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Perceptions of security and attitudes towards cultural diversity and immigration amongst UK migrants in Western Australia

Nikki Isaacson
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Perceptions of Security and Attitudes Towards Cultural Diversity and Immigration
Amongst UK Migrants in Western Australia

Nikki Isaacson

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

Bachelor of Arts (Psychology) Honours

Faculty of Computing, Health and Science

Edith Cowan University

Submitted October, 2007

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The Relationship Between Perceptions of Threat and Intercultural Attitudes:

A Review of the Literature

Nikki Isaacson

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Abstract

Psychological research conducted within the field of ethnic relations has revealed a strong relationship between an individual's perception of threat to their ethnocultural group and their attitudes towards the entrance and presence of other ethnocultural groups within a society. The relationship is such that the greater threat that an individual perceives, the more likely they are to hold negative attitudes. This paper provides a review of research that has investigated this relationship, revealing that although a distinct negative correlation exists between perceived threat and intercultural attitudes, a number of factors influence the relationship. Factors discussed throughout this review include the historical and relational context of ethnocultural groups, the status of these groups within society and the degree to which an individual identifies with their ethnocultural group. The review highlights that these contextual factors often influence perceptions of threat simultaneously, therefore, complicating the threat/attitude relationship. The paper concludes with a suggestion that future research should investigate the threat/attitude relationship across a wide variety of contexts in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the influence that perceptions of threat have on intercultural attitudes.

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Submitted: August, 2007

The Relationship Between Perceptions of Threat and Intercultural Attitudes:

A Review of the Literature

Immigration refers to the movement of people from one country to another and is a phenomenon that has dramatically changed the composition of many populations across the world (Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Scharzwald, & Tur-Kaspsa, 1998). As a result of immigration many countries have become culturally plural, in that a number of cultural and ethnic groups, or 'ethnocultural groups' reside together under the same social and political structure (Skelton & Allen, 1999, cited in Berry, 2006a).

Individuals who reside in a culturally plural society can be discussed as belonging to either the dominant ethnocultural group, or a nondominant ethnocultural group (Berry, 2006b). The term dominant group refers to the group within society who hold political and economic power whilst the remaining groups who lack such power are defined as nondominant. When discussed within a cultural context, nondominant groups are often comprised of migrants and indigenous individuals (Berry, 2006b).

Within psychology, two separate streams of research have emerged that examine the effect of immigration on dominant and nondominant ethnocultural group members (Berry, 2001). The first is acculturation research which has emerged from the cross-cultural perspective of psychology. This research focuses largely on nondominant group members, in particular migrants, and their experiences of adjustment and their psychological wellbeing (Berry, 2001; 2006b). The second stream of psychological research originates from social psychology and investigates ethnic relations (Berry, 2001). This research has typically examined the experiences of dominant group members within migrant receiving countries including their acceptance of and attitudes towards intercultural concepts such as immigration and cultural diversity (Berry, 2001; 2006b). Recently, the importance of integrating these

two perspectives has been emphasised, in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of intercultural relations (Berry, 2006b).

This paper provides a review of research that has been conducted on attitudes towards intercultural concepts, and in particular focuses on research that has investigated factors that determine such attitudes. The paper begins with a brief overview of sociological, demographic and psychological research. This leads to the primary focus of the paper; the role that perceptions of threat have on intercultural attitudes. Theoretical frameworks associated with the construct of threat are reviewed, followed by an extensive examination of the literature regarding perceived threat and its relationship with intercultural attitudes. The review highlights the commonalities and the variations that exist within the body of research and concludes with a discussion of findings and suggestions for future research.

Intercultural Attitudes

An attitude is an individual's evaluation of a person, group of people, object, action or concept (Bohner & Wänke, 2002)). Within ethnic relations research, the attitudes that individuals have towards intercultural concepts, such as immigration and cultural diversity have been extensively researched (Berry, 2001). Throughout the literature these concepts are often discussed interchangeably (Ang, 2002), however, each is clearly distinct from one another and so it is important to define each concept in terms of what is investigated within the research.

As previously defined, immigration refers to the movement of people from one country to another (Stephan et al., 1998). Attitudes towards immigration reflect an evaluation of this action and may include perceptions of social and economic consequences (Berry, 2006; Berry & Kalin, 1995). Immigrants are individuals who have left their country of residence in order to reside within a new country. Attitudes

towards immigrants are therefore an evaluation of a particular social group which may include stereotypes or the degree to which an individual accepts their presence in society (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Stephan & Stephan, 1996; Stephan et al., 1998).

Culture refers to the features of a social group that characterise and distinguish the group from other social groups (Matisumoto & Juang, 2008). Such features may include food, clothing, religion, traditions, practices and language (Matisumoto & Juang, 2008). Consequently, cultural diversity refers to the presence of difference within a society as a result of many cultural groups residing together (Ang, 2002). Attitudes towards cultural diversity may therefore reflect an individual's level of support or their perceived consequences of residing in a culturally diverse society (Ang, 2002).

Multiculturalism is primarily an ideology, often adapted into policy which recognises, accepts, respects and celebrates cultural diversity within a society (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2007). Multicultural policies, such as Australia's, aim to encourage individuals to maintain their cultural traditions, whilst promoting active and equal participation of all individuals within society (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2007). Attitudes towards this concept can reflect evaluations of multiculturalism either as a policy, such as the perceived consequences or level of support, or as an ideology, assessing endorsement of the underlying principles of multiculturalism (Berry, 2006b; Ho, 1990). In Australia for example, the multicultural policy is based on four underlying principles, these are; support of Australian social and political principles and structures; respect of all cultures, values and beliefs; fairness and equality for all individuals; and equal benefits of diversity for all residing within Australia (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2007).

Whilst these concepts differ in regard to their focus and in terms of what is investigated within the research, attitudes towards immigration, immigrants, multiculturalism and cultural diversity all represent intercultural concepts (Ang, 2002), and so will be collectively referred to throughout this review as intercultural attitudes.

Predictors of Intercultural Attitudes

Much of the empirical investigation regarding intercultural attitudes has focussed on determining the factors that influence such attitudes. Research has been conducted across a number of disciplines, such as sociology, demography and psychology (Berry, 2001), with influential factors revealed at societal, group and individual levels. For example, sociological research has found that societal factors such as population size and economic conditions can influence intercultural attitudes. Quillian (1995) for example, found that large immigrant populations relative to the size of the dominant population, along with poor economic conditions, often result in negative attitudes amongst members of the dominant group.

Demographic research investigates groups within a population defined by characteristics such as age, gender and level of education. Such research has consistently found a relationship between many demographic characteristics and intercultural attitudes (Ang, 2002; Berry, 2001; Bulbeck, 2004; Mulder & Krahn, 2005). For example, positive intercultural attitudes are generally found amongst younger respondents, female respondents, individuals of higher socioeconomic status and individuals with a higher level of education (Ang, 2002; Berry, 2001; Bulbeck, 2004; Mulder & Krahn, 2005).

Psychological Research

Just as demographic research investigates individual characteristics, psychological research has also uncovered factors at an individual level that are associated with intercultural attitudes. For example, personality research has demonstrated that individuals who display high levels of authoritarianism and dogmatism generally also display high levels of negative intercultural attitudes (Berry, 2001; Heaven & Furnham, 1987; Stephan & Stephan, 1996). Whilst this research provides important information regarding the relationship between personality characteristics and attitudes towards intercultural concepts, it does not assist in developing an understanding of group relations, which is important in developing policies and programs that aim to enhance intercultural relations within culturally plural societies (Berry, 2006b). Instead, psychological research within the ethnic relations field is primarily based upon principles and theories of social psychology that focus on the relationships that exist between groups. An important theory that underlies much of this research is Social Identity Theory (SIT) as developed by Tajfel and Turner (1979). SIT asserts that an individual's self-concept is determined, to a degree, by membership to social groups. The primary group that an individual identifies with and feels that they belong to is known as the ingroup, whilst other remaining social groups are known as outgroups. Group membership provides individuals not only with an understanding of themselves and their ingroup, but also an understanding of other social groups through an evaluative process of social comparison. Tajfel and Turner assert that group members seek to evaluate their ingroup in a positive manner and so when comparisons between groups are made, outgroups are often perceived in a more negative way.

Evaluations of ingroup and outgroups.

The impact of social comparison on ingroup/outgroup evaluations can be demonstrated with a discussion of beliefs in social dominance and ethnocentrism. Both concepts are characterised by perceptions of ingroup superiority and inequality between groups (Danso, Sedlovskaya, & Suanda, 2007; Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001; Ho, 1990). Social dominance orientation (SDO) refers to a belief that competition between groups is inevitable along with the desire of an individual for their social group to dominate all other groups (Danso et al., 2007; Esses et al., 2001). Ethnocentrism is a similar concept specific to the intercultural context, which refers to an individual's perception that their ethnocultural ingroup is superior to all other ethnocultural groups (Ho, 1990; Levine & Campbell, 1972).

Research has consistently demonstrated that high levels of belief in social dominance and likewise ethnocentrism are related to negative intercultural attitudes (Esses et al., 2001; Ho, 1990; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). For example Pratto et al. (1994) found that stronger beliefs in social dominance were significantly related to culturally elitist and racist attitudes amongst a sample of college students in California. In regard to ethnocentrism, Ho (1990) conducted research with a sample of white, Australian-born respondents to examine predictors of attitudes towards multicultural principles and policy. Results indicated that ethnocentrism was the only predictor included in Ho's study that was significantly related to attitudes, with higher levels of ethnocentrism associated with less support for multiculturalism.

Perceptions of threat.

An underlying principle of beliefs in both social dominance and ethnocentrism is that of competition between social groups (Esses et al., 2001; Levine & Campbell,

1972). Competition is often accompanied by perceptions of threat (Esses et al., 2001; Levine & Campbell, 1972); a factor which in itself has been demonstrated to influence intercultural attitudes. The influence that perceived threat has on intercultural attitudes provides the focus of this paper, however before the empirical evidence of the relationship is reviewed in any detail, it is first important to outline the theoretical frameworks that have guided such research.

