

Media Influence on Host Society Responsibility in the Integration of Immigrants

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Integration research is commonly concerned with evaluations of immigrants' efforts of integrating or their integration styles (Berry, 1997, Johnston, Gendall, Trlin, & Spoonley, 2010). However, the responsibility of the host society in the integration of immigrants is often neglected (Horenczyk, Jasinskaja-Lahti, Sam, & Vedder, 2013; Phelps, Ommundsen, Türken, & Ulleberg, 2013). The current study looked at the perceived responsibility of host society members in integration and how this is influenced by the media. It was hypothesized that through mere exposure the valence and focus of newspaper articles and the participants' own immigrant background would have an effect on perceived host member responsibility. Due to the multicultural composition of Australia, host members were defined as individuals acculturated in Australia, and thus encompassed non-immigrants, second generation immigrants, and first generation immigrants who had moved to Australia as children. Participants in the experimental conditions were presented with newspaper articles that were either positive or negative, with an immigrant or host society focus, before filling out the Majority Integration Efforts Scale (Phelps, Eilertsen, Türken, & Ommundsen, 2011). Contrary to expectations there was no difference between the experimental conditions on perceived host member responsibility for non-immigrants. However, after reading positive immigrant focused articles, second generation immigrants scored significantly lower than both non-immigrants and first generation immigrants. This, however, was reversed for negative immigrant focused articles, where second generation immigrants scored higher than first generation immigrants. The results are discussed in relation to previous findings and implications for integration policies and future research.

Keywords: integration, immigrants, multicultural, attribution bias, media

Introduction

"I was brought up to believe that when you are invited into someone's home, you treat it with respect and do not try to force your opinion on your hosts. Australia has offered Muslims comfort, safety and a way of life they would never have had if they stayed where they were. They should be grateful and happy." (The Australian, 2015).

On the topic of integration much research has been conducted, with studies looking at host society members' attitudes towards immigration and integration (Bilodeau & Fadol, 2011; Breugelmans & van de Vijver, 2004; Johnston, Gendall, Trlin, & Spoonley, 2010) or host society member evaluation of immigrants'

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efforts in integration (Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998; Verkuyten, Thijs, & Sierksma, 2014). However, little has been done on host society members' attitudes towards their own role and responsibility in the integration process (Horenczyk, Jasinskaja-Lahti, Sam, & Vedder, 2013; Phelps, Eilertsen, Türken, & Ommundsen, 2011; Phelps, Ommundsen, Türken, & Ulleberg, 2013). With increasing immigration in many western societies, finding effective ways to facilitate integration is paramount and the neglect of host society members in the study of integration efforts may present an important gap in knowledge. In Australia, with its long history of immigration, understanding and facilitating optimal integration is especially important.

How integration is defined may determine both the process and the preferred outcome. The term has over time taken on many meanings, and the common use of the term integration to cover all manner of adaptation has eroded the meaning of true integration. One definition of integration comes from Berry's (1997) model of acculturation. Acculturation occurs when an individual is taken out of their original culture and learns to adapt and adjust to a new set of cultural rules and norms. Based on two dimensions, maintenance of cultural heritage and contact with the host culture, four acculturation outcomes are possible; *marginalisation*, *separation*, *assimilation* and *integration*. Marginalisation occurs when neither cultural maintenance nor contact with host culture is present; separation when only cultural maintenance is present; assimilation when only contact with the host culture is present; and lastly integration when both are present. This is defined as:

When there is an interest in both maintaining one's original culture, while in daily interactions with other groups... here, there is some degree of cultural integrity maintained, while at the same time seeking to participate as an integral part of the larger social network (Berry, 1997, p. 9).

While Berry (1997, 2003) discusses the importance of both majority and minority efforts in the integration process in his works, the discourse, having a focus on the immigrant, can be seen to alleviate host society member responsibility, making integration a process solely undertaken by the migrating individual. The shared responsibility becomes a footnote, not supported by the language chosen to describe the process. Subsequently, this has resulted in Berry's (1997) model of acculturation mainly being applied to research on minority acculturation, neglecting the idea of shared responsibility (Horenczyk et al., 2013). This is addressed in a definition proposed by Penninx (2003) where integration is described as a shared process in which a society accepts and includes immigrants, both as individuals and as cultural groups. In this definition focus has shifted from the immigrant to the receiving society, with inclusion being an essential element in the integration process. Changing the focus when defining integration means successful integration is not only achieved by the ability of the immigrant to blend in, but by the ability of the receiving culture to accommodate and include the newcomers. Here the responsibility is shared between the two groups, and it can thus be seen as true integration.

In the media, in daily speech and when used by politicians, the former definition of integration, with an immigrant focused wording, is perhaps more commonly used in Australia and has over time been used interchangeably with assimilation (Due, 2008; Mann, 2013; van Krieken, 2012). The current understanding of integration may therefore lack the involvement of the host society and tone down the importance of cultural maintenance for immigrants arriving in Australia, as outlined by Berry (1997, 2003), and thus place all responsibility of successful integration on immigrants.

Although the two definitions of integration by Berry (1997) and Penninx (2003) differ in focus, they both acknowledge involvement from both sides as being important in the integration process. Therefore, a

combination of exemption of responsibility in the common discourses around integration and negative attitudes towards immigration and integration held by host society members may hinder this process.

Since the arrival of the first settlers, Australia has had to grapple with matters of immigration and integration. With the enactment of the Immigration Restriction Act in 1901, the approach to immigration was mainly concerned with entry of immigrants, rather than integration of immigrants, and the policy embraced assimilation as the accepted method of acculturation (van Krieken, 2012). In what became known as the white Australia policy, strategies for maintaining a cohesive white country were set up in order to allow entry to immigrants who could easily be absorbed into the dominant British culture, while restricting immigration where absorption could be presumed problematic (Collins, 2013; Mann, 2013; van Krieken, 2012). Thus integration was concerned with the ability of the immigrant to adapt, rather than the white Australian society adapting to non-western cultures, leaving the responsibility of integration to the immigrants. This was also reflected in relation to policies concerning indigenous peoples at the time. Despite being the original inhabitants of the land, indigenous peoples were expected to give up their culture and traditions and eventually be consumed by the white Anglo Saxon culture, with drastic measures being taken to obtain this goal (van Krieken, 2012). The aim of that time was not true integration, but rather assimilation at best, or marginalisation at worst, with restriction of non-white immigrants to keep the country a cohesive entity, and with indigenous peoples forced to give up their own culture, yet not accepted into the white Australian culture (van Krieken, 2012).

