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Attitudes towards immigration-relevant decision-making: The roles of fairness judgements and national identity

Tessa Phipps

Edith Cowan University

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Attitudes Towards Immigration-Relevant Decision-Making:  
The Roles of Fairness Judgements and National Identity

Tessa A Phipps

A report submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of 

Bachelor of Science (Psychology) Honours

School of Arts and Humanities,  
Edith Cowan University.

2020

I declare that this written assignment is my own work and does not include:

i. Material from published sources used without proper acknowledgement; or

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Date: ______________________ 27/10/2019 _______________
Attitudes Towards Immigration-Relevant Decision-Making: The Roles of Fairness
Judgements and National Identity

Abstract
The worldwide movement of migrants has increased rapidly in recent years and the resulting increase in cultural diversity can lead to tensions in receiving societies. In the Australian context, while negative attitudes towards Australia’s immigration intake remain the minority, such attitudes have increased over the past two years. Concepts of fairness, both procedural and distributive, have been shown to be important factors in attitudes towards immigrants and the very nature of the immigration context brings to the fore concepts of in- and out-group dynamics and national identity. This study created a reliable procedural fairness scale for utilisation in the immigration context. Exploration of the relationship between procedural and distributive fairness demonstrated a pattern whereby higher judgement of procedural fairness was related to a perception that immigrants are unfairly advantaged – a novel pattern in the theoretical context. The hypothesis that participants who indicated a judgement of low levels of procedural fairness would polarise in their distributive fairness judgements based on national identity strength was not borne out by the data. Exploration and analysis of a previously utilised distributive fairness scale illuminated limitations to its applicability and further illustrated the potential impact of variables such as status, security, entitlement and legitimacy in this domain.

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Supervisors: A/Prof Justine Dandy and Dr Zoe Leviston
Total word count: 11,730
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Dated ____________________________ 27/10/2019
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Attitudes Towards Immigration-Relevant Decision-Making: The Roles of Fairness Judgements and National Identity

As larger numbers of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees move around an increasingly interconnected world, it becomes more and more important to understand the dynamics impacting on social cohesion in receiving societies. The perspectives of those already residing in a society can be influenced by the inevitable subsequent comparisons between ‘my’ group and the ‘other’ incoming group(s). These comparisons are often impacted by concepts of competition and fairness between groups, and result in a perspective that then influences the attitudes and actions of members of receiving societies towards the ‘other’ group(s). How the groups are defined is important, with a key consideration in the context of immigration being the strength of national identity among those born in the receiving society (Türken & Rudmin, 2013). This study aims to explore the attitudes of receiving society members towards immigration-relevant decision-making in the Australian context and the roles of fairness judgements and national identity strength in shaping those attitudes. This introduction will discuss attitudes to immigration in the context of Australia and the role of group belonging and group identification in those attitudes, before exploring fairness judgements in both this context and in others, and how this leads to the rationale behind this study.

Immigration and the Australian Perspective

The worldwide movement of people has increased rapidly in recent years, with the number of international migrants reaching 258 million in 2017, up from 220 million in 2010 and 173 million in 2000 (United Nations International Migration Report, 2017). In the Australian context, permanent migrants to Australia counted 207,245 in 2017, an increase from 182,393 in 2010 and 86,060 in 2000 (Australian Parliament, 2018). The 2016 Australian census revealed that 28.5% of the resident population were born overseas.
Attitudes Towards Immigration-Relevant Decision-Making

(Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017). Australians have long endorsed a view of their country as an ‘immigrant nation’ and international research highlights Australia as one of the countries most receptive to immigration, with a relatively high level of acceptance of cultural diversity (Markus, 2018). Local qualitative studies reveal however, inconsistent results when canvassing Australians’ perspectives on the value and legitimacy of multiculturalism, with favourable, unfavourable and ambivalent attitude patterns being evident (Ang, Brand, Noble, & Wilding, 2002; Betts, 1996; Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010; McAllister, 1993). This difference demonstrates some Australians’ endorsement of restricted cultural diversity, historically represented in the White Australia immigration policy (Dunn, Forrest, Burnley, & McDonald, 2004); they feel most positively about the immigration of those culturally similar to their own Anglo-Australian norms (Dandy, 2009). While negative attitudes towards Australia’s immigration intake remain the minority, such attitudes have increased over the past two years (Markus, 2018).

The increase in cultural diversity through immigration can lead to tensions in the receiving society and it is important to better understand these dynamics in efforts to foster social cohesion. For majority group members in a society - those characterised as having power (influence, status) and being the executors of perceptions and treatment of other groups rather than the subjects of perceptions and treatment (Seyranian, Atuel, & Crano, 2008) - multiculturalism and diversity can ignite concerns about threats to their way of life (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2013). This, in turn, can impact on majority group members’ attitudes towards immigrants, immigration policy and relevant decision-making.

Anglo-Australians of British descent are considered the majority group in Australian society, a legacy of British colonialism and a reference to their historical and current cultural dominance (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2012). The dominance of this culture in the setting of Australian multiculturalism can be almost invisible to majority group
members as it is the presumed norm (Forrest & Dunn, 2006). Many Australians feel that they are entitled to express and have implemented the degree to which they endorse immigration policy and support immigrants maintaining their culture(s) due to this majority group status (Dandy, 2009). According to Hage (2012) this is because they see themselves as spatial managers; those who feel empowered to express an opinion about the nation and who belongs in it, and about who should be allowed in. The spatially managed, immigrants in this case, are those who have opinions expressed about them; where they should be put, what they should be doing or to where they should be sent back (Hage, 2012).

**Group Dynamics**

At the core of dynamics in this context are relational concerns as immigrants can naturally fall into the out-group or category of ‘other’ when considered by majority group members of a society (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010). ‘Otherness’ can be interpreted as visual differences in skin colour and dress, for example, and in the context of immigration in Australia it is often based on the length of time for which a person has lived in the country and perceived cultural difference (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010, 2013). Historically, it was considered that the concept of the ‘other’ almost always ignited prejudice and feelings of hostility and that the stronger that an individual identified with their group identity, the stronger the negativity of their feelings towards ‘others’ such as immigrants (Sniderman, Hagendoorn, & Prior, 2004; Verkuyten, 2004). While this perspective remains a relevant basis for investigation into group dynamics in this context, more nuanced studies have revealed the complexities in attitudes towards the ‘other’ and their interaction with the strength of group identification, highlighting the need to conduct deeper investigation in to these concepts when researching in this field (Billiet, Maddens, & Beerten, 2003; Pehrson, Brown, & Zagefka, 2009; Pehrson, Vignoles & Brown, 2009).
According to Realistic Group Conflict theory, these feelings of hostility and prejudice towards ‘others’ or members of ‘other’ groups come from the perception of a threat based on competition for a scarce and finite supply of resources (Campbell, 1965). Stephan and Stephan’s (2000) Integrated Threat Theory added to realistic threats - those that threaten the economic and political power of the majority group (Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006) – with the concept of symbolic threats; differences in values, morals and worldview (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010). Both threat types have been associated with negative attitudes towards immigrants across a variety of cultural groups (Jackson, Brown, Brown, & Marks, 2001; Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999). The ambivalence demonstrated by majority Australians in response to immigrants and immigration policy has been linked to their concerns that Australian values, norms and beliefs are being eroded (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2013) as their majority culture has to adjust and make room for other cultures (Verkuyten, 2005). While a majority of Australians indicate that they feel that overall, immigration has made a positive contribution to Australian society (Markus, 2018), the discourse of the majority group highlights an expectation that cultural freedom be limited and that immigrants should become ‘Australian’ in their ways where possible (Dandy, 2009). Immigrants are more likely to be preferred the more culturally similar they are to majority group members (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010).

**National Identity as a Key Group Characteristic**

This concept of Australian-ness can be conceptualised as national identity, which has been shown as an important way of defining group categorisation and membership in this context (Sniderman et al., 2004; Türken & Rudmin, 2013). When exploring concepts of in- and out-group dynamics, how membership of each group is defined and maintained is important. Social Identity Theory explains that the groups to which an individual belongs or with which he/she identifies provides them vital input into their sense of who they are (Tajfel
Attitudes Towards Immigration-Relevant Decision-Making

& Turner, 1979). Tajfel and Turner (1979) further proposed that the groups to which people belong become a source of positive self-esteem and that in striving for a positive self-concept, people are motivated to positively evaluate groups to which they belong or that they identify with. This can result in a self-perception of high status, particularly for majority group members. High status individuals or members of high-status groups strive to preserve this standing and seek out opportunities to have it confirmed (Chen, Brockner, & Greenberg, 2003; Tyler, 1994). People also strive to differentiate themselves from members of out-groups (Tyler, 1994). Perceptions of status have been found to impact how individuals react to the fairness of procedures and treatment; their treatment in such conditions being considered a reflection of said status (Prooijen, Bos, & Wilke, 2002; Tyler, 1989, 1994).

Additional context relevant in the study of attitudes towards immigration is that of in-group identification on the basis of national identity. While some have argued that things like increased travel and connectedness facilitated by the internet has led to a globalised society, and some studies have shown the concept of a global identity becoming a positive norm within particular groups (Türken & Rudmin, 2013), other studies have shown that attachment to a national identity remains important to the majority (Norris, 2000). In fact, others have even argued that globalisation has created counterforces that lead to an increase in perceived cultural distance and a strengthening of national and in-group identity (Held, 2006). Some studies have shown national identity to be one of the strongest in-group identities (Billig, 1995) and higher levels of national identification have been shown to be positively related to exclusionary actions towards immigrants (Sniderman et al., 2004), and negatively related to favourable attitudes towards foreigners and support for immigrant policies (Billiet et al., 2003; Verkuyten, 2004). National identity operates as an important group characteristic in this context, igniting particular group comparison processes and effects, and displays known interactions with attitudes towards immigrants. Strong group identity on the basis of a
majority national identity might be expected to be linked with Hage’s (2012) concept of spatial management and entitlement regarding immigration-relevant decision-making.