Theoretical Frameworks of Threat

One theoretical model important in explaining how perceived threat influences outgroup attitudes is the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict (Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998). The model asserts that perceived threat is a result of perceptions within one group that resources are limited, and that other groups are competing for these limited resources (Esses et al., 1998). These views are accompanied by a belief that once resources are depleted, none will remain for members of other groups; otherwise termed a zero-sum belief (Esses et al., 1998). The resultant perception of competition between groups is accompanied by perceptions of threat, which ultimately increases the likelihood that negative attitudes will develop towards other groups (Esses et al., 1998). Whilst the assumptions of this theory have been supported empirically across a number of studies (Esses et al., 1998, 2001), a more comprehensive discussion of the concept of threat is provided by an alternative theoretical model; the Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) proposed by Stephan and Stephan (1996, 2000).

Integrated Threat Theory combines elements from a number of theories such as Realistic Group Conflict Theory, which focuses on threat to resources, and Symbolic Racism Theory which focuses on threat to group beliefs and values (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). In combining aspects from a number of theoretical

positions, Stephan and Stephan have highlighted that different forms and theories of threat are complementary rather than oppositional in explaining the formation of negative outgroup attitudes.

The combination of theories also results in the inclusion of many threat types into the model, including realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotyping (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Realistic threat refers to perceived competition between groups, conflicting goals, physical or personal threat and threat to the economic wellbeing of the ingroup (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Symbolic threat refers to a conflict between or threat towards the values, norms and beliefs of the ingroup which define that group and provide group members with a sense of social identity (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Intergroup anxiety results from fears within an individual that any interaction with members of a group unfamiliar to them will cause feelings of uneasiness and awkwardness (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). This fear causes such interactions to be perceived as threatening to the individual. Finally, Stephan and Stephan's framework considers the effect that stereotypes have on perceptions of threat. It is suggested that negative stereotypes increase an individual's negative expectations which subsequently increase perceived threat (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

These threat types can be further defined as either representing a threat to the group (intergroup threat) or to the individual (interpersonal threat). Intergroup threat types include realistic and symbolic threat, whereas interpersonal threat includes intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes (Bizman & Yinon, 2001; Stephan et al., 1998). Integrated Threat Theory suggests that the more threat an individual perceives their group to be under, the less positive their attitudes towards other groups will be (Stephan & Stephan, 1996, 2000).

Different terminology is used throughout the literature to refer to the individual's perception of the relationship between their ingroup and other groups. At times the term threat is used, whilst in other circumstances the term competition is used. The use of the term is often dependent on the theoretical framework that has been used to guide the research, for example threat is related to Integrated Threat Theory, whilst competition is related to the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict. Security is another term used within the research that defines the relationship in a positive, rather than negative way (Berry, 2001). Hence if perceptions of threat are absent, the individual is likely to feel secure.

Empirical Evidence of Threat Theory

The theories discussed above have provided the basis for much research on threat and its influence on ingroup attitudes towards social outgroups. As ITT provides a more comprehensive discussion of threat, the framework has guided a substantial amount of empirical research; so much so that a meta-analysis was conducted by Riek, Mania and Gaertner (2006) in order to analyse the findings of the large body of research on ITT. The meta-analysis included 95 research studies which assessed attitudes towards a variety of social groups defined by characteristics such as sex, race and sexual orientation. Results of the meta-analysis indicated that whilst intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes were the best predictors of attitudes, all threat types were significantly related to attitudes and all relationships were of a moderate strength. This meta-analysis is a highly important research article as it provides evidence of the relationship between perceptions of threat and attitudes towards outgroups across a wide range of social groups.

Threat and Intercultural Attitudes

A number of studies included in the meta-analysis conducted by Riek et al. (2006) specifically defined the target outgroup based upon ethnic and cultural differences. This approach represents the application of social psychological threat research to ethnic relations research. Within the ethnic relations field, threat refers to perceptions amongst members of one ethnocultural group that the presence of other ethnocultural groups threatens their place within society (Berry, 2006b; Stephan, Renfro, Esses, Stephan, & Martin, 2005; Ward & Masgoret, 2006). Through the application of threat research to an intercultural context, the multicultural assumption was proposed, which asserts that only when an individual feels that their cultural group's place within society is secure will they be supportive of intercultural concepts such as immigration and cultural diversity (Berry, 2001; 2006b). A large body of research has investigated the relationship between perceptions of threat, competition and security on intercultural attitudes and has consistently found support for the multicultural assumption regardless of research design, the type of threat or attitude measured, or the country in which the research was conducted (Berry, 2006b; Stephan et al., 2005; Ward & Masgoret, 2006).

Research Design and Measures

Research regarding threat and intercultural attitudes has investigated the relationship using both correlational and causal designs (Florack, Piontkowski, Rohmann, Balzer & Perzig, 2003; Schweitzer, Perkoulidis, Krome, Ludlow, & Ryan, 2005; Stephan et al., 1998; Stephan & Stephan, 1996). Results from both types of research are highly valuable as both contribute equally to our understanding of the threat/attitude relationship. Whilst causal research has successfully determined that increased threat causes an increase in negative attitudes (Florack et al., 2003; Stephan

et al., 1998), correlational designs are important as results are obtained from actual groups residing within the population and so are high in external validity (Schweitzer et al., 2005; Stephan & Stephan, 1996). The relationship between threat and intercultural attitudes has also been replicated regardless of the threat type that is measured. A number of studies have utilised measures of threat from Integrated Threat Theory such as realistic and symbolic threat (Schweitzer et al., 2005; Stephan et al., 1998, 2005; Stephan & Stephan, 1996; Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999) whilst other research has used measures of competition from the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict such as the incompatible goal scale (Dandy & Craigie, 2006; Esses et al., 1998). Each type of threat/competition has been found to account for a unique proportion of variance in attitudes independently and when combined account for a moderate to large amount of variance in intercultural attitudes (Dandy & Craigie, 2006; Esses et al., 1998; Schweitzer et al., 2005; Stephan et al., 1998, 1999, 2005; Stephan & Stephan, 1996).

Just as a number of threat types exist, so too do a number of attitude targets. Whilst some research specifies a particular migrant group as the attitude target (Stephan et al., 1998, 1999, 2005; Stephan & Stephan, 1996), other studies assess attitudes towards more general concepts such as cultural diversity and immigration (Berry, 2006b; Ward & Masgoret, 2006). Research findings indicate that regardless of the intercultural attitude concept under investigation, the relationship between threat and attitudes remains consistent (Berry, 2006b; Stephan et al., 1998, 1999, 2005; Stephan & Stephan, 1996; Ward & Masgoret, 2006).

Research Context

Finally, and perhaps most importantly in the context of cross-cultural research, is the replication of the threat/attitude relationship across a variety of countries, with

respondents derived from a number of different ethnocultural groups. Research has been conducted in Canada, amongst Anglo-Canadians, French Canadians, and Native Canadians with findings supporting the threat/attitude relationship (Berry, 2006b; Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Esses et al., 2001). In the United States the relationship has been assessed and confirmed amongst Anglo-American and African American respondents (Esses et al., 2001; Stephan et al., 2002; Stephan & Stephan, 1996). Within Australia the relationship has been replicated amongst white Australian- born respondents as well as members of nondominant groups (Dandy & Craigie, 2006; Schweitzer et al., 2005), whilst in New Zealand the relationship has been replicated amongst white New Zealand born respondents (Ward & Masgoret, 2006). Furthermore, research conducted by Stephan et al. (1998) has found the same threat/attitude relationship amongst dominant group members residing in Israel and Spain.

In reviewing the literature it becomes evident that the majority of research is conducted with members of the dominant ethnocultural group or groups. Whilst some of the aforementioned research considers the attitudes of nondominant group members, the number of these studies is small and often the research has only been recently conducted. Therefore the relationship that is claimed to exist is founded primarily upon research conducted amongst members of dominant ethnocultural groups. This bias is well documented within the body of ethnic relations literature and is an issue that will be discussed in greater detail throughout the remainder of the review.

Factors That Influence the Threat/Intercultural Attitude Relationship

Whilst research reveals a strong correlation between perceived threat and intercultural attitudes, differences within and across different studies have also been

noted. For example, different threat types (such as realistic threat) have been found to be more strongly associated with attitudes in some studies, compared to others. In sum, the research has revealed a number of factors operating on different levels that influence the types of threat that are significantly related to attitudes. At a societal level, the history or relationship that exists between groups has been found to be influential. At a group level the factor of group social status has been found to influence perceived threat. Whilst at an individual level, research indicates that the degree to which a person identifies with their ingroup affects their perceptions of threat towards cultural outgroups.

History/Relationship

In a study of prejudicial attitudes towards migrants, Stephan and Stephan (1996) predicted that if a relationship between two ethnocultural groups was characterised by conflict, a greater number of threat types would be significant in accounting for intercultural attitudes compared to a relationship in which no history of conflict existed. This prediction was based on the logic that increased conflict would lead to increased levels of perceived threat from all possible sources. The hypothesis was tested in regard to American attitudes towards Mexican immigrants, a relationship characterised by significant tension (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). Results of the research indicated that the three ITT threat types included in the investigation (realistic threat, symbolic threat and intergroup anxiety), were all significant predictors of attitudes (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). A similar effect was evident in a study conducted by Stephan et al. (2002) which examined the reciprocal attitudes of white and black Americans. Results indicated that individuals who perceived high levels of conflict between the groups, also perceived greater threat which was consequently related to negative attitudes towards the outgroup.

The effect of historical and relational context on perceptions of threat was also examined in a study conducted by Stephan et al. (1998). The researchers hypothesised that the type of relationship that existed between groups would affect the types of threat likely to contribute to intercultural attitudes. For example, if conflict existed between the groups, it was predicted that realistic threat would be more likely to account for attitudes, whereas if significant cultural differences existed between groups, then symbolic threat would be an important predictor (Stephan et al., 1998). These assumptions were investigated by comparing significant predictors of Israeli attitudes towards Russian and Ethiopian immigrants, and Spanish attitudes towards Moroccan immigrants (Stephan et al., 1998). Findings supported the hypotheses, for example, realistic threat was a significant predictor of Spanish attitudes towards Moroccan immigrants, which the researchers suggested would likely be due to the long history of conflict that exists between the two countries in terms of the Moorish invasion (Stephan et al., 1998). In contrast, realistic threat was not a significant predictor of Israeli attitudes towards either Russian or Ethiopian immigrants (Stephan et al., 1998). The authors concluded that this finding was due to the lack of historical conflict between either Russia or Ethiopia and the host country of Israel. Symbolic threat was, however, found to be a significant predictor of Israeli attitudes towards Ethiopian immigrants which was suggested as due to the vast differences between Israeli and Ethiopian cultural heritage (Stephan et al., 1998).