With the gradual dismantling of the white Australia policy from the 1950's to 1970's, Australia started moving from a policy of assimilation to one of multiculturalism, encouraging society to see the differing cultural heritage of immigrants as an asset enriching Australia, rather than a problem needing to be eradicated (Collins, 2013; van Krieken, 2012). However, the notion that immigrants would sooner or later have to give up their cultural heritage to give way to the Australian way of life continued to prevail to varying degrees (Mann, 2013; van Krieken, 2012). As Jupp (2009) put it, "an underground river of assimilation still runs beneath the multicultural structures, constantly threatening them with erosion" (p. 158). Past views on integration policies may shape present views, and although Australia has relied heavily on immigration in nation building, and remains noticeably multicultural, the discourse in the media and political discussions continues to reflect these contradictory states of integration in Australia, balancing between assimilation and true integration (Bilodeau & Fadol, 2011; Due, 2008; van Krieken, 2012). This may have implications as Australia continues to grow as a multicultural society.

At present, immigration makes up a large proportion of the population growth in Australia. For every 100 children born, the net overseas immigration amounts to approximately 80 individuals settling in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2015b). Approximately 20 per cent of the population are second generation immigrants, with one or both parents born overseas, and 28 per cent are first generation immigrants (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012, 2015a), and net overseas immigration is predicted to be between 200,000 to 280,000 people per year in the coming years (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013). In addition, it is worth noting that the proportion of immigrant women in the childbearing age strongly outweighs the proportion of non-immigrant women, that the immigrant population on average is younger than the non-immigrants population, and that immigrants since the 1980s have made the largest contribution to the working age population in Australia (Commonwealth of Australia, 2015). The predicted steady birth rate in Australia may

therefore in part be due to the large number of young immigrants in Australia. The birth rate for most developed countries is predicted to fall in the future, yet the birth rate for immigrants is high (Cohen, 2003), hence there is the likelihood of an increasing proportion of the population having immigrant status to some extent.

The importance of immigration in countries with low birth rates can be understood in comparison with Japan, a country with very low birth rates and near absent immigration, with only two per cent of the population being of immigrant background (Soble, 2014). Without a vast immigration influx in the millions, the economy in Japan is predicted to collapse as the workforce will be halved by 2060 (Carney, 2015).

The effects of the declining birth rate and lack of immigration has already been felt in Japan, with many rural and mining towns as well as suburbs of major cities, slowly being abandoned, due to an aging population and lack of new births (Hendy, 2014; Kurtenbach, 2014).

The growing retired population and the decreasing working age population is straining not only population growth, but also economic growth, with too few people available to support the aging population, creating ever increasing debt (Hewitt, 2002; Okamoto, 1992).

With the aging population of Australia, and the ratio of people in the working-age group available to support the retiring group expected to be half that of today by 2055 (Commonwealth of Australia, 2015), Australia can be assumed to continue to rely on immigration for population and economic growth. Therefore how immigration and integration is thought about and understood continues to be an important economic as well as social issue. One medium that may facilitate the general public's understanding on such matters is the media.

The media is a powerful tool of information distribution and may inform individuals' opinions and attitudes perhaps more than any other source (Jang, 2013; Saeed, 2007; Williams, 2011). On the matter of global warming for example, although the vast majority of scientific papers agree that global warming is happening, the media and the general population are far less convinced (Johansen, 2008; Williams, 2011). In a study in the United States 2000 participants were surveyed on media exposure to global warming and their beliefs in the consequences of global warming and whether it is caused by humans or natural causes. Both intentional and unintentional media exposure were linked to disbelief in human causes and negative consequences of global warming (Williams, 2011).

This may also be the case in terms of integration. The way in which the media portray immigrants and integration may potentially influence how host society members understand the concepts. If integration is mainly portrayed as an immigrant focused process, this may influence host society members' feelings of responsibility or willingness to engage. This may be problematic in a country producing predominantly negative and stereotyping media on topics of integration and immigrants to inform the general public.

This was illustrated in a qualitative study by Due (2008) which found language creating a clear in-group, Australian nationals, and a clear out-group, Sudanese immigrants. This in turn worked to remove responsibility of integration from the in-group and place it on the out-group. Furthermore, in many instances the process of assimilation was labelled as integration in newspaper articles about Sudanese refugees, further removing the notion that integration could mean a combining of two cultures (Due, 2008). Such discourse in the popular media may create negative attitudes towards immigration and integration, seeing it as a problem to be dealt with solely by the immigrants rather than a collaboration between immigrants and the receiving society. Furthermore, if the media describe immigrants' view of Australian host society members as negative, or

Australia's attempts to integrate immigrants in a negative light, this may be perceived as a threat and thus negatively influence host society readers' attitudes toward immigration and integration.

How Australians form their opinions on immigration and integration may come from many sources, such as exposure to immigrants, political debates or the media. Through these outlets, mere exposure and associative learning may influence opinions and understandings of the concepts of integration and immigration.