**Procedural and Distributive Fairness**

Attitudes regarding immigration may be mediated by a number of factors, but recent studies, including some in the Australian context, show evidence that perceptions of fairness are key to understanding these attitudes (Louis, Duck, Terry, Schuller, & Lalonde, 2007; Verkuyten, 2004). Perceptions of fairness in the context of decision-making can have two dimensions; procedural fairness: evaluation of the procedure by which decisions are reached, and distributive fairness: evaluation of the outcomes of decisions (Tyler, 1994). Both have a relational base; procedural fairness has been shown to be based in the dynamic between the decision-maker(s) and those impacted by the decision and distributive fairness has been shown to be based in the dynamic between impacted individuals or groups. Important aspects of perceptions of procedural fairness include how an individual or group feels about the decision-maker, the environment in which a decision is made and how the decision reflects on the individual or their group (Tyler, 1994). Perceptions of distributive fairness have been shown as responsive to concerns about what an individual or group gets when compared with others (Crosby, 1976) and what this means about the status of one’s group in comparison to others (Tyler, 1994). Both procedural and distributive fairness have been shown to have an impact on the evaluations of decisions that are made (Thibaut & Walker, 1975), the willingness of individuals to accept decisions (Tyler, 1994) and their behavioural reactions to decisions (Louis et al., 2007).

Empirical work on the relationship between perceived procedural and distributive fairness evaluations is mixed. It has been shown across legal, industrial, political and interpersonal studies that people’s reactions to decisions are influenced by their perception of the fairness of the decision-making process (procedural fairness), independent of the outcome
of the decision (distributive fairness; Lind & Tyler, 1988; Moffat & Zhang, 2014). In Tyler’s (1989) theory of procedural fairness he hypothesised three relational concerns that demonstrate independent impacts on fairness judgements; ‘neutrality’ is based in whether the decision-maker(s) are perceived as trying to deliver even-handed treatment by being honest, unbiased and basing decisions in fact, ‘trust’ encapsulates beliefs about the decision-maker(s) benevolence and intention to serve in the individual’s best interests, and ‘standing’ involves how treatment by authority reflects status (Tyler, 1989). These concepts explain much of the variance in people’s reactions to decisions (Tyler, 1994). Folger (1977) conceptualised the influence that opportunity to express one’s own opinion to decision-makers, coined ‘voice’, also has on procedural fairness judgements. While Folger’s 1977 study demonstrated that, universally, having had an opportunity to express one’s opinion led to perceptions of procedural fairness, interestingly, participants with a history of such opportunity reacted more negatively to subsequent circumstances when this opportunity was not permitted, than those who had never had the opportunity to express their opinion. In the context of group dynamics, this can be seen to manifest when majority group members who are accustomed to feeling a right to express their opinions in decision-making processes consider it particularly unfair in circumstances where they perceive that they have not been given this opportunity. This again points to Hage’s (2012) concept of spatial management, with majority group Australians, who have historically had the opportunity to express their opinions and preferences, reacting more negatively when these opportunities are challenged. Previous Prime Minister John Howard’s 2001 federal election speech captured the sentiment succinctly, ‘we will decide who comes to this country and the circumstances in which they come’ (Howard, 2001). Each of these concepts - neutrality, trust, standing and voice - can be seen as a reflection of group status and all have been shown to influence perceptions of procedural fairness (Folger, 1977; Tyler, 1994).
Distributive fairness judgements have also been linked to relational and intergroup perceptions (Louis et al., 2007). Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) contends that people belong to groups for both structural advantage (status) as well as to maximise access to resources. What is important is what one’s group gets and how important one’s group is, in comparison to other groups. Distributive fairness judgements have been shown as responsive to both these relational and resource concerns (Tyler, 1994) and groups like immigrants may be perceived to be competing with other social groups for a scarce, limited pool of resources (Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998).

Louis et al.’s (2007) study on fairness concepts in the context of attitudes towards asylum seekers in Australia highlighted that majority group members were more likely to feel that asylum seekers were unfairly over-benefited when they felt that asylum seekers posed a threat to their structural advantage. This perceived threat to in-group dominance has been demonstrated to be associated with the strength of in-group identifications such as national identity (Esses et al., 1998). Louis et al.’s (2007) study also demonstrated that people were more motivated to act to reduce the number of asylum seekers (by signing a petition, for example) when they perceived majority Australians’ high-status as legitimate or when they thought that asylum seekers were over-benefited (Louis et al., 2007). As discussed earlier, perceived high-status has been shown as likely to lead to perceptions of greater deservingness for treatment and outcomes (Major, 1994). Tyler’s (1994) exploration into the important factors influencing fairness judgements found evaluation of one’s outcome relative to the outcome received by others to be important in evaluation of distributive justice. Consistent with this, Esses, Jackson, and Armstrong’s (1998) study in the context of asylum seekers found that perceived competition for resources affected endorsement of affirmative action policies but not necessarily direct assistance, highlighting a potential perspective in that context that ‘asylum seekers can do OK, but not better than me’.
While measures of procedural and distributive fairness have at times been combined into a fairness heuristic (Louis et al., 2007; Syme, Nancarrow, & McCreddin, 1999) and the two concepts have been shown to be related (Louis et al., 2007; Tyler, 1989, 1994), it is also clear that they can demonstrate independent and often distinct impacts on fairness judgements and acceptance of decisions (Folger, 1977; Louis et al., 2007). Across a variety of contexts, it is assumed that if procedural fairness is perceived in a decision-making process then the outcome is more likely to be accepted (Syme et al., 1999). Tyler (1989) found a strong positive correlation between his procedural fairness and outcome fairness scales in the context of Chicago residents’ experiences with police. Dreyer and Walker’s (2013) research into acceptance and support of the Australian Carbon Policy found perceived fairness to predict both policy acceptance (procedural) and support for compensation programs (distributive). However, a study from Switzerland into the acceptance of decisions to rebuild nuclear power plants found distributive fairness judgements to be more important than procedural fairness judgements (Visschers & Siegrist, 2012). Folger’s (1977) study found that manipulating procedural arrangements in a simulated work environment with young students influenced perceptions of the decision-making process in one way and the perceptions of the distribution of ‘wages’ in a different way. Students in that study who were given the opportunity to voice their preference regarding the value of the wage to be received in return for ‘work’ thought the treatment more fair than those who were not given such an opportunity, but only when there was no actual change in the wage received. When their wages did improve, as requested, it seems that a higher standard of evaluation was applied as these ‘workers’ actually expressed greater discontent.

The variety of results may be due to the failure to consider procedural and distributive fairness as discrete variables at times, and neglect of the potential interaction effects with other relevant variables depending on the context (e.g., national identity strength in the
context of immigration). Further exploration of both procedural and distributive fairness as independent notions is warranted, and particularly in the context of attitudes towards immigration, where fairness has been shown to be a core concern but has not been comprehensively investigated.

This Study

In this study I aimed to construct a measure of procedural fairness for use in the context of immigration by drawing upon dimensions identified by relevant theories in the fairness literature. I aimed to investigate the nature of the association between procedural fairness and distributive fairness judgements in the context of attitudes towards immigration in Australia and to analyse any influence of national identity on those judgements. The hypothesis was that participants who indicated a judgement of low levels of procedural fairness would polarise in their distributive fairness judgements based on national identity strength; strong national identity would result in the perception that the outcome was unfair for majority Australians and low national identity would result in the perception that the outcome was unfair for immigrants.

A pilot study informed the inclusion of proposed survey items in final procedural and distributive fairness scales and the aims and hypothesis were investigated via an online survey with a sample of local-born Australians.

Method

Pilot Phase Research Design

A pilot phase involved the assessment of proposed survey items for clarity and face validity by a small number of participants. Ethics approval was granted by the Edith Cowan University Human Research Ethics Psychology Sub-Committee. Survey items were modelled on concepts and question format from relevant literature. Participants of the pilot phase were 19 students of Edith Cowan University (ECU) in Western Australia participating
as part of course activities and receiving 0.5 credit points for their participation. In total, 42% of respondents (8) indicated their place of birth as Australia, 21% (4) as England and the remaining 37% (7) as Iran, Switzerland, Colombia, New Zealand, United States of America, Malaysia and Scotland. Participants completed a confidential online survey; responding to each item and then rating each item for clarity on a 7-point Likert-type scale. Participants were also invited to comment on any challenges they experienced responding to the item and their perception of what the item intended to measure.

**Pilot Phase Materials and Results**

The survey content and information statement can be viewed in Appendices A and B, respectively. Procedural and distributive fairness items were based in format on Louis et al.’s (2007) items, with a 6-point Likert-type scale response option, rather than the 7-point Likert-type scale used in that study. The intention of this change was to avoid ambivalence in responding. Nowlis, Kahn and Dhar (2002) demonstrated that when forced to express an attitude on such a scale, respondents will favour the option that is more congruent with the dimension of the question that they judge as most important.

Procedural fairness items based on Folger’s (1977) concept of ‘voice’ were included (four items), e.g., ‘I have been able to express my preferences regarding immigration in Australia to the people making relevant decisions’ (1 = strongly disagree; 6 = strongly agree). Items based on the elements of Tyler’s (1989) group-value model of procedural fairness were included (fourteen items) with a 6-point Likert-type response scale (1 = strongly disagree; 6 = strongly agree). These items aimed to encapsulate Tyler’s (1989) concepts of neutrality (six items), e.g., ‘Those making decisions about immigration in Australia use methods that are equally fair to everyone involved’, trust (four items), e.g., ‘I trust the people making decisions regarding immigration in Australia’ and standing (four items), e.g., ‘I am treated with respect by those making decisions regarding immigration in Australia’.
Distributive fairness items based on concepts of resource competition (Crosby, 1976; Esses, et al., 1998) were included (four paired items), e.g., ‘In terms of the support they receive, would you say that most immigrants in Australia [local-born Australians] receive..’ (1 = much worse than they deserve; 6 = much better than they deserve).

Participants rated the clarity of each item on a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 = very unclear; 7 = very clear). Average clarity ratings were high across all proposed procedural fairness survey items (\(M=6.06, \ SD=.45\)). The lowest scoring items (for clarity) across each procedural fairness subscale were discarded (four items discarded from the neutrality subscale and two items discarded from each of the trust, standing and voice subscales) to produce a final eight-item scale.

A principal axis factor analysis was conducted on the eight items with oblique rotation (direct oblimin). The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, KMO = .69. An initial analysis was run to obtain eigenvalues for each factor in the data. Three factors had eigenvalues above Kaiser’s criterion of 1 and in combination explained 81.26% of the variance. The scree plot was ambiguous and factor loading justified retaining a single factor of procedural fairness. Reliability analysis conducted on the eight items as a scale yielded a Cronbach’s \(\alpha = .88\).