In reviewing the literature surrounding this concept it appears that little research has been conducted on the effect of relational and/or historical context on the perceptions of threat amongst nondominant group members. For example, does the history of conflict between Morocco and Spain influence Moroccan perceptions of threat in the same way as it influences Spanish perceptions? Little research has been

conducted to determine whether both nondominant and dominant group members perceive relationships in a similar way, and subsequently, perceive threat in a similar way. The importance of such investigation becomes apparent in the light of research findings that indicate that group social status also influences the types of threat likely to contribute to intercultural attitudes (Stephan & Stephan, 1996).

Group Status

The investigation of group social status as a moderator of perceived threat is likely to have arisen from research findings which indicate that social status in itself is a moderator of intercultural attitudes. Members of the dominant group are consistently found to be less supportive of intercultural constructs compared to members of nondominant groups, who are far more supportive of diversity and immigration (Verkuyten, 2005). This result is logical as concepts such as immigration and multiculturalism are likely to be perceived by dominant group members as threatening to their ingroup (Esses, et al., 2001). Amongst nondominant group members however the concepts would be seen to reaffirm their presence and the presence of their culture within society (Berry, 2006b; Verkuyten, 2005). It therefore comes as no surprise that Verkuyten's (2005) findings have been replicated across a number of research studies (Ang, 2002; Betts, 2005; Bulbeck, 2004; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006), and that the relationship between group social status and perceptions of threat have subsequently been investigated.

Stephan et al. (1998) conducted research to investigate whether the significance of threat types was dependent upon the social status of the ethnocultural group. It was hypothesised that forms of intergroup threat, realistic and symbolic, would be less important in explaining dominant group attitudes towards nondominant groups. This prediction was based on the fact that the dominant group by definition

holds the majority of social, political and economic power within society and so realistic and symbolic threats would not represent significant concern to individual members of the group (Stephan et al., 1998). Instead it was hypothesised that intergroup anxiety and negative stereotyping would better account for the attitudes of dominant group members. Results of their study supported the hypothesis in that intergroup threats were less important in accounting for dominant group member attitudes. Consistent findings have subsequently been demonstrated across a number of research studies (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Riek et al., 2006; Stephan et al., 2002).

Bizman and Yinon (2001) however, conducted a study which yielded results inconsistent with those discussed above. In their examination of Israeli attitudes towards Russian immigrants to Israel, the researchers found that realistic threat was a highly influential predictor of negative intercultural attitudes expressed by dominant group members. Bizman and Yinon suggested their finding was due to the recent history between the two groups within Israel as a Russian-based political party had secured political seats in the Israeli parliament. The researchers suggested that Russian migrants were therefore seen as representing a form of realistic (political) threat to the people of Israel. This study highlights that both group social status and historical/relational context are important factors which may require consideration when investigating the concept of perceived threat.

Once again a review of the literature identifies a lack of research amongst nondominant group members. Dandy and Craigie (2006) conducted a study that specifically investigated predictors of nondominant group attitudes towards cultural diversity, finding that perceived competition was the most significant predictor of attitudes. Little other research, however, has been conducted regarding the effect that

membership to a nondominant group has on the types of threat that best account for intercultural attitudes.

Berry (2006b) provides an exception in his investigation of intercultural attitudes within Canada, amongst dominant group members (Anglo-Canadians) and nondominant group members (French Canadians). The study revealed a difference between groups in the significance of threat types that were related to negative attitudes (Berry, 2006b). In particular, perceptions of cultural threat were higher amongst French Canadians (the nondominant group), compared to Anglo-Canadians (Berry, 2006b). Explanations for this finding become clear when consideration is given to the early history of Canada in which constant attempts were made to restrict the maintenance of French Canadian cultural heritage. With such a history, along with the high rate of immigration to Canada (Berry & Kalin, 1995) it is clear why cultural threat was the most significant predictor of French Canadian intercultural attitudes.

The history of French Canadians as a nondominant group residing within Canada will however differ from the experiences of other nondominant groups residing within other culturally plural societies across the globe. Berry's (2006b) findings therefore not only highlight the importance of considering historical context when investigating perceptions of threat, but also emphasise the need for extensive research to be conducted across a variety of ethnocultural groups, so that the influence of group social status on perceptions of threat is clearly understood.

A further difference found between ethnocultural groups of differing social status was noted in a study conducted by Stephan et al. (2002) who examined the reciprocal attitudes of Black and White Americans. Results indicated that the ITT threat types utilised within the study were able to account for more variance in the attitudes of White respondents (dominant group members) compared to the attitudes

of Black American respondents (nondominant group members). The authors suggest that such a finding may be because other factors, not considered within the ITT framework could be important in accounting for the attitudes of nondominant group members. For example, as a nondominant group, Black Americans would have different experiences of residing within a culturally diverse society and these experiences may be important in accounting for their attitudes towards White Americans (Stephan, et al., 2002). Such factors could include their history of slavery, experiences of discrimination and/or feelings of resentment due to perceptions of inequality between the groups (Stephan, et al., 2002).

Stephan et al.'s (2002) finding implies that ITT measures of threat may lack cross-cultural validity. The Integrated Threat Theory was devised by dominant group members (white, American born researchers), primarily for the use of explaining dominant group attitudes, and so it is possible that the model is best suited only to explaining the attitudes of dominant group members. This proposition is strengthened when the relationships found between variables are considered between dominant and nondominant group respondents. Correlations between ITT measures and attitude measures in Stephan et al.'s (2002) study tended to be stronger amongst White Americans compared to Black Americans. The possibility that Integrated Threat Theory is not as useful in explaining nondominant group attitudes as it is dominant group attitudes highlights the possible need for culturally specific threat measures to be developed that consider factors specific to the experience of membership to a nondominant group.

Strength of Identification with Ingroup.

At an individual level of analysis, empirical evidence suggests that strength of ingroup identification is another factor that influences the types of threat that are

likely to account for variance in intercultural attitudes. Based upon the principle from Social Identity Theory that group membership is an important component of individual self-concept, Bizman and Yinon (2001) proposed that threats to the group, such as realistic and symbolic threats, would be more relevant in accounting for the attitudes of individuals who identified strongly with their ingroup. Conversely it was predicted that interpersonal threat types, such as intergroup anxiety and feelings of threat that accompany negative stereotypes would be more relevant in accounting for intercultural attitudes amongst individuals for whom group membership was less important (Bizman & Yinon, 2001).

Bizman and Yinon (2001) tested their hypotheses amongst Israeli respondents residing within Israel. Results indicated that a relationship between ingroup identification and threat types only existed for realistic threat and intergroup anxiety. Realistic threat was found to be the most influential predictor of negative attitudes amongst high identifiers whilst intergroup anxiety was found to be the more influential threat predictor of attitudes amongst low identifiers (Bizman & Yinon, 2001). These findings indicate that for individuals who identify strongly with their ingroup, threats to the group such as economic wellbeing are more important in determining attitudes towards immigrants. For individuals who identify less strongly with their ingroup, feelings of anxiety about interacting with immigrant group members is likely to be a more important predictor of attitudes. The results of the research provide only partial support for the hypothesis as no difference was found between high and low identifiers in regard to of the influence of symbolic threat and negative stereotypes (Bizman & Yinon, 2001).

A study conducted by Corenblum and Stephan (2001) obtained results inconsistent with those of Bizman and Yinon (2001). The researchers compared the

effect that ingroup identification had on perceptions of threat amongst a sample of White and Native Canadians. The results revealed that whilst strength of ingroup identification did not have any effect on the types of threat perceived by White Canadians, it did have an effect amongst Native Canadian respondents. It was found that Native Canadians who identified strongly with their ingroup experienced greater symbolic threat and intergroup anxiety. These results are inconsistent with Bizman and Yinon's (2001) results as they found no difference in perceptions of symbolic threat between high and low identifiers and furthermore found that intergroup anxiety was a more influential factor amongst low identifiers, not high identifiers.

A possible explanation for the inconsistency in these findings is likely to be due to the social status of the groups within which significant effects of ingroup identification were found. Bizman and Yinon (2001) found significant effects amongst dominant group members, whereas Corenblum and Stephan (2001) found significant effects amongst nondominant group members. Research conducted by Verkuyten (2005) indicates that strength of ingroup identification influences intercultural attitudes in different ways depending on the social status of the ingroup. Verkuyten found that dominant group members who identified strongly with their ingroup were less likely to endorse multiculturalism whereas members of nondominant groups who identified strongly with their ingroup were more likely to endorse multiculturalism. Based upon this research and the findings of Corenblum and Stephan (2001) and Bizman and Yinon (2001), it is plausible that membership to a dominant or nondominant group, along with strength of ingroup identification may concurrently influence the significance of threat types that determine intercultural attitudes in different ways. Whilst the aforementioned studies provide some support for this assertion, further research is required if the interaction between strength of ingroup

identification, group social status and perceived threat is to be comprehensively understood.

Implications of Research Findings

Research conducted on the relationship between perceptions of threat and intercultural attitudes has consistently found a strong relationship between the two variables. This relationship is such that the more threat an individual perceives is directed towards their ethnocultural group, the more likely they are to hold negative attitudes towards other ethnocultural groups. This relationship has been found regardless of research design, the types of threat or attitudes measured or the country in which the research was conducted. Despite this consistent finding, research has identified a number of factors that influence the threat/attitude relationship. Such factors include the history and relationship that exists between ethnocultural groups, the status of groups within society and the strength of an individual's ingroup identification.

Whilst these influential factors have been discussed separately throughout this review, it is apparent that these factors interact with one another and subsequently may influence intercultural attitudes in different ways. For example, in discussing group status as an antecedent of perceived threat, it was found that in opposition to previous findings, realistic threat was a significant predictor amongst dominant group members in the Bizman and Yinon (2001) study. The authors proposed that within this local context, realistic threat was a significant predictor due to the history that existed between Russian and Israeli groups residing within Israel. This example indicates that the influence of certain factors is dependent on the context of the intergroup relationship. In Bizman and Yinon's (2001) study the political context appeared to have greater influence than group social status on the formation of intercultural

attitudes. Findings such as this highlight that the relationship between perceptions of threat and intercultural attitudes is multifaceted and that the factors discussed throughout this review must be considered together rather than separately if relationships between ethnocultural groups are to be understood.