Mitchell, De Houwer, and Lovibond (2009) explain associative learning as a conscious process in which a relationship between two stimuli is formed and can be assigned a truth value; as such the relationships can be said to be either true or false. Others argue that associative learning occurs at an unconscious level and others still that both conscious and unconscious levels may be at play depending on cognitive load (Walther, Weil, & Düsing, 2011). Regarding associations of a relationship between two stimuli gathered from the media or political discussions, as opposed to a bell ringing and the presentation of food as in classical conditioning, it might be assumed that some conscious evaluation of the truth about the relationship is taking place, and the propositional account of associative learning may in this case be applicable. Here it is assumed that learning occurs at a conscious level, yet is influenced by unconscious processes and biases in memory retrieval and strength of the believed truth of the relationship (Mitchell et al., 2009). It might be assumed then, that if the same relationship between two concepts is repeated frequently, this could strengthen the belief in the truth about the relationship. This is in line with what is assumed by mere exposure. The repeated exposure of stimuli may work to increase or cement relationships, and in turn influence attitudes towards the stimuli so that even an initially negative or neutral attitude towards the stimulus would, with repeated exposure, become a positive attitude of liking (Obermiller, 1985; Zajonc, 1968).

However, research has found that certain conditions may produce decreased liking following mere exposure (Brickman, Redfield, Harrison, & Crandall, 1975; Crisp, Hutter, & Young, 2009).

A two part study investigating mere exposure found that when conditions were manipulated so that participants experienced an identity threat, repeated exposure had a negative effect and decreased liking (Crisp et al., 2009). Participants rated artwork in the first study, and French names in the second, after repeated exposure. In the first part of the study identity threat consisted of a vignette proclaiming that in a previous study out-group members, namely participants from a rival university, rated liking for in-group member artwork less favourably than in-group members had rated out-group members artwork. The second study had a similar design, with artwork being substituted by English and French names, and the outgroup being French participants. In both studies liking increased with repeated exposure if there was no identity threat, but decreased in conditions with an identity threat.

If it can be assumed that associative learning occurs on the topic of integration through media and other such outlets, creating a notion of integration as a negative, immigrant focused subject, the negativity may be increased with repeated exposure. In a time where reports of the danger of illegal "boat people" or the problems of poor integration of immigrants are often portrayed in the media, mere exposure and associative learning may have a large impact on how Australians understand integration.

When surveying people on the topic of integration and immigration, the focus is often on the attitudes of host culture members towards the two concepts (Johnston et al., 2010; Phelps et al., 2011; Phelps et al., 2013). Many studies find unfavourable attitudes held by host society members towards immigrants and integration, especially in areas of low education, low socio-economic status, and for host society members with low

exposure or contact with minorities (Bilodeau & Fadol, 2011; Breugelmans & van de Vijver, 2004; Johnston et al., 2010).

A study from New Zealand found that host culture members in low contact areas held more negative attitudes and expressed preference for lowering the immigrant intake in the future, compared with individuals living in high contact areas such as major cities (Johnston et al., 2010). In addition, there was a general tendency to perceive low social integration by the immigrants; these attitudes however were more strongly held towards immigrants from non-western backgrounds (Johnston et al., 2010). This may suggest that, at least in part, the problem is not immigration per se, but perceived successful integration into the predominant culture in New Zealand, as individuals from western cultures may be seen to integrate effortlessly without the need for accommodation on behalf of the receiving society. This could indicate a preference for assimilation as the preferred integration strategy.

This was the case in a study from the Netherlands, where 341 Dutch majority members showed a preference for assimilation over true integration. Interaction and equal participation by immigrants in society was supported by majority members. However, immigrants were expected to adopt a western lifestyle to fit in, while majority members expressed little inclination to assist in the integration process or to help immigrants maintain their cultural heritage (Breugelmans & van de Vijver, 2004). The full responsibility of successful integration therefore fell on the immigrants, and the process can thus be presumed not to be true integration, where both parties have a responsibility and interest in the outcome.

Comparable results were found for Dutch school-aged majority children, who showed a preference for assimilation, when presented with vignettes of either assimilating, true integrating, or separating immigrant peers (Verkuyten et al., 2014). The study included national identification, how much the participants identified with their national heritage, as a variable, to see if there was a difference in acculturation strategy preferences between high identifiers and low identifiers. The children who highly identified with their Dutch heritage showed more liking towards assimilating immigrants compared with both true integrating and separating immigrants, whereas low identifiers showed greater liking for both assimilating and true integrating immigrants compared with separating immigrants (Verkuyten et al., 2014). For the high identifying children the central aspect of acculturation preferences was the rejection of immigrants' cultural heritage and adoption of Dutch culture, whereas for the low identifying children the emphasis was on adopting the Dutch culture, either with or without maintenance of their original culture. The authors concluded that for the high identifying children, retaining immigrant culture could be seen as an identity threat, and this was therefore less desirable. Interestingly, when presented with a vignette of a Dutch emigrant peer living in Turkey, both high and low identifiers showed preference for separation, and showed least liking for assimilating emigrant peers, making cultural maintenance the most important factor (Verkuyten et al., 2014).

For host culture members, the maintenance of their own culture may therefore be vital when considering what acculturation strategies, concerning both immigrants and emigrants, are preferable in order to reduce a perceived threat to national identity. If, however, the preferred method of integration is assimilation rather than true integration, the maintained cultural heritage of immigrants may be perceived as a sign to host society members that successful integration has not taken place. This was indicated by a study finding conflicting views on integration between immigrants and host society members (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998). Whereas

host society members showed least preference for separation, this was found to be what they viewed as the most commonly adopted strategy by immigrants. However, true integration was both the preferred strategy and the one most identified with by immigrants.

The remarkable difference in preferred integration strategy between immigrants and emigrants, and immigrants perceived adopted strategy as seen by host society members and immigrants themselves, points to a disconnection between how successful integration is perceived. The predominant negative attitudes found when surveying host members on immigration and integration, may in part be due to the notion that successful integration is seen as an adoption by immigrants of the host culture, rather than a combination of host culture and original culture. Therefore, it may seem to host society members that integration has not taken place. This, however, may impede true integration, as it does not imply much support and inclusion from the host culture, and therefore further relieves host society members of responsibility in mutual adaptation to include immigrants.

