The role of culture and racial appearance when majority group members form impressions of immigrant racial minority groups.

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Certification

I certify that the substance of this thesis has not already been submitted for any degree and is not currently being submitted for any other degree or qualification.

I certify that any help received in preparing this thesis, and all sources used, have been acknowledged in this thesis.

Yvette Alcott

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Thesis Summary

Race and enculturation are often inextricably linked when investigating how impressions are formed of others. Race has long been held as a "primitive" category, along with age and sex. It has been included as a primitive category because, like a person's age and sex, it is seen to be immediately discernible as a category upon which we can base assessments of, and form impressions about, others. It is also the basis of social problems such as racial prejudice and racial discrimination, and often incorrect assumptions about individuals and groups are made based on racial stereotypes. This is a serious problem in a world that has increasing immigration and globalisation. The present research investigated how host societies assess immigrants to their country, and how majority group members form impressions of minority group members. Established theories of multiculturalism, acculturation, stereotypes and nonverbal accent have been sourced upon which to base examination of the roles that race and culture play in assessments of immigrant minority groups living in countries with racially and culturally different majorities.

The first chapter introduces concepts and theories of race, enculturation, multiculturalism, acculturation, and stereotyping. It introduces the theory of nonverbal accent and its potential for revealing subtle cues about enculturation. A review of the literature on the effects of race and culture as cues for categorising others provides background information for the overarching research question of this thesis: can culture override racial appearance when majority groups form impressions of racial minority outgroups? Six separate empirical studies were conducted to arrive at the results which are reported in journal article format and comprise three separate journal articles reported in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. The final chapter incorporates the overall findings which are discussed in terms of relevance to modern immigrant societies.

The first article, which is presented as Chapter 2, reports two separate studies conducted in Australia. Both studies explored the attitudes of the host population towards immigrants of different racial appearances who adopted various acculturation strategies when settling into Australia, investigating the influence of race and culture on impression formation. In Study 1 (N=142) survey results demonstrated a strong effect of acculturation strategy on the impressions formed about the immigrant targets, while racial appearance had no effect. The second study (N = 1,051) intended to repeat the findings of the first study but with a more broadly representative sample of Australians. This study also removed the national labels that were offered in the first study, to reduce the possibility that ratings could be based on national stereotypes rather than race. Results confirmed that the acculturation strategy adopted by the immigrant targets was more influential than race in how participants rated them, and that integration and assimilation were the most favoured acculturation strategies.

The next article (Chapter 3) sought to understand how Australians see themselves as a people. National self-stereotypes (descriptors that national ingroup members use to describe the character of their own nation) have been found to be stable over time and resilient to change (Wilson, 2006; Lueptow, Garovich-Szabo, & Lueptow, 2001; Kawakami & Dovidio, 2001). However, they have also been found to be unstable and influenced by the political and social climate in which they are found (Haslam, Oakes, Reynolds, Mein, 1999). Chapter 3 reports a survey which was conducted on 157 Australians to assess current self-stereotypes. The aim was to assess the current self-stereotypes nominated by Australians, and to ascertain if consensus about the stereotypes Australians attribute to themselves has changed in the last two decades. The results revealed that some long held Australian stereotype traits have remained stable. However, the popularity of other traits was found to have dropped since the mid 1990s and since the last Katz-Braly checklist survey which was conducted in 2006. A

trend for decreasing uniformity in Australian self-stereotype consensus, which was observed by Haslam et al. (1999), seems to have abated with results demonstrating a return to the rate of the mid 1990s.

The third article, presented as Chapter 4, reports the results of three studies, which further explored the subtle influences of culture and race on impression formation, as well as the influence of individual differences in attitudes towards race. The first study surveyed 205 Australians and the results demonstrated participants could detect Australian nationals from foreign national individuals by briefly observing their enculturated nonverbal accent – with no social interaction. The second study surveyed 212 Australian participants to explore the effect that individual differences in attitude towards race (lay theories of race) have on the ability to perceive subtle enculturation cues via nonverbal accent. All targets were of Asian racial appearance, with half being Australian nationals while the other half were foreign nationals. Results did not show any significant differences between the lay theories of racial essentialism and social constructionism.

The third study in this chapter reports survey results from Australian participants (N = 208) which explored the part stereotypes play in how impressions are formed by national majority group members about racial minority groups. Participants attributed Australian stereotypes to their fellow cultural ingroup members (i.e., fellow Australians) without knowing they were observing two groups of targets (i.e., fellow ingroup nationals and foreign outgroup). This study also investigated the effect for individual differences in lay theory of race. The target individuals all presented a minority Asian racial appearance, and results showed that while there was not any difference between the two lay theories in how participants attributed stereotypes, there was a significant three-way interaction effect. This revealed a weaker effect for participants who endorsed racial essentialism, demonstrating that

while nonverbal accent affected how both groups allocated Australian stereotypes in the same way, it had a weaker effect for participants who endorsed racial essentialism.

The research findings presented throughout this thesis offer insight into the perception of race and enculturation when national majority members form first impressions of racial minority groups , specifically by teasing apart the potential difference between a person's racial appearance and their actual ethnic enculturation. While previous research has examined how we stereotype others according to their "ethnicity", often it has coupled racial appearance with ethnic enculturation, without separating the influence on attitudes of the two cues. The findings from the current research have implications for how we structure and behave in multicultural and immigrant based societies, understanding that while many cultures may exist and thrive in multicultural nations, racial appearance is not a criterion for the inclusion or exclusion of others to the mainstream cultural society. As majority group members come to understand and become aware of the subtle cues of cultural belonging, it will lead to more effective strategies in the promotion of inclusion and positive perceptions of minority group members who call immigrant nations home.

Chapter 1. Introduction

Introduction

Migration in the modern world is more prevalent than ever before. Currently, approximately 244 million people across the globe are migrants (McAuliffe & Ruhs, 2018). In the 25 years from 1990 to 2015, the number of international migrants, or immigrants, increased by 90 million. If all immigrants belonged to one country, they would be the fifth most populous country in the world, falling between Indonesia (265 million) and Pakistan (211 million). An immigrant is a person who moves permanently from one country to another.

The World Happiness Report

The effects of migration on the happiness and wellbeing of international migrants and the native-born populations of immigrant-receiving countries have been examined in a large body of literature. Recently, the World Happiness Report included an analysis of Gallup World Poll data collected from more than 36,000 first-generation immigrants from over 150 countries throughout 2008 -2017, to assess the short and longer-term impacts of migration on immigrants' happiness (Hendriks, Burger, Ray, Esipova, 2018). Overall, the results showed that immigrants were happier following migration. Compared with those who stayed at home, immigrants reported more life satisfaction, positive emotions, and fewer negative emotions. Helliwell, Huang, Wang, & Shiplett (2018) identified some core factors in immigrants' happiness, one being the level of happiness in the their country of origin. This made a difference to how happy immigrants were once they settled into a new country. If an immigrant goes from a less happy country to a happier country, they are typically less happy than the majority, and vice versa. Another factor was how accepting the locals are of immigrants. Immigrants are happier in more accepting countries, as are the locally-born people. Nevertheless, we know that immigration can create tensions, as shown by its high political salience in many immigrant-receiving countries.

Chapter 1 Introduction

The immigrant crisis across Europe in 2015 and the backlash against immigrants that accompanied it led to the development of Gallup's Migrant Acceptance Index (MAI), which was designed to gauge people's acceptance of migrants across the world (Esipova, Ray, Fleming & Pugliese, 2018). Based on the MAI, the 29 "most accepting" and 23 "least accepting countries" were identified. A comparison of happiness in these countries showed that immigrants, and locally-born alike, were less happy in the least accepting countries than the most accepting countries.

The most-accepting countries included nations with a long history of receiving immigrants such as Canada, the United States of America (USA), and Australia. The current research was conducted in Australia and focused on factors that contribute to an attitude of immigrant acceptance. In the 2018 World Happiness Report, Australia was the tenth happiest country in the world and the seventh most accepting of immigrants and immigration. Australia also has one of the highest rates of foreign-born in the population (28%) (Helliwell, et al., 2018), exceeding Canada (22%) and the USA (15%). Australia's official social policy for managing diversity in immigration is , which has been suggested as the intergroup ideology upon which the most successful plural societies base their attitudes.

However, compared to the host majority population in Australia, which is predominantly White Anglo-Celtic, immigrants can often be outgroup minorities both culturally and racially. While multiculturalism encourages an attitude of embracing different cultures and of celebrating cultural differences, it could be problematic to people who are of a racial minority, but who identify with the cultural majority, such as people whose ancestors immigrated generations ago, or perhaps people who have been interracially adopted and raised in cultural majority households in Australia. There is a growing body of research (Beaman, 2018; Devos & Banaji, 2005; Sibley & Barlow, 2009) which investigates the dilemma of people of colour, or people of minority racial appearance being included as 'true'

national citizens of the countries to which they have migrated (such as America, France and Australia). However, there are still many questions to be explored regarding the processes host majority populations use when including immigrants as national ingroup members, over and above their "official status" such as citizenship.

The following chapter outlines various intergroup ideologies and how they underpin attitudes towards immigrant minorities, including an explanation of the categorisation processes associated with the various ideologies. It also outlines social perception processes based on racial stereotyping and the influences of enculturation or acculturation. These factors are important to consider in the outcomes for immigrant individuals.