Directions for Future Research

The complex nature of the threat/attitude relationship makes it difficult to conceptualise the contribution that perceived threat has on attitudes. Whilst experimental designs aim to isolate the effect of threat on attitude development, this information holds little relevance in the world outside the laboratory. In the context of real life, influential factors cannot be controlled as they are in experimental studies and they must therefore be investigated in order to gain an appreciation of the effect that they have on attitude formation. Group social status is one such factor identified throughout this review as having significant influence on the threat/attitude relationship. Whilst this review has highlighted that the relationship between perceived threat and intercultural attitudes is different amongst nondominant group members, a strong supportive body of empirical research is lacking in order to substantiate this claim. Further research is required to determine with confidence the differences that exist between dominant and nondominant groups and if possible, generalise these findings across multi-ethnic societies.

This need for extensive research is currently well recognised and supported within the field of psychology with a number of major research projects underway (Ward & Leong, 2006). The Mutual Intercultural Relations in Plural Societies (MIRIPS) project, an initiative driven by John Berry and colleagues is one such example which aims to integrate research conducted within the cross-cultural psychology and acculturation psychology fields (Berry, 2006b). Extensive research

conducted through collaboration and partnership between a variety of countries should increase the ability to generalise research findings and thus increase knowledge and understanding of intercultural relations across the globe (Berry, 2006b). Such knowledge has the potential to inform social and political policy that aims to enhance intercultural relationships between the many groups that reside within culturally plural societies (Berry, 2006b; Ward & Leong, 2006).

Conclusion

This paper has examined the research conducted on the relationship between perceptions of threat, competition and security, and intercultural attitudes, such as attitudes towards immigrants, immigration, multiculturalism and cultural diversity. The review of research findings indicates that whilst the relationship between perceived threat and intercultural attitudes has been consistently demonstrated, the context of the relationship has a significant influence on the degree and types of threat that are perceived by particular groups. Future research is therefore necessary in order to test the threat/intercultural attitude relationship across an array of different contexts to gain a comprehensive understanding of the factors that influence perceptions of threat and the role that perceptions of threat have in determining intercultural attitudes.

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Running Head: SECURITY AND INTERCULTURAL ATTITUDES

Perceptions of Security and Attitudes Towards Cultural Diversity and Immigration
Amongst UK Migrants in Western Australia

Nikki Isaacson

Perceptions of Security and Attitudes Towards Cultural Diversity and Immigration
Amongst UK Migrants in Western Australia

Abstract

This study investigated the relationship between perceptions of security and attitudes towards cultural diversity and immigration amongst UK migrants residing in Western Australia ($N = 118$). Two measures of security were utilised within the study, perceived security and perceived intergroup competition. Consistent with the hypotheses and previous research findings, greater perceived security and less perceived competition were significantly related to more positive attitudes. Regression analyses revealed that both predictor variables of perceived security and competition made significant, unique contributions in predicting attitudes towards both cultural diversity and immigration. The research highlights that if positive attitudes towards cultural diversity and related concepts are to be promoted, every cultural group that resides within a diverse society, including migrant groups, must feel that their place is secure. The results are discussed in terms of the continued importance of political policies that recognise and accept the presence of all cultural groups within society.

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Perceptions of Security and Attitudes Towards Cultural Diversity and Immigration
Among UK Migrants in Western Australia

Immigration refers to the movement of people from one country to another and is a phenomenon that has dramatically changed the composition of many populations across the world (Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Scharzwald, & Tur-Kaspsa, 1998).

Attitudes towards immigration and related concepts such as cultural diversity have been extensively researched within the field of psychology with a particular focus on the factors that influence such attitudes (Berry, 2001). One important construct that has been identified and widely researched is that of perceived threat. This concept has also been defined as perceived competition and conversely, as perceived security.

Research has determined that individuals who perceive less threat and competition between their own and other cultural and ethnic groups, and therefore feel more secure within society, are more likely to hold positive attitudes towards cultural diversity and immigration (e.g., Berry, 2006; Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001; Stephan, Renfro, Esses, Stephan, & Martin, 2005). Whilst a significant body of literature supports the existence of this relationship, the present study contributes to this knowledge by investigating the relationship amongst a sample of UK migrants residing in Australia.

Cultural diversity refers to the presence of difference within a society as a result of many cultural and ethnic groups residing together (Ang, 2002). It is often through the act of immigration that societies become culturally diverse, however, the two concepts are not synonymous in that immigration does not necessarily translate to cultural diversity. For example, although immigration to Australia was encouraged during the early 20th Century, the Immigration Restriction Act of Australia (commonly referred to as the White Australia Policy) firmly restricted migration from

non-European countries (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2007a). The introduction of this policy was a direct attempt to limit cultural diversity in Australia, and consequently, whilst the policy was in place, immigration to Australia would not necessarily have lead to cultural diversity (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2007a). Nonetheless, it is primarily through the act of immigration that many countries across the world now experience a high degree of cultural diversity.

In the context of culturally diverse societies, if positive attitudes towards such diversity are to be encouraged, it is necessary to gain a comprehensive understanding of the attitudes that community members have, and more importantly the factors that influence these attitudes (Berry, 2001; 2006). Such knowledge is important, as it informs not only theory, but also social and political policies which aim to enhance intergroup relations between the many groups that reside within culturally diverse societies (Berry, 2006). Investigation of the factors that influence attitudes towards cultural diversity and related concepts has been conducted across various disciplines, such as sociology, demography, and psychology (Berry, 2001). Such research has identified a number of societal, group and individual factors that have influential roles in attitude formation (Ang, 2002; Bulbeck, 2004; Mulder & Krahn, 2005; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). Psychological research in particular, has contributed significantly to this understanding, revealing many factors that influence attitudes towards cultural diversity and related concepts. One important factor identified within this field is that of perceived competition (Esses et al., 2001; Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998).

The effect of perceived intergroup competition on attitudes towards the presence of other groups within society is explained by the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict (Esses et al., 1998). The model asserts that perceived competition is a

result of perceptions within one group that resources are limited, and that other groups are competing for these limited resources (Esses et al., 1998). These views are accompanied by a belief that once resources are depleted, none will remain for members of other groups; otherwise termed a zero-sum belief (Esses et al., 1998). The model proposes that perceived competition amongst groups is often accompanied by perceived threat and that together these perceptions are likely to cause an increase in negative attitudes towards other groups. The effect of perceived competition on attitudes towards cultural groups can be demonstrated with reference to the anti-Asian sentiment that existed within Australia during the early 20th Century. During this time, an influx of Asian workers migrated to Australia in order to obtain work as diggers in the gold mines (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2007a). It is likely that negative attitudes towards such workers ensued as Anglo-Australian diggers felt that they were in competition with Asian diggers and that the presence of such workers in Australia represented a threat to Anglo-Australian jobs and economic wellbeing (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2007a).

Whilst the assumptions of the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict have been supported empirically across a number of studies (Esses et al., 1998, 2001), a more comprehensive discussion of the concept is provided by an alternative theoretical model; the Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) proposed by Stephan and Stephan (1996, 2000). Integrated Threat Theory proposes that an individual may perceive many forms of threat in addition to threat to resources (Stephan & Stephan, 1996, 2000). Additional threat types discussed within ITT include threat to values and beliefs, defined as symbolic threat, as well as the feelings of threat that accompany interpersonal contact with members of a group that differ from one's own group, defined as intergroup anxiety (Stephan & Stephan, 1996, 2000). ITT asserts that the

more threat an individual perceives their group to be under due to the presence of other groups within society, the more likely they are to hold negative attitudes towards such groups. In applying this theory to the ethnic relations field in which groups are defined in terms of cultural or ethnic difference, threat refers to perceptions amongst one cultural/ethnic group due to the presence of other cultural/ethnic groups (Stephan, Renfro, Esses, Stephan, & Martin, 2005; Ward & Masgoret, 2006).

A concept related to perceived threat is that of perceived security (Berry, 2006). Perceived security refers to the degree a cultural group feels their place in society is free from threat from other cultural groups (Berry, 2006; Stephan et al., 2005; Ward & Masgoret, 2006). As such, Berry (2006) asserts that perceptions of security can be seen as a positive expression of the threat construct. The investigation of perceived security as a predictor of attitudes towards cultural diversity and immigration stems from the work of Berry and his research regarding ethnic relations in Canada (Berry, 2001, 2006; Berry & Kalin, 1995). As a result of such research, Berry proposed the multicultural assumption which asserts that only when an individual feels their cultural group's place within society is free from threat and thus secure, will they be supportive of cultural diversity and immigration (Berry, 2001, 2006).

A large body of research demonstrates support for the multicultural assumption (e.g., Berry, 2006; Esses et al., 2001, 1998; Stephan et al., 2005; Ward & Masgoret, 2006). A review of the literature however reveals that research within the Australian context is lacking. This becomes a concern as statistics reveal Australia receives one of the highest proportions of migrants annually in the world (van Oudenhoven, 2006). Furthermore, since the abolishment of the White Australia Policy, migrants to Australia now originate from a variety of countries, and as such

Australia is a nation rich in cultural diversity (Australian Bureau Statistics, 2007). Due to previous research findings that highlight the importance of perceived security on attitudes towards such diversity, it appears necessary to gain a comprehensive understanding of the security/attitude relationship within the Australian context.

Of the limited research that has been conducted within Australia, findings have supported the security/attitude relationship. For example, Schweitzer, Perkoulidis, Krome, Ludlow, and Ryan (2005) investigated the relationship between perceptions of threat and attitudes regarding the entrance of refugees into Australia. The findings support previous research in that increased perceptions of threat were related to negative attitudes. A limitation of the study, however, is that the relationship was investigated amongst a sample of Anglo-Australian respondents only. This limitation highlights a bias evident within security/attitude research as well as ethnic relations research in general. That is, research regarding attitudes towards cultural diversity and related concepts and the predictors of such attitudes is often conducted predominantly amongst members of the majority group (Berry, 2001, 2006). It has been asserted that if a comprehensive understanding of ethnic relations is to be gained within a culturally diverse society, the reciprocal attitudes and predictors of such attitudes must be investigated amongst all groups residing within that society, including migrant and Indigenous groups (Berry, 2001, 2006).