Negative attitudes of host society members may have implications for the integration process, as an important aspect of integration is acceptance from the receiving society (Berry, 1997; Penninx, 2003). This is evident in a study looking at immigrants' attitudes towards their host society (de Vroome, Martinovic, & Verkuyten, 2014). Among almost 4000 immigrants, it was found that immigrants with high levels of education perceived a lack of respect and appreciation by their host society, as well as higher perceived discrimination by the host society. This in turn led to a rejection of the host culture by educated immigrants. This was found not only for first generation immigrants, but for children of immigrants, enculturated in the host culture.

This is similar to findings of another study on the topic surveying four different immigrant groups living in the Netherlands; Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean (ten Teije, Coenders, & Verkuyten, 2013). The study found that level of education was related to feelings of acceptance in two opposite directions. Individually, higher educated compared with lower educated immigrants had more voluntary contact with host culture members outside of work settings, which in turn was correlated with more positive feelings of personal acceptance and less personal discrimination. However, as a group, independent of the amount of contact immigrants had with host society members, the more educated immigrants perceived more discrimination and less acceptance of immigrants (ten Teije et al., 2013). It might therefore be the case that the perceived discrimination and lack of acceptance of immigrants as a group, rather than individual experiences, stand behind the negative attitudes held by educated immigrants toward the host society.

The often negative tone of the media in relation to integration and immigration, which might be seen as a representation of society's opinions, may partly be responsible for distributing the notion of discrimination and lack of acceptance. The more educated the immigrants are, the more acutely aware they are of this discrimination. This could explain why both perceived personal and group discrimination and lack of acceptance was found for Moroccan and Turkish immigrants, the two Islamic groups, whereas this was only found on the group level for the two non-Islamic groups (ten Teije et al., 2013). When it comes to discussion about immigrants on social media, political discussions, and news media, Muslim immigrants are often portrayed more negatively than other groups of immigrants (Saeed, 2007; Wike & Grim, 2010). The personal discrimination and non-acceptance may therefore be felt more acutely by Muslim immigrants, with non-Muslim immigrants feeling the discrimination on a group level concerning all immigrants. The way in which immigrants and integration is portrayed in the media may therefore be having a direct impact on the

willingness of both immigrants and host society members to engage in true integration. If immigrants perceive discrimination and non-acceptance of their culture, they may be less positive towards their host country, especially in the case of higher educated immigrants, and therefore be less willing to engage. If host members perceive immigrants in a negative light as an out-group, and integration an immigrant focused process, they may be less willing to engage. Therefore defining integration in a manner that places all responsibility on the immigrant, and implies complete adoption of the host culture, as is the notion in assimilation, may work to impede true integration twofold. Finding ways in which immigrants can feel accepted by their host society, through host society participation in the integration process, should be encouraged. Therefore studies focusing on the role of host society members in the integration process are crucial. However, to date most research on the topic of immigration and integration neglects to do this. Nonetheless, some research has been done on the topic, and highlights the important role of the host society in the integration process.

A study from Chile surveyed the minority group of indigenous Mapuche on their integration preferences and what they believed to be the preferences of the Chilean majority group (Zagefka, González, & Brown, 2011). A belief in majority member preference for true integration, expressed as support for cultural maintenance and contact between majority and minority groups, predicted greater support for true integration by the minority members. It is therefore important for the minority to perceive support for true integration and acceptance of their culture from the majority, in order to facilitate true integration. The media which convey the messages of what is the preferred integration model, as well as host society members, may therefore have to take an active role in integration, reframing it in terms of inclusion and mutual participation in the integration process. To begin to address this, Phelps et al. (2011) developed a scale to measure majority members' attitudes towards their own efforts and responsibility in the integration process of immigrants. The scale measures the extent to which host society members' support their own and their government's active role in inclusive cultural and structural integration efforts and openness to cultural diversity.

A study conducted in Norway using the Majority Integration Efforts scale [MIE] (Phelps et al., 2013) found that majority members' willingness to accommodate minority cultures and promote true integration, was influenced by how much they perceived willingness and ability to integrate by immigrants, as well as the degree to which immigrants were seen as an entitativity, and as such a uniform out-group. Majority members who believed in counter stereotypic intentions, the belief that immigrants want to integrate and contribute to society, supported majority efforts in integration more strongly ($r = 0.75, p < 0.01$). Counter typical competences, the belief that immigrants have abilities and skills enriching society, had a moderate positive correlation with scores on the MIE ($r = 0.40, p < 0.01$), and perceived entitativity had a strong negative correlation with scores on the MIE ($r = -0.56, p < 0.01$). The often stereotypical portrayal of immigrants, and their integration efforts in the media, may therefore discourage host society members from assuming responsibility in the integration process.

The current study seeks to address the gap in integration research by exploring the effects of mere exposure and associative learning through media on host society members' own perceived responsibility in the integration process. Building on prior research finding that host society members' perception of immigrants' ability and willingness to integrate are predictors of perceived responsibility, the study will seek to investigate the effect of both focus and valence of media excerpts about integration on host society members' role in integration.

Expanding on studies looking at immigrants' perceptions of their host society, the effect of the

participants' status as non-immigrants, second generation immigrants, and first generation immigrants on perceived host member responsibility will also be explored. It is presumed that the valence of media excerpts will interact with the focus on either immigrants or host society efforts in the media excerpts. Host members described in a positive light, as succeeding in integrating immigrants, and immigrants described as capable and able to integrate, will increase agreement with host member responsibility. Equally, host member described negatively, and immigrants described as failing at integrating, will have a negative effect on perceived host member responsibility. As there is at present no literature to guide a hypothesis on the effect of host members' own immigrant status on perceived responsibility, this hypothesis will be non-directional and exploratory in nature.

It is hypothesised that media excerpts with a positive valence, using words such as success, happy or praised, focused on the host society will have a positive effect on perceived responsibility as measured by the MIE.

