Wieslaw Lukaszewski in cooperation with **Barbara Weigl**
Opole University, Poland

The Modification of Stereotypes and Ethnic Prejudices
Final Report
(Abstract)

In the first place the report presents the examined phenomena: stereotypes and prejudices. The characteristics, the functions regulating behaviour, behavioural consequences have been discussed. Moreover, the reports describe the most important models of changes in stereotypes and prejudices, also the efforts to modify them.

The focus of the second part of the report is on our own research and we have presented several completed programmes and their results.

The study of the contact hypothesis so far has shown different results. This might have resulted from short-term and direct contact applied. In our research the contact was of a long-term character and it was indirect (the contact with products) and at the same time it was a source of positive experience. The effect can be considered as strong and permanent (the second measurement – after three months).

Broadening information about the objects of prejudices is a specific form of contact. In the study, in which an essay and discussion were introduced, the results varied as far as sex was concerned. Girls showed the greater improvement of the attitude towards the stigma groups, the results concerning boys were not explicit enough.

Two separate studies referring to the reciprocity rule have given positive results - after getting a present from a national group being an object of prejudices the children's attitude was better than before, though not in every case the change was equally important.

Subsequent studies concentrated on the influence of the experience of being similar to other people on one hand and the experience of realising that the groups of others are differentiated inside on the other. Active methods of experiencing similarity and variety were applied. The results appeared to be positive – the attitude to many national groups has improved considerably.

It is worth emphasising that all the studies were carried out with participation of children who are more susceptible than adults to change under the social influence.

Wieslaw Lukaszewski

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Introduction

In the recent ten years in Poland, like in most postcommunist countries, the following three phenomena have been observed:

(1) Citizens have been learning democratic procedures and democratic institutions, also the freedom of conscience and the freedom of speech, among them;

(2) Different minority groups, ethnic, national, religious and others, have been regaining their civil rights;

(3) The belief that in a democratic country the majority will make decisions about minority (instead of the belief that the rights of all the people are the same) has become predominant.

Consequently, on the one hand the tendencies to regain civil rights have appeared, like those represented by

minorities, but on the other the majority has shown the tendencies to dominate and limit the rights of minorities, which is considered to be the sign of a permanent social conflict.

The presence of this conflict brings about the problems of stereotypes and social prejudices. Some citizens become aware of the experienced harm and discrimination, others recognise the aspiration for equality as an attack at majority's rights to make decisions.

From the perspective of social practice it seems to be necessary to both take action to reduce the majority – minority conflict and also diminish stereotypes and social prejudices, the ethnic one in particular.

Social Stereotypes

Stereotypes are a way to describe a social category – a social group, a nation, a religious or an age group, the representatives of a different sex orientation or a different job, etc.

The above description shows the following qualities:

(1) It is simplified, which means it contains few features and this limited number of features seems to be enough to recognise a representative of a given group, a dishonest Gypsy or an aggressive Arab, for example;

(2) It is too general in the sense that it appeals to all representatives of a group, and as a consequence, all members of the group are recognised as very alike ("they all are the same");

(3) It is rich in values, which means that a stereotype does not contain neutral features (a common saying: "Gypsies are **tall"** may be an example), however it includes assessing values (e.g. "Scots are **stingy"**). As a result stereotypes are abundant in emotions and add strong emotional involvement to our acts;

(4) It is unlikely to undergo changes; the information and experience contrary to that conveyed by stereotypes may influence them only in a slight way or may not modify them at all;

Having analysed the above presented qualities of stereotypes we might conclude that they are redundant and useless structures and that they have no significant influence on human behaviour. However, it is not true. They do present a considerable significance as far as people's social behaviour is concerned, which means:

(1) they are a tool or means to achieve a cognitive subjective control over the environment - they provide the unquestionable knowledge, and a number of certain predictions, reduce redundant variety, fill in the information blanks effectively, reduce uncertainty and vagueness;

(2) they make it possible that objects are recognised promptly, decisions are made quickly and also reasoning can be eliminated in extreme situations;

(3) they enable to clear us of charge of social injustice and also justify the principles of our

own actions, discrimination among them, and what is more, they justify our own passiveness, like, for example when refusing help;

(4) since the stereotypes of another group are most often constructed of negative qualities, and the stereotypes of one's own group include also positive features, this brings about the growth of superiority of the in-group over the out-group.