Such research has been conducted by Pe-Pua and Dandy (2006). They investigated the attitudes of both Australian and overseas born respondents towards cultural diversity and immigration. The study included a number of predictor variables, including a measure of perceived security. Results indicated a positive relationship between security and attitudes such that higher perceived security was related to more positive attitudes towards cultural diversity and immigration. Whilst

Pe-pua and Dandy (2006) investigated the relationship amongst a combined sample of both Australian and overseas born respondents, Dandy and Craigie (2006) investigated the relationship amongst only 'non- Australian' respondents. The sample consisted of individuals who self-identified as belonging to a cultural group other than 'Australian' and included Italian, Croatian, Vietnamese, English, Malaysian and South African respondents. The study utilised a measure of perceived intergroup competition as a predictor of respondent attitudes towards cultural diversity. Findings supported previous research in that a negative relationship existed between perceived competition and attitudes within the non-Australian sample, such that increased perceptions of competition were related to negative attitudes (Dandy & Craigie, 2006).

This finding supports the results of previous research conducted with Anglo-Australian respondents and thus indicates that the security/attitude relationship is consistent across majority and minority groups in Australia. A question arises however, from Dandy and Craigie's (2006) study, regarding the high level of diversity evident in the 'minority group' sample, that is; can the attitudes of respondents so diverse in culture and ethnicity be grouped together and discussed as unitary? It seems necessary to examine such groups separately in order to test the relationship within a large sample of respondents from a similar cultural background thus reducing cultural variance within the sample. The current research was designed to investigate the security/attitude relationship within one single migrant group residing within Australia.

The largest migrant group currently residing within Australia are migrants born in the United Kingdom (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2007). Despite this, little research has been conducted in terms of their attitudes towards living in such a diverse

society. Of the small amount of research that has been conducted with this population, investigation often centres on their experience as migrants, such as their adaptation and psychological wellbeing (Cohen, O'Connor, Reidpath & Bishop, 2000; Ward & Styles, 2003, 2005). In an attempt to address this disparity within the literature, the present research investigated the relationship between perceived security and competition and attitudes towards cultural diversity and immigration amongst a sample of UK migrants residing within Perth, Western Australia. Attitudes towards both cultural diversity and immigration were investigated within this study because, as discussed earlier, although related, the concepts are not synonymous (Ang, 2002). Therefore in investigating both attitude types, it was expected that a more comprehensive understanding would be obtained regarding the attitudes of UK migrants towards living in a society as diverse as Australia's.

Based on previous research it was hypothesised that a positive relationship would exist between perceived security and attitudes towards cultural diversity and immigration, in that UK migrants who felt that their position in Australian society was secure would indicate more positive attitudes. It was further hypothesised that a negative relationship would exist between perceived competition and attitudes towards cultural diversity and immigration in that UK migrants who perceived competition between their own group and other cultural/ethnic groups would indicate negative attitudes. Finally, it was hypothesised that both perceptions of security and perceptions of competition would be significant predictors of attitudes towards cultural diversity and immigration, and consequently would account for a significant amount of variance in such attitudes.

Method

Design

The study utilised a correlational, survey design. Perceptions of security and competition were measured amongst a sample of migrants from the United Kingdom residing in Perth, Western Australia. These scores were then correlated with participant attitudes towards cultural diversity and immigration.

Note. The study was conducted in conjunction with a research project undertaken by Sophie Mounsey. All participants received the same questionnaire package which included measures for both this and the companion project.

Participants

The sample consisted of 118 participants, including 63 females and 53 males (two participants did not disclose their gender). The age of participants ranged from 20 to 87 years, with a mean age of 50.01 years ($SD= 13.51$). In terms of the highest level of education achieved by participants, 33% had completed primary school or all/some high school, 32.5% had completed technical or community college, 22% had completed all/some university whilst the remaining 10% had completed a post graduate degree. The majority of participants were born in England (73.3%), followed by those who indicated the United Kingdom as their place of birth (10.2%), whilst a smaller proportion of respondents were born in Scotland (6.8%), Northern Ireland (5.1%), and Wales (2.5%). Length of time resident in Australia ranged from 6 months to 60 years ($M= 21.9$ years, $SD= 14.77$). The majority of participants indicated that they were Australian citizens (77.1%) whilst the remainder, due to the requirements of participation in the study, were Australian permanent residents. Participants were given the opportunity to enter a raffle draw for a \$50 gift voucher, to provide an incentive to partake in the study and to thank them for their time.

Materials

As the research utilised a survey design, participants were provided with a questionnaire package. The package included a written information sheet that outlined the project aims and procedure (see Appendix A). The package also included the necessary scales for this research, as well as the scales required by the companion research project. A copy of the questionnaire is included as Appendix B.

The scales associated with this study originate from research conducted in Canada by Berry, Kalin, and Taylor (1977, as cited in Berry, 2006) and Berry and Kalin (1995). These projects were conducted with large national samples (Berry et al., 1977 as cited in Berry, 2006, $N=1849$; Berry & Kalin, 1995, $N=3325$), with high levels of internal consistency reported for each of the scales. The scales were adapted to Australia by Pe-Pua and Dandy (2006), with scale analysis again indicating a moderate to high level of internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha ranged from .47 to .85). The scales specific to this research project included measures of (1) attitudes toward cultural diversity (*Multicultural Ideology Scale*), (2) attitudes toward immigration (*Perceived Consequences of Immigration and Diversity Scale* and *Immigration and Population Level Items*) and (3) perceptions of security (*Security Scale*). The *Incompatible Goal Scale* (Jackson & Smith, 1999), a measure of intergroup competition, was also included as an additional measure of the security construct.

1. The Multicultural Ideology scale consists of ten items designed to assess attitudes toward cultural diversity. An example item is *Australians should recognise that cultural and racial diversity is a fundamental characteristic of Australian society*. The response scale is a 7 point Likert scale, ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7). A total score is computed for each participant, by summing their

responses (possible range = 10 to 70), with higher scores indicating more positive attitudes. A high level of internal consistency has been reported for this scale, with Cronbach's $\alpha = .80$ in Berry & Kalin's (1995) study, whilst in the Australian pilot study, Cronbach's $\alpha = .83$ (Pe-Pua & Dandy, 2006).

2. The Perceived Consequences of Immigration and Diversity scale consists of 11 items designed to assess perceived cultural, economic, and personal consequences of immigration. There are four cultural consequence items, for example, *Immigration tends to threaten Australian culture* (reverse-scored); four economic consequence items, for example, *The presence of immigrants will not make wages lower*; and three personal consequence items, for example *Immigration increases the level of crime in Australia* (reverse-scored). The response scale is a 7 point Likert scale, ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7). Responses are summed for each participant to give a total score, ranging from 11 to 77 with higher scores indicating positive perceptions. In the Australian pilot study internal consistency for this scale was high, with Cronbach's $\alpha = .85$ (Pe-Pua & Dandy, 2006).

3. Immigration and Population Level items were included to provide a descriptive indication of participant opinions regarding immigration trends as well as current and future population levels. Three items were included. The first asked participants to indicate their views of the current Australian population level, on a response scale of 1 (*too small*) to 7 (*too large*), with a midpoint of 4 (*about right*). The second item asked participants about the desirable future Australian population level, from 1 (*much smaller population*) to 7 (*much larger population*). The final item asked participants to indicate their level of agreement with a statement regarding the current immigration rate to Australia (*Overall, there is too much immigration to Australia*),

using a seven-point Likert scale that ranged from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'.

4. The Security scale assesses perceptions of security. The scale consists of 13 items measuring cultural security (five items, e.g., *We have to take steps to protect our cultural traditions from outside influences*), economic security (four items, e.g., *This country is prosperous and wealthy enough for everyone to feel secure*) and personal security (four items, e.g., *A person's chances of living a safe, untroubled life are better today than ever before*). These items can be grouped together to constitute 3 subscale scores (cultural, economic and personal security scores), or items can be summed to compute a total security score resulting in a possible range of 13 to 91. Higher scores indicate greater perceived security. In the Australian pilot study (Pe-Pua & Dandy, 2006), the internal consistency of this scale was fairly low (Cronbach's $\alpha = .47$) and therefore the present study included the Incompatible Goal scale, a measure of intergroup competition, as an addition measure of the security construct. The scale was developed by Jackson and Smith (1999) and considers the security construct in a negative way. The scale consists of three items for example *There is a basic conflict of interest between my ethnic (cultural) group and other ethnic groups*. The response scale for all items is a 7 point Likert scale, ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7). A total score was calculated with higher scores indicating higher levels of perceived competition between ethnic/cultural groups; which thus indicates lower perceived security. Reliability statistics for the scale from the Jackson and Smith study (1999) indicate a moderate level of internal consistency (Cronbach's $\alpha = .60$).

Scales included in the questionnaire package and not described in detail here, belong to the companion research project. These were the Ethnic Identity scale, the

Ethnic Attitudes scale, the Social Tolerance scale and the Social Dominance Orientation scale. In addition to the scales, participants were asked for demographic information such as age, gender, education, country of birth, length of residence in Australia and residency status.

Procedure

A number of recruitment methods were adopted in order to obtain the sample. Primarily, a snowballing technique was utilised, with participants recruited through personal association with the researchers. These participants were then asked to encourage other potential participants to contact the researchers. Participants were also recruited through advertisement of the study. Advertisement was conducted primarily within the northern suburbs of Perth, Western Australia. This was because census data revealed that as a percentage of the total population, the number of individuals born in North-Western Europe was greatest in the northern suburbs of Perth (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006). Advertising methods included letterbox leaflets, posters on local community notice boards, and a newspaper article in the local northern suburbs newspaper (See Appendix C).

Any individuals who indicated an interest in participating in the research were provided with the questionnaire package. The questionnaire took approximately 20 minutes to complete. Attached to the questionnaire was a raffle ticket for entrance into the raffle draw. Questionnaires were returned either directly to the researcher or using a reply paid envelope which was provided to participants as required. Once questionnaires were received by the researcher the raffle ticket was removed immediately and stored separately in order to ensure that confidentiality was maintained.