Furthermore, it is hypothesised that media excerpts with a negative valence, using words such as problem, poorly or pitiful, focusing on immigrants will have a negative effect on perceived responsibility. Likewise, positive valence media excerpts with an immigrant focus will have a positive effect on perceived responsibility, and negative valence media excerpts focused on host society will have a negative effect on perceived responsibility. Lastly it is hypothesised that there will be an effect of immigrant status on perceived responsibility as measured by the MIE.

Method

Participants

The participants were 246 Australian host society members (157 female, 86 male, three did not specify sex) with a mean age of 32.28 ($SD = 11.42$). Australian host members were defined as individuals who were living in Australia by the age of six. At this age most children attend formal schooling and are included in a broader section of society beyond the family unit, and are thus enculturated in Australian society. The participants consisted of 142 non-immigrants, 86 second generation immigrants and 15 first generation immigrants; three participants did not provide information on immigrant background. Their self-reported ethnicity were Australian (190), European (17), Asian (14), European Asian (3), African (2), Australian Chinese (2), England (1), Latin American (1), Maori Australasian (1), Middle Eastern (1), New Zealand (1), Palestinian (1), Russian Anglo (1).

Participants were recruited online through social media sites Facebook and RedditAustralia, and Undergraduate students given course credit for participation; all other participants were given the opportunity to enter a draw to win one of three 50 dollar gift cards. Informed consent was given before commencing the study.

Materials

The Majority Integration Efforts scale developed by Phelps et al. (2011) was used to measure the participants' perceived responsibility in the integration process of immigrants (see appendix C1). The MIE scale has been found to be a good measure of majority member perceived responsibility and has good reliability, $\alpha = 0.92$ (Phelps et al., 2011).

The MIE scale measures attitudes to integration on a seven-point Likert type scale, in three different domains: Cultural Efforts, with questions such as "as a nation we should be more open and welcoming toward

the customs of minorities with another cultural background”; Structural Efforts, with questions such as “laws and rules should be adjusted so that it is easier for immigrants to feel integrated in society”; and lastly on the domain Openness to Diversity, with questions such as “people with other cultural backgrounds enrich *Australian* society” (Phelps et al., 2011). For use with Australian participants, the terms Norwegian/Norway were substituted for Australian/Australia.

In addition to the MIE, demographic information was collected about age, sex, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, educational attainment, and immigrant or non-immigrant background of self and parents (see appendix C2).

Stimuli

Stimuli in the experimental conditions consisted of integration definitions, as well as media excerpts designed for the purpose of the study. Two definitions of integration were used. One was framed in terms of immigrant responsibility in the integration process; Immigrant Integration, using Berry’s (1997) definition. The other was framed in terms of host culture responsibility and inclusion of immigrants; Host Society Integration, using Penninx’s (2003) definition.

Four sets of media excerpts with three articles in each set were created to simulate as closely as possible the kinds of media to which participants were exposed in day-to-day life. Each set contained a brief reader comment based on the *Vent Your Spleen* section from the Sydney newspaper *mX*, distributed free to train commuters, a short newspaper article and a poll based on *mX* polls. These focused on either immigrant or host society responsibility, with either positive or negative valence, resulting in a stimulus set of host society focus with positive valence articles [PH], a host society focus with negative valence [NH] set, an immigrant focus with positive valence [PI] set and an immigrant focus with negative valence [NI] set. Sample articles are shown in Figure 1a, 1b and 1c.



Figure 1a. Short newspaper article with a negative host focus.

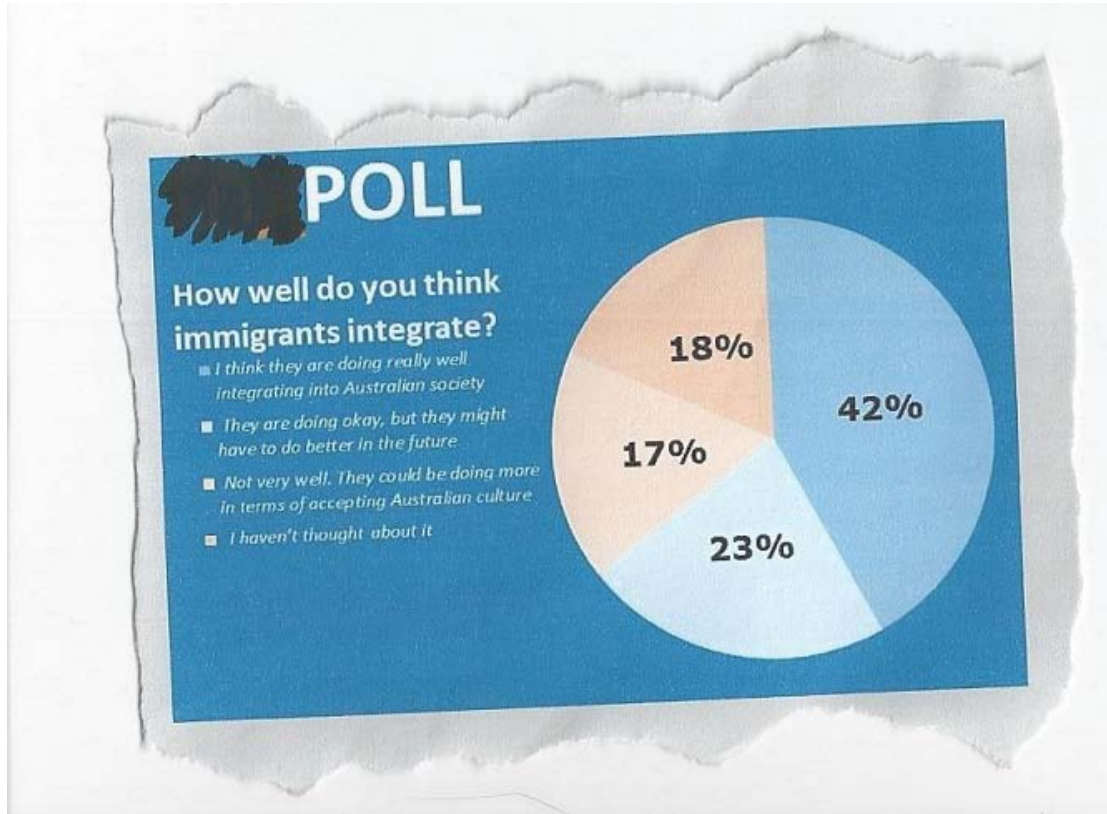


Figure 1b. Newspaper poll with a positive immigrant focus.



