Black African Immigrants to Australia: Prejudice and the Function of Attitudes

Safiyya Khan and Anne Pedersen

Murdoch University, Australia

In recent years there has been an increase in Black African immigrants to Australia; however, there is no social psychological research that directly examines community attitudes towards this group. Here, the findings of a community survey in Western Australia are reported using data collected from 184 Australian participants. We were particularly interested in prejudiced attitudes and the function of attitudes towards Black African immigrants. On prejudice, a reliable and valid instrument measuring attitudes towards Black African immigrants was constructed. On functions, the most frequently reported function of attitude was 'value-expressive' ('My attitudes give expression to my values'), followed by experiential-schematic ('Helps me to make sense of the world') and indirect experiential-schematic ('Media, friends and family help me to make sense of the world'). While there was no significant difference between immigrant-accepting versus immigrant-rejecting participants on the value expressive or the experiential schematic functions, rejecting participants scored higher on the indirect experiential schematic function, highlighting the salience of second-hand information. The participants' most important reason for potentially *changing* their own attitudes towards Black African immigrants, however, were direct experience (experiential-schematic), followed by values (value expressive) and indirect experience (indirect experiential-schematic), two functions that were equally important. Qualitative open-ended interviews about attitudes converged with these themes, and added 'integration' by assimilating Australian culture, and not being involved in criminal activities (which highlights again a role for the media). We discuss these findings and derive a clear direction for anti-prejudice strategies at community and government levels.

Keywords: function of attitudes, prejudice, immigrants, change, Black African

In recent years, Australia has increased the proportion of humanitarian entrants from Africa. Although Black Africans have been immigrating to Australia since the late 18th century, the recent wave in Black African immigration is dominated by refugees who have left war-torn countries (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2008). Many have experienced torture or traumatic experiences, such as losing a family member in violent circumstances (Office of Multicultural Interests [OMI], 2009). These experiences can have a detrimental impact on their immediate and long-term physical and psychological health. In addition, they may experience difficulties in settlement due to a lack of access to education, healthcare, housing or adequate settlement services (OMI, 2009). The issues facing newly arrived Black African immigrants have been associated with feelings of social isolation and depression; these feelings may be compounded when members of the group experience discrimination as a result of prejudice towards them in the community (Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission [VEOHRC], 2008). Of course, it is true that new migrant cohorts often become the subject of prejudice from members of the established community (Perrin & Dunn, 2007). It has been found that experiences of discrimination can contribute to poor health among marginalised groups in society (Paradies, 2006), emphasising the importance of this issue for the Australian community currently, both for Black African immigrants and society as a whole.

The research reported here examines attitudes towards Black African immigrants and the function of those attitudes. Before doing so, we briefly describe the development of a quantitative instrument to measure such prejudice, and attempt to validate it with variables previously associated with prejudiced attitudes. Then we examine the function of those attitudes and the issue of attitude change, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

The Function of Attitudes

One body of research that has been found to be useful when attempting to explain attitudes towards perceived out-groups is the function of attitude literature. Understanding why people have certain attitudes towards perceived out-groups is fundamental as it will assist in the development of anti-prejudice strategies. The literature suggests that people hold and express certain attitudes because doing so meets the psychological needs of the individual (Herek, 1987). Herek suggested that there are four major functions that have been identified in the literature: experiential schematic, social adjustive, value expressive and ego defensive (or self-esteem maintenance). It is important to note that attitudes can serve a few functions simultaneously and can also serve different functions in different contexts (Pedersen, Contos, Griffiths, Bishop & Walker, 2000).

The *experiential schematic function* is established by personal interactions with the attitude object (Herek, 1987). As human beings can only take in a limited amount of information at any time they use stereotypes, impressions and direct experiences with the attitude object to help them determine how they should react to it. In our article, this function is labelled 'direct experiential schematic'. With respect to the *social adjustive function*, Smith, Bruner and White (1956) proposed that expressing attitudes that are pleasing to, or correspond with, the values of members of particular social groups may facilitate or maintain relationships. This function was identified again by Herek (1987) as one of two components of his 'self-expressive' function. The *value expressive function* was first identified by Katz (1960), who suggested that attitudes provide a means for people to express their firmly held beliefs and values that they identify with their self-concept or 'true selves'. Later, Herek (1987) identified this as a component of his 'self-expressive' function. With respect to the *ego-defensive function*, it has been argued that people may assume a negative attitude towards others by projecting unacceptable aspects of themselves onto others. This function was identified by Katz (1960) and Herek (1987), who labelled it ego-defensive and defensive respectively. Attitudes that perform this function may serve to maintain or enhance one's feelings of self-worth. For this reason, Shavitt (1989 refers to this function as 'maintenance of self-esteem'.

Researchers have measured the function of attitudes in different ways using both qualitative measures (Watt, Maio, Rees and Hewstone, 2006) and quantitative measures (Griffiths & Pedersen, 2009). In the Australian setting, Pedersen et al. (2000) adapted Herek's (1987) Attitude Function Inventory to assess the function of attitudes towards Indigenous Australians in a city (Perth) and country (Kalgoorlie) setting. They found that attitudes towards Indigenous Australians served two main functions: value expressive and direct experiential schematic. The social adjustive and self-esteem maintenance functions were rarely reported as being most important to participants. The major function of attitudes was value expressive for the Perth respondents and direct experiential schematic for the Kalgoorlie respondents. Pedersen et al. (2000) suggested that this difference in functions may be due to the higher population of Indigenous Australians in the country setting as compared to the urban setting.

In a similar study, Griffiths and Pedersen (2009) examined prejudice and the function of attitudes towards Muslim and Indigenous Australians. These authors were the first to introduce the 'indirect experiential schematic' function arguing that direct experiences are not the only way that schemata related to knowledge and object appraisal are developed. The indirect experiential function related to information gained from people participants know and the media. This study found that the major function of attitudes towards Muslim and Indigenous Australian was value-expressive, although the direct experiential schematic and indirect experiential schematic were also reported as being important to participants. In addition, they addressed the question of whether the function differed depending on the target group. They found that the function towards Muslim Australians was significantly more value expressive than attitudes towards Indigenous Australians. They suggested that respondents may believe that Muslim values are very different from non-Muslim values, thus making values salient and resulting in participants rating this as a more important reason for holding a particular view. The preceding two studies demonstrate importance of considering the specific target group as well as location when developing anti-prejudice strategies.

