935; Guerin, 2001a,b, 2004; Smail, 2001).

WHY COMBATING “RACISTS” AND “RACISM” IS NOT THE ANSWER

We have seen that traditionally this field has been conceptualized in terms of racists and racisms, both of which need to be changed by interventions. It is worthwhile going through some of the arguments against these terms.

Talk About Racists and Racism is Essentialistic Just Like Racist Talk

The talk about racists and racism is typically itself comprised of multiple internal attributions, referring to some property of a person (they are racist) or some essentialist property of a person’s actions (the actions incorporate or embody racism). Both these have the typical rhetorical or conversational properties of internal attributions (Guerin, 2003a; Verkuyten, 2001) which might explain why their use is so widespread. In this way, the essentialistic nature of the terms “racists” and “racism” mirrors what the “racists” themselves are doing—positing characteristics of a group or person (“Blacks are violent,” “Racists are bad”; “Fundamentalism is evil,” “Racism is bad”).

Talk About Racists and Racism Is Both Abstract and General

The talk about racists and racism is typically both abstract and general, again allowing several rhetorical properties for those using such language (Guerin, 2003a, 2004). For example, the use of abstractness and generality allow hedging on the consequences of whatever might have been said. Common hedges are words such as

“probably” or “maybe,” as in, “I think that all Africans are *probably* weaker in will power than us.” Abstractness and generality, however, also allow a wide berth of hedging since any contradictions or challenges can be explained away as exceptions. They give an illusion of attributing facts over a wide range of cases, but can also be seen as a discursive strategy.

It Is Not Clear What Needs Changing

Combining the first two points to some extent, talk of racists and racism is vague as to what actually needs changing. One cannot see a person’s racism, and talk of “subtle racism” and other new words does not help. This is characteristic of campaigns to increase people’s “awareness” of racism: that the main conceptual words are not observable and are generalized across people, settings, behaviour, and time. What is done might work but the language is unhelpful.

Racism Interventions Are Not Very Successful

The evidence is that interventions built from these foundations are not working well, and what effects are measured cannot be uniquely assigned to a cause (Hill & Augoustinos, 2001; Kiselica, Maben & Locke, 1999; Pedersen, Walker & Wise, 2005). Most of the interventions tried are based upon trying to change the “racism” in a person (see A and B in Figure 1) in a generic way.

New Conceptions Are Moving Away From Internal Explanations Within Psychology

Much of the emphasis in psychology on explanations in terms of the person and individuality can be seen as misguided, in many concrete ways (Bentley, 1908, 1935; Guerin, 2001a, b, 2004; Smail, 2001). If actions that previously have been attributed to “internal” or agency explanations can be thought of now as social in origin, the emphasis upon attributing “racism” to a “racist” disappears also, and a contextual analysis of the social and historical contexts for these behaviours might be more useful.

Talking About Racism Depends Heavily On the Social Context

The evidence is clear that whether or how people talk in racist ways is heavily dependent upon the social context. Tusting, Crawshaw, and Callen (2002), for example, found that their participants steered away from racist and sexist comments in questionnaires and diary formats but made such comments when in a focus group of like-minded people. It is still not clear what caused these differences: it could have been the social support for making racist and sexist comments; it could have been that there is less monitorability and accountability in speaking situations than in writing situations because there is no record (Guerin, 2004). Whichever might be found to be true with more research, properties of the social context changed what was said and done, and this again makes the idea of a common racism possessed by a person as the cause even weaker.

Even if it is argued that the social context merely facilitates or inhibits the “expression” of a person’s internal racism, the social context still needs a close examination.

Racists are Diverse, Too

In line with the point above that talking about people being racist is using the same discursive strategy as racists use in their talk, lumping people as racists likewise ignores the diversity. “Racists” can be thought of as neo-Nazi skinheads who take every opportunity to aggress physically against Asian and other racial groups, or as a “harmless” joker in the workplace who occasionally makes a racist joke prefaced by “I’m not a racist, but a friend told me this funny story about” Considering this diversity, the conceptual efficiency of talking about “racists” all having a common thread of “racism” wears very thin, and it would be doubtful whether a single intervention would succeed with both these examples. Using categories can be part of many strategies (Guerin, 2003b).