Average clarity ratings were also high across all proposed distributive fairness survey items (\(M=6.20, \ SD=.19\)). Distributive fairness scores were calculated as the difference between the response to the immigrant-related question and the local-born-related question. A principal axis factor analysis was conducted on the four items with oblique rotation (direct oblimin). The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, KMO = .78. An initial analysis was run to obtain eigenvalues for each factor in the data. One factor had an eigenvalue above Kaiser’s criterion of 1 and explained 80.54% of the variance,
justifying retention of a single factor of distributive fairness. Reliability analysis conducted on all four paired items yielded a Cronbach’s $\alpha = .92$. No item pairs were discarded.

**Main Study Research Design**

The main study was a correlational, cross-sectional study. Participants completed an online survey containing scales designed to measure their perceptions of procedural and distributive fairness in the context of immigration decisions in Australia and the strength of their national identity, as well as questions to obtain relevant demographic information. Demographic characteristics likely to affect the dependent variable, based on past research, included age, gender, highest level of education and cultural identity (Tyler, 1989).

An initial correlational analysis was planned, with two continuous variables; procedural fairness judgement and distributive fairness judgement. Further analysis was planned as a between-groups analysis with two categorical independent measures; procedural fairness judgement (high, medium, low) and national identity (high, low), and one continuous dependent variable; distributive fairness judgement (e.g., ‘immigrants get much more - or much less - than they deserve compared with local-born Australians’).

**Main Study Participants**

An initial screening question selected for only Australian-born respondents. Participants of the pilot phase who met the inclusion criteria were permitted to also participate in the main study.

Participants of the main study came from two sources; first- and second-year psychology research methods students of ECU and community members of local government areas in the south west region of Western Australia. Research methods students participated as part of course activities and received 0.5 credit points in return for their participation. Community members were recruited via advertising flyers (viewable at Appendix C) distributed across four local government areas in the south-west region of Western Australia.
(City of Bunbury, City of Busselton, Shire of Augusta-Margaret River, Shire of Manjimup; 400 flyers distributed in total), snowball recruitment via my own and my supervisor’s social media profiles (blurb viewable at Appendix D) and via advertising in the ECU electronic student newsletter. Streets within each of the four local government areas were randomly chosen from the 2016 electoral roll for the flyer drop, with approximately 100 flyers distributed within each local government area. Community participants were offered the opportunity to enter a draw to win a $50 gift voucher. Entry into the draw was voluntary, enabling participants to respond entirely anonymously if they preferred, and the value of the incentive was chosen with the intention of increasing participation whilst minimising sample bias (Sharp, Pelletier, & Levesque, 2006).

A total of 274 responses were collected; 192 from the community sample and 82 from the student sample. After the removal of incomplete surveys, 225 complete responses remained; 148 from the community sample and 77 from the student sample. Response data was analysed for impossible response scores, extreme means, limited variation, repetitive responding, inappropriately low response durations and participants below 18 years of age. No errant responding of these types was detected.

Participant demographic characteristics across the community and student samples are outlined in Table 1. The mean age of the community sample was 41.0 years ($SD=12.4$, range 19-74), and the mean age of the student sample was (predictably) considerably lower at 30.8 years ($SD=9.8$, range 18-55). The median age of the total sample (35) was similar to the median age of the Australian population in 2016 (38 years; Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017).

Females are over-represented in both samples (70.9% of the community sample and 83.1% of the student sample). Only 24% of total respondents identified as male, considerably
less than the proportion of the Australian population who identified as male in 2016 (49.6%; Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017).

The community sample was significantly higher educated than the student sample, with 56.8% of the community sample having completed a Bachelor’s Degree or higher and only 14.3% of the student sample having done so. As a result, the total sample was more highly educated than the Australian population in 2016 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017); with those having completed a Bachelor’s Degree or higher in the Australian population sitting at 22%.

The community sample was less diverse in cultural identity than the student sample. Over 95% of respondents in the community sample identified with an Australian or British-Australian national identity, whilst 87% of the student sample identified with an Australian or British-Australian national identity. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples represent 2.2% of survey respondents whilst representing 2.8% of the Australian population in 2016 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017). Just over 93% of the total sample identified with an Australian or British-Australian cultural identity and this proportion was considered sufficient to include all data in subsequent analyses, with planned analyses regarding cultural identity (majority versus non-majority) to occur regarding the main variables.

Almost 93% of all respondents were residing in Western Australia at the time of their participation.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Community Sample</th>
<th>Student Sample</th>
<th>Total Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (Years) Mean</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. Deviation (Mean)</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimum</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Attitudes Towards Immigration-Relevant Decision-Making

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>74</th>
<th>55</th>
<th>74</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>41 (27.7%)</td>
<td>13 (16.9%)</td>
<td>54 (24%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>105 (70.9%)</td>
<td>64 (83.1%)</td>
<td>169 (75.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2 (1.4%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (0.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Highest Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some primary</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed primary</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some high/tertiary</td>
<td>3 (2%)</td>
<td>2 (2.6%)</td>
<td>5 (2.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed high/tertiary</td>
<td>17 (11.5%)</td>
<td>9 (11.7%)</td>
<td>26 (11.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some trade/TAFE</td>
<td>2 (1.4%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (0.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed trade/TAFE</td>
<td>30 (20.3%)</td>
<td>10 (13%)</td>
<td>40 (17.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some undergrad</td>
<td>12 (8.1%)</td>
<td>45 (58.4%)</td>
<td>57 (25.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed undergrad</td>
<td>40 (27%)</td>
<td>4 (5.2%)</td>
<td>44 (19.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some postgrad</td>
<td>5 (3.4%)</td>
<td>2 (2.6%)</td>
<td>7 (3.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed postgrad</td>
<td>39 (26.4%)</td>
<td>5 (6.5%)</td>
<td>44 (19.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cultural Identity</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian</td>
<td>138 (93.2%)</td>
<td>67 (87%)</td>
<td>205 (91.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander</td>
<td>4 (2.7%)</td>
<td>1 (1.3%)</td>
<td>5 (2.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Australian</td>
<td>3 (2%)</td>
<td>2 (2.6%)</td>
<td>5 (2.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other North-West European</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern and Eastern European</td>
<td>1 (0.7%)</td>
<td>3 (3.9%)</td>
<td>4 (1.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North African and Middle Eastern</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (1.3%)</td>
<td>1 (0.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-East Asian</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (1.3%)</td>
<td>1 (0.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-East Asian</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern and Central Asian</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peoples of the Americas</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan African</td>
<td>1 (0.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (0.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1 (0.7%)</td>
<td>2 (2.6%)</td>
<td>3 (1.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>State of Residence</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New South Wales</td>
<td>3 (2%)</td>
<td>2 (2.6%)</td>
<td>5 (2.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>2 (1.4%)</td>
<td>2 (2.6%)</td>
<td>4 (1.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>4 (2.7%)</td>
<td>2 (2.6%)</td>
<td>6 (2.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Australia</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (1.3%)</td>
<td>1 (0.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Australia</td>
<td>139 (93.9%)</td>
<td>70 (90.9%)</td>
<td>209 (92.9%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Main Study Materials**

The main study survey questions can be viewed in Appendix E. The information statements for the undergraduate and community samples can be viewed in Appendices F and G, respectively. Participants were required to confirm at the beginning of the survey their informed consent and that they were born in Australia. There were three scales in the survey.
measuring perceptions of procedural fairness and distributive fairness, and national identity strength.

Procedural fairness was measured by ten items. Two items were based on Louis et al.’s (2007) scale (α = 0.83; references to ‘asylum seekers’ replaced with ‘immigrants’), e.g., ‘How fair are the current regulations that are used for dealing with immigrants?’ using a 6-point Likert-type response scale (1 = very unfair; 6 = very fair), as per the method used in the pilot phase. Eight procedural fairness items identified for inclusion during the pilot phase were also used e.g., ‘When making decisions regarding immigration in Australia, decision makers are doing so on the basis of facts’, again, using a 6-point Likert-type response scale (1 = strongly disagree; 6 = strongly agree).

Distributive fairness was measured by six paired items. Two paired items were based on Louis et al.’s (2007) scale, where participants rated both target groups on relevant variables, e.g., ‘in terms of general living conditions, would you say that most [immigrants in Australia] [Australians] are doing’ (1 = much worse than they deserve; 6 = much better than they deserve). As with the procedural fairness measures, the response option was a 6-point Likert-type response scale. Four paired distributive fairness items came from the pilot phase e.g., ‘In terms of the ultimate balance of resources available in Australia, I would say that most [immigrants] [local-born Australians] receive..’ (1 = much worse than they deserve; 6 = much better than they deserve), again, using a 6-point Likert-type response scale rather than a 7-point scale.

Verkuyten’s (2004) four-item (α = 0.84 and α = 0.75 across studies of Dutch undergraduates) measure of national identity was included (references to ‘Dutch’ replaced with ‘Australian’). Participants specified the extent to which they agreed with statements such as ‘I identify with other Australian people’ on a Likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree). Global Identity was measured using Türken and Rudmin’s (2013) 10-
item Global Identity Scale (cultural openness sub-scale $\alpha = 0.67$, $\alpha = 0.66$ and $\alpha = 0.76$, non-nationalism sub-scale $\alpha = 0.78$, $\alpha = 0.86$ and $\alpha = 0.85$ across Norwegian, Turkish and American samples). Cultural openness was measured by indication of agreement with statements such as ‘I could live in other cultures than my own’ on a 6-point Likert-type scale. Non-nationalism was measured by indication of agreement with negatively keyed items such as ‘My own culture is the best in the whole world’. Given that previous research has shown a negative relationship between nationalism and internationalism (Esses, Dovidio, Semenya, & Jackson, 2005), Global Identity Scale scores were reversed to obtain a measure of national identity strength.

Demographic information was collected regarding participant year of birth, gender, postcode, highest level of completed education and cultural identity.

**Main Study Procedure**

Ethics approval for the main study was granted by the ECU Human Research Ethics Psychology Sub-Committee. Student participants accessed the survey via an electronic university platform designed to host and facilitate participation in the studies of ECU students and staff. This platform also automatically allocated the credit points incentive to students who successfully completed the survey. Community participants followed a link to a webpage that made the survey accessible via a hosting program known as Qualtrics. The landing page of each of these methods was the study information statement. The survey was completed online, and data collated and stored online.