The theoretical basis is provided in the following chapter, and these topics will be explored in greater depth throughout the thesis. This chapter concludes with the overall aims and objectives of the present research, and a description of each study conducted throughout the program of research is provided. Finally, a comment on the contribution of this thesis to the literature and our broader understanding of attitudes towards people with a minority racial appearance living as the cultural majority is included.

Intergroup Ideologies

The underlying ideology of a country's population towards intergroup relations is a good basis for investigating factors that contribute to an attitude of acceptance towards migrants. All nations, and particularly those built on immigration, devise formal and informal rules to deal with cultural diversity and issues of citizenship and national identity (Guimond, de la Sablonnier & Nugier, 2014). Based on these rules, policies and beliefs emerge that can be called 'intergroup ideologies.' These refer to ways of approaching and dealing with intergroup relations in culturally diverse societies (Rattan & Ambady, 2013) and suggest ways that members of national social groups could behave when relating to and accommodating one another in any given society (Guimond et. al., 2014).

Multiculturalism, assimilation, and segregation are three main intergroup ideologies. They have been discussed as the dominant ideological perspectives from which populations and individuals view relations between different ethnic or racial groups (Guimond et al., 2014). Research is also steadily increasing on a fourth ideology, colourblindness (Park & Judd, 2015). The first three, however, have been defined and applied throughout the world across various nations for some time and instruments have been developed to measure them (Berry, Kalin and Taylor, 1977).

The ideology of assimilation suggests a preference for uniformity and homogeneity among groups (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). There have been many models that demonstrate the influence of assimilation as an ideology, particularly up to the 1960s and 1970s. For example, decades of research have shown a connection between similarity and attraction (i.e., the similarity-attraction model, Byrne, 1971). This supports assimilation because it suggests that a culturally homogenous society should bring about harmony as people will be attracted to one another. Minority groups are expected to give up their distinctive social identities in order to better adapt to the mainstream culture of their new country, and models of intergroup contact, such as the Common Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) suggest that "emphasis on a one-group representation is associated with a cultural ideology of assimilation" (Scheeper, Saguy, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2014, p. 325). However, notwithstanding the advantages of cultural similarity and harmony, assimilation has also been described as fundamentally opposite to the notion of egalitarianism and equality (Barreto & Ellemers, 2009). Research has also shown that assimilation is associated with high levels of immigrant acculturation stress (Berry, 1997; 2006a).

Segregation as an ideology insists on maintaining strong boundaries between groups, highlighting differences. Groups desire to remain aloof and separate from one another. If a host culture enforces segregation then bigotry, prejudice and discrimination are usually

involved (Berry, 1997). Correlations exist between segregation and macro-level negative social outcomes (Enos & Celaya, 2018), such as social disorder and lack of cohesion, income inequality, or a lack of trust in institutions or democracy. Due to the physical separation between groups, segregation reduces the probability of intergroup contact, taking away opportunities for the positive effects of contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Segregation also facilitates categorisation, making social categories such as race or ethnicity more salient and increasing the propensity for stereotyping and discrimination (Enos, 2017). Segregation facilitates categorisation because it is associated with the spatial continuity of groups, causing spatial and social boundaries to converge (Brewer & Miller, 1984) so that space becomes an indicator of a group membership. For example, if all members of a particular racial group live on one side of town, social and spatial boundaries will converge, and the group will seem distinct from other groups. This was observed when black and white people were segregated in the USA and when South Africa had apartheid. Segregation is now discredited as an official national ideology in most countries, although individuals may endorse it. Furthermore, for many reasons, immigrants may choose to keep separate from the majority host population when they migrate.

Colourblindness has attracted attention as an ideology since the early 2000s (Apfelbaum, Norton, & Sommers, 2012; Plaut, Thomas & Goren, 2009). The colourblind approach is to treat people as individuals rather than as members of particular groups (Plaut, 2010). As an ideology, this means ignoring group differences and suggests that racial or cultural group membership should not matter in person perception. So, one should not categorise people along ethnic or racial lines (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004), but rather it is best if people come into contact as individuals rather than as members of distinct groups. The colourblind ideology rests on the principle of de-categorisation (Brewer & Miller, 1984).

Therefore, colourblindness promotes the idea that ignoring group membership and avoiding any reference to existing social categorisations can reduce intergroup bias (Verkuyten, 2014).

There are clear conceptual grounds that distinguish assimilation (which implies an effort to reduce group differences through re-categorisation into one group) from colourblindness (implying efforts to ignore group differences through de-categorisation). However, social outcomes could be similar. Colourblindness has been criticised as legitimising racial inequality and avoiding knowledge of racial or minority discrimination: "ignoring race may be the best way of ignoring racial discrimination" (Apfelbaum et al., 2012).

Multiculturalism, unlike either assimilation or colourblindness, stresses the importance of recognising cultural differences between groups and valuing the differences (Visintin, Birtel, & Crisp, 2017). Multiculturalism reflects a positive evaluation of cultural and ethnic diversity. It involves acknowledging group differences, appreciating diversity, and respecting minority group identities (Verkuyten, 2006). It is similar to segregation as its method of social categorisation is into distinct cultural and racial groups. However, unlike segregation, which by its very nature often encourages prejudice and discrimination, multiculturalism actively promotes the integration of different groups both spatially and within the societal structures and official political systems in place in a society. It encourages all members of a society to imbue ethnic differences with a sense of value and acceptance, to decrease prejudice and discrimination against other groups (Hewstone, 1996; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Park & Judd, 2005). A multiculturalism approach would also allow and encourage the development of a dual-identity representation within a society (Huo & Molina, 2006; Verkuyten, 2014). For example, members of a particular national group would be allowed and encouraged to identify as another ethnic group at the same time (they can be Chinese and Australian or Greek and American).

All intergroup ideologies may be important in explaining prejudice. There is evidence for a causal effect of intergroup ideologies on stereotyping and prejudice (Guimond et al., 2010) and understanding how they relate to national policies in shaping attitudes toward immigrants and immigration is important. The intergroup ideologies are also a major concept upon which acculturation theory is based. How the ideologies of assimilation, segregation, colourblindess, and multiculturalism map onto acculturation strategies adopted by immigrants and the preferences of majority host populations is explored in the next section.

Acculturation Theory

Acculturation theory describes a process of psychological and cultural change (acculturation) that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups (Berry, 2006b). Both immigrants and host community populations undergo acculturation, even though it is a process that seems to have a greater impact on immigrants. John Berry (1980, 2005) describes four acculturation strategies which people tend to use when they settle into a new country, and they are closely linked with the intergroup ideologies already described (see Figure 1), if not always precisely aligned. Immigrants tend to adopt one of the acculturation strategies as a way to navigate a new culture and interact with the host society. Host populations tend to prefer one of the four, and this is termed an acculturation preference. Acculturation preferences form the basis of national policies, decisions and behaviours towards immigrants (Berry, 2006b). The ideologies, and the policies that arise from their endorsement by the dominant host society, are an important element of acculturation theory (Bourhis, Moise, Perrault, & Senecal, 1997), and the acculturation strategies adopted by immigrant minority groups are a core feature in acculturation research (Berry, 2005; Berry, Kim, Power, Young & Bujaki, 1989). To this point, the acculturation strategies defined by Berry (1980) are integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalisation. Integration is closely aligned with the ideology of multiculturalism and finds immigrants maintaining their

culture of origin, adopting aspects of the mainstream culture and interacting with other groups. Assimilation is clearly aligned with its intergroup ideology (assimilation) and describes the strategy of immigrants relinquishing their original culture for the new mainstream culture and interacting with other groups. As a strategy preference of the host society, assimilation has been described as 'melting pot' (see Figure 1., Berry, 2005), meaning a preference for a monocultural society where different cultures 'melt' together to create a common culture, generally reflecting the dominant culture of the host country. Separation reflects the ideology of segregation and is when immigrants maintain their original culture and have little interaction outside their group. Finally, marginalisation describes when immigrants have no interest in maintaining their original culture, or are not allowed or encouraged to do so. This acculturation strategy encompasses a rejection of the majority culture and of any interaction with other groups by immigrant minorities (Berry, 2006b). Marginalisation does not directly map onto any of the ideologies already mentioned, however as a host society preference, it may align with an ideology of exclusion making it difficult for immigrants to find a place in such a society. Acculturation theory suggests that harmony and successful intergroup relations rely upon the acculturation strategies of migrants matching the acculturation preferences of the host population (Berry, 2006b). There has been further investigation into the importance of the dynamic interplay between the acculturating groups and their respective acculturation orientations, resulting in an interactive acculturation model (Bourhis et al., 1997). In this model there are the additional approaches of 'anomie' and 'individualism' which further define the acculturation strategy of marginalisation. First, 'anomie' describes a problematic adaptation by immigrants to the new society where the individual feels marginalised and cannot or does not identify with either their culture of origin or the host majority culture. In contrast, 'individualism' describes immigrants who dissociate themselves from their culture of origin and from the host majority culture, but not

because they feel marginalised. Rather they prefer to identify themselves as individuals than as members of either group (Bourhis et al., 1997). This acculturation strategy may be the best 'fit' to map onto the intergroup ideology of colourblindess.