People Easily Deny Being Racist and Can Therefore Ignore Interventions

There are many verbal strategies that make it easy for people to deny that they are “racists” (Barnes, Palmary, & Durrheim, 2001; Guerin, 2003a, b; van Dijk 1983, 1987, 1992). These might only work within certain audiences or groups, but if people restrict themselves to those groups then they can maintain an image of non-racist. This means that intervention attempts are unlikely to work since the person has avoided being labelled as racist and hence the intervention (Guerin, 2003a).

Blaming People For Being Racists Is Not Useful

Finally, blaming people for being racist is probably not helpful in the long run, and does not help develop new interventions. The full responsibility for such situations is given to the person or something “internal” to the person and interventions do not work well based on this (Kitzinger, 2000; Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2000). While ethically and legally we do not wish to remove such responsibility for what they do—because the racist practices are certainly insidious—and while such people need to be held accountable for their actions under western law, for research and intervention we need to go beyond this stance.

REMOVING RACISTS AND RACISM THROUGH A CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

The aim then is to produce a way of talking about and researching racially discriminating practices without recourse to calling people racists or assigning the cause to racism. To begin this task, which will require more direct research in the long run, I present an analysis of some situations and practices of racially discriminating practices following the integrated framework of Guerin (2004). The aim is to broaden our conceptions beyond racists and racisms, and draw in more potential avenues for

intervention. The real research on these concrete situations still needs to be done beyond my mere suggestions. This is also why I have resisted grouping possible functional analyses together at this stage (e.g., later in Table 3). Functional analyses should not be done theoretically but through research. We could try lumping together the similar looking functions I will present but similar forms do not mean similar functions—that awaits further interventional research.

Table 1 presents a number of situations of discrimination based along racial lines, the details of particular practices, and a few examples of relevant research. These come from the literature and, to some extent, the situations might reflect the research that has been carried out and published. There are likely to be other situations that have not been researched and therefore not included here. So I will limit myself to these situations but there are certainly others that can fruitfully be dealt with in the same way. The aim of this paper is to only give the idea rather than attempt to deal exhaustively with all situations of racially discriminating practices or to come up with definitive functions.

One thing in common for each area is that the most common intervention is to provide some sort of global cultural or racial awareness training or “educational” package and hope this changes the specific practices listed in Figure 1A. As shown in Figure 1B, the assumption made is that global awareness training will affect all situations of racially discriminating practices. The argument of this paper, on the other hand, is that the use of race as a verbal or practical category can be a profitable discursive resource in many situations but that does not mean that those situations are tied together in any way (Guerin, 2003b).

I am arguing then that we must resist assuming the common situations have common causes, and that this view is promulgated by talking in common terms of racists and racism. In fact, we do not know from any research whether someone who racially discriminates in one of these contexts is more or less likely to discriminate in another. That is an empirical question on the whole, and one that would be useful to carry out. *A priori* we cannot assume that the person who bullies along racial lines in an institutional setting is also someone who would make racial jokes in public. If these practices do cohere we need to find that out rather than assume it to be so. It is likely that many people who show racial discrimination in one situation can claim a host of other situations in which they do not—although this usually done in their defence when accused.

What Are the Situations of Everyday Racist Practices?

The main situations that have been researched are education, employment, housing, everyday life, shopping, using bureaucracies, in conversations, in the media, policing, and social relationships. Table 1 presents some of the racially discriminatory practices found in each situation, based on previous literature and our research experience.