Both recruitment wording and the information statement advised of the inclusion criteria (Australian-born adults) and participants confirmed both their informed consent and satisfaction of the inclusion criteria at the beginning of the survey. Six subsequent question blocks were randomised: Louis et al.’s (2007) procedural fairness items, Louis et al.’s distributive fairness items, new procedural fairness items, new distributive fairness items, the
Global Identity Scale (Türken & Rudmin, 2013) and the National Identity scale (Verkuyten 2004). The items within the four fairness question blocks were also randomised. Participants then answered the demographic questions, entered the gift card draw if they chose to (community sample only) and were given an opportunity to submit their email address for a summary of the study results if they chose to, before their participation was finalised. Participants were able to pause their completion of the survey and return to it by returning to the ECU hosting platform (students) or following the link from the same IP address to access the survey on subsequent occasions (community sample).

**Results**

Moving forward, I will discuss the creation and validation of a scale for each of the main variables (independent variables – procedural fairness and national identity, dependent variable – distributive fairness), most notably a novel procedural fairness scale. Descriptive statistics will be summarised. Analyses addressing the main aim and hypothesis will be outlined before further exploration of the data.

**Procedural Fairness Scale Construction**

As the procedural fairness items were newly created, factor analysis was conducted on the items (two items replicated from Louis et al.’s 2007 study, six items designed to draw on Tyler’s 1994 relational model of procedural fairness and two items designed to draw on Folger’s 1977 concept of voice) to determine which items were most appropriate to utilise as a scale of procedural fairness. A principal axis factor analysis was conducted on the 10 items with oblique rotation (direct oblimin) given that the factors were expected to be related, and the Anderson-Rubin method. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, KMO = .89, and all KMO values for individual items were greater than .81, which is well above the acceptable limit of .5 (Field, 2013). An initial analysis was run to obtain eigenvalues for each factor in the data. Two factors had eigenvalues over
Kaiser’s criterion of 1 and in combination explained 68.59% of the variance. The scree plot showed inflexions that would justify retaining 1 factor. A single factor was retained, and Table 2 shows the factor loadings after rotation. Factor analysis suggested that all of the proposed procedural fairness items represent the same construct.

A scale reliability analysis using all 10 items yielded a high Cronbach’s $\alpha = .92$. A final continuous procedural fairness score was calculated as the average of scores across each of the 10 items, with higher scores on the scale representing a greater perception of procedural fairness.

Table 2

*Summary of exploratory factor analysis results for Procedural Fairness items (N = 225)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Rotated Factor Loadings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>When making decisions regarding immigration in Australia, decision makers are doing so on the basis of facts</td>
<td>.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I trust the people making decisions regarding immigration in Australia</td>
<td>.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When making decisions regarding immigration in Australia, decision makers are trying to treat people fairly and reasonably</td>
<td>.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those making decisions regarding immigration in Australia are unbiased</td>
<td>.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How appropriate are the current Australian regulations for dealing with immigrants?</td>
<td>.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am treated with respect by those making decisions regarding immigration in Australia</td>
<td>.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When making decisions regarding immigration in Australia, decision makers respect my rights</td>
<td>.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How fair are the current Australian regulations that are used for dealing with immigrants?</td>
<td>.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those making decisions about immigration in Australia consider my views</td>
<td>.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have been able to express my preferences regarding immigration in Australia to the people making relevant decisions</td>
<td>.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cronbach’s $\alpha$</strong></td>
<td><strong>.92</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tests of normality were not completed due to the large sample size, which is likely to result in significant results in such tests even when skew and kurtosis are not considerably different from normal (Field, 2013).

Correlational analysis was conducted between the items intended to address each of the aspects of neutrality, trust, standing and voice, as well as the items replicated from Louis et al.’s (2007) study. Table 3 outlines the correlations between item pairs.

Table 3

Correlations (Pearson) Between Procedural Fairness Items Intended to Measure the Same Concept (N = 225)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Louis et al. (2007) Item 2</th>
<th>Neutrality Item 2</th>
<th>Trust Item 2</th>
<th>Standing Item 2</th>
<th>Voice Item 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Louis et al. (2007) Item 1</td>
<td>.72**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutrality Item 1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.72**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust Item 1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.70**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standing Item 1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.84**</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voice Item 1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.56**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**. Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Distributive Fairness Scale Construction

Scores on distributive fairness items were calculated as per Louis et al.’s (2007) study, whereby a score equals the response value for the question regarding immigrants minus the response value for the question regarding local-born Australians, with higher difference scores indicating the perception that immigrants are unfairly advantaged. This resulted in six final scores from the six pairs of survey items.

A principal factor analysis was conducted on the six scores with oblique rotation (direct oblimin), given that the factors are expected to be related, and the Anderson-Rubin method. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, KMO = .90 and all KMO valued for individual items were greater than .86, which is well above the acceptable limit of .5 (Field, 2013). An initial analysis was run to obtain eigenvalues for each factor in the data. One factor had an eigenvalue over Kaiser’s criterion.
of 1 and explained 78.66% of the variance. The scree plot showed inflections that would justify retaining 1 factor. A single factor was retained, and Table 4 shows the factor loadings after rotation. Factor analysis suggested that all of the proposed distributive fairness scores represent the same construct.

The distributive fairness scale including all proposed items yielded a Cronbach’s $\alpha = .94$. A final continuous distributive fairness score was calculated as the average of scores across each of the six items, with higher scores indicating a perception that immigrants are unfairly advantaged.

Table 4

Summary of exploratory factor analysis results for Distributive Fairness items ($N = 225$)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Rotated Factor Loadings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In terms of the support they receive, I would say that most immigrants in Australia [local-born Australians] receive..</td>
<td>.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In terms of the resources they receive, I would say that most immigrants in Australia [local-born Australians] receive..</td>
<td>.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In terms of the ultimate balance of resources available in Australia, I would say that most immigrants [local-born Australians] receive..</td>
<td>.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you say that right now the immigrants in Australia [local-born Australians] are treated by the government..</td>
<td>.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In terms of the prioritisation of who receives support and resources in Australia, I would say that most immigrants [local-born Australians] receive prioritisation that is..</td>
<td>.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In terms of general living conditions, would you say that most immigrants in Australia [local-born Australians] are doing..</td>
<td>.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cronbach’s $\alpha$</strong></td>
<td><strong>.94</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly to the Procedural Fairness scores, tests of normality were not completed due to the large sample size.

**National Identity Scale Construction**

While it was intended that both the Global Identity Scale (Türken & Rudmin, 2013), a 10-item measure of cultural openness and non-nationalism, and a 4-item scale based on Verkuyten’s (2004) study would be included to measure national identity strength, factor
analysis and reliability analysis did not support use of the Global Identity Scale, neither independently nor in combination with the Verkuyten (2004)-based scale (see analyses in Appendix H). As such, the Global Identity Scale was removed from consideration as a measure of national identification.

A scale of national identity created by the inclusion of the four items modelled on Verkuyten’s (2004) items yielded a Cronbach’s $\alpha = .82$ and the four items loaded on the same factor in factor analysis (see Appendix H). A final continuous national identity score was calculated as the average of scores across each of these four items, whereby higher scores indicated a stronger national identification.

Similarly to the Procedural Fairness and Distributive Fairness scores, tests of normality were not completed due to the large sample size.

**Descriptive Statistics and Correlations**

Descriptive statistics of each of the main variables are shown in Table 5. Of note is the high mean value for National Identity. Table 6 presents a correlation matrix including each of the main variables.

### Table 5

*Descriptive Statistics of Procedural Fairness, Distributive Fairness and National Identity scores as continuous variables (N = 225)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Cronbach’s $\alpha$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Procedural Fairness</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>.94</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>1.00 – 6.00</td>
<td>.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distributive Fairness</td>
<td>-.40</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>-3.67</td>
<td>4.67</td>
<td>-5.00 – 5.00</td>
<td>.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Identity</td>
<td>5.61</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>1.00 – 7.00</td>
<td>.82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 6

*Correlations (Pearson) Between Procedural Fairness, Distributive Fairness and National Identity as continuous variables (N = 225)*
Attitudes Towards Immigration-Relevant Decision-Making

26

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Procedural Fairness</th>
<th>National Identity</th>
<th>Distributive Fairness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Procedural Fairness</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Identity</td>
<td>.16*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distributive Fairness</td>
<td>.36***</td>
<td>.18**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).
** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).
*** Correlation is significant at the .001 level (2-tailed).

Interactions Between Sample Characteristics and the Main Variables

An independent samples t-test was performed to analyse any potential impact of sample type (community versus student) on the main variables (procedural fairness, national identity and distributive fairness). While sample type had no significant impact on procedural or distributive fairness judgements, a small but significant effect was found for national identity, $t(223) = -3.50$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.23$. National identity was significantly higher in the community sample ($M = 5.77$, $SE = .07$) than in the student sample ($M = 5.29$, $SE = .13$), although even in the student sample this mean was still well above the scale midpoint.

An independent samples t-test was performed to analyse any potential impact of gender (male versus female) on the main variables. Two individuals identified as a gender other than male or female and due to this small group size and unfeasibility of statistical analysis, the data was excluded from this analysis. Gender had no significant impact on procedural fairness judgements, $t(221) = 1.78$, $p = .076$, $d = 0.12$. A very small but significant difference based on gender was found in national identity scores, $t(221) = 2.29$, $p < .05$, $d = 0.15$, with national identity scores significantly higher in those who identified as male ($M = 5.88$, $SE = .12$) than those who identified as female ($M = 5.53$, $SE = .08$), although both group means were well above the scale midpoint. Small but significant gender differences were also found in distributive fairness judgements, $t(221) = 3.5$, $p = .001$, $d = 0.23$. Distributive fairness scores were significantly higher (indicating a perception that immigrants are unfairly advantaged) in those who identified as male ($M = .18$, $SE = .19$) than those who identified as female ($M = -.58$, $SE = .10$).
Correlational analysis was conducted to analyse any relationship between age and the main variables. Age was not significantly correlated with procedural or distributive fairness judgements (as continuous variables) but was significantly correlated with national identity ($r = .18, p < .01$). This result demonstrated a small positive correlation between age and national identity.

Correlational analysis was conducted to analyse the relationship between highest education level and the main variables. Highest education level was not significantly correlated with procedural fairness judgements or national identity but was significantly correlated with distributive fairness judgements ($r = -.23, p = .001$). This result demonstrated a small negative correlation between highest education level and distributive fairness (Note: high distributive fairness scores indicate a perception that immigrants are unfairly advantaged).