(5) Since the stereotypes of another group are of consensual character (WE all think the same about THEM), stereotypical judgements about others may equip an individual with a sense of identification with a group, a sense of group coherence, and, consequently, a sense of safety.

Stereotypes are cognitive constructs and usually stay latent, present but not active. They become activated in particular conditions – most often when an individual or a group of people equipped with qualities typical of a certain category appears. What is even more important, it is not necessary that this individual really belongs to the group. It is enough if a single criterion of belonging can be applied. Thus stereotypes become easily transmitted from the state of latency to the state of vigilance, and what is more, most often they are instantly transmitted to the state of extra vigilance frequently raising false alarms.

Ethnic Prejudices

President Miloschevich has told recently that Albanians from Kosovo cannot be trusted, that they do not

change and they will always be the same as they are today, and that they multiply too fast. All this he considered to be a sufficient justification of ethnic discrimination. Moreover, he seems to be totally convinced about his own opinions and decisions.

A prejudice is an emotional attitude, a usually negative one, towards a distinguishable social group. There can be mentioned several features typical of this relation:

> (1) Emotions constituting the basis of this attitude are strong and negative;

> (2) The attitude to others is of an "a priori" character and does not need any (subjective) justification;

> (3) As a consequence of the above there is anticipation of negative behaviour on the part of the object of prejudice;

> (4) It is a generalised relation – belonging, or even supposed belonging to a group is enough to evoke emotions and behaviour making any positive contact impossible;

> (5) Prejudices allow exceptions, nevertheless the existence of an exception does not change an attitude to a group as entity.

The mechanism of referring to prejudices is quite complex. Thus three kinds of prejudices can be mentioned:

> (1) **Aversive prejudices**, that grow of such emotions like fear, disgust and hatred; the objects of

prejudices are recognised as strong and threatening, so they cannot be attacked, as demonic features are imputed to them ("Jews rule the world", "Arabs like killing", etc.), also hidden intentions, tendencies to conspire and others; as a consequence avoiding contacts appears and, finally, the distance from the object of the prejudice becomes larger ("I don't want to have anything in common with them");

(2) **Dominative prejudices**, that grow on the basis of contempt and the conviction of one's own superiority, of others being different, or even not human ("The Hutu are less than people"). Thus the objects of the prejudice are seen as weak and there are no obstacles when it comes to attacks, teasing them, and treating them as scapegoats; as a consequence they are forced to run away ("Stay away from me");

(3) **Prejudices of inner contradictions** that arise when antipathy and reluctance are accompanied with appreciation and admiration. As a consequence there appears a contradiction of negative and positive emotions, together with jealousy, envy, competition ("He's rich, because of harm done to us"); the above described conflict sooner or later will bring hostility and, finally, will become an aversive prejudice.

It is worth noticing that the requirements of political accuracy demand that the negative attitude towards others be hampered. This means that apart from, so

called, blatant prejudices there can be more and more often subtle prejudices found. This also shows that it is possible to control the outcome of our own prejudices.

On the other hand though, the manifestation of blatant prejudices leaves no doubts about their existence, whereas the lack of their manifestation can mean both the sign of the lack of prejudices and the sign of hiding them. One of important questions deals with functions that prejudices have. It is not a simple thing, still some of them can be pointed out:

(1) A socially consensual prejudice can be a way to strengthen social identity; favouring an in-group and the lack of favour for an out-group is the way of establishing a border between THEM and US, between the good and the bad;

(2) More or less visible signs of mistrust towards others are a signal for greater coherence and compactness for all members of the group. This is particularly likely to happen as far as aversive prejudices are concerned;

(3) A prejudice is both the source of numerous negative acts and the way to justify them; prejudiced individuals usually refer to the stereotypes that are abundant with values.

The Modification of Stereotypes and Prejudices

Both stereotypes and prejudices are characterised by strikingly small susceptibility to change, which is worth emphasising. Some even pessimistically assume that they are unchangeable.

Nevertheless psychological literature describes in a more or less substantial way four models of changes the stereotypes and prejudices undergo.

(1) The **bookkeeping model** assumes that the changes are brought about according to the idea that "constant dropping wears the stone", which means they are rather small and take place sporadically, nevertheless they accumulate in time;

(2) The **conversion model** assumes that the influence of information or experience that is totally different from the previous attitude and belief brings a violent change or "a cognitive revolution". This change develops according to "everything or nothing" principle.