Figure 1. Four acculturation strategies based upon two issues, in ethnocultural groups and the larger society. (Berry, 2005, p.705).

Multiculturalism is aligned with the acculturation strategy of integration. In Australia, where multiculturalism is the formal national policy, one might reasonably expect integration to be the preferred acculturation strategy for immigrants by members of the host population. This would mean it is a preference of the host majority that immigrants maintain their culture of origin as well as interact with the population generally. However, even a brief look at the historical events in Australia's nation-building highlights some conflicting views that are prevalent in public speeches by some politicians (e.g. Pauline Hanson of Australia's "One Nation" party), and in research conducted on the attitudes of the general population (Dunn 2003; Forrest & Dunn, 2007; Mellor, 2004). When Australia created its newly formed Commonwealth Government in 1901, one of its first acts was the Immigration Restriction Act, which came to be known as the "White Australia Policy", designed at the time to restrict settlement of people from Asia. This act was incrementally dismantled by the Australian

government after World War II, even though the majority of immigrants were White Europeans for many years. The preference regarding migrant settlement was for assimilation. It was expected that migrants should shed their cultures and languages and rapidly become indistinguishable from the host population (Australian Government, Home Affairs, 2019). It was not until 1973, after the Vietnam war, that non-white immigration began to increase. Australia created the Racial Discrimination Act in 1975 which made racially based selection criteria for immigrants illegal, and multiculturalism was introduced as the formal policy for immigration. Slowly, the notion of multiculturalism was introduced into Australia and initiatives to promote the ideals of multiculturalism continue. However, even though the Australian government introduced multiculturalism in the 1970s, research has shown that aspects of its assimilationist past still linger in the attitudes of the population (Dunn 2003; Forrest & Dunn, 2007).

How immigrants acculturate has been shown to influence how they are perceived as a group, and as individuals, by members of host populations (Maisonneuve & Teste, 2007; Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998). Categorisation is a fundamental process in how we judge and behave towards others (Doise & Sinclair, 1973) and it is important to understand that categorisation processes align with intergroup ideologies and their accompanying acculturation preferences and strategies (Guimond et al., 2014). For example, assimilation re-categorises various groups into one group to reduce or eliminate diversity. Multiculturalism relies on salient categories, such as racial and ethnic cues of group membership, and it maintains or promotes diversity of groups, inclusively. Segregation has the aim of maintaining and promoting difference, also relying on salient categories such as race and ethnicity, but to keep groups aloof from each other. Colourblindness has the intention of ignoring diversity altogether and looks to de-categorise groups (see Table 1).

Table 1.

The main intergroup ideologies and their associated policy

Intergroup ideology	*Aim of policy*	*Principle of categorisation*	*Country*
Assimilation	To reduce or eliminate diversity	Re-categorisation (one group)	Germany
Colourblindness	To ignore diversity	De-categorisation (one group)	France
Multiculturalism	To maintain/promote diversity	Salient categorisation (multiple groups)	Canada Australia
Segregation	To maintain difference	Salient categorisation	Apartheid Sth Africa

(Table adapted from Guimond, de la Sablonniere & Nugier, 2014, p.146)

The Continuum Model of Impression Formation

Historically, race (operationalised in this thesis as the physical phenotype or racial appearance of a person) has been a salient cue upon which we categorise and assess others. The continuum model (CM), devised by Fiske and Neuberg (1990), proposes that sex, age, and race are 'privileged' categories that mark social group membership because they are prominent. They are prominent because they are visual and immediately accessible, and we easily apply them to most people we encounter. We can, therefore, instantaneously categorise others according to these three criteria.

The CM proposes that people can use a range of impression formation processes, but the particular processes used in any situation depend on two primary factors: (i) the available information, and (ii) the perceiver's motivation. It is important to understand that once a perceiver categorises an individual, they will then tend to automatically think, feel, and

behave towards the person in the same way they tend to think, feel, and behave toward members of that social category more generally (Fiske, 1998). An important aspect of the model is that it is based on the premise that perceivers give priority to categorisation over individuation. This means that, if the category-based processes work well enough, perceivers will not engage in further attribute-based processes. However, it also posits that with sufficient motivation and the available cognitive resources, individuals can choose to ignore initial categorisations and their subsequent responses and can form an impression based on individuating information.

The CM and the priority it gives to category-based processes has a long history of support, although recent research has questioned the ability of the model to fit a wide range of data into its conditions (Monroe, Koenig, Wan, Gupta, Swati et al., 2018). Because the realm of impression formation can include such a vast and infinite array of characteristics, it may be necessary to explore the landscape more fully to be able to conclude in any complete way how the process works (Kopetz & Kruglanski, 2008). That being said, it appears that neither other models of impression formation such as Brewer's dual process model of impression formation (Brewer, 1988) or Kunda and Thagard's parallel-constraint-satisfaction theory (Kunda & Thagard, 1996), nor further research has found strong enough empirical evidence to justify outdating the continuum model and casting it aside. The authors of the CM, however, do offer further research (Fiske, Lin & Neuberg, 1999) which focuses on initial categorisations and subsequent responses. In this study, they offered evidence on why situational motivations (such as belonging and control) and individual differences (such as the need for structure and preservation of self-esteem) matter in the formation of impressions.

People use social categories to understand others. It is of interest to the present research that the CM suggests in the first instance, that along with age and sex, we pay particular attention to the visually prominent category of race.

Race and Evolutionary Theory

There is other evidence supporting the CM that demonstrates race is processed very early in the categorisation process, and this process has been measured and found to occur in under 200ms (Kubota & Ito, 2017). Subsequent studies showed that participants give preferential attention to race even over the other "privileged" categories of sex and age (Ito & Urland, 2005).

The concept of 'race' is contentious. Historically it has referred to the division of humanity into groups which reflect an inherited biological foundation and is manifested in physical phenotypes, such as skin colour, eye shape, hair texture and bone structure. While these physical phenotypes are used as markers for categorisation, the extent of any essentialism regarding abilities, character or behaviour has been debunked on scientific and evolutionary grounds (Kurzban, Tooby, & Cosmides, 2001; Fishbein, 1996). Despite this, people all over the world categorise themselves and each other according to race, and it continues to be a salient factor in the organisation of people's social worlds (Celious & Oyserman, 2001; Gossett, 1997). Research on stereotype activation has demonstrated that proximity to a person of a different race is enough to spontaneously activate racial stereotypes (Kunda & Spencer, 2003).

Many different schemes have been developed to categorise people by race. For example, the norm of hypodescent, or the 'one-drop rule', was widely used by Americans throughout the 20th century to designate children of parents who were from different racial groups as members of strictly only one group (Banks & Eberhardt, 1988), typically the socially subordinate one (Hollinger, 2003). This was evident with Barack Obama being hailed as America's first 'black president', even though he had a white mother (Halberstadt, Sherman, & Sherman, 2011).

Of course, racial classification is not limited to Black and White. Studies conducted in the USA have shown that Americans of Asian descent are often categorised on the basis of race because of their phenotypic features (Tafarodi, Kang, & Milne, 2002), and that they are often labelled as "foreigners" rather than as Americans (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Tuan, 1998). This is problematic in modern plural societies with increasingly diverse populations. But is it immutable? Are there instances or circumstance where race is not the basis for immediate categorisation?

Evolutionary psychological theory posits it is very unlikely that race perception is part of our cognitive DNA as our distant ancestors would not have had the opportunity to encounter people of different racial appearance (Cosmides, Tooby, & Kurzban, 2003). Our hunter-gatherer ancestors would have travelled relatively short distances, and most social contact would have been geographically local (Fishbein, 1996), making exposure to different racial groups a rare occurrence. If individuals typically did not come across members of other "races" then there would not have been the opportunity for cognitive adaptation designed to categorise on such a dimension. Sex and age, on the other hand, are obvious categories because all societies would have had variance in the sex and age of its members (Cosmides et al., 2003). Our propensity to categorise by race is more likely to be something that has developed in response to social and political influences over time (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), rather than something hard-wired into our evolutionary survival system (Cosmides et al., 2003).

Furthermore, Cosmides et al., (2003) suggested that behaviour which revealed and tracked coalitional alliances in our ancestors would have been much more useful to group members when assessing unknown others. They suggested that cues that predicted individuals' political allegiances were more likely to be encoded into our cognitive DNA than racial appearance. In an experiment to test what may reduce or eliminate the proclivity to

categorise by race, Kurzban, Tooby, and Cosmides (2001) found that coalitional allegiance is one thing which reveals that categorising by race is not mandatory. Their results demonstrated that it is possible to reduce the proclivity to categorise by race when we are reminded of coalitional affiliation. Creating alliances uncorrelated with race is the first social context found that decreases categorisation by race and they suggested that any readily observable feature, however arbitrary, can acquire social significance and cognitive efficacy when it validly cues patterns of alliance. They cited dress, dialect, manner, gait, family resemblance and ethnic and coalitional badges as examples of these cues. Ultimately, various fields of research dispute the existence of 'race' and suggest it is not possible or meaningful to sort individuals into racial groups (Nebert & Menon, 2001).