A one-way independent ANOVA was conducted to analyse any potential impact of cultural identity on the main variables. Cultural identity was sorted into two categories; majority and non-majority. Those who identified with an Australian or British Australian identity were categorised as identifying with the majority identity, and all other possible cultural identities were categorised as non-majority. There was a significant, but very small, effect of cultural identity on national identity, $F(1, 1) = 7.18, p = .008, \omega^2 = .03$. National identity was significantly higher in those who identified with the majority cultural identity ($M = 5.65, SE = .07$) than those who identified with non-majority cultural groups ($M = 4.95, SE = .21$). It is worthwhile noting that these groups were very different in size, with the non-majority cultural group counting only 15 ($N=225$). Cultural identity (majority versus non-majority) did not demonstrate a significant effect on procedural fairness or distributive fairness judgements.
A one-way independent ANOVA was conducted to analyse any potential impact of state of residence on the main variables. There was no significant effect found of state of residence on the main variables and negligible effect sizes (procedural fairness: $F(4,220) = .577, p = .679, \omega^2 = .01$, national identity: $F(4,220) = 1.219, p = .304, \omega^2 = .01$, distributive fairness: $F(4,220) = .438, p = .781, \omega^2 = .01$).

**Relationship between Procedural and Distributive Fairness Judgements**

An aim of this study was to investigate the nature of the association between procedural fairness and distributive fairness judgements in the context of attitudes towards immigration in Australia. Procedural and distributive fairness scores were found to be significantly related, $r = .37, p < .001$. This result demonstrates a medium positive correlation between procedural fairness judgements and distributive fairness judgements in the context of immigration decisions in Australia (Note: higher distributive fairness scores reflect a perception that immigrants are unfairly advantaged).

**National Identity as a Polarising Factor in Those who Perceive Low Procedural Fairness**

The hypothesis was that participants who indicated a judgement of low levels of procedural fairness would polarise across national identity strength; strong national identity would result in the perception that the outcome is unfair for majority Australians (distributive fairness). Two categorical independent variables were created: Procedural fairness and National identity. Procedural fairness scores were categorised into low, medium or high using a tertile split, partitioning high and low procedural fairness judgements from ambivalent judgements. This resulted in 78 data points in the low category (scores of 2.2 or lower), 75 data points in the medium category (scores between 2.3 and 3.1) and 72 data points in the high category (scores of 3.2 or higher). National identity scores were categorised into high or low using a median split. This resulted in 102 data points in the low
category (scores of 5.5 or lower) and 123 data points in the high category (scores of 5.75 or higher). Distributive fairness remained a continuous dependent variable. Levene’s test of equality of error variances suggested that the variance in distributive fairness judgements was roughly equal across the various combinations of national identity and procedural fairness.

A between-subjects two-way ANOVA was conducted using two categorical independent variables (procedural fairness and national identity) and one continuous dependent variable (distributive fairness; Figure 1). There was a large and significant main effect of procedural fairness on distributive fairness, $F(2, 224) = 16.09, p < .001, \eta^2 = .117$. Bonferroni post hoc tests revealed that perceived distributive fairness scores were significantly higher (indicating a perception that immigrants are unfairly advantaged) in high and medium procedural fairness groups when compared to the low procedural fairness group (both $ps < .001$). There was no significant difference in perceived distributive fairness between high and medium procedural fairness groups ($p = .138$).
Figure 1. Estimated Marginal Means of Distributive Fairness Scores across Procedural Fairness and National Identity Categories.

The main effect of national identity on perceived distributive fairness was non-significant, $F(1, 224) = 2.94, p = .09, \omega^2 = .008$. The interaction between the effects of procedural fairness and national identity on perceived distributive fairness was also non-significant, $F(2, 1) = .23, p = .78, \omega^2 = -.006$.

Due to the gender skew of this sample and the gender differences found in distributive fairness judgements, an ANCOVA was conducted to analyse the impact of the covariate, gender. Levene’s test of equality of error variances suggested that the variance in distributive fairness judgements was roughly equal across the gender groups. The covariate was significantly related to distributive fairness judgements, $F(1, 218) = 9.86, p = .002, r = .21$. There remained a large and significant effect of procedural fairness after controlling for the effect of gender, $F(2, 218) = 15.46, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .12$.

Further Investigation – Distributive Fairness - Immigrants

The unexpected positive correlation between procedural fairness and distributive fairness scores led me to further analyse responses to the distributive fairness items. Correlational analysis was conducted within distributive fairness question pairs, between the response regarding immigrants and the response regarding local-born Australians. The questions are designed with the intention that the responder will consider the two target groups (local-born Australians and immigrants) in comparison, and thus one would expect the scores within distributive fairness question pairs to be correlated, and negatively so. Correlational analysis revealed that almost all distributive fairness question pairs showed little correlation between their responses ($r$ scores between -.19 and .11). Given that there was no interaction effect found between national identity and procedural fairness on their relationship to distributive fairness judgements (national identity did not exhibit a polarising
effect), I conducted further exploration to identify who participants might be thinking of in their consideration of fairness. As a result, and since they were uncorrelated, I decided to separate responses across the two aspects of question pairs (one referring to immigrants and the other to local-born Australians) and complete further analyses. The six distributive fairness questions referring to immigrants performed well as a scale, yielding a sufficient Cronbach’s $\alpha = .96$. The six questions referring to local-born Australians also performed well as a scale, yielding a Cronbach’s $\alpha = .90$. Two continuous distributive fairness scores were calculated, one an average of response scores to the immigrant questions, and the other an average of response scores to the local-born Australians questions.

Table 7 shows the results of correlational analysis and highlights that Distributive Fairness – Immigrants is significantly correlated with the independent variables, but Distributive Fairness – Australians is not.

Table 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Procedural Fairness</th>
<th>National Identity</th>
<th>Distributive Fairness - Immigrants</th>
<th>Distributive Fairness - Australians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Procedural Fairness</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Identity</td>
<td>.16*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distributive Fairness - Immigrants</td>
<td>.57**</td>
<td>.15*</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribute Fairness - Australians</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>-.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).
** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Additional Investigation – Absolute Distributive Unfairness

Conceptually, when considering answers to the distributive fairness item pairs, difference scores clustered around the centre of the scale could be considered to indicate a
perception of relative parity between the two target groups in terms of what they receive (or what is distributed to them) and that scores further from the centre of the scale could be considered to represent a perception that parity between the groups has not been achieved, or that the distributive outcome is unfair to one of the two groups. To explore this further, distributive fairness difference scores were all converted to positive scores to create an Absolute Distributive Unfairness score (higher scores indicating higher perceived unfairness when comparing what the two target groups receive). For simplicity, these scores were compared to inversed scores on the procedural fairness scale, representing Procedural Unfairness. Additional correlational analyses were conducted and summarised in Table 8. It is notable that by analysing the data in this way, that procedural fairness and distributive ‘parity’ perceptions become positively correlated in the way that we would expect.

Table 8

*Correlations Between Procedural Unfairness, National Identity and Absolute Distributive Unfairness as continuous variables (N = 225)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Procedural Unfairness</th>
<th>National Identity</th>
<th>Absolute Distributive Unfairness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Procedural Unfairness</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Identity</td>
<td>-.16*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolute Distributive Unfairness</td>
<td>.29***</td>
<td>-.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*. Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).
***. Correlation is significant at the .001 level (2-tailed).

Additional Investigation – Polarity Within Procedural Fairness Categories

A final analysis of whether distributive fairness judgements behave differently at different levels of procedural fairness judgements was conducted. Table 9 outlines descriptive statistics within procedural fairness categories and highlights that the standard deviation of distributive fairness scores is highest in the low procedural fairness group and decreases from there to the medium procedural fairness group and decreases again to the high
procedural fairness group. This identifies a potential pattern whereby as the perception of procedural fairness decreases, the polarisation of distributive fairness judgements increases.

While I cannot formally test whether the differences in standard deviation are statistically significant, this result indicates a trend that is consistent with my hypothesis.

Table 9

*Descriptive Statistics of Procedural Fairness as a categorical variable and Distributive Fairness as a continuous variable (N = 225)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Procedural Fairness Category</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Distributive Fairness Mean</th>
<th>Distributive Fairness Standard Deviation</th>
<th>Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>-2.50 – 3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>-.25</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>-2.83 – 3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>-1.08</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>-3.67 – 4.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Discussion

The aims of this study were to create a procedural fairness scale based on a number of relevant theories in the fairness literature, to explore the nature of the association between procedural and distributive fairness in the context of attitudes towards immigration in Australia and to analyse any influence of national identity of those judgements. The hypothesis was that participants who indicated a judgement of low levels of procedural fairness would polarise in their distributive fairness judgements based on national identity strength; strong national identity would result in the perception that the outcome was unfair for majority Australians and low national identity would result in the perception that the outcome was unfair for immigrants.

**Relationship Between Procedural Fairness and Distributive Fairness Judgements**

This study revealed that procedural and distributive fairness judgements were correlated to a medium degree when measured in this context. The relationship between procedural fairness and distributive fairness continued as a significant result when analysed using a two-way ANOVA (procedural fairness sorted in to low, medium and high).
Distributive fairness scores were significantly higher (indicating a perception that immigrants are unfairly advantaged) in high and medium procedural fairness groups when compared to the low procedural fairness group.

These results add to the body of evidence that show the two aspects of fairness to be associated (Louis et al., 2007; Tyler, 1989), however, the theory and literature around fairness posits that if people perceive fairness in the process that takes place around decision-making that they are more likely to accept the outcome of those decisions (Lind & Tyler, 1988) so the positive direction of the correlation and the pattern of the ANOVA results is unexpected. These results indicate, in this case, that as the perception of procedural fairness increased, the perception that immigrants are unfairly advantaged increased. Whilst not the direction that we might have logically expected in the context of this study, the result does match Louis et al.’s (2007) findings as outlined in an initial correlation matrix ($r=0.55$) before the two fairness concepts were combined into a fairness heuristic for the purposes of that study.

A pattern of results that seems inconsistent with the theoretical perspective may be due to methodological limitations. If distributive fairness items modelled on Louis et al.’s (2007) function as intended, we would expect to see a correlation between the question regarding immigrants and the question regarding local-born Australians, which we did not see in this study. The difference in the correlational relationships between the immigrant-based and local-born Australian-based questions and the main variables leads us to question whether each aspect of the question pairs are drawing on different and distinct concepts and judgements. This also renders the calculation method (score on question regarding immigrants minus score on question regarding local-born Australians) incongruous as a representation of an overall distributive fairness judgement.

Theory postulates that we would expect measures of procedural and distributive fairness to be positively correlated, rather than negatively as seen in this study. Further
exploration of the elements of the procedural fairness scale may be warranted. The items within the scale were designed to capture Tyler’s (1989) theory of procedural fairness which incorporates the elements of neutrality, trust and standing, as well as Folger’s (1977) concept of voice. These are relational concepts, based in the dynamic between two individuals or groups, and may also ignite comparison processes and thus draw on notions of status.