(3) The **subtype model** assumes that there is a contradiction between the flow of information and a stereotype and that experience showing the variety of copies within a category triggers the mechanism "that makes everyone happy". Although a subtype in a category is differentiated, the category itself stays intact;

(4) The **dilution model** is a special version of the bookkeeping model. This model assumes that the introduction of cognitively peripheral not diagnostic information, assessment of which is neutral, will make an attitude more liable to change. This model refers to the technique of the Trojan Horse: the introduction of unimportant, not diagnostic information should

"dilute" the stereotype and, finally, weaken the prejudice.

The Attempts to Modify Stereotypes and Prejudices

Not many data concerning **effective** ways to change stereotypes can be found. The works devoted to this idea present demands and ideal solutions rather than descriptions of applied modifying procedures or descriptions of received results.

In South Africa, where the consequences of long-lasting apartheid are broad and considerably consolidated, many attempts have been made to break the mutual mistrust between the white and black (research carried out by Kamfer). The applied action concentrated on the recognition and acceptance of group differences, also on cooperation, which helped to treat people as individuals rather than category members. A slight weakening of the mutual prejudices between the white and black has been noticed, nevertheless in most of the attempts no significant results have been achieved.

In Holland the method applied was the action of discovering differences between minorities and the majority, also the information about different minorities inhabiting Holland has been supplied. The material was included in some short educational documentaries.
The results achieved were unimportant and have very little value (research done by Vrij, Van Schie and Cherryman).

Most modifying programmes have been carried out with adults, however, taking into consideration supposedly consolidated stereotypes and prejudices adults have, makes it very unlike to expect positive results.

In Poland the modifying programs were applied to children and teenagers and they all were carried in school conditions. Eight different modifying procedures were used (works by Weigl). All applied procedures appeared to be effective, though not in the same extent in every case.

As a consequence of the applied modifying programmes the distance between the representatives of different groups diminished, the anticipation of another group's behaviour was more positive, the assessment of typical representatives of another group was better.

It appears that actions for which a target group are children and teenagers bring better results and can be more successful than actions directed towards adults.

Our Own Research

1. Contact as a change factor

Since the time of the classic works by Allport there have been many considerations about the contact hypothesis. According to the hypothesis a contact with representatives of stigma groups is a basic condition under which stereotypes and prejudices can be modified.

The contact not only enlarges and makes meagre categories more complex, but also   influences negative emotions associated with a given cognitive category by making them weaker.

The contact hypothesis, though apparently obvious, is not sufficiently justified in an empirical way. There are several reasons of this situation:

   (1) **Institutional** contact; many data referring to
         the hypothesis come from. The research performed

at institutions, like army, for example, or hospitals, thus they can't be generalised;

(2) **Voluntary vs imposed** contact; in a great deal of research it has been pointed out that contact as a change factor was effective only when it was voluntary and friendly and brought pleasure, otherwise it could cause mutual mistrust between, for example, the majority and minority.

(3) **Multiple contact**: it has been established that voluntary contact is particularly effective when it is repeated. However, the contact deepens the liking, still the probability of next contact does not grow;

(4) **Inevitable contact**; as the research shows, the contact that is not institutional, but also inevitable, e.g. neighbourhood, weakens the mutual mistrust between groups.

It appears that the contact itself is not a sufficient condition to heal the relationships with others and the conditions that could improve this relationship in a visible way are still unknown.

The works presenting this kind of contact so far have referred to short-term, direct personal contact, like being together in the same place. However such contact can also gain indirect and symbolical character. The contact with the product of another group, its symbolical cultural work for example, is probably the most popular form of the interpersonal contact. The indirect and symbolical contact together with direct contact that brings pleasure should be particularly effective.

To test it we have prepared a programme devoted to the contact with Polish Jews. All students of a small private school were involved and the aim of the action was direct and indirect (symbolical) approach to the ethnic group of Jews constituting a minority in Poland.

In order to carry out the project **all subjects** (foreign languages in particular, history, music, arts, Polish, science, geography) in one of schools in Opole became enriched with materials concerning some elements of Jewish culture or the information about Jews. Moreover there were meetings with the representatives of this minority. The duration of the project was over three months. For almost over a hundred hours of school time the children of the experimental group stayed in physical and psychical contact with the Jewish culture.