Attitude Change

Researchers have suggested that in order for attitude change to occur, people must perceive that the attitude they hold is no longer serving its function (Katz, 1960). It has been argued that attempts to change attitudes should be based on the function that that attitude performs for the individual. This has been referred to as the functional matching hypothesis and has received extensive support in the literature (Watt, Maio, Haddock & Johnson, 2008). For example, Prentice (1987) looked at

the function matching effects of symbolic and value-based appeals to individuals who tended to value either symbolic (e.g., a wedding ring) or instrumental possessions (e.g., a frying pan). These authors found that participants who preferred symbolic possessions exhibited greater agreement with message recommendations following a series of symbolic arguments. In a Canadian study, Murray, Haddock and Zanna (1996) manipulated the likelihood that participants would form social adjustive versus value expressive attitudes towards institutionalising the mentally ill. They found that participants who received an induction based on social adjustive attitudes agreed with the social adjustive message much more than the value expressive message, with the same pattern found in relation to participants who received the value expressive induction.

Previous studies have found extensive support for the functional matching hypothesis using a variety of different approaches. Building on this research, recent work in the field has looked at the relationship between attitude change and attitude functions from an applied perspective. For example, a recent UK study conducted by Maio, Haddock, Watt and Hewstone (2008) found that a failure to address attitude functions in an anti-prejudice advertising campaign resulted in an increase in negative attitudes towards ethnic out-groups following exposure to anti-prejudice posters. This finding was not surprising, given other researchers have found that anti-prejudice interventions are most effective when they target the motivation expressed by the attitude (Petty, Wheeler & Bizer, 2000).

In another study, Griffiths (2007) examined the relationship between the primary function of attitudes towards Muslim and Indigenous Australians and the function most likely to cause respondents to change their attitudes towards these groups. Regarding attitudes towards Muslim Australians, Griffiths found that there was no significant difference between the participants whose major function was value-expressive compared with those whose major function was experiential-schematic on the importance of the three most important attitude change variables: experiential schematic, value expressive, and indirect experiential schematic. Griffiths found that the most important issues that could potentially change participants' minds about Muslim Australians were experience and values, followed by indirect experience. The pattern for Indigenous Australians was identical. Thus, support for the function-matching hypothesis was found only for participants whose primary function of attitude was experience. The findings of this study raise questions as to the potential success of function-matching when designing anti-prejudice strategies.

Prejudice and Its Correlates

Eight factors previously related with prejudice are now briefly discussed; we will use these variables in an attempt to validate the newly constructed prejudice measure. Four are socio-psychological factors: consensus, contact, quality of contact, and political correctness. Three are socio-demographic factors; education, gender and age together with political orientation.

Consensus. The notion that prejudiced individuals have stronger perceptions of consensus for their views has gained support in the social psychological literature outside Australia (e.g., Sigelman, 1991, across a range of stigmatised groups; Strube & Rahimi, 2006, with respect to African Americans). The consensus effect has also been found in the Australian setting (Pedersen, Griffiths & Watt, 2008 with respect to Indigenous Australians and asylum seekers; Watt & Larkin, 2010, with respect to Indigenous Australians).

Contact. The proposition that increased inter-racial contact would result in more positive racial attitudes towards out-groups is widely accepted by social scientists. While earlier research supported this view (Duetsch & Collins, 1951), it soon became apparent that not all intergroup contact leads to reduced prejudice. Allport (1954) provided evidence that categories and stereotypes may be preserved even in circumstances where there is increased intergroup contact. Allport proposed that four optimal conditions are necessary to reduce intergroup prejudice (equal status; no competition; seeking superordinate goals; institutional sanction). Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) were the first to conduct a meta-analysis of the literature examining the effect of intergroup contact on prejudice. The findings of the meta-analysis indicated that greater intergroup contact is generally associated with lower levels of prejudice and that there was no difference when comparing racial subsets with the non-racial group overall. However, a recent review of Australian research conducted in Perth, Queensland and Newcastle has provided more contradictory findings (Pedersen, Paolini, Barlow, & Sibley, 2010). This study found that the quality of intergroup contact was a much stronger predictor of reduced prejudice in Australia than contact alone, which did not correlate with prejudice to the same extent as the Pettigrew and Tropp study (Pedersen et al., 2010). It seems clear that all the conditions referred to by Allport need to be considered when the effects of contact are being investigated.

Political correctness. Social psychologists have found opponents of political correctness tend to espouse more prejudiced views towards out-groups in both Canada (Lalonde, Doan & Patterson, 2000) and Australia (Pedersen et al., 2000).

Socio-demographic/political orientation variables. Researchers have found that a relationship exists between prejudice and socio-demographic variables, although they are often less predictive of negative attitudes compared with socio-psychological variables (e.g., Pedersen, Walker, Griffiths, 2004). A recent review of

Perth studies found prejudice to be correlated with lower levels of education, right wing political orientation, increasing age and being male (Pedersen & Griffiths, 2010).

Overview of the Present Study

There were four primary aims of the present study.

- The first aim was to construct a reliable and valid instrument measuring attitudes towards Black African immigrants to Australia.
- The second aim was to establish whether respondents reported the same attitudes towards Black African immigrants compared with immigrants in general.
- The third aim was to identify whether the accepting and rejecting groups differed in the reported function of their attitudes.
- The final aim was to identify the function or functions that are most likely to be relevant when attempting attitude change strategies.

Method

Participants

One hundred and eighty-four participants were recruited to the study. Power analysis using an effect size of $f = 0.25$ (medium power), a = .05, power = .95 and allowing for 5 predictor variables in an ANOVA analysis, indicated a sample size of 125 would meet the recommended subject-to-variable ratio. Thus enough participants were obtained for the analyses planned. Participants varied in their level of education although most participants were well educated. In our study, 55% of participants completed a Bachelors degree or higher, compared to only 22% in the Australian population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008). Participants varied in their political viewpoint with 26% of participants at the 'centre', 40% leaning towards the 'right' and 34% leaning towards the 'left'. There were more female respondents (66%) than males. An overwhelming number of participants were Caucasian (86%), with Asians making up the second largest (9%) ethnic/cultural group amongst participants. The mean age was 52 ($SD = 16.59$).

Measures

Attitudes Toward Black African Immigrants instrument [ATBAI]. This measure contained 14 items and was responded to on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*; 7 = *Strongly agree*). High scores indicated high levels of prejudice against Black African immigrants (see Appendix A for a list of the items).

Attitude thermometers. Two attitude thermometers (Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Bachelor, 2003) were employed to measure positive or negative attitudes towards Black African immigrants and immigrants generally. Participants were asked to respond using a thermometer scale where 0 degrees = *Extremely unfavourable* and 100 degrees = *Extremely favourable*. After reversals, high scores indicated higher prejudice.

Consensus. This measure was adapted from the community consensus scale used by Pedersen et al. (2008). Participants were asked:

> It is likely that some Australians would agree with the views that you have just expressed about African immigrants to Australia while others would disagree. Generally speaking, what percentage of Australians do you think would agree or disagree with your views regarding Black African immigrants?
>
> Percentage of Australians who would **agree** with
> your views   %
> Percentage of Australians who would **disagree** with
> your views   %
>
> (Note: these percentages should add up to 100%)

The higher the estimate of the percentage of Australians who would agree with their views the higher the perceived community consensus.