It is possible that cultural cues are more influential than race. Language and accent are powerful markers of a person's cultural origins, and a foreign accent quickly identifies a person as coming from elsewhere (Ladegaard, 1998). Research supports that categorisation takes place upon perceiving an accent and then, based on this verbal accent, further judgements are made about the individual (Ladegaard,1998).

The effects of verbal accents have been studied extensively by researchers in intercultural communication, and the "speaker evaluation paradigm" (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian, 1982) has investigated the attitudes towards speakers with different accents. It seems an accent acts as a cue identifying a speaker's group membership. We form an impression of speakers based on their speech patterns and pronunciations (Giles, Williams, Mackie & Roselli, 1995), evaluating people as superior, inferior, fun or unattractive based on their accents and stereotypes about their nationalities (Cargile & Giles, 1997). So, verbal speech can be described as being capable of communicating more than just verbal content. It can indicate social group membership.

Nonverbal Accent

There is a substantial body of literature on nonverbal communication (for example,; Ekman, 1972; 1997; Mehrabian, 1981), with findings demonstrating that nonverbal behaviours can serve as a 'universal language' (Ekman, Sorensen, & Friesen, 1969). There is also evidence that, like spoken language, nonverbal communication has accents that reveal ethnic background. Studies of nonverbal accents have shown that we can correctly determine the nationality and culture of subjects just by looking at photos of emotional facial expressions (Marsh, Elfenbein,& Ambady 2003). Furthermore, other studies have revealed that photos of people displaying nonverbal behaviours such as walking or waving also carry detectable nonverbal accents.

In one study, Marsh et al. (2003) showed photos of Japanese nationals and Japanese Americans to perceivers, to test if they could identify subtle differences in emotional expressive style across cultural groups. The photos showed targets displaying discrete emotions (such as sadness, anger, etc.) and they asked perceivers to identify which targets were Japanese and which were Japanese American. The results indicated that emotional facial expressions carry information about nationality and culture, and perceivers were able to detect nationality at above chance levels. Another study conducted in 2007 by Marsh et al., further tested the effects of nonverbal accent, suggesting that in theory, any discrete behaviour that is performed across cultures could carry accents. Participants were shown photographs of white American and white Australian targets. One set of photos showed the targets walking, mid-stride. The second set showed them waving. Clothing was hidden by surgical scrubs, and hairnets were worn to minimise differences in apparel or hairstyle. Results demonstrated that walking and waving both provided cultural cues. Participants identified at above chance accuracy the Australian and the American targets.

Accents, both verbal and nonverbal it seems, can be displayed by anyone and detected by others to discern national and cultural identification. However, at times in the literature and in the real world, race and cultural background are often interpreted as the same thing.

Culture, race and ethnicity

Definitions of the term culture can vary, however a common element of its definition is the reference to shared social behaviours, practices and customs that are found in any one societal group, which are generally passed on from generation to generation (Cole & Tan, 2015). It also commonly refers to the knowledge, beliefs, arts, laws, dress, diet, language, practices for rearing of children, capabilities and habits of the individuals who are part of the group (Cole & Tan, 2015). Culture and race can often be conflated and referred to as an individual's or a group's 'ethnicity'. As described by Richard Alba (1990) ethnicity is "inherently a matter of ancestry" (p. 37). Ethnicity can be described as a group membership oriented toward the past, and in modern pluralistic nations ancestry and identity may be increasingly divergent (Alba, 1990). For example, someone who is an enculturated American may be described as belonging to an Asian ethnic group because of their racial appearance, regardless of whether or not they identify as being Asian. The term 'White ethnicity' may be used to describe a person who is racially White, when what is being referred to is a person with 'white' skin who identifies with western culture. Research has shown the detrimental effects of assumptions about the relationship between race and cultural identification and the failure to perceive the necessity for the separation of ethnic ancestry and cultural identity. Studies trying to determine if Asian or Black ethnic groups in the USA are considered to be as American as White people (Devos & Banaji, 2005) showed that White ethnicity is considered more American than either Asian or Black ethnicity. However, it is difficult to know if these results are due to the racial appearance of the targets or due to how they culturally identify. Yogeeswaran, Dasgupta, Adleman, et al., (2011) had similar results.

However, one study included a Polish ethnic group along with African and Chinese, and results showed that even though the Polish minority group identified with their Polish ethnicity, they were considered more American than the Africans or Chinese groups. This may indicate that people of White racial appearance are regarded as more American than people of Black or Asian racial appearance. Research conducted by Beaman (2018) on second generation African immigrants in France found that the respondents, even though they saw being French as part of their identities, understood that the majority did not see them as French, and they attributed this to being non-White.

Unlike many other social group memberships, ethnicity is oriented to the past, towards the history and origin of family, group and nation. However, ethnic identity need not be conflated with ancestry, and as already mentioned, ancestry and identity may be increasingly divergent particularly in modern, multi-racial nations (Alba, 1990). Take, for example, fifth-generation Australians whose ethnic and racial heritage is Chinese. While appearing racially Chinese, they may no longer identify with Chinese culture, and only identify as 'Australian'. People who have been interracially adopted are another example. Children adopted to Australia from countries such as China, Korea or African nations who are raised and fully enculturated in the majority Anglo-Australian culture may not identify with the culture of their birth country, and may only identify as 'Australian'.

Aims

While race is understood to be an important and 'privileged' cue in the categorisation process, there is potential to further understand the separate influences of race and culture upon host majority populations toward racial minority groups. The current program of research had several aims, reflecting the limitations and previously unaddressed factors in the literature exploring the processes at work when majority populations recognise, acknowledge and include racial minority individuals.

Particular attention was paid to separating race and culture as two components of ethnicity. The first aim was to extend research on acculturation theory and the salience of 'race' in the forming of impressions about immigrants. According to Fiske & Neuberg's (1990) continuum theory, 'race' is processed as a privileged category, and the present research investigated the influence of acculturation strategy over the influence of an immigrant's 'race' when majority host populations are forming impressions of racial minority groups. We extended previous research in two specific ways. First of all, we ensured race was visually salient by including photographs of the immigrant targets, and secondly, by conducting the studies in Australia, a country that formally endorses multiculturalism. Two studies examined whether or not an Australian host population-based their positive or negative evaluations of immigrants on the acculturation strategy adopted by the immigrant target, or on the target's racial appearance.

The second aim was to build upon theories of nonverbal accent (Marsh et al., 2003, 2007). The three studies we conducted to do this used survey and experimental methods to extend previous research and better understand the processes in operation. We did this in the first instance by testing the ability of Australian nationals to correctly identify fellow Australian nationals (compatriots) who had a minority racial appearance. A second study sought to understand how individual differences in lay theories of race affected the outcomes. As previous research has found that stereotypes are often activated by race, the third study in this set aimed to see which stereotypes would be activated when majority host populations observe minority racial groups. Would the stereotype activated reflect a person's race or culture?

Furthermore, stereotypes are intricately linked to impression formation when individuating information is not available. As we were conducting the studies in Australia, we wanted to understand how Australians stereotype themselves. Therefore, the final aim of

the current research was to understand how Australians allocate stereotypes to their national population; a term referred to as *self-stereotyping* or *auto-stereotyping*.

Research questions and chapter outlines

Specific research questions emerged from the broad aims outlined above. These are presented along with the results which are reported in Chapters 2, 3, and 4 in journal article format. Chapter 2 has been published (Alcott & Watt, 2017). Chapter 3 has been submitted for publication, response pending and Chapter 4 has been submitted for publication and is under review at time of thesis submission.

Chapter 2. Acculturation Strategy and Racial Group in the perception of immigrants.

The research reported in chapter 2 examined how members of the Australian host population perceived immigrants. Specifically, according to acculturation theory (Berry,1997), acculturation strategies utilised by immigrants can influence impressions formed about them by the host population. If an immigrant's acculturation strategy is in synchronicity with the acculturation preference of the host population, then it follows the hosts' assessments will be more favourable. We extended research by Maisonneuve and Teste (2007) to investigate how impressions are formed by an Australian host population about immigrants. The studies used the dimensions of warmth and competence from the stereotype content model, which are long established as dimensions upon which we base social perceptions (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). This model suggests that particular groups are stereotypically associated with different combinations of warmth and competence. Furthermore, based on the continuum model of impression formation (Fiske & Neuberg, 1990), the studies also investigated the effect of racial appearance when host communities are forming impressions of various immigrant groups. Together, the studies in this chapter examined which would be the salient influence on the impressions of the host population – the immigrant's racial appearance or acculturation strategy.

To test the research question, two separate studies were conducted. The first used survey data collected from a sample of Australians from Sydney, Australia's most populous city. The second study collected survey data Australia wide and amended the stimulus slightly. This chapter provides a further understanding of the factors that contribute to the impression formation and judgements of immigrants.

Chapter 3. How do Australians view Australians? Stability and Change in the Australian national self-stereotype.