The students of another, similar private school constituted the control group, and in this case no antiprejudice action was undertaken.

The attitudes of children and teenagers towards Jews were measured twice: first, soon after the completion of the project, and then three months later.

The measurement was targeted at: the assessment of four qualities, the number of attached assets and the size of suggested distance, also declared readiness to help a Jewish child.

Under the influence of the contact the evaluation results were higher in four aspects. Jews were seen as cleaner, more hard-working, more truthful and generally better (see Fig.1).

Fig.1 about here

Under the influence of the experimental programme a number of suggested values of Jews is higher. The

differences between the experimental and control group are considerable (see Fig. 2). What is more important, the number of suggested faults are bigger, which should be treated as a decrease of stereotypical social perception of the assessed group.

Fig. 2 about here

A decrease of a size of suggested distance between one's own group and Jews was another visible result of the experimental programme (see Fig. 3). It should be underlined that the suggested distance is the best known measurement of prejudice intensity – the stronger the prejudice, the bigger suggested distance.

Fig. 3 about here

The application of the programme showed the greater readiness to help a Jewish child, nevertheless this increase does not seem to be essential (see Fig. 4). Thus although the image of Jews became more positive and the mistrust was not as great as before, there was no change in the readiness to help them.

Fig. 4 about here

The effects recorded in the programme appeared quite lasting and, with slight and insignificant changes stayed at the approximately same level for three months after the action concerning the Jewish minority had been completed.

2. Adding information about others as a specific form of contact

The results of the above described programme encouraged us to test if mere supplying information about representatives of another ethnic or national group could change the attitude to this group at least for a short time.

One of the most often shown feature of prejudices and stereotypes is the lack of information about objects to which these prejudices and stereotypes refer. It is then commonly suggested that the supply of the information referring to the objects of prejudices should be broadened, which is the technique of reducing prejudices.

Expecting such changes seems to be justified:

(1) A new received information is assimilated by people individually, which increases the likelihood that the consensus on qualities suggested for the representatives of a given group will not remain the same;

(2) Although the stereotype itself contains diagnostic information, new information may refer to both diagnostic qualities (which are despised in a stereotype), and also not diagnostic qualities, which may leave us in doubt as far as our opinions about a certain group are concerned;

On the other hand though this suggestion brings some doubts:

(1) Individuals that are prejudiced towards an object usually avoid information about it and they are quite unlikely to search for positive information spontaneously;

(2) Inducing to find out information may cause resistance and the boomerang effect – the increase of negative emotions and prejudices.

221 teenagers, aged 15 – 16, boys and girls, took part in the study.

The study took place in natural school conditions. Each class was assigned a national group randomly, about which the students were getting information.
Each experimental group consisted of three classes from different schools. The supplied information referred to Roma people (but the commonly used expression "Gypsy" was used), Greeks, Germans, Hungarians and Jews. Roma, Germans and Jews constitute the minorities in Poland, Greeks and Hungarians were introduced for comparisons.

The experimental manipulation was carried out in a form of a chat with students. Each time the starting point was a twenty-minute essay devoted to one nationality and this was followed by questions and answers.

The measurement of attitudes concerning the object was performed twice. For the first time it took place seven, ten days before the manipulation, for the second time directly after the essay and the discussion afterwards.

Two indicators of attitudes were applied in evaluated groups. The measurement was preceded with the information about the aim of the study. The person running the study would say: "Please, answer the questions on the cards."

Nation preference. The cards presented six[1] names of girls and boys with given nationalities. There was an

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[1] The sixth person was Polish. The data concerning the Polish were not taken into account in the further analysis.

instruction placed over the photograph: "If you could go to an international camp, which of the presented persons would you like to live with in the same tent?"

To make the measurement convenient the range was reversed and the highest score (6) was assigned to the person that was chosen in the first place.

Territory distribution. The instruction was as follows: You are a member of Youth Festival Organisation Committee The representatives of many nationalities are going to live on this schematically marked part of a camping site you are responsible for. (a). There are also going to be other camping sites around. Mark with loops the territories you would suggest for the following groups: Gypsy, Greek, German, Polish, Hungarian and Jewish. You can divide the whole area, or you can leave some places uninhabited. You can distribute tents among all the groups, you can choose just some of them".