Contact: quantity and quality. Respondents were asked 'Now, we are interested in how much contact you have had with Black African people who have immigrated to Australia, on a scale from 0 to 6 (from 0 = *None*; to 6 = *A lot*). Respondents were then asked: 'Has this contact generally been positive or negative?' on a scale from 0 to 6 (0 = *Negative*; 3 = *Positive and negative*; 6 = *Positive*).

Function of attitudes toward Black African Immigrants Inventory [FATBAI]. This measure was used to assess the function of attitudes of Perth residents towards Black African immigrants. The value expressive, experiential schematic and indirect experiential schematic functions were adapted from Griffiths & Pedersen (2009) with 'Black African immigrants' replacing the terms 'Muslim Australian' and 'Indigenous Australian' used in the previous measures. The social adjustive and self-esteem maintenance functions were modeled on the Pedersen et al. (2000) study and the Attitude Function Inventory developed by Herek (1987). Responses could vary from 'This is an extremely important reason for me holding my views' (5) to 'This is not at all important to me' (1). Examples of the questions can be seen in Appendix B. Respondents were classified as 'value expressive' if their score on this function was higher than their score on the other four functions. Respondents were similarly classified in the other five categories.

Attitude change: Quantitative. Respondents were then asked whether it is possible that their attitudes could change (even to a small extent) in five situations that each related to the attitude functions described above (i.e., value-expressive; experiential schematic; indirect schematic; social adjustive; self-esteem maintenance). For example, they were asked whether their own

experience with Black African immigrants may potentially cause a shift in their attitudes, as the question reflecting an 'experiential schematic' function. The first three situations in this scale were adapted from Griffiths (2007). Responses could vary from 'This situation would have no effect on my attitude. It would remain unchanged' (1) to 'If I did change my attitude this would have been a very important cause' (5).

Attitude change: Qualitative. Respondents were given a free response option to answer this question: 'Is there anything else that would cause you to change your present attitudes towards Black African immigrants?' If the respondent answered 'Yes', they were asked to describe what would cause them to change their present attitudes. A thematic analysis was conducted on the qualitative data (see Braun & Clarke, 2006). A form of 'open coding' suggested by Glaser and Strauss (1980) was used by the first author to identify particular themes or patterns in the data (that is; the data guided the themes rather than a particular theoretical framework being used as a guide). These themes overlapped to a certain degree; that is, a participant could espouse more than one theme.

Direct experience. This theme involved the expression of direct experiences that may cause participants to change their views towards Black African immigrants (coded 1 = *No mention of direct experience*, 2 = *Direct experience that is neither positive nor negative*, 3 = *Positive experience*, 4 = *Negative experience*).

Integration into the Australian community. This theme related to participants who may change their views if Black African immigrants are seen to integrate into the Australian community (coded 1 = *No mention of integration*, 2 = *Integration into the Australian community*).

Involvement in criminal activity. This theme involved participants who expressed concerns about Black African immigrants being involved in criminal activity (coded 1 = *No mention of involvement in criminal activity*, 2 = *Involvement in criminal activity*).

Political correctness. This was measured with a two-item measure that asked participants to respond on a 7-point Likert scale. The items used were from Pedersen et al. (2000) which were amended from Lalonde et al. (2000). Higher scores indicated higher levels of resentment about political correctness. An example of a political correctness item is: 'We are now at the stage where, as soon as we open our mouths, we run the risk of being called racists, sexists, or homophobes'.

Socio-demographic/political orientation variables. Respondents were asked to state their age in years, their education level (1 = *Primary school only*; 6 = *Higher degree at university*), their sex (1 = *Male*, 2 = *Female*) and their political orientation (1 = *Left wing*; 5 = *Right wing*). There was a sixth category for political orientation: 'don't care'. Responses of 'don't care' were treated as missing values as we were only interested in those who held a political view.

Free response data. Lastly, respondents were asked 'Are there any other comments you'd like to make about the issues surrounding Back African immigrants to Australia that would help us understand your views better?'

Procedure: Part I

Letters to the Editor and newspaper articles that appeared in *The Australian* and *West Australian* newspapers from October 4, 2007 to March 22, 2009 were perused in order to gain an insight into community views of Black African immigrants. This was adapted from the procedure employed by Pedersen et al. (2005) and Griffiths and Pedersen (2009) in constructing Attitudes measures relating to Asylum Seekers and Muslim Australians, respectively. The Attitudes measures constructed by Pedersen et al. (2005) and Griffiths and Pedersen (2009) had satisfactory reliability and validity. In constructing the measure for the present study, the author attempted to gather both positive and negative items, as well as statements that took into account perceived personal characteristics of Black African immigrants and societal/government issues. The exact wording of the Letters to the Editor and newspaper articles were amended to take into account grammar; in addition, we changed the valence of some statements (primarily from negative to positive) in an attempt to balance the positive and negative items. However, some sentiments did not translate well and we therefore had more negative than positive items. A total of 14 items, covering both positive and negative statements were used (8 negative; 6 positive).

Procedure: Part II

Perth suburbs were classified as low, medium or high in terms of socio-economic standing, using the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2006) [ABS] data on socio-economic status [SES]. One low, one high and two medium SES suburbs were chosen at random (more Perth residents are classified as average in socio-economic standing compared to low or high). A questionnaire with a covering letter was delivered to 250 potential participants in each suburb, making a total of 1000 potential participants. Half of the covering letters requested that a female complete the questionnaire if possible and the other half male, although either sex could respond. Two and a half weeks later a reminder letter was delivered. A total of 184 questionnaires were returned, making the response rate 18.4%. Although this is a relatively modest return, it is in line with other research (e.g., Griffiths & Pedersen, 2009); thus, between-studies comparisons may be made with some confidence.