The aim of the research in Chapter 3 was to get an update on national Australian auto-stereotypes. Research on Australian auto-stereotypes using the Katz-Braly methodology is limited (Haslam, Oakes, Reynolds, & Mein, 1999; Leeson, 2006), and has not been conducted for over a decade. We wanted to understand how Australians currently describe themselves and their national character. The study in Chapter 3 first of all reminded157 Australian participants of their national identity, to make their national social group membership salient. National stereotypes by their very nature rely on group consensus, and group consensus is enhanced by making social identity (in this case, nationality) salient (Haslam, Oakes, et al., 1998). We then administered a Katz-Braly checklist-type study to investigate how Australian allocate self-stereotypes to themselves as a nation. All stereotypes are a shared representation of a group (Haslam, et al., 1998). In fact the essential feature of stereotypes is that they need to have a 'degree of agreement' between perceivers as they are a group entity. That they are shared by large numbers of people within social groups is the very essence of stereotypes (Thorndike, 1977). Therefore, the analysis in Chapter 3 also investigated the uniformity of consensus and compared it to the few studies that have previously examined Australian self-stereotypes, and which used the same methodology (Haslam, et al., 1999). Results of the adjectives nominated by the Australian participants to describe Australians, as well as the uniformity of consensus between participants were

compared with the previous studies to examine any changes over the last two or more decades. The findings from this study allowed us to move forward with further studies investigating the role of stereotypes when racial appearance and enculturation are both categories available to observers when forming impressions of others.

Chapter 4. Nonverbal Accent and Identifying Racial Minority Individuals as Australian

The purpose of the studies which were reported in Chapter 4 was to extend the findings from the research in Chapter 2, which investigated the role of race and culture, manifested as acculturation, in impression formation. The studies in this chapter investigated the role of race and culture when majority host members of a nation based on immigration (in this case, Australia) categorise, judge and apply stereotypes to people from immigrant racial minorities. We specifically narrowed the focus in these studies to the effects of culture manifested as nonverbal accent. The studies in this chapter used as a test case people who were interracially adopted from Asia and grew up in mainstream Australian households. We chose this particular group because they are fully enculturated into the mainstream culture, but have a minority racial appearance. Few studies have been conducted which investigate the attitudes of cultural inclusion of racial minority populations in this situation. There also are few studies which have focused on the effects of nonverbal accent on the impressions formed by a cultural majority toward racial minority groups. We aimed to determine whether a mainstream cultural nonverbal accent would be the salient cue over a minority racial group appearance when observers categorise others.

In three separate studies, participants were shown muted videos of target individuals who all had an east Asian racial appearance. Half were people who had been interracially adopted, and the other half were foreign nationals. One of the aims was to see if participants could determine who was Australian and had grown up in Australia, just from observing thin slices of common everyday behaviour. In this way we have extended previous research by

generalising the displayed nonverbal accent, rather than using photos in a laboratory setting. The second study tested for effects of individual differences in lay theory of race. The third study tested the influence of nonverbal accent when participants viewed people who were of a minority Asian racial appearance and were asked to allocate Australian and Asian stereotype traits to these exemplars. Would participants allocate stereotypes based on non-verbal accent, even in the absence of explicitly identifying the targets' nationality?

Significance of Research

This research program provides a greater understanding of the processes that are used when host populations form impressions of immigrants. This is of especial significance to immigrant nations where attitudes of the host populations are of vital importance to the happiness and prosperity of not only the migrant populations but to all members of the nation. Addressing the fact that race is often conflated with culture as 'ethnicity' is an important aspect of the present research. Highlighting that one's cultural identification may not be synonymous with one's racial appearance is a much-needed insight in research on intergroup relations. Making the point that minority group individuals' racial appearance and cultural identification can be perceived separately by host majority populations contributes to the notion of belonging and acceptance in immigrant based nations. The present research also contributes to the debate about the ideologies of multiculturalism, assimilation, and colourblindness.

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(Summary and Introduction)

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Chapter 2.

Acculturation strategy and racial group in the perception of immigrants.

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Abstract

We investigated the effects of race and different acculturation strategies on perceptions of immigrants in Australia, an immigrant-based nation with a multicultural policy. Two experimental studies presented participants with scenarios that systematically varied racial group (African, Asian & European) and acculturation strategy (assimilation, integration, separation, marginalisation) then assessed responses to immigrant targets using measures of warmth, competence, affect and cultural distance. Attitudes were significantly more positive towards targets who either integrated or assimilated, and negative towards targets who separated. This was regardless of the racial group being assessed, supporting the prediction that acculturation strategy is a stronger influence than race on perceptions of immigrants.

Key Words: Acculturation, race, categorisation, multiculturalism

Acculturation Strategy and Racial Group in the Perception of Immigrants.

With today's global migration and ever-expanding multiracial and multicultural societies, the saying "don't judge a book by its cover" is ever more appropriate. Categorisation by race is an automatic and heuristic cognitive process (Kurzban, Tooby & Cosmides, 2001). However, in modern immigrant nations and pluralistic societies, a person's apparent racial group does not necessarily impart information about their nationality or cultural heritage. Assessing someone on race can therefore lead to gross generalisations, incorrect stereotyping, racial prejudice and discrimination.

Racial prejudice and discrimination are continuing global phenomena, although race as a concept is a contentious issue. The United States of America (USA) census still categorises individuals separately by race although modern scientific research has demonstrated that, genetically, the differences between groups are smaller than those within groups, supporting that 'race' cannot be biologically differentiated (Bamshad, Wooding, Watkins, et al., 2003). However, it is included as one of the three 'primary categories' (age, race, and gender) upon which people make immediate judgments about others (Kurzban et al., 2001). Often because a person is of a particular racial appearance, they are bestowed with the consensual cultural stereotypes associated with that racial group and subsequent prejudices of the perceiver (Kawakami, Dion, & Dovidio, 1998). The term 'race' is still used widely in popular vernacular to categorise others, and the current paper uses the term in this sense, rather than referring to it as a supported scientific concept. The current research investigated whether visibly distinct racial minorities are assessed and judged on their apparent racial group, or if the acculturation strategies they use to adapt to their new country are more influential on the perceptions of the host population.

Acculturation is the process of change that groups of individuals go through when they are in continuous first-hand contact with groups of individuals who have different cultures (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). In the context of immigration, acculturation is a reciprocal process whereby receiving societies adapt in varying degrees to new immigrant populations, although immigrants generally go through more cultural change than the receiving society (Berry, 2008). Not all groups or individuals undergo acculturation in the same way. There are large variations in how people seek to engage the process. These variations have come to be known as acculturation strategies (Berry, 1980; Berry, 2006).

Berry (1980, 2006) described four acculturation strategies that derived from two basic issues facing an acculturating individual or group: the first issue was the degree to which individuals wish to maintain (or change) their heritage culture and identity (cultural maintenance). The second was the degree to which individuals wish to have contact and participate with other ethno-cultural groups in the larger society, including the dominant one (Berry, 2006; Berry & Sabatier, 2011). The combination of these dimensions resulted in four acculturation strategies described by Berry (1997) as integration (maintain original culture and interact with other groups); assimilation (relinquish original culture and interact with other groups); separation (maintain original culture and little interaction outside one's own group); and marginalisation (no interest in maintaining original culture and reject interaction with other groups).

However, in some instances, the second dimension has been defined differently, either as adopting the host culture, identifying with it, or adapting to it, rather than as interaction with other groups (Maisonneuve & Teste, 2007; Berry & Sabatier, 2011; Lopez-Rodriguez, Navas, Cuardrado, et al., 2014). Previous research has demonstrated that adopting the host culture can affect the host populations' perceptions of immigrants (Lalonde, & Cameron, 1993; Liebkind, & Jasinskaga- Lahti, 2000). Furthermore, a study by Maisonneuve

and Teste (2007) demonstrated how adopting the host culture (or not) influenced the host population's perceptions of immigrants, while taking into account the effects of race. An aspect of the present research was to see if these results could be replicated in a different context. Therefore, the definition that includes adopting the host culture as the second dimension has been used in the current research, and the four strategies were operationalised as: integration (maintain original culture while adopting key aspects of the host culture); assimilation (relinquish original culture, adopt the host culture); separation (maintain original culture and remain aloof from the host culture); and marginalisation (reject both the host culture and original culture).

Previous research has explored attitudes towards acculturation strategies and immigrants in general (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997), while other studies have looked at acculturation strategies and attitudes towards specific ethnic minority groups (Lee & Fiske, 2006; Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998; Maisonneuve & Teste, 2007). In this paper, we asked what influence acculturation strategy has on the host population's perception of immigrants, and to what extent immigrants' race plays a part. While racial categorisation does not in itself necessarily cause prejudice, it has long been associated with racial prejudice both as a cause and consequence (Allport, 1954; Fiske, Lin & Neuberg, 1999; Blascovich, Wyer, Swart & Kibler, 1997), and has been shown to affect how much prejudice and discrimination immigrants may experience (Berry, Kim, Power, Young & Bujaki, 1989). As explained below, this can extend to the acculturation strategies that visibly distinct racial minorities are able to pursue when settling into a new country.

Interplay of acculturation strategies and racial appearance

Racial appearance may affect how an individual chooses to acculturate to the dominant culture. For example, studies of Australian Indigenous communities in the 1970s (Berry, 1970) found that racial appearance affected participants' attitudes towards their own

acculturation behaviours, and also toward the dominant Australian society. Berry found the more Aboriginal an individual appeared the more they wanted to pursue assimilation, but the more likely they were to be excluded by the dominant society. He also found that those who appeared the least Aboriginal were more likely to reject the dominant society, however they were the least likely to be excluded. While Berry's study raises issues about the racial prototypicality of a group and its subsequent effects, the purpose of citing it in the present research is to illustrate how racial appearance can affect acculturation preferences of a majority population for a particular minority group, and it can also affect the acculturation choices of a minority group when deciding how to adapt to a majority culture.