Education. Many racially discriminating practices have been researched in education, involving both students (e.g., name-calling) and teachers (e.g., singling children out). Bullying, harassment, physical abuse, and teasing are other forms found in

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TABLE 1. FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AS A FUNCTION OF SITUATION

Situation	Examples of Racially Discriminating Practices	Examples of Research
<i>Education</i>	Bullying Harassment Name calling Physical abuses Singled out Jokes/ Teasing	Pepler et al. (1999) Connolly & Keenan (2002) Connolly & Keenan (2002); Mellor (2003); Connolly (2000) Connolly & Keenan (2002) Connolly & Keenan (2002) Connolly & Keenan (2002); Mellor (2003)
<i>Employment/Work</i>	Hiring biases Workplace Firing biases Jokes/ Teasing	Byng (1998); Mesthenos & Ioannidi (2002) Brief & Barsky (2000); Byng (1998) Essed (1991a, b) Mellor (2003)
<i>Housing</i>	Family size Renting Unfriendly neighbours Segregation Not providing insurance	Dion (2001); Murdie et al. (1995); Dion (2001); Søholt (2001) Kloos et al. (2002); Mellor (2003); Søholt (2001) Søholt (2001) Flippen (2001) Byng (1998)
<i>Everyday Social Life</i>	General Staring Racist graffiti Avoidance Assuming things Name calling Jokes/ Teasing Failing to help	Essed (1991a, b); Feagin (1991) Swim et al. (2003); Mellor (2003); Byng (1998) Connolly & Keenan (2002) Feagin (1991); Mellor (2003); Dixon & Durrheim (2003); Essed (1991a, b) Feagin (1991) Mellor (2003) Mellor (2003) Essed (1991a, b)

	Discouragement	Essed (1991a, b)
	Withholding	Essed (1991a, b)
	Rudeness	Swim et al. (2003)
	Exclusion	Andall (2002); Dixon & Durrheim (2003)
<i>Shopping</i>	Not touching	Feagin (1991)
	Bad service	Feagin (1991); Mellor (2003); Byng (1998)
	Exclusion	Essed (1991a, b); Feagin (1991)
	Followed around	Feagin (1991)
	Ignoring	Mellor (2003); Byng (1998)
<i>Bureaucracy</i>	General	Gunaratnam (2001); Howitt & Owusu-Bempah (1999); Mesthenos & Ioannidi (2002)
	Structural	Cropley (2002)
	Bad service	Swim et al. (2003); Byng (1998)
	Miscommunication	Cropley (2002); Howitt & Owusu-Bempah (1999)
	Extra checking	Andall (2002)
	Jokes/ Teasing	Mellor (2003)
<i>Social Conversation</i>	Verbal prejudice	Swim et al. (2003); Guerin (2003b)
	Jokes/ Teasing	Mellor (2003)
<i>Media Representation</i>		Mellor (2003)
	Jokes/ Teasing	Mellor (2003)
<i>Police</i>	Frequent stopping and different treatment when questioning	Hopkins et al. (1992); Bowling et al. (2004); Broman et al. (2000); Andall (2002); Mellor (2003); Feagin (1991); Hein (2000); Mesthenos & Ioannidi (2002)

the literature. Other terms, such as “exclusion,” cover a number of practices that need to be broken into separate, more concrete actions.

Employment. Racial discrimination situations in workplaces and employment include many within the decision to hire and the decision to fire—that is, racial discrimination in who gets taken on for a job and who is removed. Many other forms are

found in the workplace itself, including teasing and joking (Brief & Barsky, 2000; Deitch, Barsky, Butz, Chan, Brief & Bradley, 2003; Gunaratnam, 2001; Holmes, Marra, & Burns, 2001; Mesthenos & Ioannidi, 2002). There are many other forms of institutional or structural discrimination that are important but they will not be covered here.

Housing. Housing is another life situation in which discriminatory practices have been found (Chambon, Hulchanski, Murdie & Teixeira, 1997; Dion, 2001; Flippen, 2001; Morgan, 1999; Murdie, 1999; Murdie, Chambon, Hulchanski & Teixeira, 1995; Novac, 1996; Peach, 1998; Ratcliffe, 1999; Salzer, 2000; Søholt, 2001). These have been noted for renting, relationships with neighbours, segregation of whole neighbourhoods, and in purchasing insurance. Renting also includes state-allocated housing in countries where that is applicable.