Results
Aim 1: Construction of Attitude Towards Black African Immigrants Measure (ATBAI)

The 14 items in the ATBAI were subjected to a principal axis analysis. Three initial factors with eigenvalues

Table 1

Intercorrelations Among Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. ATBAI	1	.10	.316**	-.234**	.326**	.752**	.182*	.029	-.062	.044	-.058	-.807**	-.699**	.391**	.512**	.236**	-.555**
2. Direct experience		1	.324**	.234**	.243**	.156*	.216**	.056	.178*	.085	.133	-.069	-.032	.056	.082	.611**	-.022
3. Indirect experience			1	.146*	.440**	.518**	.022	.155*	.111	.204**	.053	-.364**	-.328	.146	.296**	.170*	-.292***
4. Value expressive				1	.167*	-.074	.072	.045	.205**	.143	.089	.270**	.155*	-.202**	-.131	.004	.191*
5. Social adjustive					1	.424**	-.075	.124	.156*	.370**	.096	-.288*	-.234**	-.055	.335**	.064	-.132
6. Self-esteem maintenance						1	-.109	.067	.063	.062	-.073	-.757**	-.665**	.318**	.478**	.173*	-.537**
7. AC- Experiential							1	.569**	.424**	.166*	.277**	.154*	.187*	.006	-.124	-.026	.142*
8. AC- Indirect experiential								1	.456**	.363**	.258**	-.039	.000	.115	-.060	-.149*	-.026
9. AC- Value expressive									1	.314**	.527**	.031	.015	.048	-.031	-.030	-.111
10. AC- Social adjustive										1	.399**	-.033	.008	.068	.056	-.081	-.064
11. AC- Self-esteem maintenance											1	.029	.007	-.034	.011	.012	-.003
12. Thermometer (African)												1	.773**	-.464**	-.493**	-.209**	.571**
13. Thermometer (immigrants)													1	-.331**	-.367**	-.216**	.501**
14. Anti-political correctness														1	.295**	.196**	-.257**
15. Consensus															1	.121	-.343**
16. Contact																1	-.150
17. Quality of contact																	1

Note: *p < .05 **p < .01 (all two-tailed)

Table 2

Descriptive Characteristics of Measures and Items

Item	Mean	SD	n[1]	Alpha	Possible range
ATBAI[2]	3.20	1.26	13	.90	1–7
FATBAI function[3]					
Direct experiential schematic	3.09	1.25	4	.90	1–5
Indirect experiential schematic	1.97	.83	6	.82	1–5
Value expressive	4.04	.80	6	.80	1–5
Social adjustive	1.54	.77	3	.85	1–5
Self-esteem maintenance	1.66	.90	3	.70	1–5
Attitude change function measures					
Direct experiential schematic	3.01	1.31	1	—	1–5
Indirect experiential schematic	2.56	1.10	1	—	1–5
Value expressive	2.50	1.29	1	—	1–5
Social adjustive	1.65	0.95	1	—	1–5
Self-esteem maintenance	2.28	1.23	1	—	1–5
Black African immigrant thermometer	61.66	27.85	1	—	0–100
Immigrants generally thermometer	72.66	21.56	1	—	0–100
Political correctness measure	4.77	1.13	4	.75	1–7
Consensus	56.73	19.68	1	—	0–100
Contact	2.39	1.70	1	—	0–6
Quality of contact	3.99	1.50	1	—	0–6

Note: [1] Number of items in measure;
[2] ATBAI attitudes towards Black African immigrants;
[3] FATBAI function of attitudes towards Black African immigrants.

greater than one were found accounting for 44%, 10% and 8% of the variance respectively. However, the scree plot clearly showed that there were no more than two meaningful factors. The first factor (number of items = 11) may be defined as a general, primarily negative, attitude towards Black Africans. The items on the second factor (number of items = 3) were all positively worded. The reliability was similar for both the full 14-item scale (α = .89) and the 10-item scale (α = .88); however, the reliability was lower for the positive scale (α =.79). The 11-item and 3-item scales were significantly correlated at r = .59; p < .001. When conducting multiple regressions predicting ATBAI with well-known socio-demographic correlates of prejudice using three scales (the full 14-item scale; the 11-item primarily negative scale, and the 3-item positive scale), all regressions produced essentially identical results. Because of the above, and because we were of the view that attitude scales should include both positive and negative items, it was decided to present all of the items as a single scale. One item was removed in order to improve the reliability of the scale, leaving 13 items to be used in the analyses.

To establish the extent to which the attitude measure had construct validity, the five social–psychological variables (the thermometer; consensus; political correctness; contact; quality of contact), the political orientation item and the socio-demographics were correlated with the ATBAI. The ATBAI was significantly correlated with the attitude thermometer measuring positive attitudes

towards Black African Immigrants, r = −.807, p < .001. Participants with more negative attitudes as measured by the ATBAI estimated higher levels of community support (consensus) for their views on Black African immigrants, r = .512, p < .001. The ATBAI was significantly correlated with anti-political correctness, r = .391, p < .01, increased contact, r = .236, p = .001, higher quality contact, r = −.555, p < .001, education, r = −.320, p < .001, and right-wing political views, r = .179, p = .019. These significant correlations are in the expected direction and provide support for the construct validity of the measure (see Table 1). We, therefore, have confidence in using the ATBAI as it has shown satisfactory reliability and validity.

Measure Descriptives

Table 2 presents descriptive statistics for each measure, by setting out the means and standard deviations, the number of items in each measure, alphas, and the range of scores. We also set out the same descriptives with respect to the single items except, of course, the inclusion of the alpha level. One item was removed from each of the ATBAI — the experiential-schematic, value-expressive, social adjustive, and self-esteem maintenance measures — to increase reliability. It can be seen from Table 2 that reliability for all measures is satisfactory (i.e., consistently over or equal to α = .70).

Prejudice towards Black African immigrants was assessed using the procedure employed by Griffiths and

Pedersen (2009). Participants' scores were allocated to one of two categories, 'accepting of' or 'rejecting of' African immigrants to Australia, depending on whether they scored below or above the midpoint. Participants who fell on the midpoint were excluded ($n = 5$). Excluding those data, more participants were classified as 'accepting' (74.3%) than 'rejecting' (25.7%).

We now note the prevalence of reported functions. The most frequently reported function of attitudes towards Black African immigrants was value-expressive (70.6%), followed by direct experiential schematic (26.4%) and indirect experiential schematic (2.5%). Participants rarely reported the social adjustive (0.6%) or self-esteem maintenance (0%) as their primary function. Although each category identifies the most frequently reported function, the categories are not mutually exclusive. So participants may have high scores on more than one category. For example, although few participants reported the indirect experience as their most frequently reported function, the mean for this function was still around the 2 mark (this is one of the reasons for me holding my views but not a particularly important one).

Aim 2: Attitudes Towards Black African Immigrants and Other Immigrants

Although both sets of scores were on the positive side being above the midpoint of 50.00, participants were significantly more positive about immigrants generally, $M = 72.66$, than Black African immigrants, $M = 61.66$, $t(176) = 8.290$, $p < .001$.

Aim 3: The Relationship Between the ATBAI and the Function of Attitudes

The following analyses identify the functions of accepting versus rejecting attitudes towards Black African immigrants. Five one-way ANOVAs were conducted in order to assess whether there was any significant difference between the accepting and rejecting groups in relation to the functions of their attitude. The dependent variables were the five functions described above; the factors were the two levels of prejudice (accepting; rejecting) based on scores from the ATBAI.