Indications that a respondent strongly agrees with the procedural fairness items designed to represent these elements may be indicative of someone who considers themselves of high status in Australian society or experiences society as a member of a high-status group. Perceptions of status have been shown to be important to judgements of fairness and to impact on how individuals react to fair and unfair procedures and treatment (Tyler, 1994). Members of a high-status group have been shown to be likely to perceive greater deservingness for treatment and outcomes (Major, 1994). Van Prooijen, Van den Bos and Wilke (2005) identified that when status was more salient for an individual, that their response to perceived procedural unfairness was heightened. The procedural fairness items may have activated the salience of respondents’ status and increased the likelihood that they perceived unfairness to their own group.

The discrepancy seen when analysing distributive fairness judgements regarding immigrants to those regarding local-born Australians, and the pattern whereby judgements regarding immigrants were related to the main variables but those regarding local-born Australians were not, mirrors the finding in Esses, Jackson and Armstrong’s (1998) study where perceived competition for resources affected endorsement of empowerment but not direct assistance; immigrants can do alright, but not better than me.

It is also important to consider the impact of contextual aspects when interpreting the relationship between the perceptions of fairness in this study. Discussion regarding immigration in the current political discourse in Australia, where a relatively conservative
political party is currently in power, has increased over the past year (Markus, 2018). Violent events across the world, seemingly linked either directly to or in response to cultural and religious extremism, often appear in the political discourse as examples of the challenges of social cohesion in diverse societies and the potential threat posed by accessible immigration policy (Kelly, 2019). The approach of the current government in response to this concept of threat has been a ‘hard-line’ approach to immigration policy, framing it as a border security and resource issue (Gravelle, 2019). It is relevant to consider whether respondents are perceiving high levels of procedural fairness when they agree with the federal government’s current approach. Some of the procedural fairness items refer to trusting decision makers, believing that they are making decisions based on fact and that they consider the respondent’s views (e.g. ‘When making decisions regarding immigration in Australia, decision makers respect my rights). A respondent who responds positively to such questions with the current political discourse in mind may also be likely to perceive that immigrants deserve the harsh treatment afforded by such an approach and that current immigration policy is too generous. Such respondents may respond to distributive fairness questions in a way that reflects a perception that immigrants are unfairly advantaged.

While this study surveyed attitudes towards immigrants, the immigrant groups particularly salient in the political discourse in Australia at this time are refugees and asylum seekers (Kelly, 2019). Louis et al.’s (2007) study utilised the questions specifically in relation to asylum seekers and we might consider whether they perform differently in a discussion on immigration or whether, given the current Australian discourse, the salient group in respondents’ minds in this study was also asylum seekers. It may be relevant in future studies to include items which examine the respondents’ perception of the concept of an immigrant and whether that perception impacts on their responding across the main variables.
Louis et al.’s (2007) study did not treat distributive fairness as an outcome variable, as this study did, but combined distributive fairness with procedural fairness, and treated this combined concept as a mediator of the relationships between individual-level and intergroup variables, and hostility towards asylum seekers. That study found that people tended to perceive harsh treatment of asylum seekers as being procedurally fair if they felt that asylum seekers posed an instrumental or structural threat, if the unequal relationship was between Australians and asylum seekers was judged to be legitimate and if normative support was perceived for restricting asylum seekers access (Louis et al., 2007). Distributive fairness was related to asylum seekers posing a structural threat and normative support for restricting access. Moffat and Zhang’s (2014) study into community acceptance of mining also found that procedural fairness (in the way that a specific mining company dealt with local communities) acted as a mediator which predicted trust, and trust was crucial to community acceptance and approval of mining activities. These patterns cast some doubt on whether the survey items, written and utilised as per Louis et al.’s (2007) study, are appropriate for use as measurements of procedural and distributive fairness as outcome variables. It is not clear, for instance, when utilised in this way, whether they are drawing discretely on fairness concepts or tapping into interactions between other interrelated concepts such as trust, threat or intergroup dynamics.

National Identity as a Polarising Variable

The hypothesis that participants who indicated a judgement of low levels of procedural fairness would polarise in their distributive fairness judgements based on national identity strength (strong national identity would result in the perception that the outcome is unfair for majority Australians and weaker national identity would result in the perception that the outcome is unfair for immigrants) was not supported by the data. No significant relationship was found between national identity strength and distributive fairness, nor was a
significant interaction found between national identity and procedural fairness on their impact on distributive fairness scores.

National identity scores were particularly high across the sample which could imply strong in-group identification, or that the utilised measure was not sufficiently nuanced to detect differences in in-group identification. Studies out of Belgium have shown that attitudes towards foreigners can be dependent on the social representation of the national identity with which someone identifies, within a single national context, and that different types of national identity have different relationships with attitudes towards immigrants (Billiet, et al., 2003; Maddens, Billiet & Beerten, 2000). While the national identity scale utilised in this study (adapted from Verkuyten, 2004) referred to a connection with other Australians e.g., I feel a bond with Australian people, I see myself as a real Australian person, it did not gather information about respondents’ concept of that Australian identity or Australian people, which may have had an impact.

Descriptive statistics within procedural fairness categories highlighted a systematic increase in the variation of distributive fairness scores from the high procedural fairness group, to the medium and then the low procedural fairness group. This indicates that the polarity of perspectives did increase as the procedure was judged as less fair. The final dataset did not afford sufficient power to identify such a result according to an initial power analysis, which means that an interaction effect may be identified with a larger sample or varied categorisation method. Another consideration is that perhaps this pattern is mediated by a variable other than national identity. Respondents’ sense of security, (personally, economically and culturally) has been shown as an important factor influencing attitudes in this context (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010). The political leanings of respondents and degree of alignment with the political discourse in the community at the time of inquiry may also be variables worth exploring, particularly as recent research has revealed that the increase in
negative sentiment towards immigration over the past two years seems to have been linked exclusively to the political context (Gravelle, 2019; Markus, 2018).

Due to the discarding of the Global Identity Scale (Türken & Rudmin, 2013) items from inclusion in the national identity scale, scores were calculated on only four items, modelled on Verkuyten’s (2004) scale, limiting the possible range and variation. It also limits our interpretation and exploration of the potential underlying influences and complexities that might underpin the dynamics at work in this study. The potential role of acquiescence bias (Watson, 1992) and socially desirable responding (Furnham, 1986) in responses to the national identity scale questions can also be considered. In the context of the current political discourse in Australia and considering the potential salience of intergroup relations activated by the other questions in the survey, participants may be motivated to respond positively to all of the national identity items even when considering the anonymous nature of the responding.

**Procedural Fairness Scale**

An aim of this study was to create a procedural fairness scale based on relevant theoretical frameworks that would function in the context of attitudes towards immigration. The novel scale as utilised in this study is another factor that could explain or contribute to the unexpected finding. The scale included the two items used in Louis et al.’s (2007) study and eight additional items modelled on Tyler’s (1989) and Folger’s (1977) theories of procedural fairness. Items intended to measure the same aspect showed adequate correlations ($r = .56$ to $r = .84$) and only the items intended to measure voice had a correlation lower than $.70$. As aspects of a different theory of procedural fairness, it might be expected for the voice items to behave slightly differently to the Tyler (1989) items.

The procedural fairness scale utilised in this study demonstrated a medium positive correlation with distributive fairness items, emulating the result seen in Louis et al.’s (2007)
Attitudes Towards Immigration-Relevant Decision-Making

study. The interpretation of this correlation, as discussed, may require further exploration as
the positive direction of the correlation is challenging to explain theoretically. To consider the
created scale to adequately represent a measure of procedural fairness it must not only behave
similarly to other measures of procedural fairness but must also be interpretable within the
literature and understanding of procedural fairness. Tyler’s (1989) theory of procedural
fairness and Folger’s (1977) concept of voice have not been utilised as the basis of analysis of
procedural fairness in this particular context previously. Tyler’s (1989) theory was shaped by
experiences of Chicago residents with legal authorities and was in response to a need for expansion on previous control-based theories of procedural fairness (Thibaut & Walker,
1975). Folger’s (1977) concept of voice was explored in a simulated work task with sixth-
grade boys, also in the United States of America. Both of these contexts are considerably
different from an exploration of attitudes towards immigration in an Australian setting, which
we might expect to be beholden to different impacting and mediating variables. Qualitative
studies and other research can help to illuminate what these variables might be, with themes
such as the legitimacy of the majority group’s systemic advantage, entitlement of the majority
group to advantage, spatial management and control, potentially relevant to add to status and
security as areas of further exploration regarding procedural fairness judgements (Dandy,
2009; Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2013; Hage, 2012). The importance of considering context in the
creation of applicable procedural fairness measures for different areas of study warrants
further exploration.

Distributive Fairness Measure

Additional exploration of distributive fairness data revealed information regarding the
applicability of Louis et al.’s (2007) question format and calculation method and provides
further potential explanation of the results found in this study. I utilised the distributive
fairness question items referencing immigrants to create a distributive fairness – immigrants
Analyses revealed this scale to behave very similarly to the distributive fairness scale as calculated via Louis et al.’s (2007) method. Utilising only the local-born Australians half of distributive fairness questions pairs also yielded high reliability as a scale but showed no significant patterns with the other main variables. This suggests that the distributive fairness scale as a whole, with scores calculated as per Louis et al.’s (2007) method, are likely representing views regarding immigrants exclusively, rather than views regarding immigrants in comparison with other groups, or in comparison with the dominant Australian cultural group.

These patterns also suggest that distributive fairness judgements in regard to immigrants and those in regard to local-born Australians are discrete considerations; the judgements are made separately, rather than related concepts as assumed by the Louis et al. (2007) model of calculation. Deservingness is one notion that has been shown to impact distributive fairness judgements differently depending on the target group; when considering a majority group, deservingness can be related to the perceived right to favourable outcomes (Major, 1994), whilst in the consideration of immigrant groups it can be related to how the immigrant group arrived in Australia, with groups such as asylum seekers being perceived as ‘queue jumpers’ and less deserving of support (Pedersen & Hartley, 2015). Further analysis of fairness judgements towards different target groups and the influencing factors exclusive to each target group is a sphere of worthwhile further development.