Additionally, immigrant minorities whose racial features are distinct from the host majority, such as Koreans in Canada, or Turks in Germany, may be unable to pursue their acculturation strategy of choice, particularly if it is assimilation or integration, because they experience prejudice and discrimination based on their race (Berry, et al., 1989). Research conducted by Taillandier and Maisonneuve (2005) in France, demonstrated that differentially valued minority groups can be subject to different prejudices as well as to different preferences from the host population for how they should acculturate. The research found that assimilation and segregation (separation) were the host population's preferred choices for immigrants of Asian, Maghrebin, or Turkish origin, while integration was preferred for immigrants from Europe. Particular acculturation strategies have been found to be preferred for 'valued' immigrants, such as integration for French people in Quebec (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001), whereas segregation, exclusion, and assimilation were preferred for 'devalued' immigrants (e.g., Haitians in Quebec, ibid.). 'Devalued' immigrants tended to have language and cultural differences, and they also tended to belong to minorities who were of a different racial group to the majority host population.

However, if particular minority groups want to adopt separation as a strategy, this might be an antecedent to prejudice or negative affect based on acculturation strategy rather than racial group. Evidence suggests an effect of acculturation strategy that over-rides effects of racial appearance. In a French study that included the four acculturation strategies and three immigrant groups (Moroccan, Congolese and Vietnamese), Maisonneuve and Teste (2007) examined how the French host population perceived immigrants. The results showed no effect of racial group, but there were significant differences in the perceptions of immigrants who assimilated or integrated when compared with those who separated, with those who separated being rated less positively on warmth, competence, and affect measures. The authors concluded that participants evaluate immigrants more positively when they adopt the host culture compared with those who do not. In Holland, Van Oudenhoven, Prins and Buunk (1998) conducted research on the Dutch host population's attitude towards immigrants from Morocco and Turkey. They found only an effect of acculturation strategy, with targets who separated being assessed the most negatively, and those who assimilated or integrated the most positive, regardless of their nationality / ethnicity, which could also be expected to vary according to racial group.

Social Perception: the stereotype dimensions of warmth and competence

The stereotype content model proposes that stereotypes are created around two key dimensions: warmth and competence (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick & Xu, 2002). A long line of work on interpersonal and social perception shows the relevance of these two dimensions in social interactions, suggesting that such interactions require answers to two key questions when people meet others. Perceivers want to know the others' intent towards them (positive or negative, this is termed "warmth") and capability to pursue that intent (termed "competence"). The model states that particular groups are stereotypically associated with

different combinations of warmth and competence which may lead to prejudice or negative affect (Fiske, et al., 2002; Lee & Fiske, 2006).

Lee and Fiske (2006) investigated whether the common perception of "immigrants", as a generic group (i.e., low in warmth and competence), would change if different immigrant groups were identified by nationality, ethnicity and socioeconomic status. They predicted that once host populations differentiated between groups, perceptions of immigrants would differ and assessments of warmth and competence would be made on commonly held, consensual stereotypes. For example, in the USA, East Asian immigrants are stereotyped as competent but cold (Lee & Fiske, 2006), Italians as warm and friendly (Fiske et al., 2002), and Jewish people as competent but not warm (Fiske et al., 2002). Lee and Fiske's (2006) hypothesis was supported by evidence that perceptions of warmth and competence differed by group, reflecting stereotypes of the original nationality combined with socio-economic status. The current research used the stereotype content model as a tool for investigating the host population's perceptions of immigrants, and the extent to which these perceptions are influenced not only by the immigrant's racial / national group, but also by their acculturation strategy.

The current research

Previous research has provided details about stereotypical perceptions of immigrants in the USA according to their national or ethnic origin and socio-economic status (Fiske et. al., 2002; Lee & Fiske, 2006) and furthermore, racially distinct groups have been found to elicit different prejudices and discriminatory behaviours from host populations (Taillandier & Maisonneuve, 2005; Berry et al., 1989). However, these studies did not take into account the effect of acculturation strategies on how immigrants are perceived and evaluated.

Outside the USA, Van Oudenhoven et al.'s (1998) research in Holland revealed a large main effect of acculturation strategy on Dutch majority members' affective responses to

Moroccan and Turkish immigrants, but no effects of the target's racial / national background. However, their research did not measure stereotype based perceptions of warmth and competence which were included in the USA-based research. It also did not include a visual image of the immigrant. Because race is perceived visually, we suggest that not presenting an image of the target person could result in low salience of race, and may consequently underestimate the effect of race as a category. Maisonneuve and Teste (2007) examined the effects of acculturation strategy and racial / ethnic background on French majority members' affective responses to and ratings of warmth and competence in immigrant minorities. Like Van Oudenhoven et al. (1998), the research revealed a consistent main effect of acculturation strategy, but no effects of racial / ethnic background. However, like Van Oudenhoven et al. (1998), these studies presented written scenarios with no visual image of the immigrant. Again, it is possible that this method could have underestimated the impact of race as a variable.

The evidence from these studies combines to suggest that acculturation strategies have a consistent effect on hosts' stereotyping of immigrants and their attitudes towards them, and that racial group has little effect. However, before a firm conclusion can be reached regarding the effect of racial group, a stronger manipulation of race should be used. It is possible that using text-based scenarios without incorporating visual primes did not activate race as strongly as it would if an image were included. These studies also did not include a control group, so it is not apparent if the results would have demonstrated an ingroup bias. So, while there is evidence to support the strong influence of acculturation strategy, how much influence racial group has on stereotypical perceptions of warmth and competence in immigrants remains unclear. The current research investigated the effects of both race and acculturation strategy on social perception, using the stereotype content dimensions of warmth and competence while priming participants visually for race.

The current studies were conducted in Australia, a country built on immigration. Often, nations who are relatively new to immigration, or not accustomed to accommodating many disparate cultures, prefer assimilation as an acculturation strategy for immigrants (Kosic, Manetti & Sam, 2005). Australia held a policy of assimilation until the 1970s when its social policy towards immigrants and diversity became one of multiculturalism. With an official multicultural policy, Australian society celebrates and encourages diversity. Immigrants are entitled to maintain their culture and language, and the government is required to support immigrants in maintaining their culture through services and programs (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2013). However, as explained below, Australia's population may still show considerable support for assimilation in their attitudes.

According to Kymlicka (2012), Australia rates first out of more than 20 other countries on an index of 'Immigrant Multiculturalism Policy Scores', and is a good example of a successful multicultural society (Collins, 2013). Berry (1997) reported that populations of multicultural nations tend to prefer integration as a strategy for immigrants. In line with this, if Australia is a truly multicultural nation we would expect strong endorsement among the population for integration. However, the evidence for this is mixed. Some studies have shown moderately strong public support in Australia for immigrant minorities to maintain their culture (e.g., Ang, Brand, Noble, & Wilding, 2002; Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010) and Dunn (2003) reported that 85% of the population believes cultural diversity is good for society. However, other studies have indicated significant support among Australians for assimilation, with 46% of respondents in Sydney believing that Australia is weakened by immigrant groups retaining their old ways (Forest & Dunn, 2007). To clarify this, one aspect of the current research was to compare acculturation strategies to see which received the most positive approval among Australian participants. In line with the suggestion that Australia is

a multicultural society, we tested the hypothesis that Australians would perceive immigrants who integrate more positively compared to those who adopt other acculturation strategies.

Being a multicultural society does not preclude its populace from racism. Research by Mellor (2004) found that despite being a multicultural society 'the tradition of racism towards non-Anglo immigrants continues' in Australia (p. 631), and research by Dunn (2003) found that about one quarter of Australians report the experience of every-day racism. This result is highest among those born overseas, excluding racially white immigrants from the United Kingdom and New Zealand. We therefore tested the hypothesis that there would be a main effect of race on ratings of warmth, competence, and affect, with the European targets (the majority in Australia) being perceived more positively than other racial groups. We also explored the interaction between race and acculturation strategy, as it was possible that acculturation strategy would amplify race-based responses.

Two studies were conducted in which participants viewed scenarios depicting the acculturation strategies of integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation in immigrants from three different national / racial groups. Participants then rated the perceived warmth and competence of targets in the scenarios, and their affective response to them. In Study 2, to investigate potential explanations for the results in Study 1, cultural distance was added as another dependent variable. The first study tested the effects of acculturation strategy and race using a small sample from Australia's largest and most diverse city, Sydney. Study 2 then refined the method and recruited a larger and more nationally representative sample. Study 1 used a mixed design where each participant rated four targets from one racial group, each portraying a different acculturation strategy, whereas Study 2 used a fully between-subjects design.

Study 1

Method

Participants.

Participants (56 men, 83 women, 3 non-specified) were recruited from the general population living in Sydney, Australia. Advertisements in local newspapers were followed by letterbox drops. The study was also advertised on Twitter and email. The average age was 45 years (range = 23 - 76 years). Sixty three percent were tertiary educated (Sydney average is 23%), and 28% were first generation immigrants. Of the 70% Australian born, almost 40% had parents who were immigrants. Eighty-five percent of the sample identified as Anglo, British, Caucasian or European. Overall, the sample was slightly older and more educated than the Sydney averages (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008), but the racial heritage and percentage of first generation immigrants reflects the population, and the sample was considered suitable for this research.