There was no significant difference between the two groups in relation to the *direct experiential schematic* function, overall $M = 3.08$, $SD = 1.25$, $F(1,175) = 0.427$, $p = .514$. However, with respect to the *value expressive* function, the accepting group, $M = 4.12$; $SD = 0.77$, scored significantly higher than the rejecting group, $M = 3.78$, $SD = 0.85$, $F(1,176) = 6.10$, $p = .014$. Conversely, with respect to the *indirect experiential schematic* function, the rejecting group, $M = 2.36$; $SD = 1.11$, scored significantly higher than the accepting group, $M = 1.84$, $SD = 0.67$, $F(1,175) = 14.14$, $p = .001$. With respect to the *social adjustive* function, the rejecting group also scored significantly higher, $M = 1.86$, $SD = 1.05$, than the accepting group, $M = 1.43$, $SD = 0.62$, $F(1,175) = 11.26$,

$p = .001$. With respect to the *self-esteem maintenance* function, the rejecting group, $M = 2.78$, $SD = 0.98$, scored significantly higher than the accepting group, $M = 1.26$, $SD = 0.45$, $F(1,173) = 196.36$, $p < .001$. In short, while there was no difference with respect to the direct experiential-schematic function, acceptors were more likely to report the value expressive function as important, and rejectors were more likely to report that the indirect experience, the social adjustive, and the self-esteem maintenance functions were important.

Aim 4: Identifying the Attitude Change Function Most Likely to be Relevant

Both qualitative and quantitative analyses were used to assess what is most likely to change participants' attitudes towards Black African immigrants. Psychological researchers have noted that combining these two methods can produce a more accurate picture of the data (e.g., Green & Caracelli, 1997).

Quantitative Analysis

First, we examined whether there were enough people in each of the function categories to warrant further examination of all categories. As noted previously, the two most important functions were the value-expressive function and the direct experiential-schematic function; together these categories accounted for 97% of participants. Given there were only 5 participants whose major function were either of remaining three function categories, we excluded these categories from further analyses. We then investigated whether there was any difference between the participants whose major function was value-expressive compared with those whose major function was direct experiential schematic on the importance of the five attitude change variables. We named the attitude change variable relating to the direct experiential schemata function 'Change-experience,' the variable relating to the value-expressive function 'Change-values,' the variable relating to the indirect experiential schemata function 'Change-indirect experience,' the variable relating to the social adjustive function 'Change-social adjustive,' and the variable relating to the self-esteem maintenance variable 'Change-self-esteem maintenance.' Five independent t tests were conducted between the value-expressive and experiential-schematic groups, on the five attitude change variables (one test per change variable computed). It was found that there was no significant difference between the value-expressive and experiential-schematic groups on Change-experience, $t(66.84) = 0.66$, $p = .51$, Change-indirect experience, $t(75.32) = -6.27$, $p = .53$, Change-value expressive, $t(81.32) = -.452$, $p = .65$, Change-social adjustive, $t(93) = -.507$, $p = .614$, and Change-self esteem maintenance, $t(91.96) = -.102$, $p = .312$.

But what would be most likely to change participants' attitudes? The three attitude change variables that were the most relevant for participants were direct expe-

Table 3

Qualitative Themes for Attitude Change Question

Themes	%
Direct experience	38%*
Positive	5%
Negative	39%
Neither positive nor negative	56%
Integration into Australian community	24%*
Involvement in criminal activity	11%*
	73%

Note: * Total percentage of the sample (*N* = 184) who fell into the three categories.

rience, *M* = 3.02; *SD* = 1.31, indirect experience, *M* = 2.56; *SD* = 1.13, and values, *M* = 2.49; *SD* = 1.26. A score of 3 meant *This situation could possibly influence me to change my attitude* and a score of 2 meant *This situation might just cause me to consider changing my attitude but I doubt it.* Two paired sample *t* tests were conducted; the first to see whether there was any significant difference between Change-experience and Change-indirect experience, and the second to see whether there was any significant difference between Change-indirect experience and Change-values. There was a significant difference between the mean scores of Change-experience and Change-indirect experience, $t(155) = 5.09$, $p < .001$, indicating that participants were more likely to be influenced by direct experience than indirect experience. However, there was no difference between Change-indirect experience and Change-values, $t(153) = -.529$, $p = .60$. Thus, participants' most important reasons for potentially changing their attitudes towards Black African immigrants were direct experience, followed by indirect experience and values being equally important.

Qualitative Analysis

A total of 73% of participants gave free response data. Three major themes were identified as being relevant to attitude change towards Black African immigrants; direct experience, integration into the Australian community and involvement in criminal activity. The three themes (see Table 3) will be discussed in order of prevalence. The percentages represent the proportion of the total sample with a statement coded into each category. Statements could be coded into more than one category.

Direct experience. On analysis of the qualitative data, it was found that the most common theme was direct experience, with over one third (38%) of participants reporting this as a potential ground for changing their attitudes. This theme is similar to the direct experiential schematic function measured in the quantitative question on attitude change. An example of one participants' response is: 'Considerably more engagement with Black Africans in Australia'. The majority of participants (56%) reported that experience (without specifying

whether it is negative or positive) would cause them to change their attitudes although many participants (39%) expressed that a negative experience would cause them to change their attitudes for the worse.

Integration into the Australian community. The second-most prevalent theme was integration into the Australian community. A significant minority of participants (24%) expressed that their attitude would change for the better if they saw Black African immigrants integrating into the community or adopting Australian culture. An example of a response given by one participant illustrates this theme; 'If I saw their integration with Australians and making a genuine effort to speak English and adopt our way of life'.

Involvement in criminal activity. Third, a theme emerged concerning involvement in criminal activity. Several participants (11%) expressed that their attitude would change for the worse if there was an increase in violence or criminal activity amongst Black African immigrants. As one participant succinctly expressed; 'If we had a large increase in crime proven to be that of Black African people'.

Discussion

The main focus of the present study was to construct an attitude instrument measuring attitudes towards Black African immigrants, how this related to the function of those attitudes and attitude change strategies. The present study had four main aims, which will be addressed in turn, followed by a discussion of the implications of this study and some concluding remarks.

Prejudice: Aims 1 and 2

The ATBAI measure had good reliability and construct validity with prejudice significantly relating to anti-political correctness, community consensus, contact (quantity and quality), less formal education and more politically right wing views. Approximately three quarters of participants scored below the midpoint on the ATBAI. This reflects that attitudes towards Black African immigrants are generally more positive compared to attitudes towards some other perceived out-groups in the community (e.g., asylum seekers; see Pedersen, Attwell, & Heveli, 2005). The findings support other Australian research such as that conducted by Moloney (2010), Moloney and Blair (2009) and VEOHRC (2008). In our study, comments such as 'The Black Africans that I have met have been quiet, hardworking and determined to give to Australia in whatever they are able' were more common than negative statements such as 'Don't allow them into our country'. However, given the high levels of educated respondents in our study, this result may be an underestimation of the true opinion in the community. Also, given that participants were significantly less positive towards Black African immigrants compared with immigrants generally, there is no room for

complacency. This finding is important; with our sample at least, it cannot be argued that our findings indicate a simple bias towards immigrants generally — any negativity is directed towards Black African immigrants.