Results

Scale Analysis and Descriptive Statistics

The Multicultural Ideology (MCI) scale and Perceived Consequences of Immigration scale both demonstrated high levels of internal consistency, with Crochbach's $\alpha = .88$ and $.89$ respectively. Internal consistency for the Incompatible Goals scale was also high with Crochbach's $\alpha = .81$, however internal consistency for the Security scale was lower with Cronbach's $\alpha = .63$. Within the Security scale, the internal consistency of subscales was considerably low, with Cronbach's $\alpha = .38$ for the cultural security subscale and $.26$ for the economic security subscale. The personal security subscale was higher with Crochbach's $\alpha = .72$, however due to low consistency of cultural and economic security, further analysis of the subscales could not proceed. Security was therefore investigated in terms of a total score of overall perceived security.

Inspection of mean scores and standard deviations revealed that participants were generally supportive of cultural diversity and immigration. The sample mean for the MCI scale was 43.24 ($SD = 11.84$) and for the Perceived Consequences of Immigration scale the sample mean was 53.13 ($SD = 12.16$). Population level statistics revealed that 49.6% of participants perceived Australia's current population size to be 'about right', followed by those who indicated that Australia's current population was 'too small' (17.9%; see Figure 1). In terms of Australia's future population size, the majority of participants indicated that they would like to see Australia's population at about the same size (47.0%) followed by those who wanted to see a slightly larger population (24.8%; see Figure 2).

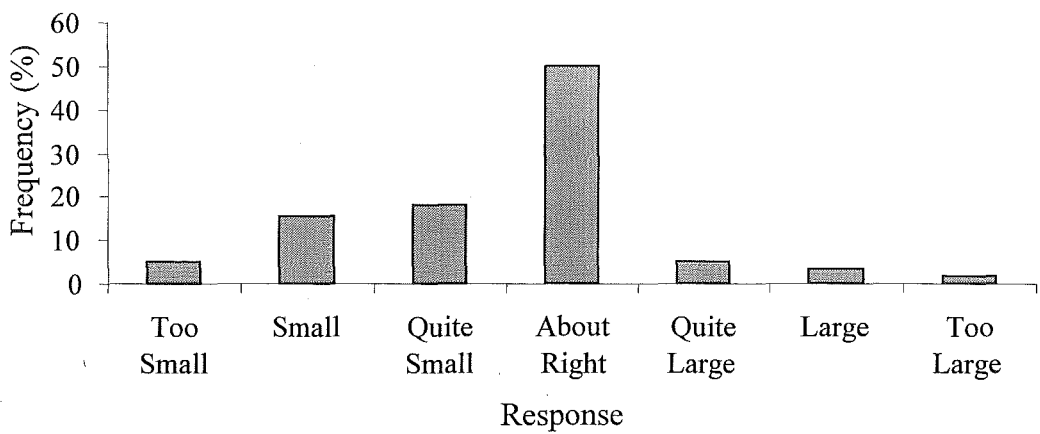


Figure 1. Frequency of participant response regarding Australia’s current population size.

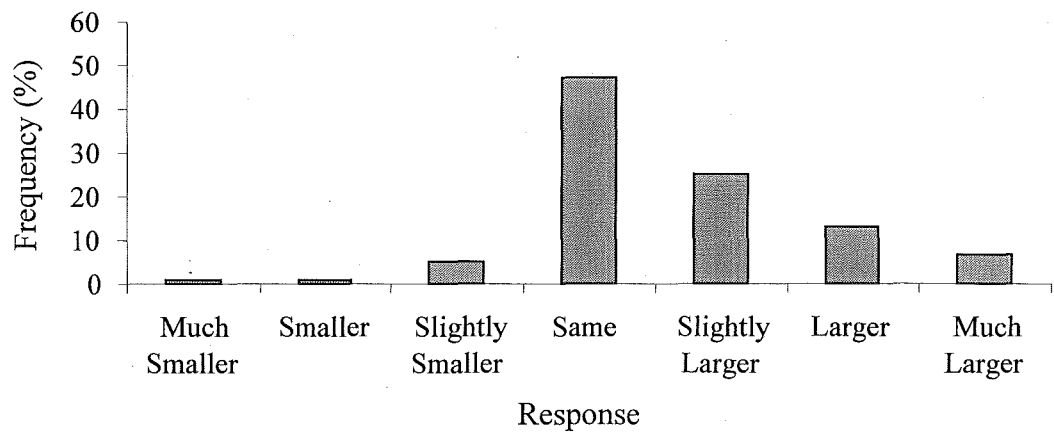


Figure 2. Frequency of participant response regarding preferences for Australia’s future population size.

In regards to immigration trends, the majority of participants neither agreed nor disagreed that there was too much immigration to Australia (31.6%), followed closely by those who disagreed that there was too much immigration (23.1%; see Figure 3).

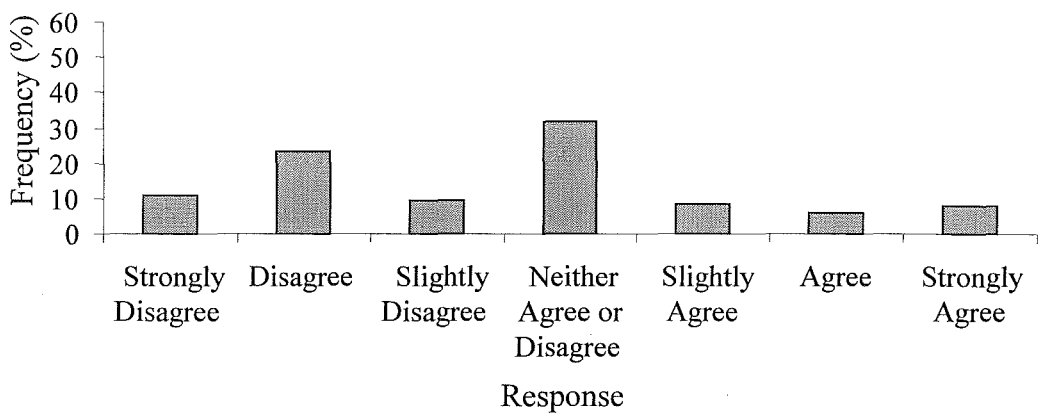


Figure 3. Level of agreement with the statement “Overall, there is too much immigration to Australia”.

A moderate degree of perceived security was evident amongst participants ($M=59.76$; $SD=8.96$), whilst the degree of perceived competition between cultural/ethnic groups, as measured with the Incompatible Goals scale, was generally low ($M=9.74$, $SD=3.96$).

Controlling for Demographic Variables

Due to the findings of previous research which suggest that demographic variables can affect participant attitudes towards cultural diversity and immigration, analyses were performed to determine whether such variables had influenced attitudes within the present study. Gender was found to have no significant influence on the scores of the Multicultural Ideology scale, $t(113)=1.76, p=.81$; or the Perceived Consequences of Immigration scale $t(112)=1.35, p=.18$. T-tests also revealed no significant differences between the scores of Australian permanent residents and the scores of Australian citizens on the MCI scale $t(113)=1.50, p=.14$ or the Perceived Consequences of Immigration scale $t(111)=1.35, p=.18$.

An investigation of correlations revealed no significant relationship between participant age and attitude scores: Multicultural Ideology, $r(113)=-.18$; Perceived Consequences of Immigration, $r(113)=-.07$; or between length of residence in

Australia and attitude scores: Multicultural Ideology $r(113) = -.03$; Perceived Consequences of Immigration $r(113) = -.04$. A weak but significant correlation did, however, exist between level of participant education and MCI scores $r(114) = .35$, $p < .01$, and level of education and scores on the Perceived Consequences of Immigration scale $r(114) = .30$, $p < .01$, in that a higher level of respondent education was related to more positive attitudes.

Predicting Attitudes towards Cultural Diversity and Immigration

Table 1 presents the correlations between attitudes towards cultural diversity and perceived consequences of immigration and the predictor variables of perceived security and perceived intergroup competition.

Table 1

Intercorrelations Among Multicultural Ideology, Consequences of Immigration, Perceived Security and Incompatible Goals Scores (N=112).

Scale	2	3	4
1. Multicultural Ideology	.78*	.61*	-.48*
2. Consequences of Immigration	--	.66*	-.50*
3. Security	--	--	-.52*
4. Incompatible Goals	--	--	--

* $p < .01$

As is evident in Table 1, a moderate to strong positive relationship was found between the predictor variable of perceived security and scores on the Multicultural

Ideology scale and the Perceived Consequences of Immigration scale. This indicates that a higher level of perceived security was related to more positive attitudes towards cultural diversity and immigration. A moderate, negative relationship was evident between scores on the Incompatible Goals Scale and scores on both the MCI scale and the Perceived Consequences of Immigration scale, indicating that higher levels of perceived intergroup competition were related to more negative attitudes towards cultural diversity and immigration.

Based on the hypotheses and the results from the correlation analysis, a regression analysis was conducted in order to determine the degree to which perceived security and perceived competition were able to predict attitudes towards cultural diversity and immigration. In order to control for the effect of education, a hierarchical multiple regression technique was used in which security scores and incompatible goal scores were entered in the first step of the analysis, followed by education level in the second step.

Two regression analyses were conducted for the separate outcome variables of attitudes towards cultural diversity and attitudes towards immigration. The results of both regression analyses are summarized in Table 2. In terms of attitudes towards cultural diversity, the model was a significant predictor of scores on the Multicultural Ideology scale, $F(3, 111) = 31.90, p < .01$. The model was able to account for approximately 45% of the variance in MCI scores (adjusted R square = .448; see Table 2). Perceived security and intergroup competition alone accounted for 40.7% of this variance. Both predictor variables made significant, unique contributions to the regression: security was a positive predictor of MCI scores such that higher levels of perceived security were associated with more positive attitudes towards cultural diversity, whereas intergroup competition was a negative predictor of attitudes in that

a higher degree of perceived competition was associated with less positive attitudes towards cultural diversity.

Table 2

Summary of Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Multicultural Ideology Scores and Perceived Consequences of Immigration Scores.