Results

Taking into consideration the range order in both phases Germans got the highest score, Jews and Gypsies the lowest. This could be seen in both phases though after having listened to essays the differences in the assessment of nations were smaller. As Fig. 5 shows the acceptance of particular nation rises, although only in case of Gypsies the difference is considerable.

Fig. 5 about here

In all cases after listening to the essay and discussion the number of assigned places in the camp has risen (fig. 6). In case of Gypsies the rise is really high,

in case of Greeks and Hungarians a little lower but also considerable. Although more tents are given to Germans and Jews the increase in this case is slight.

Fig. 6 about here

The applied analysis revealed great variance of results, which made us check the results to see if there was any hidden factor modifying the results. It appeared that sex was such a factor – the way boys and girls reacted to essays was different. Thus girls show greater acceptance of all nations (see Fig. 7, though it is not of a great importance as far as Hungarians are concerned. A similar phenomenon can be observed when distributing tents – in all those cases the girls, after having listened to essays, distribute more tents (see Fig. 8 and, except for Jews, all results are statistically valid).

Fig. 7 and 8 about here

It is different with boys though. After having listened to essays the acceptance of all nations has diminished, although in none of cases the change was statistically valid (Fig. 9). In opposition to this, after having listened to the essay boys distribute more tents (but not among Greeks) than they used to before.

Fig. 9 and 10

In conclusion getting to know the contents of the essays increases the acceptance of nations in girls, but it decreases the acceptance in boys. Both sexes show the change in distance towards different nations. The received results are temporary and their durability should not be overvalued. Susceptibility to new information and

improvement of attitudes towards evaluated nations is a sign of optimism. However, it should be remembered these are young people who allow this optimism, as they are more susceptible to social influences.

3. The reciprocity rule as a sign of the change of attitude

The aim of two studies was verification of the influence of positive experience connected with representatives of the groups that are ethnically different on the change of attitudes towards them. In other words it was checked if getting an unexpected present from, e.g. Czechs, would change the attitude to Czechs. The study was carried out according to the same pattern (only the names of the groups that gave presents changed). The measurement of the dependent variable was also identical (here – appropriately to gift givers only the names of the groups changed, the groups whose attitude was the measured object).

Experimental manipulation. The group of examined persons (a class at school) received news – there came a parcel containing a poster with a text in Polish and English which was a greeting from a class from, let's say, Israel. The poster presented a simple map of Europe with Poland and this other country marked on it. Then the poster was hung in the classroom.

In each study five experimental groups were created at random (five nations – gift givers) and a control group (without any manipulation).

The attitudes were measured twice: for the first time two weeks before the poster came (phase 1), and for the second time immediately after the appearance of the poster (phase 2). Ranged order of readiness to live in one room

and the distribution of tents in a camp was measured (see above).

Study 1

Persons examined. 122 persons, students of the fifth grade, participated in the study. 22 other persons constituted a control group. The attitudes towards Czechs, Lithuanians, Germans, Romanians, and Ukrainians were examined. Apart from Romanians, the above nationalities are minorities in Poland.

In Fig. 11 it can be seen that the program appeared only partially effective. The attitudes were statistically improved in a considerable way (range position) in two cases (Czechs and Lithuanians). As far as Germans, Romanians, and Ukrainians were concerned no visible changes were noticed. In case of Germans the range position was and stayed very high, in case of Romanians it was and it stayed very low.

Fig. 11 and 12 about here

In each group after manipulation more tents were distributed than before manipulation, however in case of Romanians and Ukrainians the changes are not of statistical importance.(see Fig. 12).

Study 2

Persons examined. 181 persons, students of the fifth grade of primary school, aged 12, 13, took part. Apart from the control group, which was one of classes (N = 17), the experimental groups consisted of two classes every time,

each from a different school. Random gift givers were assigned, so was the object of the attitude. The changes of attitudes towards Bosnians, Gypsies, Slovakians, the Tarangese and Jews were checked. The Tarangese was a fictitious nation introduced for verification of the net manipulation. Gypsies, Slovakians and Jews belong to the minorities in Poland.

The study followed the procedure described above. The results are systematically and statistically valid.

Nation preferences. As one can see in Fig. 13, the manipulation caused very clear, doubtless effects as far as the range of all national groups is considered. The reaction for a present was shown as a steady improvement of the attitude to the gift giver.