As an aside, we briefly discuss the finding that higher prejudice levels were significantly linked with higher contact, albeit the relationship was small explaining less than 6% of the variance. In Allport's seminal work back in 1954, he argued that prejudice could increase if optimal conditions were not in place. However, in a very impressive world-wide study, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) found that in 94% of cases, contact alone was enough to reduce prejudice although this finding is not as clear-cut in the Australian setting (Pedersen et al., 2010). Further research should examine why contact in these circumstances proved to have a negative effect; in particular regarding Allport's optimal conditions.

Function of Attitudes

Almost three quarters of participants reported values as their primary attitude function. This finding replicates previous Perth research (Griffiths & Pedersen, 2009; Pedersen et al., 2000). It has been suggested that people may use values to justify their existing their attitudes (Kristiansen & Zanna, 1988; 1991) whatever the factors were that were involved in the formation of their attitudes (Kristiansen & Zanna, 1994). It is important to note that while the value expressive function was clearly the most dominant function, participants also reported that direct experience and to a lesser degree indirect experience were other reasons for their attitudes. In relation to direct experience, the mean score equated to 'this is quite an important reason for me holding my views'.

Aim 3 was directed at identifying the relationship between prejudice against Black African immigrants and the five attitude functions. We found only one function where there was no significant difference between the acceptors and the rejectors (experiential-schematic). A similar result was found by Griffiths and Pedersen (2009) with respect to both Indigenous Australians and Muslim Australians. This is likely to be due to participants experiencing a mixture of both positive and negative encounters with Black African immigrants. As noted elsewhere (e.g., Pedersen et al., in press), there are times when personal experience can lead to prejudiced attitudes. As noted in that paper, in these circumstances, people's negative experiences are very real to them, and this needs dealing with respectfully in any intervention. However, one needs to note other relevant issues (e.g., societal influences on different cultural groups; stereotyping whole groups of people because of one's experiences).

Regarding the *value-expressive* function, our results indicated that acceptors reported that the function of their attitude was value-expressive to a greater extent than rejectors. Griffiths and Pedersen (2009) found that

there was no significant difference between acceptors and rejectors in respect to the value-expressive function of their attitudes towards Australian Muslims. The difference between these studies indicates that the function of our attitudes differs depending not only on context but on the target group. Our study did not identify the values that were important to our respondents, and it is recommended that future research examines this issue especially given that almost three-quarters of our participants saw values as being of such importance to them.

The rejecting group scored significantly higher than the accepting group in regard to the *indirect experience* function as also found by Griffiths and Pedersen (2009) with respect to both Indigenous Australians and Muslim Australians. We suggest that this may be due to the generally unfavourable portrayal of Black African immigrants in the media. It has been argued that news reports, current affairs programs and statements made by Australian political leaders have misrepresented the Australian African community (VEOHRC, 2008). As that organisation found, there has been a strong focus on 'bad' news stories such as violent or criminal behaviour and other difficulties faced by African immigrants who have settled in Australia. Anti-prejudice strategies could attempt to counter-balance this biased media portrayal by presenting more accurate accounts of the experiences of this new wave of African immigrants stressing that media sources are not always accurate (see Perrin & Dunn, 2007). In addition, strategies could highlight the erroneous nature of particular media reports.

The rejecting group scored significantly higher than the accepting group on both the *self-esteem maintenance* and *social adjustive* functions. This finding is of particular importance as previous studies have not examined the relationship between prejudiced attitudes and the above-named functions (i.e., the self-esteem maintenance and social-adjustive functions). The finding that the rejecting group scored higher than the accepting group on the self-esteem maintenance function sits well with the theory in this area as the self-esteem maintenance function is understood to be associated with projecting unacceptable aspects of a persons' self onto others (Herek, 1987). It is certainly to be expected that participants with more negative views towards Black African immigrants would score higher on this function. With respect to the social-adjustive function, it has been argued that people will adopt attitudes that conform to the values of members of groups with whom they identify in order to facilitate or maintain relationships (Smith et al., 1956). The fact that the rejecting group scored higher than the accepting group on the social adjustive function suggests that prejudiced participants may tend to be affiliated with social groups or people who possess similar prejudiced attitudes. This highlights the importance of indirect experience, as a peer's experiences may prove to be considerably influential in the

formation of a participant's view towards a particular minority group. This finding provides additional insight when considering what anti-prejudice strategies are likely to succeed.

Aim 4. Attitude change
Quantitative

Participants who reported values and direct experience as the most important functions of their attitudes did not differ significantly in which attitude change functions would be the most likely to cause them to change their views towards Black African immigrants. This finding was not in line with the social psychological theories on attitude change. Earlier researchers proposed that in order for attitude change to occur people must perceive that the attitude is no longer serving its function (Katz, 1960). Reference has already been made to the functional matching hypothesis that has received extensive support in the literature (Watt et al., 2008). Function-matching approaches have been used by researchers to persuade participants by tailoring persuasive messages to what is presumed to be the principal function of a specific object (Shavitt, 1990). The results indicate that under some circumstances, it may not be necessary to take into account the primary function of a participants' attitude when developing anti-prejudice strategies. From a practical perspective, this could save a lot of time and expense and may lead to the development of anti-prejudice campaigns that target a broader audience. Having said this, given past research, it is likely that our findings would be different in other contexts, and this should be investigated.

The question of what attitude change functions are likely to influence participants to change their attitude is still important. It was found that the main reason participants would potentially changing their attitudes was direct experience. This was followed by values and indirect experience, which were equally important. If possible, all three functions should be addressed: anti-prejudice interventions should not be mono-faceted. However, when dealing with the experiential-schematic function within such interventions, it needs to be sensitively handled as noted previously.

Qualitative

The qualitative analysis indicated that the three things most likely to change participants' attitudes towards Black African immigrants were direct experience, evidence that Black African immigrants have integrated into Australian society and evidence showing a lack of involvement in criminal activity. In relation to direct experience and criminal activity, some participants talked about attitudes changing to become more positive and others more negative.