Figure 1c. Negative immigrant focused article based on Vent Your Spleen.

An initial pilot test of the articles was conducted to ensure valence and focus were perceived as intended. The *Vent Your Spleen* reader comments and three *mX polls* significantly discriminated between positive and negative valence, but the short negative newspaper articles and the negative host focused *mX poll* were not perceived as negative. Therefore, the negative short newspaper articles and *mX polls* were rewritten making the negative sets more strongly worded, and subsequent testing of these revealed significant results.

In terms of focus, all immigrant focused articles significantly discriminated between immigrant and host

society focus, so that they were all perceived to have an immigrant focus. Articles with a host society focus did not all significantly discriminate between immigrant and host focus as it was necessary to mention immigrants in articles describing the process of immigrant integration, and a shared focus in these sets was appropriate.

Procedure

Participants were informed that the study looked at how Australians think about and understand integration. Participants were randomly assigned to one of five conditions; host society positive valence condition [HP], host society negative valence condition [HN], immigrant positive valence condition [IP], immigrant negative valence condition [IN] and a control condition [CRT]. In the experimental groups participants were told they would be shown articles about integration adapted from Australian newspapers to help them think about the concept. They were also given a definition of integration either; Penninx’s (2003) definition focusing on host society responsibility for PH and NH or Berry’s (1997) definition focusing on immigrant responsibility for PI and NI. In the experimental conditions this was followed by the media excerpts sets, with one article displayed per page. All participants received the articles in the same order across all experimental conditions. The control group did not receive a definition and was not shown any articles. All participants then proceeded to fill out the MIE followed by demographic questions.

Results

Multivariate Analysis of Variance

A MANOVA was run to assess the effect of experimental condition and immigrant status on the three different domains of the MIE. There was no main effect of experimental condition on Cultural Efforts $F(4, 220) = 0.41, p > 0.05$, Structural Efforts $F(4, 220) = 0.83, p > 0.05$, or Openness $F(4, 220) = 0.93, p > 0.05$, and no main effect of immigrant status on Cultural Efforts $F(2, 220) = 0.14, p > 0.05$, Structural Efforts $F(2, 220) = 0.41, p > 0.05$, or Openness $F(2, 220) = 0.03, p > 0.05$. Descriptive statistics for Cultural Efforts, Structural Efforts and Openness can be seen in table 1.

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics for Cultural Efforts, Structural Efforts and Openness

	Non-immigrant		2 nd Generation		1 st Generation	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Cultural						
PI	37.90	7.32	30.41	7.14	40.40	5.03
NI	35.04	7.11	38.65	7.24	25.00	4.24
PH	35.06	8.43	38.05	7.72	36.50	7.78
NH	33.83	7.75	35.79	5.51	41.00	7.07
CRT	36.29	6.40	32.82	8.55	33.33	7.51
Structural						
PI	33.05	9.37	26.94	10.64	37.00	7.52
NI	30.70	7.96	34.41	9.18	24.50	7.78
PH	32.03	9.93	36.00	8.25	35.50	9.19
NH	29.33	9.77	33.86	6.09	30.00	2.83
CRT	33.71	7.64	31.00	10.75	32.67	10.79

(Table 1 continued)

	Non-immigrant		2 nd Generation		1 st Generation	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Openness						
PI	34.95	5.78	27.94	6.11	38.20	3.11
NI	32.44	6.03	36.06	4.80	25.50	.71
PH	32.63	6.26	34.70	6.63	34.50	.71
NH	30.70	6.88	34.43	3.23	30.50	4.95
CRT	33.46	4.65	29.88	7.75	29.33	3.79

There was a significant interaction effect between the experimental condition and the participants immigrant status on Cultural Efforts $F(8, 220) = 3.18, p < 0.01, partial\eta^2 = 0.10, \beta = 0.97$, and on Openness $F(8, 220) = 4.40, p < 0.001, partial\eta^2 = 0.14, \beta = 0.996$. The interaction between experimental condition and immigrant status on Structural Efforts did not reach statistical significance $F(8, 220) = 4.40, p > 0.05$.

Simple Effects Analysis

Cultural efforts. For immigrant status there was a significant difference between experimental groups for participants with immigrant parents $F(4, 220) = 4.04, p < 0.01$, but no difference for non-immigrants $F(4, 220) = .83, p > 0.05$, and first generation immigrants $F(4, 220) = 1.88, p > 0.05$.

For participants who had immigrant parents the PI group scored significantly lower ($M = 30.41, SD = 1.79$) than the NI group ($M = 38.78, SD = 1.74$), $t(210) = -3.35, p < 0.05$, and the PH group ($M = 38.05, SD = 1.65$), $t(210) = -3.13, p < 0.05$. No other comparisons for the immigrant status family were significant.

Within experimental conditions there was a significant difference between immigrant status for participants in the PI group $F(2, 220) = 5.79, p < 0.01$, and the NI group $F(2, 220) = 3.72, p < 0.05$, but no difference for the PH group $F(2, 220) = 1.05, p > 0.05$, the NH group $F(2, 220) = 1.08, p > 0.05$, or the CRT group $F(2, 220) = 1.03, p > 0.05$.

In the PI group, participants with immigrant parents scored significantly lower ($M = 30.41, SD = 1.79$) than non-immigrants ($M = 37.47, SD = 1.61$), $t(225) = -2.93, p < 0.05$ and first generation immigrants ($M = 40.40, SD = 3.30$), $t(225) = -2.66, p < 0.05$. In the NI participants with immigrant parents scored significantly higher ($M = 38.78, SD = 1.74$) than first generation immigrants ($M = 25.00, SD = 5.22$), $t(225) = 2.50, p < 0.05$. No other comparisons for the experimental condition family were significant.