In everyday social life. A number of studies have looked at more detail of the racial discriminations that go on in everyday social life (Bell & Nkomo, 1998; Broman, Mavaddat & Hsu, 2000; Byng, 1998; Carroll, 1998; Connolly & Keenan, 2002; Essed, 1991a, b; Feagin, 1991; Goto, Gee, & Tekeuchi, 2002; Hein, 2000; Mellor, 2003, 2004; ; St. Jean & Feagin, 1998; Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerald, & Bylsma, 2003; Trudgen, 2000). They record staring, racist graffiti, people avoiding them, people assuming things about them, name calling, teasing, not helping, discouraging, rudeness, exclusion, and people withholding things or information from them. Many more await recording especially with more of the context recorded so sense can be made of what is happening (Cowlishaw, 2004; Guerin, 2004).

Shopping. There is good documentation of racial discrimination during shopping through not touching when putting change into someone's hands, giving poor service, excluding groups from the shops, being followed around shops or the expectation that members of the group are likely to steal, and simply ignoring the groups and serving other customers (Feagin, 1991).

Using bureaucracies. When dealing with bureaucracies of all types racial discrimination has been recorded: as structural in the way the bureaucracy is set up, poor service, miscommunications, extra checking of credentials, and teasing (Gunaratnam, 2001; Hollands, 2001; Howitt & Owusu-Bempah, 1999; Mesthenos & Ioannidi, 2002).

In conversations. In social conversation racial discrimination is frequent as teasing and joking (Guerin, 2003b), and as the inappropriate or gratuitous use of racial categories (Day, 1998; Guerin, 2003a).

In the media. Similarly, in the media, racial discrimination is frequent as teasing and joking and as the inappropriate or gratuitous use of racial categories. Media representations are also studied as showing racial bias in how people are presented.

Policing. Policing has been recorded as discriminatory in making frequent stops when a member of a group is seen driving, and treating different groups in different ways when questioned or arrested. We should not pre-judge the truth of such accusations but many serious complaints are made (BBC, 2004; Mesthenos & Ioannidi, 2002; Ottawa Citizen, 2003).

What we can see from this is that within the category of “racism” there are many concrete practices that do not *a priori* have anything to do with one another. In particular, it has been argued above that for research it is not helpful to invoke “racists” or “racism” as the unifying concepts when looking for the causes of such practices or the interventions to stop them. Instead, the hard task might be ahead of us of investigating separate interventions for each different racially discriminatory practice, as conceptually inelegant as that might be to academics. Unfortunately, my conclusion here and elsewhere (Guerin, 2001b) is that the hard work is still ahead of us and we have been using commonly used attributional labels as our simple answers to these problems. Hopefully when research is done at a more concrete level there will be consistencies between the different forms and groupings might be made with a better evidence base.

What Are the ‘Racist’ Practices?

Table 2 presents some of the racially discriminatory practices found in each of the areas of Table 1, based on previous literature and our research and experience (Guerin, 2004). Along with each are some possible functional analyses that can be made of what is going on contextually or strategically in such situations, following discussions in Guerin (2004). The list can no doubt be increased and we hope readers will add their own entries and future research will provide some documentation of these and other entries.

For those practices that work mainly with language use, potential contextual/functional analyses have been made previously (Guerin, 2003b). In particular, joking, making fun, and telling stories that involve racial discrimination can be done for reasons not intended to hurt people of those racial groups—primarily to gain social status within a group or to have the listeners like you. It can also be done without ‘really’ believing the racial beliefs implicit in such jokes and stories (Guerin, 2003b). This is not to condone such uses of racial joking and indeed shows how insidious it can be (Guerin, 2003b). Jokes and verbal abuse can also be made maliciously, however, and very different analyses and interventions will be needed for those because more of the social context will need to be addressed.