The finding that the dominant theme in the qualitative data was *direct experience* is interesting given that many participants rated experience as an important

reason for holding particular attitudes towards Black African immigrants. With regard to *integration* issues, it may be that education programs informing people about the successful settlement of many Black African immigrants in Australia may be helpful. Also, as argued elsewhere, integration is a two-way street (Hollands, 2001). It does not simply involve an assimilation of new immigrants into Australia. Finally, regarding potential involvement in *criminal activity*, it may be useful to give correct information on this issue; certainly the large majority of African Australians are not criminals, but it may help to fully discuss the societal issue of why some marginalised people may turn to criminal activity and the role the wider society has in this (see Windle, 2008, for a discussion on racialisation in the Australian media with respect to African youth). Also, as found by Fozdar (2009), the wellbeing of African Australian refugees was undermined more by post-migration experiences than pre-migration trauma.

Conclusions

To conclude, the present study adds to the previous prejudice literature in four important ways. First, we presented a reliable and valid instrument to measure prejudice towards Black African immigrants. Second, our findings with regard to Black African immigrants were similar to that found with Muslim Australians (Griffiths & Pedersen, 2009) in that the value expressive function of attitudes was the most important to participants although direct experience was also important in forming people's attitudes. Third, our findings add to the literature with respect to attitude change data. With both our data and data relating to Muslim Australians (Griffiths, 2007), the functional matching hypothesis was not supported unless the dominant function was direct experiential schemata. Fourth, although the relationship between direct contact and prejudice was not a focus of our study, it is important. Our findings indicate that contact without Allport's (1954) conditions in place can, and in this case did, lead to increased negativity. Our findings differ from the majority of published studies worldwide (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) indicating that contact leads to less prejudice regardless of the quality of such contact. As previously noted, in the Australian context Pettigrew and Tropp's findings are not always found (see Pedersen et al., 2010). Given differences in localities and/or target groups, it is important to investigate these findings further.

From an applied viewpoint, the prevalence of certain functions (in particular direct experiential schematic; indirect experiential schematic; value expressive) is important for any anti-prejudice intervention. For example, as we have noted previously, a full, frank and sensitive discussion should take place with respect to the role of experience in attitudes. Relatedly, the fact that an important reason that participants gave for potentially

changing their attitudes was experience with respect to both the quantitative and qualitative responses supports this contention. With regard to indirect experience, a discussion of the role of the media would be useful (see Australian Human Rights Commission, 2010; Perrin & Dunn, 2007). As for the role of values, many respondents in our study noted their perception that African immigrants to Australia do not adopt Australian values. It would certainly be useful to fully unpack what 'Australian values' are and, on top of this, unpack participants' own values and attitudes (see Pedersen et al., in press). Finally, the fact that there were significant differences between the rejecting and accepting groups on four out of the five functions illustrated the importance of considering these factors when conducting anti-prejudice interventions. That is, such interventions are often targeted at the more rejecting participants.

Thus, we believe that the function of attitudes can be a useful starting point for anti-prejudice strategies. As Lewin famously stated, 'There is nothing more practical than a good theory' (Lewin, 1952, p. 169). In short, although only approximately 25% of participants scored below the midpoint on the attitude measure, it is important to deal with such a prejudiced minority as they can often be very vocal. This is particularly the case given that our participants were in fact more negative towards African immigrants compared with immigrants generally. An accepting society is a cohesive society.

Acknowledgments

References

Allport, G.W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice.* Reading, MA: Addison Wesley.

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2006). *Census of population and housing: Selected social and housing characteristics for suburbs and postal areas.* 2029.5 (electronic). Retrieved from http://www.abs.gov.au/websitedbs/D3310114.nsf/home/Census+data

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2008). *Education and work, Australia.* 6227.0 (electronic). Retrieved from http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/mf/6227.0

Australian Human Rights Commission. (2010). In our words – African Australians: *A review of human rights and social inclusion issues*: Retrieved from: http://www.humanrights.gov.au/africanaus/review/index.html

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3,* 77–101.

Colic-Peisker, V., & Tilbury, F. (2008). Being black in Australia: A case study of intergroup relations, *Race and Class, 49*(4), 38–56.

Duetsch, M., & Collins, M.E. (1951). *Interracial housing: A psychological evaluation of a social experiment.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Fozdar, F. (2009). 'The Golden Country': Ex-Yugoslav and African refugee experiences of settlement and 'depression'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 35,* 1335–1352.

Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1980). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research* (11th ed.). New York: Aldine Transaction.

Greene, J.C., & Caracelli, V.J. (Eds.). (1997). *Advances in mixed method evaluation: The challenges and benefits of integrating diverse paradigms.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Griffiths, B. (2007). *Prejudice, function of attitude, and attitude change.* Unpublished manuscript. Perth, Western Australia.

Griffiths, B., & Pederson, A. (2009). Prejudice and the function of attitudes relating to Muslim Australians and Indigenous Australians. *Australian Journal of Psychology,* DOI: 10.1080/00049530902748275.

Herek, G. M. (1987). Can Functions Be Measured? A new perspective on the functional approach to attitudes. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 50*(4), 285–303.

Hollands, M. (2001). Upon closer acquaintance: The impact of direct contact with refugees on Dutch hosts. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 14,* 295–314.

Katz, D. (1960). The functional approach to the study of attitudes, *Public Opinion Quarterly, 24,* 163–204.

Kristiansen, C.M., & Zanna, M.P. (1988). Justifying attitudes by appealing to values: A functional perspective. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 27,* 247–256.

Kristiansen, C.M., & Zanna, M.P. (1994). The rhetorical use of values to justify social and intergroup attitudes. *Journal of Social Issues, 50*(4), 47–65.

Kristiansen, C.M., & Zanna, M.P. (1991) Value relevance and the value-attitude relation: Value expressiveness versus halo effects. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 12,* 471–483.

Lalonde, R.N., Doan, L., & Patterson, L.A. (2000). Political correctness beliefs, threatened identities, and social attitudes. *Group Processes Intergroup Relations, 3*(3) 317–336

Lewin, K. (1952). *Field theory in social science: Selected theoretical papers by Kurt Lewin.* London: Tavistock.

Maio, G.R., Haddock, G., Watt, S.E., & Hewstone, M. (2008). Implicit measures in applied contexts: An illustrative examination of anti-prejudice advertising. In R.E. Petty, R.H. Fazio & P. Brinol (Eds.), *Attitudes: Insights from the Implicit Measures* (pp. 327–357). New York: Psychology Press.

Moloney, G. (2010). Acknowledging Gerard. Articulating social representations and identity through process and content: the resettlement of refugees in regional Australia. *Papers on Social Representations, 19,* 15.1–15.6. Available at http://www.psych.lse.ac.uk/psr/

Moloney, G., & Blair, D. (2009). *A community view of Coffs Harbour.* Report presented at Coffs Harbour Regional Art Gallery, November 3, 2009 to Coffs Harbour City Council, DIMICA and local service representatives. Coffs Harbour, Australia: Southern Cross University.