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
Multicultural Ideology (N= 112)			
Step One			
Security	.63	.11	.49*
Incompatible Goals	-.71	.25	-.24*
Step Two			
Security	.53	.11	.41*
Incompatible Goals	-.85	.25	-.29*
Education	2.65	.87	.22*
Perceived Consequences of Immigration (N= 111)			
Step One			
Security	.76	.11	.50*
Incompatible Goals	-.63	.25	-.23*
Step Two			
Security	.68	.11	.50*
Incompatible Goals	-.72	.25	-.23*
Education	2.11	.88	.17*

Note. Multicultural Ideology Regression: $R^2 = .407$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .448$ for Step 2

Perceived Consequences of Immigration Regression: $R^2 = .473$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .498$ for Step 2

$p < .01$

The model summarised in Table 2 was also a significant predictor of scores on the Perceived Consequences of Immigration scale; $F(3, 110) = 36.45, p < .01$. The model was able to account for approximately 49% of the variance in attitudes towards immigration (adjusted R square = .485; see Table 2). Perceived security and intergroup competition alone accounted for 46.3% of this variance. Both predictor variables made significant, unique contributions to the regression: security was a positive predictor of attitudes towards immigration such that higher levels of perceived security were associated with more positive attitudes, whereas intergroup competition was a negative predictor of attitudes in that a higher degree of perceived competition was associated with less positive attitudes towards immigration.

Discussion

The results of the current study provide support for the hypotheses as well as previous research findings regarding the relationship between perceived security and competition and attitudes toward the presence of other cultural groups within society. Based on previous research (Berry, 2006), it was hypothesised that a positive correlation would exist between perceived security and attitudes towards cultural diversity and immigration amongst a sample of UK migrants residing in Perth, Western Australia. It was further hypothesised, based on previous research (Esses et al., 1998, 2001), that a negative correlation would exist between perceived competition and attitudes. Both hypotheses were supported, with results indicating significant relationships between the two predictor variables and the two outcome variables. Specifically, greater perceived security and less perceived competition were significantly related to more positive attitudes towards cultural diversity and immigration. Results were also supportive of the third and final hypothesis, with multiple regression analyses revealing that both perceived security and perceived

competition were significant predictors of attitudes. Both predictor variables accounted for a significant portion of unique variance in attitudes towards cultural diversity and immigration.

This research not only supports previous research findings, such as that of Berry (2006) and Esses et al. (1998, 2001), in demonstrating the relationship within an Australian context, it also extends prior knowledge regarding the security/attitude relationship. Whilst previous research has focussed primarily on the existence of the relationship amongst members of the majority group (Schweitzer et al., 2005; Stephan et al., 1998; Ward & Masgoret, 2006), the findings of this research confirm that a similar relationship exists amongst a single migrant group residing within a culturally diverse society.

The results of the present study also provide further confirmation of theoretical frameworks that explain the effect of perceived competition and threat on attitudes towards social groups that differ from one's own. Specifically, the findings support the principles of the Instrumental Model of Group Conflict, as the model asserts that higher levels of perceived competition amongst social groups result in more negative attitudes towards the presence of other social groups (Esses et al., 1998). This was apparent in the present study in which social groups were defined in terms of cultural difference. Results indicate that increased perceptions of intergroup competition amongst one group, UK migrants, were related to negative attitudes within that group towards the presence of other cultural groups within Australia.

Whilst demographic factors were considered within the present study to control for any effect in the regression analyses, the possible influence of social desirability was not considered. Social desirability refers to a tendency of respondents to answer scale items in a socially desirable manner rather than providing a response

that truly reflects their opinions (Schweitzer et al., 2005). Previous research conducted by Schweitzer et al. (2005) found a significant, positive correlation between attitudes towards refugees and social desirability such that positive attitudes were related to higher levels of social desirability. In the present study, a number of respondents indicated to the researchers that they felt uncomfortable in providing answers to a number of scale items. This level of personal discomfort and an expressed awareness that their responses may have been undesirable may have influenced some individuals to provide socially desirable responses. Unfortunately a measure of social desirability was not included in the present study to test for the possible effect on responses. It is therefore suggested that future research relating to attitudes towards cultural diversity and related concepts include a measure of social desirability in order to assess the possible influence of this factor on responses.

Aspects of the methodology may also have encouraged socially desirable responses, for example the method of questionnaire return, which was often direct to the researchers. Although confidentiality was guaranteed to all respondents and maintained throughout the study, such a procedure may have jeopardised respondent trust in confidentiality which thus may have increased the likelihood of socially desirable responses. Future research should consider alternative methods of questionnaire return, such as reply paid envelopes in order to assure participants of confidentiality.

A further limitation of the present study relates to the method of participant recruitment. Recruitment was conducted primarily in the northern suburbs of Perth, Western Australia, as census statistics revealed that a high proportion of UK migrants resided in this particular area. Consequently, the sample and responses obtained may not necessarily be representative of the wider UK migrant population residing in

Australia. Whilst the recruitment method proved effective in obtaining a sufficient sample size, future research should attempt to recruit from areas which vary in the distribution of UK migrant residence, thus providing a more representative sample.

A final shortcoming of the present study relates to the low internal consistency of the cultural and economic security subscales. Consequently, it could not be determined which types of perceived security were most important in predicting UK migrant attitudes towards cultural diversity and immigration. Such an investigation would have provided a more comprehensive understanding of the security/attitude relationship amongst UK migrants residing in Australia. It is suggested that future research amend the existing security subscales, or use alternative measures, such as realistic and symbolic threat types so that investigation of particular security/threat types can be conducted. Such research could subsequently be replicated amongst a number of migrant groups, diverse in cultural backgrounds, in order to determine which forms of threat/security are most relevant to particular migrant groups residing within Australia. Such knowledge could inform government policy as to the particular concerns that exist for certain migrant groups residing within Australia. As a consequence, strategies may be implemented in the aim of reducing relevant apprehensions, for example, if cultural security is a concern for migrants, strategies may be implemented that aim to increase perceptions of cultural security and thus increase positive attitudes towards residing in a culturally diverse society.

The importance of investigating specific security and threat types across cultural groups is further highlighted by research which has identified a number of antecedents and moderators that influence the types of security and threat important in determining attitudes. For example, group social status, strength of identification with one's cultural group and the historical relations that exist between groups are all

factors found to influence the significance of perceived security/threat subtypes (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Riek et al., 2006; Stephan et al., 1998, 2002). These findings reveal the complexity of the security/attitude relationship and highlight the need for future research to investigate the influence of such factors on perceptions of security.

Although there remains much to be done in terms of future research, the findings of the present study have important implications in terms of promoting positive relations between groups that reside within culturally diverse societies. Whilst this research has revealed a relationship between perceptions of security and attitudes towards cultural diversity and immigration amongst a migrant group residing within a culturally diverse society, previous research has demonstrated the causal nature of the security/attitude relationship (e.g., Stephan et al., 1998). Consequently it may be concluded that if positive attitudes towards cultural diversity and related concepts are to be promoted within diverse societies, every cultural group, including migrant groups, must feel that their place within society is secure. This finding is particularly important in terms of social and political policy, in that such policies should aim to promote perceptions of security amongst all cultural groups. The multicultural policy of the current Australian government is an example of such a policy as it can be seen to promote security in numerous ways. For example, in supporting individuals to maintain their cultural traditions (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2007b), the policy encourages cultural security. In asserting equal benefits for all those residing within Australia (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2007b), the policy encourages economic security. Continued political endorsement and promotion of such a policy is likely to increase perceptions of security amongst individuals residing within culturally diverse

societies. Such perceptions have been demonstrated in this, and associated research to be related to positive attitudes towards such diversity. Although community acceptance and support for cultural diversity and related concepts is seemingly more complex than promoting a sense of security, and a number of factors are likely to influence the relationship the present study highlights that if positive relations between cultural groups are to be promoted within culturally diverse societies, an important step is ensuring that the place of each and every cultural group residing within such societies is recognized, accepted, respected and celebrated.

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Appendix A

“Diversity Attitudes and Beliefs”

Dear Potential Participant,

We are psychology students completing our Honours degree at Edith Cowan University. As part of our course we are conducting research regarding attitudes towards diversity and immigration in Australia. You have been invited to participate because you were born in the United Kingdom and are over 18 years of age. The purpose of the study is to examine the relationships among diversity attitudes and beliefs. In particular, we are interested in the views of people from the UK, who are the largest overseas-born group in Australia.

If you choose to participate in the study you will be asked to complete a survey. The survey contains questions about how you feel about cultural diversity, multiculturalism and immigration. Participants will also be asked to provide some background information, such as age and gender. The survey will take approximately 20- 30 minutes.

If you are willing to participate, please complete the enclosed questionnaire and return it directly to the researcher or to us at the university using the pre-paid envelope provided (no stamp required). If you complete the survey, be sure to complete your details on the raffle ticket attached to it. This ticket puts you in competition for a prize of a \$50 voucher for a department store. The raffle ticket with your details will be removed immediately from the questionnaire once it is received by the researcher, and will be stored separately from your completed questionnaire to ensure confidentiality is maintained. The winner will be notified by mail or telephone.

Participation in this study is voluntary. If you choose to participate, you are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue your participation at any time. All data collected will be treated as confidential and no identifying information will be stored with the surveys. No names will be used in any reports written about the study and only group data will be examined. Once the survey is completed a copy of the report can be made available to you. The study has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Computing, Health and Science at Edith Cowan University.

If you have any questions or require any further information about this study please feel free to contact us on the numbers below. If you have any additional questions about the study you may contact our supervisor on the number indicated below. If you would like to speak to an independent person, then you may contact Dr Dianne McKillop, the 4th Year Coordinator (Tel- 6304 5736 or Email- d.mckillop@ecu.edu.au). Please keep this letter for your own reference.

Thank you for taking the time to read this letter and for your interest in our research.

Yours Sincerely,

Nikki Isaacson & Sophie Mounsey

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DIVERSITY ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study.

About this survey:

In this survey we are asking questions about immigration and the variety of people who live in Australia. Many of the questions are in the form of opinion; there are no right or wrong answers. We believe that everyone is entitled to their own opinion.

Confidentiality:

Your answers will be kept confidential, which means your name will not appear anywhere. We will remove the raffle ticket as soon as the survey is returned, and store it separately from the survey. We will use the survey information for research purposes only. You can withdraw from this study at any time. However, it is very important for us to know your opinions, whatever they are.