A number of the other possible analyses also involve sometimes well-intentioned practices that end up being discriminating (assuming things, avoidance, extra checking, failing to help, etc.). This indicates that caution is needed when analysing these in preparation for interventions. While all forms require intervention and change, and that is not being disputed here, if the analysis (Guerin, 2004) indicates that it was unintentional then different forms of intervention will be required. That is why a full contextual analysis is always recommended despite the causes and consequences seeming to be obvious (Cowlshaw, 2004; Guerin, 2004).

In all, Table 2 (and Guerin, 2003b) seeks to broaden our conceptions of “racists” and “racism,” make us look at and document more fully the functional contexts for any racially discriminating practices, and to review and research a variety of possible analyses before jumping in with global awareness interventions against what appears to be the “obvious” intervention for an “obvious” cause. It is tempting at this point to point

out the repetition in Table 2 and assume that those functions will have “the same” basis or cause and therefore can be dealt with using the same intervention. For this paper, I am urging the reader to resist this move since that is what the first part of the paper was arguing against. For example, from Table 2, “not wanting to be seen with you” leading to discouragement might be radically different in contextual/ functional terms (what it leads to) than “not wanting to be seen with you” leading to exclusion. At this point we cannot *a priori* assume that these two amount to the same thing and can be dealt with in one intervention. To do that is to go back to panel B of Figure 1. We must investigate and intervene with possibly disparate contexts in which these functions arise.

FINDING POSSIBLE NEW INTERVENTIONS FOR RACIAL DISCRIMINATIONS

Most interventions in this area are focused on global awareness, attempting to educate and get people to understand others and have some empathy for them. What I want to look at next are other interventions that try to do something about racially discriminating practices more directly within one of the particular situations we have examined earlier. In moving from the situations and practices of Table 1 to the possible new intervention goals of Table 3, I have brought in the context and strategies of real situations that might look the same but with more of the contextual diversity and variety, thus addressing the earlier point that all “racists” are not the same. As mentioned above, I have also resisted assuming similar forms have similar functions and therefore need similar interventions. This repetition should eventually disappear as real studies increase what we know away from possibilities for interventions into what actually works and is best-evidenced. It would be nice if the repetition coalesced into clean groupings but we cannot assume this without the data.

Once again, like Table 2, the list is not meant to be final or exhaustive, but a prompt to brainstorm possible interventions tailored to individual functional contexts. It is hoped that readers and research can add to this and provide detailed examples of what works for particular and specific contexts that are systematically identified (Cowlshaw, 2004). While Table 3 does not provide any absolute answers on the interventions required—only intervention research can show that—it is clear that this level of analysis and intervention has a huge scope to replace the global ‘train and hope’ strategies found at present for racial discrimination (such as Stokes & Baer, 1977, described for generalization effects). Each of the generic functions, and many others proffered, can have training and testing in their own settings.

As indicated in Table 3, the interventions are not meant to be carried out only by the victims but training given to others around the persons involved such as friends, and even strangers in a best possible world (Guerin, 2005). If someone is making fun in a racially discriminating way it would in most cases be more useful for a stranger or friend to make an intervention attempt rather than the victim (Veelenturf, Guerin & Guerin, 2005). That would be the ideal, but sadly in reality many victims must at present either ignore the discrimination or deal with it themselves, leading to a constant pressure and stress (Feagin, 1991; St. Jean & Feagin, 1998). In fact, we can go further and suggest that

TABLE 2. FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN TERMS OF POSSIBLE FUNCTIONAL ANALYSES.