Fig. 13 and 14 about here

Territory distribution. Marked results are identical as in preferences (see fig. 14). The experimental manipulation changed the attitude to all national groups in a clear and statistically valid way. Thus if the norm of reciprocity is taken into consideration it can be said that it is very efficient in changing the attitudes towards different national groups.

4. Similarity and Variety
The following assumptions became the basis for constructing the experimental treatment:

(1) There is a fundamental similarity between people no matter what social groups they belong to.

(2) There is a great variety of representatives within each social category.

Each programme was composed of five distinguishable sessions each of them having a form of a school lesson. The basic requirements, the repertoire of indispensable materials and aids, etc. was assigned.

Prejudices and stereotypes are based on a conscious and unconscious assumption that another man is a representative of the group of " others", "strangers" and "the different". Overcoming this assumption can be done by modification of similarity level of SELF in a representative of the strangers.

It is worth noticing that at least several aspects of similarity can be discussed:

(1) Interpersonal similarity, which is associated with the similarity of traits, e.g. I'm just and he is just, he is fair-haired and I'm fair-haired, and the like.

(2) the similarity of experienced emotions in similar situations; both me and he are scared watching thrillers, both me and she are fond of jogging, and the like;

(3) The similarity in seeing the world, the fact that certain elements of the world are perceived by everyone in the same way, e.g. ice is cold, not hot, and we wash in water, not in honey, and the sky is blue, not black, but not green.

There is a considerable number of data presenting the interdependence of the similarity of another person to a subject and the subject's specific behaviour towards this other person. It has been, among others, established that:

(1) There is readiness for more positive assessment of a person who is similar than dissimilar, more readiness to show the liking of a similar , person than the person considered to be dissimilar, the condition though is the acceptance of the self;

(2) the readiness to help another person grows if it is accompanied with the growth of the similarity to self.

(3) there are data proving that the intensity of aggressive behaviour becomes limited towards persons similar to self;

(4) A number of data shows that people avoid contact with the persons that are dissimilar, or at least of whom they think they are dissimilar.

The tendency to stress the similarities cannot lead to the ignorance of the variety of objects belonging to a given category. It should be remembered that we deal with a specific system of assumptions: "THEY all are the same" and "THEY are not like us".
Concentrating on the similarity WE – THEY should break the other assumption, the concentration on variety should overcome the assumption about the homogeneity of the group of strangers.

Modification programmes

Modification programmes on principle had to meet the following requirements:

(1) they were to be conducted in the ordinary classroom setting in course of several lessons devoted specially to this purpose;

(2) the were supposed to check the efficiency of several techniques (programmes) of influencing school children;

(3) excluded any forms of competition

(4) Excluded any negative information about representatives of any national groups;

(5) The influence should not deal with these national groups the attitudes to which were to be measured later.

The last assumption was of the greatest importance. The tested phenomenon was checking whether **unspecific impact** (not concentrated on particular groups) can improve the attitude to the national groups that are minorities in Poland or that are neighbouring nationalities.

Over 400 school children, aged from 10 to 12, both sexes in equal proportions, were examined. Some children in one of groups participated in a five-hour "similarity" programme, children in the other group participated in the "variety" programme. As the programmes are quite broad, only some fragments are going to be presented here.

"Universal Similarity" Programme

The aim of the cycle of activities was strongly emphasised to children and they were made aware of the basic similarity shared by all the people in the world. The similarity (identity, being identical, closeness, agreement of things, and the like) lies in the way of perceiving, describing and experiencing the world – its sensory, its physical and social layers, and also in seeing oneself and other people.

The task of the person running the study was not denying the differences (emphasising variety was suggested instead). The basic task however was emphasising, underlying and helping ('prompting") to see things people have in common and things that are alike.

Example 1: Pantomime

Let's see how we imagine other people. Let's use gestures, but not words. If we use gestures only we can call it a pantomime.

Let's present a woman that is feeding her baby. Who can show that? Who's going to be the woman and who's going to be the child? (The children enact the scene).
And now another couple will show what a Japanese woman looks like when she feeds her child (role-play) and then a woman from Guinea will feed her child (role-play), and then a man from Brazil will feed his child (role-play), etc.