I also noted that by utilising Louis et al.’s (2007) distributive fairness calculation method that scores became representative of the direction of perceived unfairness (towards local-born Australians or immigrants) but neglected the representation of a judgement of overall fairness. A new measure of absolute distributive unfairness, drawing on the degree of parity between the perception of what is distributed to immigrants and what is distributed to local-born Australians, was significantly positively correlated with procedural unfairness.
scores. This is the relationship that we are led to expect on the basis of previous research (Lind & Tyler, 1988) and leads us to be cautious about the format and calculation method of distributive fairness items based on Louis et al.’s (2007) study.

**Contributions, Limitations and Implications**

A limitation to the generalisability of this study is the geographical concentration of study participants to the south west region of Western Australia. Gravelle’s (2019) study into the impact of local context on Australian attitudes toward immigration and asylum policy found regional variation in such attitudes, with the size of the local immigrant population having a positive impact. Gravelle’s (2019) study also found an impact of year on attitudes towards immigration policy, a symptom of the political discourse at the time. Extension of this study methodology across geographic and temporal variability, whilst collecting information about such impacting factors, is relevant. The inclusion of the data of respondents who identified with the non-majority cultural identity, while small in number, may have also had an impact on the results.

The context of any study into fairness plays an important role in enabling identification of the potential variables impacting on judgements and needs to inform the creation and utilisation of fairness scales to ensure that expected variables can be captured and measured. Qualitative research can illuminate such variables and this study identifies the concepts of status and legitimacy, and intergroup relations, security and belonging, as integral to majority group members’ perceptions of fairness in the context of immigration-relevant decision-making in Australia. Studies across different geographic, political and temporal contexts remain important in capturing the consistencies amongst the wide variation in this field of analysis.

The results of this study shed further light on the ways that concepts of fairness interact and demonstrate impact on attitudes towards immigration in Australia. The direction
of the relationship between procedural and distributive fairness judgements seems counter-intuitive based on the current theory and literature, but the use of a novel, yet reliable, procedural fairness scale creates an opportunity to delve deeper into the aspects contributing to procedural fairness judgements and how they might interact with other variables.

Additional investigation using different aspects of the distributive fairness measures illuminated limitations to the applicability of Louis et al.’s (2007) scale as utilised in that study and in this context. Separation of distributive fairness judgements regarding immigrants from those regarding local-born Australians seems to be important due to the different impacting variables and contextual influences on attitudes towards those target groups.

The results question whether judgements of fairness can be influenced, and even overruled, by personal or group opinion, or intergroup dynamics when impacting on attitudes towards immigration. While national identity was not demonstrated as an important dynamic in this study, other aspects may be relevant, such as more nuanced variations in national identity, national representation of the immigrant group and intergroup dynamics of security and status.

This study has tested a novel procedural fairness scale in the context of attitudes towards immigration in Australia and furthered the understanding of the variables impacting on these judgements. It has illuminated limitations to the applicability of a previously utilised distributive fairness scale and its interactions with variables important in this context. It has demonstrated a relationship between procedural and distributive fairness that highlights the need for further consideration of the theoretical constructs in this field of knowledge in an effort to learn more about the factors impacting on attitudes towards immigrants and support efforts to foster social cohesion in diverse societies.
References


Appendix A – Pilot Phase Survey Content

At each question you will be asked to answer the question, as well as to comment on your experience of trying to answer the question. Indicate how clear you found the question, how easy it was to understand, on a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 = very unclear, 2 = unclear, 3 = slightly unclear, 4 = neutral, 5 = slightly clear, 6 = clear and 7 = very clear. We also want to know what you thought the question was intended to measure and any other comments you may have about the content or style of the question.

Proposed Measures of Procedural Fairness

Indicate your level of agreement with the following statements on a scale from 1 to 6, where 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = slightly disagree, 4 = slightly agree, 5 = agree and 6 = strongly agree.

- Those making decisions about immigration in Australia use methods that are equally fair to everyone involved
- When making decisions regarding immigration in Australia, decision makers get the information they need to make good decisions
- Those making decisions about immigration in Australia try to bring the issues into the open so that they can be solved
- When making decisions regarding immigration in Australia, decision makers try hard to be fair to me
- Those making decisions about immigration in Australia consider my views
- When making decisions regarding immigration in Australia, decision makers treat me politely
- Those making decisions about immigration in Australia show concern for my rights
- When making decisions regarding immigration in Australia, decision makers are doing so on the basis of facts
- Those making decisions regarding immigration in Australia are unbiased
- When making decisions regarding immigration in Australia, decision makers are aiming to create a level playing field
- Those making decisions regarding immigration in Australia have my best interests at heart
- When making decisions regarding immigration in Australia, decision makers are trying to treat people fairly and reasonably
- I am treated with respect by those making decisions regarding immigration in Australia
- I trust the people making decisions regarding immigration in Australia
- When making decisions regarding immigration in Australia, decision makers respect my rights
- I have had an opportunity to influence the decision-making process regarding immigration in Australia
- I have been able to express my preferences regarding immigration in Australia to the people making relevant decisions
- My preferences regarding immigration in Australia have been taken into account by decision-makers

**Proposed Measures of Distributive Fairness**

Indicate your opinion on the following statements on a scale from 1 to 6, where 1 = much worse than they deserve, 2 = worse than they deserve, 3 = slightly worse than they deserve, 4 = slightly better than they deserve, 5 = better than they deserve and 6 = much better than they deserve.

- In terms of the support they receive, would you say that most immigrants in Australia [local-born Australians] receive..
- In terms of the resources they receive, would you say that most immigrants in Australia [local-born Australians] receive..

- In terms of the prioritisation of who receives support and resources in Australia, would you say that immigrants [local-born Australians] receive prioritisation that is..

- In terms of the ultimate balance of resources available in Australia, would you say that immigrants [local-born Australians] receive..
Appendix B – (Electronic) Pilot Phase Information Statement

Pilot Phase: Procedural and Distributive Fairness Judgements and National Identity in the context of Immigration-Relevant Decision-Making in Australia

This research project is being undertaken as part of the requirements of a Bachelor of Science (Psychology) Honours at Edith Cowan University (ECU). The project has been approved by the ECU Psychology and Criminology Human Research Ethics Sub-Committee.

This project aims to explore people’s perceptions of the decision-making that takes place around immigration and immigrants in Australia. We want to look at how fair people think the decision-making processes are, as well as how fair they feel the distribution of resources is. The project also aims to explore the cultural identity with which people connect and whether this impacts on their perceptions of fairness in this particular area of decision-making.

In order to explore aspects of these fairness judgements that haven’t been explored before in this context, we have created some questions that we hope will measure those aspects. We want to know if the questions are clear, easy to understand and what people think the questions are trying to measure. Participation in the Pilot Phase of this research project involves completing a confidential online questionnaire, answering questions as well as providing your feedback on the questions (e.g. do they make sense, are they easy to understand, what do you think this question is trying to explore).

The Pilot Phase of this research project is open to all participants of the ECU Undergraduate Research Participation Scheme. The questionnaire should take 15 to 30 minutes to complete.

We don’t expect completion of the questionnaire to cause you any distress.

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw your participation without penalty before the submission of a completed questionnaire. Should you choose to do so, any information you have already provided will be deleted. As your questionnaire responses are anonymous, the researchers will be unable to withdraw your responses after you submit your completed questionnaire.

The submission of a completed questionnaire will be accepted as an expression of consent to participate in the research.

You are eligible to receive 0.5 credit points (0.5% of your unit grade) upon submission of a completed questionnaire.

The questionnaire is conducted online, and response data is then downloaded by the researchers. The information that you provide will be collated by a secure online software program hosted by ECU. Identifiable information collected from you to ensure the awarding of credit points will be stored separately from your anonymous questionnaire responses, will only be available to the researchers and staff associated with the project.
(whose contact details appear below) and will be deleted at the end of the data collection period. De-identified data will be stored indefinitely in secure electronic form at ECU.

A summary of the overall results of this research project can be provided to you at your request. You can contact the researchers at any time for this purpose.

The results of this study (group data) will be published as a Bachelor of Science (Psychology) Honours thesis and may appear in publication.

If you have any questions or require any further information about the research project, please contact the researcher:

Tessa A Phipps
Email: [REDACTED]
Phone: [REDACTED]

Or the project supervisors in the School of Arts and Humanities:

A/Professor Justine Dandy
Email: j.dandy@ecu.edu.au
Phone: 08 6304 5105

Dr Zoe Leviston
Email: z.leviston@ecu.edu.au
Phone: 08 6304 5609

If you have any concerns or complaints about the research project and wish to talk to an independent person, you may contact:

Research Ethics Officer
Edith Cowan University
270 Joondalup Drive
JOONDALUP WA 6027
Phone: (08) 6304 2170
Email: research.ethics@ecu.edu.au
Appendix C – Flyer Design

Are you an adult who was born in Australia?
If so, researchers at Edith Cowan University want to know your thoughts on the fairness of decision-making processes around immigration in Australia.

This research project is being undertaken as part of the requirements of a Bachelor of Science (Psychology) Honours at Edith Cowan University.

The project aims to explore people’s perceptions of the decision-making that takes place around immigration and immigrants in Australia. We want to look at how fair people think the decision-making processes are, as well as how fair they feel the distribution of resources to immigrants is. The project also aims to explore the cultural identity with which people connect and whether this impacts on their perceptions of fairness in this particular area of decision-making.

Complete a confidential questionnaire and you can go into the draw to receive a $50 Coles Myer gift card.
Entry into the draw is voluntary, enabling you to complete the questionnaire entirely anonymously if you choose.

Copy this link in to your internet browser for more information:

If you have any questions or would like any further information about the research project, please contact the researcher:
Tessa A Phipps
Email: [redacted]
Phone: [redacted]
Appendix D – Blurb to Accompany Survey Link

Are you an adult who was born in Australia? If so, researchers at Edith Cowan University want to know your thoughts on the fairness of decision-making when it comes to immigration in Australia. Complete a confidential questionnaire and you can go into the draw to receive a $50 Coles Myer gift card, or complete the questionnaire entirely anonymously if you prefer. Follow this link for more information: bit.ly/ECUImmiStudy
Appendix E – Main Study Survey Content

Inclusion

This study intends to survey the perspectives of people born in Australia. Please confirm that you were born in Australia by checking this box before proceeding.

Measures of Procedural Fairness

Indicate your opinion on the following statement on a scale from 1 to 6, where 1 = very unfair, 2 = unfair, 3 = slightly unfair, 4 = slightly fair, 5 = fair and 6 = very fair.

- How fair are the current regulations that are used for dealing with immigrants?