Discriminations/ Complaints	Possible Contextual/Functional Analyses
Assuming things	Trying to include; making fun; unthinking use of stereotype; providing you a chance to stand out; taking an easier option; assuming you want this
Avoidance	Not wanting to be seen with you; avoiding an uncertain or difficult situation; assuming that you prefer avoidance; to avoid any sort of relationship; unable to predict your behaviour; unthinking use of stereotype; distrusting; taking an easier option
Bad service	Not wanting to be seen with you; trying to exclude; making fun; unthinking use of stereotype; to avoid any sort of relationship; trying to hurt
Bullying	Making fun; unthinking use of stereotype; avoiding an uncertain or difficult situation; to avoid any sort of relationship; done to enhance own-group status; to denigrate; trying to hurt
Discouragement	Not wanting to be seen with you; making fun; providing you a chance to stand out; not wanting you to fail and be hurt; avoiding an uncertain or difficult situation; to avoid any sort of relationship; unable to predict your behaviour; miscommunication; trying to hurt
Exclusion	Not wanting to be seen with you; making fun; unthinking use of stereotype; avoiding an uncertain or difficult situation; to avoid any sort of relationship; unable to predict your behaviour; distrusting; not wanting you to fail and be hurt; taking an easier option; assuming you want this; trying to hurt
Extra checking	Trying to include; making fun; unthinking use of stereotype; providing you a chance to stand out; unable to predict your behaviour; distrusting; miscommunication

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Failing to help	Not wanting to be seen with you; making fun; unthinking use of stereotype; avoiding an uncertain or difficult situation; to avoid any sort of relationship; unable to predict your behaviour; taking an easier option; assuming you want this
Firing biases	Not wanting to be seen with you; unthinking use of stereotype; avoiding an uncertain or difficult situation; to avoid any sort of relationship; taking an easier option
Followed around	Trying to include; making fun; unthinking use of stereotype; unable to predict your behaviour; distrusting
Frequent stopping	Making fun; unthinking use of stereotype; unable to predict your behaviour; distrusting
Harassment	Trying to include; unthinking use of stereotype; avoiding an uncertain or difficult situation; to avoid any sort of relationship; unable to predict your behaviour; distrusting; trying to hurt
Hiring biases	Not wanting to be seen with you; unthinking use of stereotype; avoiding an uncertain or difficult situation; to avoid any sort of relationship; unable to predict your behaviour; taking an easier option
Ignoring	Not wanting to be seen with you; making fun; providing you a chance to stand out; avoiding an uncertain or difficult situation; to avoid any sort of relationship; taking an easier option; assuming you want this; trying to hurt
Jokes/ Teasing	Trying to include; making fun; unthinking use of stereotype; providing you a chance to stand out; avoiding an uncertain or difficult situation; done to enhance own-group status; assuming you want this; trying to hurt
Miscommunication	Making fun; avoiding an uncertain or difficult situation; to avoid any sort of relationship; unable to predict your behaviour
Name calling	Not wanting to be seen with you; trying to include; making fun; done to enhance own-group status; assuming you want this; trying to hurt
Not providing insurance	Not wanting to be seen with you; making fun; unthinking use of stereotype; to avoid any sort of relationship; unable to predict your behaviour; distrusting; taking an easier option

Not touching	Not wanting to be seen with you; making fun; unthinking use of stereotype; avoiding an uncertain or difficult situation; to avoid any sort of relationship; unable to predict your behaviour; distrusting; assuming you want this; trying to hurt
Not sitting next to you	Not wanting to be seen with you; making fun; unthinking use of stereotype; avoiding an uncertain or difficult situation; to avoid any sort of relationship; unable to predict your behaviour; distrusting; taking an easier option; assuming you want this; trying to hurt
Physical abuses	Trying to include (if minor); making fun; avoiding an uncertain or difficult situation; to avoid any sort of relationship; done to enhance own-group status; trying to hurt
Racist graffiti	Making fun; unthinking use of stereotype; done to enhance own-group status; trying to hurt
Renting	Not wanting to be seen with you; unthinking use of stereotype; avoiding an uncertain or difficult situation; to avoid any sort of relationship; unable to predict your behaviour; distrusting;
Rudeness	Not wanting to be seen with you; making fun; avoiding an uncertain or difficult situation; to avoid any sort of relationship; done to enhance own-group status; miscommunication; trying to hurt
Segregation	Not wanting to be seen with you; making fun; unthinking use of stereotype; avoiding an uncertain or difficult situation; to avoid any sort of relationship; unable to predict your behaviour; distrusting; taking an easier option; assuming you want this
Singled out	Trying to include; making fun; unthinking use of stereotype; providing you a chance to stand out; done to enhance own-group status
Staring	Trying to include; making fun; unable to predict your behaviour; distrusting; to avoid any sort of relationship; trying to hurt