Openness to cultural differences. For immigrant status there was a significant difference between experimental groups for participants with immigrant parents $F(4, 220) = 5.93, p < 0.001$, but no difference for non-immigrants $F(4, 220) = 1.89, p > 0.05$, and first generation immigrants $F(4, 220) = 1.92, p > 0.05$.

For participants who had immigrant parents the PI group scored significantly lower ($M = 27.94, SD = 1.44$) than the NI group ($M = 36.06, SD = 1.44$), $t(212) = -4.03, p < 0.01$, the PH group ($M = 34.70, SD = 1.33$), $t(212) = -3.46, p < 0.01$, and the NH group ($M = 34.43, SD = 1.58$), $t(212) = -3.03, p < 0.05$. For participants who had immigrant parents the NI group scored significantly higher than the CRT group ($M = 29.88, SD = 1.44$), $t(212) = 3.04, p < 0.05$. No other comparisons for the immigrant status family were significant.

For experimental condition there was a significant difference between immigrant status for participants in the PI group $F(2, 220) = 9.56, p < 0.001$, and the NI group $F(2, 220) = 3.83, p < 0.05$, but no difference for

the PH group $F(2, 220) = 0.81, p > 0.05$, the NH group $F(2, 220) = 1.95, p > 0.05$, or the CRT group $F(2, 220) = 1.55, p > 0.05$.

In the PI group participants with immigrant parents scored significantly lower ($M = 27.94, SD = 1.44$) than non-immigrants ($M = 35.13, SD = 1.24$), $t(227) = -3.79, p < 0.01$ and first generation immigrants ($M = 38.20, SD = 2.65$), $t(227) = -3.40, p < 0.01$. In the NI there was a difference approaching statistical significant, where participants with immigrant parents scored higher ($M = 36.06, SD = 1.44$) than first generation immigrants ($M = 25.50, SD = 4.19$), $t(227) = 2.38, p = 0.054$. No other comparisons for the experimental condition family were significant.

Discussion

It was hypothesised that participants reading media excerpts with a positive valence and a focus on the host society would perceive more host responsibility as measured by the MIE. Participants reading negative media excerpts with an immigrant focus would perceive less host society responsibility. Positive media excerpts with an immigrant focus would have a positive effect on perceived responsibility, and lastly negative media excerpts focused on host society would have a negative effect on perceived responsibility. Furthermore it was hypothesised that there would be an effect of immigrant status on perceived responsibility as measured by the MIE.

The hypotheses regarding the experimental conditions were not supported. The hypothesis concerning an influence of immigrant status on perceived host member responsibility was supported.

The Interaction Between Experimental Groups and Immigrant Status

Only the interaction effect was significant for the two independent variables. Any main effect between the experimental groups were evened out by the participants' own immigrant status. Interestingly, the interactions followed two tendencies: an increase in host member responsibility for second generation immigrants and a decrease for first generation immigrants in the NI, PH and NH groups; or the inverse, a decrease for second generation immigrants and an increase for first generation immigrants in the PI and CRT groups. However, only some of these interactions were significant. These will be discussed in the following.

Influence of Focus and Valence on Host Society Responsibility

No significant main effect for the experimental condition was found and there was no significant difference between positive and negative articles when these focused on the host society. For the articles focused on immigrants however, there was a difference between positive and negative articles. The valence of the articles therefore only had an effect when the focus was on immigrants. The results however were contrary to the hypothesis. After reading positive articles focused on immigrants, participants with immigrant parents perceived less host society responsibility, compared to when the articles were negative. This trend was reversed for first generation immigrants, where positive immigrant focused articles led to more agreement with host society responsibility, and negative immigrant focused articles to less, and thus were in support of the hypothesis.

However, the combination of very small participant numbers, between two to five participants in the first generation immigrant groups, and violations of normality and homogeneity of covariance, means that the results for first generation immigrants cannot be considered a reliable representation. The focus will therefore mainly be on the results for second generation immigrants and non-immigrants.

Influence of Own Immigrant Status on Host Society Responsibility

No main effect was found for the immigrant status variable, and similarly to the effect of the experimental condition, significant differences were only found in the immigrant focused article groups. Second generation immigrants scored significantly lower than both first generation and non-immigrants when the articles were positive.

For the Cultural subscale, and approaching statistical significance for the Openness subscale, second generation compared with first generation immigrants scored significantly higher when the articles were negative. For non-immigrants there was no difference between positive or negative articles, regardless of the focus. The effect of the participants' immigrant status on perceived host member responsibility was therefore only evident in the two immigrant background groups, and only when the articles focused on immigrants. This may indicate that a self-serving or in-group bias was having an influence over how participants with an immigrant background responded.

Attribution bias

The self-serving tendency to attribute personal or in-group success to internal causes, and failure to external causes, is well established in the field of attribution research (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Jang, 2013; Zuckerman, 1979). This tendency may help to explain the results of the second generation immigrants. Only in the two experimental groups where the articles focused on immigrants, did the valence have an impact. The results may therefore have been mediated by the extent to which the participants could relate to the articles, and perceived the articles to be describing in-group behaviour.

This was demonstrated in a study looking at attribution bias in assigning external or natural causes versus internal or human causes to global warming, and how this differs for in-groups and out-groups (Jang, 2013). When American participants read about excessive CO₂ emissions by their own country, this led to attributions about global warming favouring external causes outside of their control. Participants reading out-group focused articles about China's excessive CO₂ emission, and participants in a control group, were more likely to attribute global warming to human causes. Contrary to expectations these two groups showed similar results, and the effects of attribution bias were therefore mainly evident in the in-group focused groups.