Murray, S.L., Haddock, G., & Zanna, M.P. (1996). On creating value-expressive attitudes: An experimental approach. In C. Seligman, J.M. Olson, & M.P. Zanna (Eds.), *The psychology of values: The Ontario Symposium* (Vol. 5, pp. 107–133). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Office of Multicultural Interests. (2009). *Settlement issues for African humanitarian entrants in Western Australia.* Perth, Australia: Office of Multicultural Interests.

Paradies, Y. (2006). A systematic review of empirical research on self-reported racism and health, *International Journal of Epidemiology, 35*(4), 888–901.

Pedersen, A. (2009; September). *Harmony in Australia: An evidence-based analysis of prejudice, contact, location, and disposition.* Paper presented at Institute of Australian Geographers Conference, Cairns, Australia.

Pedersen, A., Aly, A., Hartley, L., & McGarty, C. (2009). An intervention to increase positive attitudes and address misconceptions about Australian Muslims: A call for education and open mindedness. *The Australian Community Psychologist, 21,* 76–88.

Pedersen, A., Attwell, J., & Heveli, D. (2005). Prediction of negative attitudes towards Australian asylum seekers: False beliefs, nationalism and self-esteem. *Australian Journal of psychology, 57,* 148–160.

Pedersen, A., Beven, J., Walker, I., & Griffiths. (2004). Attitudes toward Indigenous Australians: The role of empathy and guilt. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 14,* 233–249.

Pedersen, A., Contos, N., Griffiths, B., Bishop, B., & Walker, I. (2000). Attitudes toward Aboriginal-Australians in city and country settings. *The Australian Psychologist, 35*(2), 109–117.

Pedersen, A., & Griffiths, B. (2010). *Prejudice and its relationship to socio-demographic variables over time.* Unpublished document, Murdoch University, Western Australia.

Pedersen, A., Griffiths, B., & Watt, S. (2008). Attitudes towards out-groups and the perception of consensus: All feet do not wear one shoe. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology, 18,* 543–557.

Pedersen, A., Paolini, S., Barlow, F., & Sibley, C. (2010; April*). The complex contact-prejudice relationship in Australia: Do our findings mirror those of Pettigrew and Tropp (2006)?* Paper presented at the Conference of the Society of Australasian Social Psychologists, Perth, Australia.

Pedersen, A., Walker, I., Paradies, Y., & Guerin, B. (in press). How to cook rice: Ingredients for teaching anti-prejudice. *The Australian Psychologist.*

Pedersen, A., Watt, S., & Hansen, S. (2006). The role of false beliefs in the community's and the federal government's attitudes towards Australian asylum seekers. *Australian Journal of Social Issues, 41*(1), 105–124.

Perrin, R.-L., & Dunn, K.M. (2007). Tracking the settlement of North African immigrants: Speculations on the social and cultural impacts of a newly arrived immigrant group, *The Australian Geographer, 38,* 253–73.

Pettigrew, T.F., & Tropp, L.R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90,* 1–33.

Petty, R.E., Wheeler, S.C., & Bizer, G.Y. (2000). Attitude functions and persuasion: An elaboration likelihood approach to matched versus mismatched messages. In G. Maio & J. Olson (Eds.), *Why we evaluate: Functions of attitudes.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Prentice, D.A. (1987). Psychological correspondence of possessions, attitudes, and values. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 53,* 993–1003.

Shavitt, S. (1990). The role of attitude objects in attitude functions. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 26,* 124–148.

Sigelman, C. (1991). Social distance from stigmatized groups: False consensus and false uniqueness effects on responding. *Rehabilitation Psychology, 36,* 139–151.

Smith, M.B., Bruner, J.S., & White, R.W. (1956). *Opinions and personality.* New York: Wiley.

Strube, M.J., & Rahimi, A.M. (2006). 'Everybody knows its true': Social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism moderate false consensus for stereotypic beliefs. *Journal of Research in Personality, 40,* 1038–1053.

Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission. (2008). *Rights of passage: The experiences of Australian born Sudanese young people.* Melbourne, Australia: Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission

Watt, S.E., & Larkin, C. (2010). Prejudiced people perceive more community support for their views: The role of own, media and peer attitudes in perceived consensus. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 40*(3), 710–731.

Watt, S.E., Maio, G.R., Haddock, G., & Johnson, B.T. (2008). Attitude functions in persuasion: Matching, involvement, self-affirmation, and hierarchy. In R. Prislin & W. Crano (Eds.), *Attitudes and attitude change* (Frontiers of Social Psychology Series, pp. 189–211). New York: Psychology Press.

Watt, S. E., Maio, G. R., Rees, K., & Hewstone, M. (2006). Functions of attitudes towards ethnic groups: Effects of level of abstraction. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 43,* 441–449.

Windle, J. (2008). The racialisation of African youth in Australia. *Social Identities, 14,* 553–566.

Wolsko, C., Park, B., Judd, C.M., & Bachelor, J. (2003). Intergroup contact: Effects on group evaluations and perceived variability. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 6,* 93–110.

Appendix A

Attitudes Toward Black African Immigrants Instrument [ATBAI]

1. 'The majority of Black African youth form violent race-based gangs.'
2. 'Black African immigrants are just as important to our nation as Australian-born people.'
3. 'Black African immigrants are unwelcome.'
4. 'Given the right opportunities, Black African immigrants can adjust to life in Australia just as well as any other immigrant.'
5. 'Very few Black African immigrants support themselves, as is demonstrated by the groups wandering around with prams and numerous small children with time on their hands.'
6. 'Australians should provide support to Black African immigrants who experience difficulties in settling in Australia.'
7. 'Black African immigrants don't integrate into Australian community as well as other immigrant groups.'
8. 'Many Black African immigrants in Australia experience subtle discrimination that prevents them from getting work even with high-level qualifications.'
9. 'Black African immigrants are prone to Islamic fundamentalism.'
10. 'We take thousands of Black Africans to this country to claim welfare and leave the productive African whites to fend for themselves in Africa.'
11. 'Not all Black African immigrants are involved in race-based gangs and to blame the whole group for the actions of a few is misguided.'
12. 'Charity begins at home: we should help the poor in Australia before helping Black African people.'
13. 'Black African immigrants are stuck in their ways which is shown by the fact that don't settle into school and employment compared with other immigrants to Australia.'

Appendix B

Examples of Function of Attitude Items

Value Expressive:	'My moral beliefs about the way things should be.'
Experiential-Schemata:	'My own experiences with Black African immigrants.'
Indirect Experiential-Schemata:	'The things other people have told me about their experiences with Black African immigrants.'
Social Adjustive:	'My feelings that I need to support the interests and views of people like me.'
Ego Defensive:	'My fears of what will happen to my country if we let people like this live here.'