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Structural	Unthinking use of stereotype; avoiding an uncertain or difficult situation; to avoid any sort of relationship; unable to predict your behaviour; done to enhance own-group status; distrusting; not wanting you to fail and be hurt; rigidity
Unfriendly neighbours	Not wanting to be seen with you; making fun; unthinking use of stereotype; avoiding an uncertain or difficult situation; to avoid any sort of relationship; done to enhance own-group status; distrusting; taking an easier option; miscommunication
Verbal prejudice	Trying to include; making fun; unthinking use of stereotype; done to enhance own-group status; miscommunication; trying to hurt
Withholding	Making fun; unthinking use of stereotype; avoiding an uncertain or difficult situation; to avoid any sort of relationship; unable to predict your behaviour; distrusting; miscommunication
Workplace	Not wanting to be seen with you; trying to include; unthinking use of stereotype; avoiding an uncertain or difficult situation; unable to predict your behaviour; done to enhance own-group status; distrusting; taking an easier option; miscommunication

others-not-intervening is also part of the contextual background that leads to more everyday discriminatory practices, so friends and even strangers by this argument have a strong social responsibility to intervene and change the contexts for these practices. Their not-intervening is partly maintaining the context for racial discrimination.

Many of the goals are probably entwined in current racial discrimination programmes, or get dealt with at a micro-level of detail and not reported. While this is good in one way, it would be better to draw these out explicitly and eventually provide best-evidence guides for the more detailed intervention skills and training programmes (Guerin, 2005). Some examples were given elsewhere in a discussion of verbal forms of racial discrimination, and how quite specific rejoinders to verbal abuse could be made (Guerin, 2003b).

Two further examples will be given of this from the ‘Housing’ situations of Table 1. Both examples involved landlords and tenants getting together in various ways, and instead of trying to globally understand each other’s cultures or build some empathy for the other, the interventions consisted of discussing and then writing out agreements that protect the landlords from the worries they have (more like Tables 2 and 3 here), and the tenants from their concerns. In one of these, the 33 boroughs of Brent, in London,

TABLE 3. FUNCTIONS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATIONS AND POSSIBLE INTERVENTIONS

FUNCTIONS	POSSIBLE GENERIC INTERVENTION GOALS (CARRIED OUT NOT ONLY BY THE VICTIM BY ALSO BY OTHER INTERVENTION AGENTS)
Assuming that you prefer avoidance	Indicate willingness to form relationship; show sociability
Assuming you want this	Correct assumptions
Avoiding an uncertain or difficult situation	Show how the avoidance can hurt; train so the situation becomes more certain; practice in handling such situations
Distrusting	Show trustworthy; show missing out on benefits; show that distrust itself engenders further distrust
Done to enhance own-group status	Find alternative ways of enhancing group status; make non-discrimination status- enhancing; find new groups; educate groups
Making fun	Find alternative ways of making fun; find audiences for this fun and educate, remove or change; increase monitoring and accountability for making fun
Miscommunication	Thorough questioning about sources; training in specific features
Not wanting to be seen with you	Find the audiences for this behaviour and change them
Not wanting you to fail and be hurt	Show willingness to take risks; show benefits of taking some risks; show benefits of being active
Providing you a chance to stand out	Train to assess whether you want to stand out; train alternative ways of assisting; train that assisting might not always be best