And now perhaps someone will show a child who is happy because its mum has come back home. Who's going to be the mother and who's going to be the child? How does a child from New Zealand show its happiness when Mum's back? (Role-play). How does a child from Algeria show its happiness when Mum's back? (Role-play). How does a child from Russia show its happiness when Mum's back? (Role-play)

How does a child from Cracow show its happiness when its mum's back? And so on.

A discussion and a few comments follow the role-play.

Example 2: "What do we see, what do we hear?"

Let's talk about different events, different places, and different people. Let's sit in a circle, here on the floor and chairs. Let's try to remember the names of different cities, the ones you know and the ones you have no idea of. Everyone has to think about at least one name (the teacher helped to get various names of cities of the whole world, not only of this country). Everyone has already got his/her own city. Let's talk about your cities, and yours and yours and your imaginary town. Listen and think but don't say anything aloud: What will a child from your city feel if it touches an ice cube with its tongue? Now let's say it together! What colour of leaves will an old woman from your town see in spring? Let's say it together what we all think! What colour of the sky does a man sitting in front of his house see, the man from your city? Let's say it again together, let's say what we think! Where do adults in your town go in the morning? Let's say it together!

What does a child from your city do when it gets a new comic? Let's say it together! What does a passer-by in your city hear when a lorry goes by? Let's say it together! And so on, and so forth.

Programme "Variety"

The aim of the programme was showing the children the variety existing within a category. Not so much was the emphasis on difference important as underlying variety.

Particular tasks needed children's participation and the person conducting the study was a co-ordinator and helped with comments and drawing proper conclusions.

Example 1: "Vegetarians"

The teacher informed children that they would be listening to four short stories subsequently and the heroes of these stories would have something in common. The children's task was to listen carefully and remember as many heroes' traits and behaviours as possible. Before the teacher started with the stories the children had divided a sheet of paper into four parallel columns. Later they were supposed to fill in the columns with the traits of four subsequently appearing heroes.

After having listened to the first story and after the children put the qualities down the teacher went on with a short discussion about what had been noted and whether it was adequate. After every story the procedure was repeated. The session came to an end when all the qualities that the heroes had in common had been found.
If there was a problem and something appeared either impossible or too difficult, the teacher stressed that though all they belonged to the same group, the group of vegetarians, each of them was a little different.

The first vegetarian: "Writer"

This person is a very popular writer. He is an author of several books for teenagers. One of his books became the basis for a film of adventure. The man has a very poor sight and he wears thick glasses. He has an incredible sense of humour. People burst out with laughter and almost cry when they read his books. Besides, he loves nature. He

walks in a park, spends his holidays in the mountains, where he climbs the peaks and walks in valleys. He's sociable. And he often receives guests at his home.

The second vegetarian: "Miner"

This man is a miner. He doesn't work in a coal mine, but in a zinc mine. Although he is not very educated, he has an unusual talent for foreign languages. He speaks five languages fluently. He is very ambitious. If he doesn't succeed he tries again and does his best until the task is completed perfectly. No wonder he is considered a professional.

The third vegetarian: "Policewoman"

This woman works as a traffic warden. Most of the time she stands in a busy crossroads and manages the traffic. There is always a smile on her face when she does it, because she is a happy and cheerful. She simply can't help being like that and nothing makes her complain if there is no success.

The fourth vegetarian: "Doctor"

She is very serious and dependable. It has never happened to her to break a promise, or to forget about something. People who know her tell that she can be trusted completely. The doctor is the outpatients' clinic manager. Other doctors have appointed her, because she is thought to be sincere and just. Now she sets an example of here diligence. She stays in the clinic overtime whenever there is a patient waiting there.

Example 2: Greeks

The procedure is similar as in case of vegetarians. The final point, as before, was the emphasis of variety.
The first Greek: "Fisherman"

A young sun-tanned boy sells fresh sea-smelling fish straight from his boat. The boy is very brave and often sails far from the shore, He is very hard-working. Every day he gets up at five and finishes work late afternoon. He is well-built, tall and broad-shouldered. He is very strong. He is able to pull a net full of fish right into his boat. Once he won a competition of tug of war and he beat a few tourists. His other feature is that he is very punctual. He has never happened to be late to work.