Procedure.

The study was presented as being about what Australians feel might be the best acculturation strategy for new potential citizens. Acculturation was explained as "a term that describes the process of how people from other cultures adapt to life in a new and different culture." Acculturation strategy was introduced in non-technical terms as:

> "Should new immigrants adopt the new culture? Keep their original culture? Have both? Or is it best to discard their old culture and avoid the new? There are many

possibilities. Successful adaptation benefits both the newcomer and the established community."

The survey was anonymous. Participants completed a demographics questionnaire then proceeded to the scenarios, with each one followed by the survey questions.

Design.

A 4 (acculturation strategy: assimilation, integration, separation, marginalisation) x 3 (group: Korean, Dutch, Sudanese) mixed experimental design was used, where acculturation strategy was a within-subjects factor, and group was a between-subjects factor with random allocation. The dependent variables were affect (liking or disliking of the immigrant), and perceived warmth and competence of the target.

Materials.

Scenarios (manipulation of acculturation strategies).

The scenario method developed by Van Oudenhoven et al., (1998) was adapted for this study. Participants were shown four scenarios, each depicting a different target person behaving in accordance with one of each of the acculturation strategies (assimilation, integration, separation, marginalisation). Depending on which racial group the participant was allocated, the scenarios described targets who had immigrated from either Sudan, Korea, or the Netherlands (see Appendix A for examples of all four acculturation strategies with the Sudanese group). They were presented as factual stories and included life domains considered important when examining the effects of acculturation: marriage, family, education, work life, and community involvement (Berry, 1984).

Photographs of the individuals from each racial group (African, Asian, European, please see Appendix B) were used to prime race. To control for individual differences between the targets, each photograph was rotated between the scenarios. The different pairings were then randomly allocated to participants, so that no one photograph was

consistently associated with the same acculturation strategy. The scenarios were presented in random order. Based on research by Eagly and Kite (1987) which found that men were perceived to resemble stereotypes of their nationalities more than women, and also to reduce any effects of gender, only male targets were used in the scenarios.

Measures.

Warmth and Competence Measures.

Participants were given a list of adjectives which have been previously identified as traits indicative of warmth (trustworthy, warm, good natured, sincere, friendly, and well intentioned) and competence (competent, efficient, capable, confident, intelligent, and skillful) (Fiske et al, 2002; Maisonneuve & Teste, 2007). The scales were presented as: "Based on your first impression, please rate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. The man in the story is …" Ratings were made on a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 "Strongly Disagree" to 7 "Strongly Agree"). Cronbach's alpha for the warmth scale in this study was .92 and for the competence scale was .95.

Affect.

This measure was adapted from Maisonneuve and Teste (2007) and asked participants to state their opinions on two items; "I like the man in the story" and " I would get along with the man in the story". They were asked to answer using a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 "Strongly Disagree" to 7 "Strongly Agree"). The reliability for this measure was .76.

Manipulation Check.

To check effectiveness of the manipulations, participants were asked to rate two statements: "In my opinion the person wants to keep his original culture" and "In my opinion the person wants to adopt the mainstream Australian culture", using a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 "Definitely not" to 5 "Definitely Yes"). This check tested the two dimensions of acculturation strategies as we have defined them in this paper (maintenance of original

culture and adoption of the host culture). Free space was provided at the end of each set of questions and participants could add further comments about the attitude, behaviour and potential of the man in the article.

Results

The data were screened for outliers and checked for univariate and multivariate normality. Of the 174 responses collected, 32 had less than 25% of items completed and were excluded from the sample. A repeated measures ANOVA was performed on the manipulation check data to test that targets who were presented in the scenarios as keeping their own culture (integration, separation) were perceived as such. The results supported this, F (3, 348) = 712.59, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .86$, with assimilation *(*M = 1.73, SD = .69) and marginalisation (M = 1.97, SD = .87) receiving significantly lower scores than integration (M = 4.39, SD = .72) and separation, which scored the highest (M = 4.92, SD = .27), as revealed in post hoc tests with a Bonferroni adjustment of .008. The second ANOVA also supported that targets who were presented as adopting the mainstream Australian culture (assimilation, integration,) were perceived as such, F (3, 354) = 310.17 $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .72$. Assimilation (M = 4.51, SD= .78) and integration (M = 3.03, SD = 1.07) scored significantly higher than separation (M = 1.23, SD =.48) and marginalisation (M = 2.64, SD =.98). Thus, the manipulation check showed that the acculturation scenarios were perceived as intended.

A mixed 4 within-subjects (acculturation strategy) x 3 between-subjects (group) MANOVA was then performed on the combined DVs of warmth, competence and affect (see Figure 1 for M and SE in each condition). The multivariate result was significant for acculturation strategy with a large effect size, Pillai's Trace = F (9,108) = 30.00, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .71$. Follow-up ANOVAs on the separate DVs showed significant differences for how warm, F (3,348) = 69.19, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .37$, and competent, F (3, 348) = 44.81, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .28$, targets who used different acculturation strategies were perceived, as well as

for how much they were liked, F (3, 348) = 96.82, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .45$. Pairwise comparisons using Bonferroni adjustment for multiple comparisons (adjusted $p = .006$) revealed significant differences in all comparisons, except between assimilation and integration (for warmth, competence, and affect) and between marginalisation and separation for warmth. Immigrants who marginalised or separated were rated as significantly colder, less competent, and were liked less than those who integrated or assimilated. Immigrants who separated were perceived as significantly less warm and competent, and were liked significantly less, than all other strategies, with the exception of the comparison with marginalisation for warmth, where the difference was non-significant.

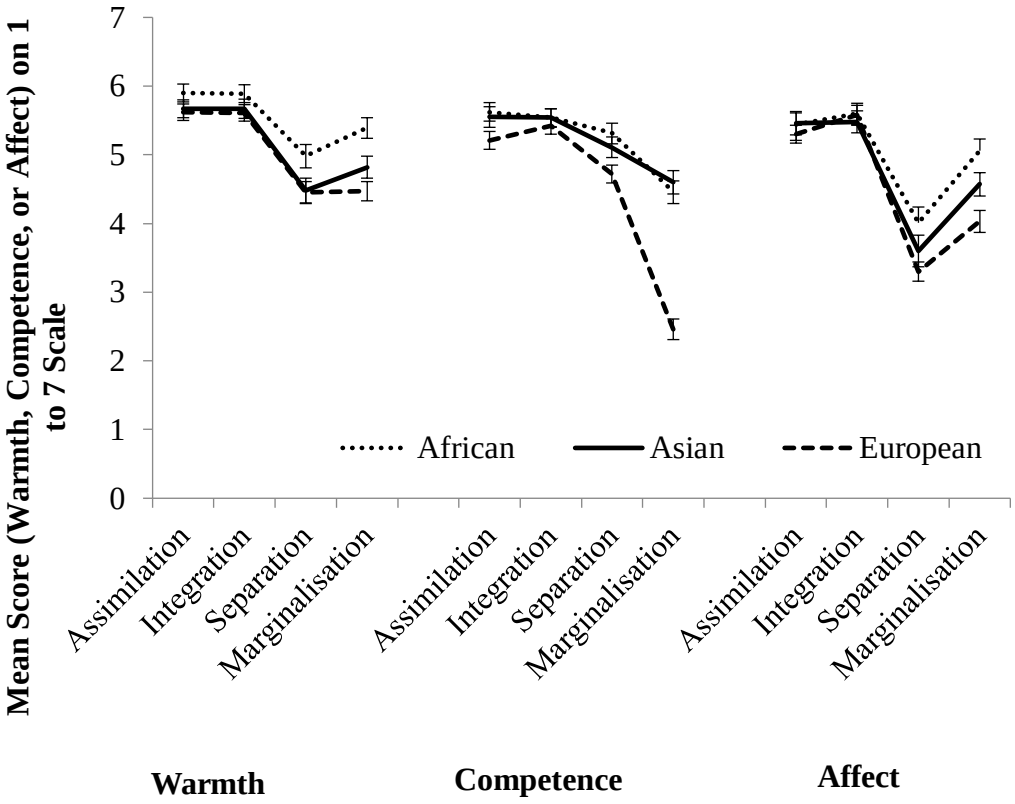

Figure 1. Mean ratings in Study 1 of targets' warmth, competence, and affect towards them when pursuing different acculturation strategies. Error bars are standard errors.

The multivariate result for racial group was also significant but with a small effect size, Pillai's Trace = F (6,230) = 2.76, p = .01, partial η^2 = .07. Follow-up ANOVAs on the separate DVs revealed an effect of group on perceptions of warmth, F (2, 116) = 6.49, p = .002, η^2 = .11, and competence, F (2,116) = 4.90, p = .009, η^2 = .08, as well as how much they were liked, F (2, 116) = 6.37, p = .002, η^2 = .10, with small effect sizes in each case. Pairwise comparisons, again using Bonferroni adjustment for multiple comparisons (adjusted p = .006), revealed that targets of African origin were perceived as significantly warmer, more competent and were liked more than European targets. There were no significant differences in responses between African and Asian targets, or between the European and Asian targets.