Please turn over and begin the questionnaire

SECTION A

1. What is your cultural (ethnic) background?

Please tick one.

- ☐ Irish
- ☐ English
- ☐ Scottish
- ☐ Welsh
- ☐ Australian
- ☐ Other (please write in) _____

2. Cultural Identity:

People can think of themselves in various ways. For example, they may feel that they are members of various ethnic groups, such as Vietnamese, Italian or English, whilst also feeling a part of the larger society, Australia. These questions are about how you think of yourself in this respect.

a. How do you think of yourself?
Please tick in the box that applies to you.

	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Quite a bit	Very much
I think of myself as (e.g., Scottish, Irish, English or Welsh)					

UK Identity

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements regarding your UK cultural identity (from the previous question).

Please tick in the box that applies to you.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Not sure/ Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
b. I feel that I am part of (e.g., English, Scottish, Irish, Welsh) culture.					
c. I am proud of being					
d. I am happy to be					
e. Being part of culture is embarrassing to me.					
f. Being is uncomfortable for me.					
g. Being part of culture makes me feel happy.					
h. Being makes me feel good.					

Australian Identity

	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Quite a bit	Very much
I think of myself as Australian.					

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements regarding your Australian identity.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Not sure/ Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
i. I feel I am part of Australian culture.					
j. I am proud of being Australian.					
k. I am happy to be Australian.					

SECTION B

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements, using a 7-point scale, where 1 means 'strongly disagree' and 7 means 'strongly agree'. You are free to use any number between 1 and 7 to indicate varying degrees of disagreement or agreement.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Disagree somewhat	Neutral	Agree somewhat	Agree	Strongly Agree				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				
1.	There is room for a variety of languages and cultures in this country.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	We have to take steps to protect our cultural traditions from outside influences.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	Learning other languages makes us forget our own cultural traditions.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	I am rarely concerned about losing my cultural identity.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	I feel culturally secure as (e.g., English, Scottish, Welsh or Irish)				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	The high level of unemployment presents a grave cause for concern.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	This country is prosperous and wealthy enough for everyone to feel secure.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	High taxes make it difficult to have enough money for essentials.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	People spend too much time fretting about economic matters.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	A person's chances of living a safe, untroubled life are better today than ever before.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	Our society is degenerating and likely to collapse into chaos.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	The reports of immoral and degenerate people in our society are grossly exaggerated.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7

13.	People's chances of being robbed, assaulted, and even murdered are getting higher and higher.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	The everyday concerns of my ethnic (cultural) group are not in line with the everyday interests of people from other ethnic groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.	There is a basic conflict of interest between my ethnic (cultural) group and other ethnic groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16.	When other ethnic groups obtain their goals, it is harder for my ethnic (cultural) group to obtain its goals.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

SECTION C

For each statement below, please circle the number that best corresponds to your answer.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Disagree somewhat	Neutral	Agree somewhat	Agree	Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Australians should recognize that cultural and racial diversity is a fundamental characteristic of Australian society.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. We should help ethnic and cultural groups preserve their cultural heritages in Australia.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. It is best for Australia if all people forget their different ethnic and cultural backgrounds as soon as possible.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. A society that has a variety of ethnic and cultural groups is more able to tackle new problems as they occur	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. The unity of this country is weakened by Australians of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds sticking to their old ways.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. If Australians of different ethnic and cultural origins want to keep their own culture, they should keep it to themselves.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. A society that has a variety of ethnic or cultural groups has more problems with national unity than societies with one or two basic cultural groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Australians should do more to learn about the customs and heritage of different ethnic and cultural groups in this country.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Immigrant parents must encourage their children to retain the culture and traditions of their homeland.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. People who come to Australia should change their behaviour to be more like Australians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

SECTION C cont'd.

For each statement below, please circle the number that best corresponds to your answer.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Disagree somewhat	Neutral	Agree somewhat	Agree	Strongly Agree				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7				
1.	It is a bad idea for people of different races/ethnicities to marry one another.			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	Non-whites living here should not push themselves where they are not wanted.			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	If employers only want to hire certain groups or people, that's their business.			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	It makes me angry when I see recent immigrants on television demanding the same rights as Australian citizens.			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	Recent immigrants should have as much say about the future of Australia as people who were born and raised here.			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	It is good to have people from different ethnic and racial groups living in the same country.			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	We should promote equality among all Australians, regardless of racial or ethnic origin.			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	Some people are just inferior to others.			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on others.			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10	If people were treated more equally we would have fewer problems in this country.			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11	It is important that we treat other countries as equals.			1	2	3	4	5	6	7

SECTION D

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements, using the 7 point scale.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Disagree somewhat	Neutral	Agree somewhat	Agree	Strongly Agree				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				
1.	Australian children growing up surrounded by people of different ethnic backgrounds will be left without a solid cultural base.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	I feel secure when I am with people from different ethnic backgrounds.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	Immigration tends to threaten Australian culture.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	With more immigration Australians would lose their identity.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	If more immigrants come to Australia, there would be more unemployment.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	We will all benefit from the increased economic activity created by immigrants.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	Immigrants take jobs away from other Australians.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	The presence of immigrants will not make wages lower				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	There is no reason to think that our country is falling apart because of having a variety of ethnocultural groups.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10	Immigration increases the level of crime in Australia.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11	Immigration increases social unrest.				1	2	3	4	5	6	7

SECTION E

To give your answer to the following question, use a 7-point scale, where 1 means “too small”, 7 means “too large” and 4 means “just about right”. Feel free to use any number between 1 and 7.

	<u>Too Small</u>			About		<u>Too Right</u>	
Do you think that the Australian population is: too small, too large, or just about right. Reply by choosing the number that corresponds best with your opinion.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

For the following question, the 7-point response scale means,
1 “much smaller population”,
7 “much larger population”.
Use any number from 1 to 7 to express your opinion.

	<u>Much Smaller Population</u>				<u>Much Larger Population</u>		
In the future, would you like to see Australia have a population that is much smaller, or much larger	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

For the next question,
1 means Strongly disagree,
and 7 means Strongly agree.

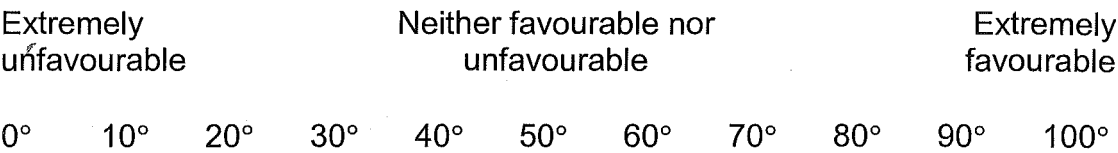
	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>				<u>Strongly Agree</u>		
Overall, there is too much immigration to Australia.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

SECTION F

Now we would like to find out about your attitudes toward several social groups living in Australia. We are going to ask you to use a scale like a thermometer to express your attitude. This attitude thermometer has numbers from 0 degrees to 100 degrees.

Here's how it works. If you have a favourable attitude toward members of a group, you would give the group a score somewhere between 50° and 100°, depending on how favourable your evaluation is of that group. On the other hand, if you have an unfavourable attitude toward members of a group, you would give them a score somewhere between 0° and 50°, depending on how unfavourable your evaluation is of that group.

Feel free to use any number between 0° and 100°.



Please rate your attitude to the following groups.

	<u>Degrees</u>		<u>Degrees</u>		<u>Degrees</u>
French	_____	Irish	_____	Jewish	_____
Italian	_____	Arab	_____	Canadian	_____
English	_____	Lebanese	_____	Polish	_____
Muslim	_____	Scottish	_____	Australian	_____
Chinese	_____	Croatian	_____	Vietnamese	_____
African	_____	Welsh	_____	New Zealander	_____
Pakistani	_____	Indonesian	_____	Serbian	_____
American	_____	Aboriginal Australian	_____		

SECTION G: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Age: How old are you? ____ years

2. Sex: What is your gender?

☐ Female

☐ Male

3. Place of birth: In which country were you born? _____

4. Education:

a. What is the highest level of schooling that you have obtained?

☐ Primary school, or some high school

☐ Completed high school

☐ Technical, Community College (e.g., TAFE)

☐ Some University

☐ Complete University degree

☐ Post graduate degree

b. Are you currently studying in post-secondary education?

☐ Yes

☐ No

c. What is the highest level of schooling that **your mother** has obtained?

☐ Primary school, or some high school

☐ Completed high school

☐ Technical, Community College (e.g., TAFE)

☐ Some University

☐ Complete University degree

☐ Post graduate degree

5. Religion:

What is your religion?

☐ No religion

☐ Protestant

☐ Roman Catholic

☐ Greek Orthodox

☐ Other (please write in) _____

☐ Jewish

☐ Muslim

☐ Buddhist

☐ Hindu

6. Employment

What work do you do? What is your occupation?

7. Citizenship and Residency:

a. Are you an Australian citizen?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If yes, for how long? _____ years

b. Are you a British citizen?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

c. Are you a Permanent Resident of Australia?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

d. How long have you lived in Australia? _____ years

8. How similar do you think the UK and Australian cultures are?

Please circle.

very					very
different					similar
1	2	3	4	5	

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this questionnaire.

Appendix C

Britons sought for immigration study. (2007, July 31st). *Wanneroo Times*, 15.

Britons sought for immigration study

RESEARCHERS from Edith Cowan University in Joondalup want to talk to British-born Australian residents about their attitude to immigration, multiculturalism and cultural diversity.

Psychology lecturer Jus-

tine Dandy and two honours students are providing the Perth component of an international study into immigration and inter-cultural relations to Queens University in Canada. Dr Dandy said the attitudes and opinions of UK

immigrants, the biggest overseas-born group in Australia, were relatively unheard.

"Indeed, it is often assumed they will share the same opinions as the Australian-born majority, but

this has rarely been explored," she said.

Participants aged 18-plus will fill in a confidential questionnaire. Email nisaacs@student.ecu.edu.au or call Nikki on 0409 104 777 or Justine on 63045105.

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The original plus three copies of the manuscript, including one set of high-quality original illustrations (where applicable), suitable for direct reproduction, should be submitted. (Copies of the illustrations are acceptable for the other sets of manuscripts as long as the quality permits refereeing).

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