Indicate your opinion on the following statement on a scale from 1 to 6, where 1 = not at all appropriate, 2 = inappropriate, 3 = somewhat inappropriate, 4 = somewhat appropriate, 5 = appropriate and 6 = very appropriate.

- How appropriate are the current Australian regulations for dealing with immigrants?

Indicate your level of agreement with the following statements on a scale from 1 to 6, where 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = slightly disagree, 4 = slightly agree, 5 = agree and 6 = strongly agree.

- When making decisions regarding immigration in Australia, decision makers are doing so on the basis of facts
- Those making decisions regarding immigration in Australia are unbiased
- When making decisions regarding immigration in Australia, decision makers are trying to treat people fairly and reasonably
- I trust the people making decisions regarding immigration in Australia
- I am treated with respect by those making decisions regarding immigration in Australia
- When making decisions regarding immigration in Australia, decision makers respect my rights
Attitudes Towards Immigration-Relevant Decision-Making

- Those making decisions about immigration in Australia consider my views
- I have been able to express my preferences regarding immigration in Australia to the
  people making relevant decisions

Measures of Distributive Fairness

Indicate your opinion on the following statements on a scale from 1 to 6, where 1 = much
worse than they deserve, 2 = worse than they deserve, 3 = slightly worse than they deserve, 4
= slightly better than they deserve, 5 = better than they deserve and 6 = much better than they
deserve.

- In terms of general living conditions, would you say that most immigrants in Australia
  [local-born Australians] are doing..
- Would you say that right now the immigrants in Australia [local-born Australians] are
treated by the government..
- In terms of the support they receive, would you say that most immigrants in Australia
  [local-born Australians] receive..
- In terms of the resources they receive, would you say that most immigrants in Australia
  [local-born Australians] receive..
- In terms of the prioritisation of who receives support and resources in Australia, 
  would you say that immigrants [local-born Australians] receive prioritisation that is..
- In terms of the ultimate balance of resources available in Australia, would you say
  that immigrants [local-born Australians] receive..

Measures of National Identity

Indicate your level of agreement with the following statements on a scale from 1 to 6, where
1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = slightly agree, 4 = slightly disagree, 5 = disagree and 6 =
strongly disagree.

- I consider myself more as a citizen on the world than a citizen of some nation
Attitudes Towards Immigration-Relevant Decision-Making

- I could live in other cultures than my own
- I identify with a world community
- I enjoy learning about different cultures
- I like listening to music from different cultures
- My own culture is the best in the whole world (negatively-keyed)
- One should first care for his or her nation, then others (negatively-keyed)
- I feel intense pride when I think about my country (negatively-keyed)
- I feel most connected to members of my own country (negatively-keyed)
- My country is one of the best in the world (negatively-keyed)

Indicate your level of agreement with the following statements on a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = slightly disagree, 4 = neutral, 5 = slightly agree, 6 = agree and 7 = strongly agree.

- I identify with other Australian people
- I see myself as a real Australian person
- I feel a bond with Australian people
- I feel strongly about what happens to other Australian people.

**Demographic Questions**

Please answer the following demographic questions about yourself:

Age:

Gender: Male, Female or Other (please specify)

Postcode:

Highest level of completed education: primary, secondary, tertiary – Diploma, tertiary – Bachelor’s Degree, tertiary – postgraduate degree.

With which cultural identity do you most identify: Australian, British-Australian, Aboriginal or Torres-Strait Islander, Other North-West European, Southern and Eastern European, North
African and Middle Eastern, South-East Asian, North-East Asian, Southern and Central Asian, Peoples of the Americas, Sub-Saharan African or Other (please specify).
Appendix F - (Electronic) Main Study Information Statement for Participants of the

Edith Cowan University Undergraduate Research Participation Scheme

Procedural and Distributive Fairness Judgements and National Identity in the context of Immigration-Relevant Decision-Making in Australia

This research project is being undertaken as part of the requirements of a Bachelor of Science (Psychology) Honours at Edith Cowan University (ECU). The project has been approved by the ECU Psychology and Criminology Human Research Ethics Sub-Committee.

This project aims to explore people’s perceptions of the decision-making that takes place around immigration and immigrants in Australia. We want to look at how fair people think the decision-making processes are, as well as how fair they feel the distribution of resources is. The project also aims to explore the cultural identity with which people connect and whether this impacts on their perceptions of fairness in this particular area of decision-making.

This research project is open to participants of the ECU Undergraduate Research Participation Scheme who were born in Australia.

The questionnaire should take 15 to 30 minutes to complete. We don’t expect completion of the questionnaire to cause you any distress.

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw your participation without penalty before the submission of a completed questionnaire. Should you choose to do so, any information you have already provided will be deleted. As your questionnaire responses are anonymous, the researchers will be unable to withdraw your responses after you submit your completed questionnaire.

The submission of a completed questionnaire will be accepted as an expression of consent to participate in the research.

You are eligible to receive 0.5 credit points (0.5% of your unit grade) upon submission of a completed questionnaire.

The questionnaire is conducted online and response data is then downloaded by the researchers. The information that you provide will be collated by a secure online software program hosted by ECU. Identifiable information collected from you to ensure the awarding of credit points will be stored separately from your anonymous questionnaire responses, will only be available to the researchers and staff associated with the project (whose contact details appear below) and will be deleted at the end of the data collection period. De-identified data will be stored indefinitely in secure electronic form at Edith Cowan University.

A summary of the overall results of this research project can be provided to you at your request. You can contact the researchers at any time for this purpose.
The results of this study (group data) will be published as a Bachelor of Science (Psychology) Honours thesis and may appear in publication.

If you have any questions or require any further information about the research project, please contact the researcher:

  Tessa A Phipps  
  Email: [redacted]  
  Phone: [redacted]

Or the project supervisors in the School of Arts and Humanities:

  A/Professor Justine Dandy  
  Email: j.dandy@ecu.edu.au  
  Phone: 08 6304 5105  
  Dr Zoe Leviston  
  Email: z.leviston@ecu.edu.au  
  Phone: 08 6304 5609

If you have any concerns or complaints about the research project and wish to talk to an independent person, you may contact:

  Research Ethics Officer  
  Edith Cowan University  
  270 Joondalup Drive  
  JOONDALUP WA 6027  
  Phone: (08) 6304 2170  
  Email: research.ethics@ecu.edu.au
Appendix G - (Electronic) Main Study Information Statement for Community Participants

Procedural and Distributive Fairness Judgements and National Identity in the context of Immigration-Relevant Decision-Making in Australia

This research project is being undertaken as part of the requirements of a Bachelor of Science (Psychology) Honours at Edith Cowan University (ECU). The project has been approved by the ECU Psychology and Criminology Human Research Ethics Sub-Committee.

This project aims to explore people’s perceptions of the decision-making that takes place around immigration and immigrants in Australia. We want to look at how fair people think the decision-making processes are, as well as how fair they feel the distribution of resources is. The project also aims to explore the cultural identity with which people connect and whether this impacts on their perceptions of fairness in this particular area of decision-making.

This research project is open to all adult participants born in Australia and involves the completion of a confidential online questionnaire.

The questionnaire should take 15 to 30 minutes to complete. We don’t expect completion of the questionnaire to cause you any distress.

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw your participation without penalty before the submission of a completed questionnaire. Should you choose to do so, any information you have already provided will be deleted. As your questionnaire responses are anonymous, the researchers will be unable to withdraw your responses after you submit your completed questionnaire.

The submission of a completed questionnaire will be accepted as an expression of consent to participate in the research.

The questionnaire is conducted online and response data is then downloaded by the researchers. The information that you provide will be collated by a secure online software program hosted by ECU. De-identified data (questionnaire responses) will be stored indefinitely in secure electronic form at ECU.

You can choose to enter a draw to win a $50 Coles Myer gift card upon submission of a completed questionnaire. Should you choose to participate, you will be asked to provide an email address on which you can be contacted if you are the winner. The winner will be chosen by a random number generator and can collect the voucher in person from the researchers or can advise a postal address to which the gift card can be sent. Identifiable information collected from you to facilitate your entry into the draw will be stored separately from your anonymous questionnaire responses, will only be available to the researchers and staff associated with the project (whose contact details appear below) and will be deleted.
once the winner is chosen. The winner will be advised no later than 30/09/2019. It is not compulsory to enter the draw.

A summary of the overall results of this research project can be provided to you at your request. You can contact the researchers at any time for this purpose. The results of this study (group data) will be published as a Bachelor of Science (Psychology) Honours thesis and may appear in publication.

If you have any questions or require any further information about the research project, please contact the researcher:

Tessa A Phipps
Email: [removed]
Phone: [removed]

Or the project supervisors in the School of Arts and Humanities:

A/Professor Justine Dandy
Email: j.dandy@ecu.edu.au
Phone: 08 6304 5105
Dr Zoe Leviston
Email: z.leviston@ecu.edu.au
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If you have any concerns or complaints about the research project and wish to talk to an independent person, you may contact:

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JOONDALUP WA 6027
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Email: research.ethics@ecu.edu.au
Appendix H – Global Identity Scale Exploratory Analyses

The Global Identity Scale (Türken & Rudmin, 2013) is a 10-item measure of cultural openness and non-nationalism. Scores on these 10 items were reversed to reflect identification with a national identity. These 10 items were combined with four items from Verkuyten’s (2004) study, intended to measure national identification, were also included in this analysis for creation of a combined, single scale of national identity.

A principal factor analysis was conducted on the 14 items with oblique rotation (direct oblimin), again, given that the factors are expected to be related, and the Anderson-Rubin method. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, KMO = .84 and all KMO values for individual items were greater than .66, which is above the acceptable limit of .5 (Field, 2013). An initial analysis was run to obtain eigenvalues for each factor in the data. Three factors had eigenvalues over Kaiser’s criterion of 1 and in combination explained 56.27% of the variance. The scree plot was ambiguous and showed inflexions that would justify retaining either 2 or 3 factors. Rotated factor loadings displayed a pattern that was difficult to interpret, so the reliability of the scales were then analysed separately (Global Identity Scale with two subscales, Verkuyten national identification scale).

Reliability analysis of reversed Global Identity Scale scores highlighted a very low Cronbach’s alpha score (α = .34). Each subscale also yielded lower than optimal Cronbach’s alpha scores (reversed Cultural Openness subscale α = .65, reversed Non-Nationalism subscale α = .78). Given the low reliability of reversed Global Identity Scale scores in this context, the scale was removed from consideration as a measure of national identification.