The second Greek: "Grape-Picker"

On a plantation a woman picks grapes to a great wicker basket. She is very talkative. Very often she tells something to others, tells jokes and banters. She has a beautiful voice. It seems she could be an opera singer. She is very cheerful and laughs very often. She is eager to help others. If any of grape-pickers seems to have a problem with his work, the woman explains the method patiently and kindly.

The third Greek: "A Retired Man"

This is an old man with a beard and he wears glasses. He is really serious. Lost in thought he is sitting on a bench in the park and he's reading a newspaper. He is a shy person and he always feels embarrassed if he has to talk to a person he doesn't know. He feels best only with the group

of his close friends. They usually sit a coffee table and remember good old days. He rarely talks and prefers to listen to others. He is retired. He lives together with his wife in a small white house.

The fourth Greek: "Pharmacist"

This woman is a pharmacist. She works in a pharmacy in Athens, the capital of Greece. She loves her job very much. When she was a little girl she dreamed that she would work in a pharmacy and she would sells medicine to people. The woman is very serious and concentrated. She has to be very careful and give out the right medicament, otherwise the medicine could bring a patient harm. She is very punctual. She opens her pharmacy at eight o'clock as a rule. And she would never change that time.

The measurement of results referred to twelve nationalities: Austrians, Gypsies, Czechs, Lithuanians, Germans, the Polish, Romanians, Silesians, Ukrainians, Hungarians, and Jews. Gypsies, Lithuanians, Germans, Silesians, Ukrainians and Jews are the minorities in Poland. The following values were measured:

(1) The length of the distance towards a representative of a given national group

(2) The assessment of an average "passer-by" and a representative of a national group. The following measures have been applied: bad – good, just – unjust, cowardly – courageous, kind – unkind, hospitable – inhospitable, lazy – hard-working, honest – dishonest, religious –

irreligious. An average was estimated for each set.

Both coefficients were measured before and after the programme (repeated measurement).

Results

The structure of the results is of a quite complicated nature as the Table 1 shows. Here we can see the average assessments assigned to particular nations by the examined persons. In most cases both after the "similarity" and "variety" programmes the assessment was higher. A similar tendency is noticed in case of the recommended distances – under the influence of both programmes the distances were diminished.

Not to focus on the particular too much the results were analysed separately for both programmes, nevertheless the division into nations was not taken into account. The results are presented in Figures 15 (average assessment) and 16(recommended distance).

As it can be seen, the average assessment became higher after both the "similarity" and |"variety" programmes. Still the improvement of the average after the similarity programme is bigger.

Table 1.
The average assessment of 12 nations before and after the modification programmes (ten –degree scale)

Nation	"Similarity " Programme		"Variety " Programme	
	Before	After	Before	After
Austrian	6.11	6.28	6.52	6.81
Gypsy	2.25	3.87	No data	No data
Czech	6.14	7.50	5.93	6.18

Lithuanian	4.88	6.69	6.93	7.57
German	5.78	4.50	8.00	8.85
Polish	7.17	7.30	7.71	8.57
Russian	6.54	5.48	5.90	6.71
Romania	4.48	5.60	4.51	5.54
Silesian	6.32	7.38	7.38	7.14
Ukrainian	5.07	5.00	5.88	6.94
Hungarian	6.33	6.38	4.86	3.43
Jewish	5.89	7.02	5.64	6.50

Similar effects can be seen in recommended distances – in both programmes the average distances became smaller and again the "similarity" programme showed stronger influence.

Fig. 15 and 16 about here

Conclusion

Various methods were used in the above modification programmes. They referred to several psychological mechanisms – the personal contact and symbolical extension of one's knowledge, the norm of reciprocity, also experiencing similarity and variety.

All the programmes were carried out with participation of young people – children and teenagers. The youngest participants were about 10 years old and the oldest were 16. All the programmes appeared to be quite effective, although not in the same degree. Long-term projects (real and symbolical contacts, similarity and variety) appeared to be the most efficient. Single actions were of the smaller importance.

In all studies at least two different measurements of attitudes were applied. In most cases (with the exception of boys) the results measured independently were similar, which means they can be trusted.

However the presented results are not free of certain deficiencies and limitations. The most important of them, which result from natural, most often classroom setting, is the lack of complete randomization. However it is a consciously assumed limitation. We thought that natural setting would reduce the emotions of examined persons, would not arouse suspicions, or build hypotheses on the results expected by the experimenters. Moreover, it does not seem that randomization would bring completely different results.