Relating these findings to the results of the current study, the participants with an immigrant background may have identified with the immigrant focused articles, and thus attributed the described failure of immigrants' attempts at integrating to external causes, rather than a failure that could be attributed to the immigrants themselves. One external factor that might be held responsible could be the host society. As this is the external environment in which the immigrant attempts to integrate, it may be presumed to have a large influence on the process. If holding society accountable for immigrants' perceived failure, the responsibility of integration falls on the host society. This may then explain the higher agreement with host member responsibility as measured by the MIE, reported by second generation immigrant participants in the NI group compared with the PI group. In contrast, the lower endorsement of host responsibility reported by the PI group, may then be explained by the described integration success of immigrants being attributed to internal causes, thus relieving society of responsibility.

Difference Between Subscales of the MIE

The difference in responses to the three parts of the MIE scale are interesting. There was considerably lower agreement with structural efforts compared with both cultural efforts and openness to differences, across

all experimental conditions. The latter two encompass domains such as acceptance of minority customs and support for multiculturalism, but do not entail support for economic assistance, political aspects of integration or policy changes. This alludes to a sense of acceptance of host society responsibility only when this does not have an economic impact, or influence the political landscape of Australia.

The integration efforts supported in this study can therefore to a certain degree be seen as inexpensive efforts to accommodate and adapt to immigrants. This may especially be the case in multicultural societies such as Australia. Accommodating aspects of other cultures may be part of everyday life, yet a sense of limited resources, such as jobs or social benefits, permeates the media and policies restricting benefits or concessions to immigrants are in place in many areas. However, , there was a concentration of scores at the higher end of the scale. Therefore, overall the Australians surveyed supported host member responsibility in the integration process.

Immigration and Integration Policies

Although the current study did not show an effect of the valence and focus of media excerpts on non-immigrant host members' attitudes towards their own responsibility in integration, it did have an impact on host members with an immigrant background. Considering that nearly half of Australians are either first or second generation immigrants, it is important to note that how the topic of integration is framed may have an impact on how responsibility is perceived by a large portion of society. The negative immigrant focused discourse often used in the media or political discussions, may act to reduce the willingness to engage in integration by the group about which the topic is concerned.

As previous research has shown, perceived discrimination may lead to a rejection of the host culture (de Vroome et al., 2014; ten Teije et al., 2013). Furthermore, as shown in the current study, negative articles focused on immigrants led to higher agreement with host member responsibility. The failure of integration described in the articles therefore becomes the fault of society, as may be explained by attribution bias, and personal responsibility held by immigrants may be reduced. It is therefore important to find a way in which the topic can be described and discussed, by media and politicians alike, that will inspire a sense of shared responsibility between the host society and immigrants, thus facilitating true integration.

How Integration Research in Australia Might Differ From Mono Cultures

The findings of the current study were contrary to previous research using the MIE scale, finding perceived willingness and ability of immigrants to integrate had a positive effect on perceived host responsibility (Phelps et al., 2013). This may be explained by the different demographic makeup of Australia and Norway where the scale was developed and tested. Whereas Norway may be considered a monoculture, where the distinction between immigrant and native Norwegian may be easily made, Australia is inherently multicultural, with most Australians having immigrant roots. Therefore, although the discourse in the media may often portray a distinction between the in-group Australian, and outgroup immigrant, it may be less simple to categorize oneself as an individual belonging exclusively to one group or the other. The questions about immigrant and host member responsibility may at the same time concern one person. The participants may therefore answer based not only on their own opinion, but on their personal or their family's experience of integrating in Australia. The knowledge gained from integration research in Australia may therefore provide a glimpse into what is simultaneously attitudes towards integration and applied integration. At a time where

migration is high and almost 60 million people are displaced (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2015), learning about integration in multicultural societies become vital, and Australia may hold an important position in providing this knowledge.

Future Studies

Significant findings were found for first generation immigrants, but the very small participant number in these groups made it imprudent to interpret these results as representative. Knowledge about this group of society was therefore left unexplored. The stringent selection criteria for first generation immigrants in the current study made it difficult to gain large numbers of participants. Future studies may benefit from using a more liberal criteria,

In addition, what influenced the attitudes of host members with immigrant background, did not have an effect on non-immigrants. Therefore, although the stimuli were tested for valence and focus before commencing the study, they did not have the desired effect on all groups of participants. This lack of effect may be explained by the elaboration likelihood model (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). If the assumption that integration is mainly viewed as a process undertaken by immigrants, the articles would be seen as less relevant for the non-immigrants, as they describe a process in which they would not normally expect to partake. These participants may therefore have used the peripheral route of processing to evaluate the articles. As was shown by Petty, Cacioppo, and Goldman (1981), when an issue is seen as less relevant to oneself, the strength of an argument has little effect on attitude change. The demonstrated effect on participants with immigrant background, to whom the articles were high in relevance, support this theory. Future research may attempt to engage participants via the central route of processing, and thus explore the effect in non-immigrants.

Lastly, information about the participants' political orientation was not collected, and the effect this may have had on the interaction between immigrant status and the experimental condition cannot be known. Australian right wing and left wing host members have been found to differ in their attitudes toward immigrants (Bilodeau & Fadol, 2011). Political orientation may therefore potentially have an influence over attitudes towards integration as well and future research should look at how political orientation impacts on host member responsibility.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the study aimed to bridge a gap in knowledge about factors that may influence host members' perceived responsibility in the integration of immigrants. While the study focused on Australia, and the multicultural milieu of Australia may seem to differ from other countries, the current trend of mass migration may mean that Australia offer a glimpse into the future. The current study could therefore be applicable to countries that are, or will in the near future, learn to deal with the subject of integration in multicultural societies. Although contrary to what was hypothesized, the study found evidence to support the proposed theory that the media may influence attitudes towards host society responsibility in the integration process. Furthermore, light was shed on the influence of an individual's own immigrant status on how they perceived responsibility for integration. As the field of integration research from the perspective of host member responsibility is still young, much more research is needed to fully understand the factors influencing host member responsibility and participation in the integration process. With this knowledge in hand, the media,

politicians, immigrants and the general public may begin to engage in what can truly be called integration; combining and accommodating two separate cultures, allowing space and acceptance for the differences each may bring.

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