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Rigidity	Show safe alternatives; explore other options; explore diversity; increase monitoring and accountability for rigidity
Taking an easier option	Show that the easier option for you can still hurt others; increase monitoring and accountability for taking easier options
To avoid any sort of relationship	Show that relationships can be temporary if desired; show that relationships can be worthwhile
To denigrate	Find audiences for denigration and change them; provide consequences for denigration; increase monitoring and accountability for denigration; remove social status impact of denigration if any
Trying to exclude	Find audiences for excluding and change them; show no need to exclude; show what they missing out on by exclusion; show how exclusion can hurt even if not intentional
Trying to hurt	Find audiences for hurting and change them; provide consequences for hurting; increase monitoring and accountability for hurting; remove social status impact of hurting if any
Trying to include	Show that this does not help include you; train other ways to help you be included
Unable to predict your behaviour	Show that you are just an ordinary person in most ways and no different; take time for the person to learn your ways
Unthinking use of stereotype	Show that stereotyping hurts even if inadvertent; demonstrate diversity; increase monitoring and accountability for stereotyping

undertook to arrange discussion groups and community consultation in order to reach a mutual agreement between landlord and tenant for the Somali community (Brent Council, 2003). Somalis made up about 8-10,000 out of Brent's total population of 250,000. They held consultations and discussions culminating in a one-day conference during which

there were addresses and discussion groups, a social gathering, and a ‘repairs surgery’ in which the house repair manager and experts were present to answer questions and deal with very specific repairs issues. An outcome was the formation of the *Somali Residents and Tenant’s Association*. Again, this was much more like the strategies and goals in Table 3 than a global awareness intervention, and was specific to, and concrete in, the context.

As a second example of specificity, Kloos, Zimmerman, Scrimenti and Crusto (2002) dealt with housing discrimination against people with psychiatric and addictive disabilities, rather than racially different groups, but the ideas are entirely relevant to producing more specific interventions for racial discrimination in housing. They held mutual talks like the Brent Council and developed clear and specific guidelines for the roles, responsibilities and rights (including what have been called here the strategies) of the tenants, landlords and service providers. In these cases, the service providers were the clinicians or case managers of the tenants but for racial discrimination other advocates could fill in. Relationships between landlords and tenants were developed so that the landlords became more like “partners for promoting success in supported housing”, rather than someone who gives a lease and hands over the key. Like the previous case, the breakthrough seemed to come when the concerns of both parties were taken seriously and dealt with in a very concrete way, not when they came to understand or be more globally aware of the other person. In both cases a detailed social relationship was brokered based upon current strategies and solutions rather than on global harmony.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper has tried to open up new arenas for studying and changing racial discrimination by moving away from the abstract terms “racist” and “racism” to explore the situational and functional contexts for the practices that are usually talked about in those terms. Reasons were first given as to why the terms are not helpful, and then specific situations identified and specific strategies within those. More specific goals for interventions were then proposed.

While the details given here are certainly not meant to be authoritative or final, it is bringing about a change in direction for research and intervention strategies that is important. The most effective strategies for intervention will need contextual analysis and research (Guerin, 2005), and my suggestions are not meant to pre-empt that research. Rather, the point is to sense those new possibilities in what we might achieve if we were to change the conceptions within which the research is currently scaffolded. Moving from Table 1 to Table 3 it is hoped this change is sensed.

In particular, it is being recommended that research and intervention on everyday racial discrimination practices:

- avoid abstract and general conceptions
- avoid attributions of cause to ‘racism’ and ‘racists’

- spend far more time documenting the contexts for any racially discriminating practices
- document more fully the social contexts within which the racially discriminating practices strategically arise
- incorporate more intensive forms of research methodology for these last two points

We now need to see some empirical case-studies of such practices in specific situations looking at functional analyses and interventions targeting the functional analysis.

While such conclusions seem less conceptually efficient and grandiose than we are used to reading, there are arguments that “small wins” provide more realistic and achievable goals (Weick, 1984). They might actually more useful, since the interventions to ‘rid’ people of their racism have not produced lasting results. Finally, we must also remember that this paper explicitly excluded more violent and structural bases for racially discriminating practices and these need to be treated in a similar way although different forms of intervention are likely. They are just as important and will need to be integrated with the attempts at creating new intervention possibilities proposed here.

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