The MANOVA also revealed a significant multivariate effect for the interaction of acculturation strategy and group, Pillai's Trace = F (18, 218) = 1.87, p=.02 , partial η^2 = .13. Follow-up ANOVAs found no significant interaction effects for the separate DVs.

To check for potential influence of participants' place of birth, we included birthplace (Australia, or not) as a covariate in the analyses and found no significant effects for acculturation strategy, Pillai's Trace = F (9, 105) = .42, p = .92 or racial group, Pillai's Trace = F (3, 111) = 1.73, p = .16. We also considered testing for effects of the participants' own racial heritage, but as 85% of participants identified with European or British racial heritage, and 9% did not identify at all, there were insufficient participants who indicated a different racial heritage (6%, n = 9) to conduct this analysis.

Discussion

This study investigated the influences of acculturation strategy and racial group on how a host population perceived immigrants. Acculturation strategy was a strong influence on ratings of warmth, competence and affect, while racial group had little or no effect, despite being primed through the use of photographs of the targets. The results are consistent

with previous research of a similar nature (Maisonneuve & Teste, 2007; Van Oudenhoven, et al., 1998) which found that host populations rated immigrant targets more positively or negatively according to their acculturation strategy rather than their racial heritage.

We hypothesised that, as a multicultural society, Australians would respond most positively to immigrants who adopted integration as an acculturation strategy. However, integration and assimilation both prompted more positive responses than separation and marginalisation. This provides mixed evidence regarding support for multiculturalism among the current sample. In line with Berry (1997), the high ratings for integration together with the low ratings for separation illustrate support for multiculturalism. However, targets who assimilated were rated equally positively as those who integrated, and this is at odds with a multicultural view.

The responses indicate that adopting the host culture is interpreted positively, regardless of whether immigrants retain their original culture or not. Cultural distance (how dissimilar cultures are in language, religion, values etc.) could potentially play a part in these responses. If immigrants are similar in their cultural attributes to the host society because they have adopted similar cultural behaviours and values, then cultural distance may appear low. Conversely, if they separate, then cultural distance may appear high. The perception of cultural distance between cultures has been found to be an important factor in acculturation orientations and outcomes (Berry, 1992; Searle & Ward, 1990). While there is some evidence to support that dissimilar racial appearance mitigates acceptance of immigrants by a host population (Lalonde, & Cameron, 1993; Liebkind, & Jasinskaga- Lahti, 2000), it is well established that cultural distance between two groups makes it more difficult for them to adapt to each other (Berry, 2006; Ward & Kennedy, 1993; Ward & Searle, 1991). As acculturation is a process of adaptation suggesting different levels of adoption of the host culture, it is possible that an acculturation strategy used by an immigrant may influence their

perceived cultural distance from the host society. To investigate this further, cultural distance was included as a dependent variable in the next study, with the hypothesis that acculturation strategy will influence perceived cultural distance between the target and the host population.

We expected a main effect of race with the European group (which reflects the majority of the host population and the participants) being rated more positively than Africans and Asians. This was not supported. While there was an effect of race, it was Africans (a racial out-group for most participants) who were rated most positively on all the variables. This is a curious finding, and is contrary to the usual result of discrimination against outgroups. However, this effect size was small, and could be a result of social desirability concerns, with participants wanting to appear not to discriminate against one of Australia's newest minority groups, and so overcompensating in giving high ratings. Given that the sample in Study 1 only represented the city of Sydney, one aim of the second study was to test whether this result would be repeated among a larger and more nationally representative sample, to help generalise the findings.

In Study 1 the different racial groups were labelled by nationality (e.g., Europeans were identified as Dutch, Asian as Korean, African as Sudanese) leaving the possibility that ratings were based on national stereotypes rather than race. We conducted a second study to discover whether similar results would be found with a larger and more representative sample, and to make some methodological refinements. The issues of sample size and representativeness were addressed by recruiting a much larger sample of participants from all over Australia. References to the target's nation of origin and cultural traits such as the language they spoke were removed from the scenarios. This ensured that the photograph depicting racial group was the most salient categorisation option rather than the country of origin. The design was changed to entirely between-subjects, avoiding any possibility that participants might compare strategies.

Study 2

Method

Participants.

A total of 1,123 participants (506 males, 617 females) were recruited Australia-wide via Qualtrics Survey Panel Services. Seventy-two who were not Australian citizens over the age of 18 years were excluded, leaving 1,051 participants (mean age = 54 years, range 18 - 87 years). Twenty nine percent had immigrant parents, while the majority were Australian-born (73%), leaving 27% who were immigrants themselves. This corresponds with the general Australian population, of which 28% are immigrants (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008).

Almost 25% of participants had a university degree, which is close to the national average, with 31% studying for or having attained a university degree (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008). The majority (90%) identified as Caucasian, Anglo, or European. Participants with Asian ancestry made up 6%, and the remaining 4% had ancestry from southern Europe, the Middle East, Africa and India.

Procedure.

The study was presented to participants as an exploration of what the Australian host population believes to be the best behavioural strategy for new immigrants to successfully adapt to life in Australia. The survey was administered on-line, and included demographic questions followed by the scenario and then the dependent measures. Participants were assured of anonymity, and the entire survey took approximately 10 minutes to complete.

Design.

A 4 (acculturation strategy: assimilation, integration, separation, marginalisation) x 3 (racial group: African, Asian, European) between subjects design was used. The dependent variables were warmth, competence, affect, and cultural distance.

Materials and Measures.

Scenarios and Manipulation of Acculturation Strategies.

The Study 1 scenarios were used, but with references to nationality or specific cultural information (i.e., language spoken) removed (see Appendix A). The scenarios included a photograph of the target which was randomly selected from two photographs for each racial group. Pilot testing of the photographs was conducted and based on pilot data (*N* = 22), the photographs were matched on characteristics of perceived attractiveness, warmth, how engaging they were, and age.

Warmth and Competence Scales.

Participants completed the same warmth and competence measures as in Study 1. The same reliability was obtained for both scales (Cronbach's alpha = .96).

Affect.

Participants answered the same questions as in Study 1. Cronbach's alpha was .92.

Cultural Distance.

Participants answered the question: "Culturally, how similar or different do you feel from the person in the story" and rated their response on a 5-point scale (1 "Completely different" to 5 "Very similar"). This measure was adapted from Nesdale and Mak (2003) who asked ethnic minorities to report how similar or different they felt their ethnic background was to the Anglo-Australian culture.

Manipulation Check.

The same manipulation check was conducted as in Study 1.

Results

Four separate 4 (acculturation strategy) x 3 (racial group) between-subjects ANOVAs were conducted for warmth, competence, affect, and cultural distance (see Figure 2 for *M* and *SE* in each condition), as the multivariate analysis assumptions required for MANOVA were not met for all variables. Log10 transformations were required to meet normality assumptions for ANOVA, however, other than small differences in the actual *F* statistic the results using transformed and non-transformed data were the same. We therefore report the untransformed results for ease of interpretation.

Manipulation Check.

We conducted a 4 (acculturation strategy) x 3 (racial group) ANOVA for both manipulation check items. Targets who kept their own culture were perceived as intended, $F(3, 992) = 555.33$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .62$, with mean scores significantly higher for integration ($M = 4.22$, $SD = .76$) and separation ($M = 4.63$, SD = .70) than strategies that do not maintain their original culture (assimilation: $M = 2.06$, $SD = .99$; marginalisation: $M = 2.50$, $SD = .96$), as revealed in post hoc tests with a Bonferroni adjustment of .008. The results for adopting the host culture also indicated that the acculturation scenarios were perceived as intended, $F(3, 992) = 395.05$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .53$, with mean scores for assimilation ($M = 4.25$, $SD = .92$) and integration ($M = 3.21$ $SD = 1.00$) significantly higher than separation ($M = 1.43$, $SD = .88$). There was no significant difference between integration and marginalisation ($M = 3.05$, $SD = .95$).

Warmth.

The first ANOVA tested the effects of acculturation strategy and racial group on perceived warmth. The results showed a main effect of acculturation strategy, $F(3, 984) = 153.85$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .32$. Post hoc tests with a Bonferroni adjustment of .005 revealed that targets who integrated or assimilated were perceived as warmest (with no difference between

these two strategies) and targets who separated were perceived as the least warm. There was no significant effect of racial group, F (2, 984) = 1.61 p = .20, η^2 = .00, nor was there an interaction effect, F (6, 984) = 1.15 p = .33, η^2 = .00. See Figure 2 for means and standard errors.

Competence.

The second ANOVA tested the effects of acculturation strategy and race on perceived competence. The results showed a main effect of acculturation strategy, F (3, 982) = 58.15 p < .001, η^2 = .15. Post hoc tests with Bonferroni adjustment of .005 found significant differences between separation and all the other strategies. Targets who separated had the lowest scores. Those who assimilated or integrated were rated highest, while marginalisation was rated higher than separation but lower than the other two strategies. There was no significant main effect of racial group, F (2, 982) = .57, p = .56, η^2 = .00, nor was there a significant interaction effect, F (6, 982) = .99, p = .43, η^2 =. 00.

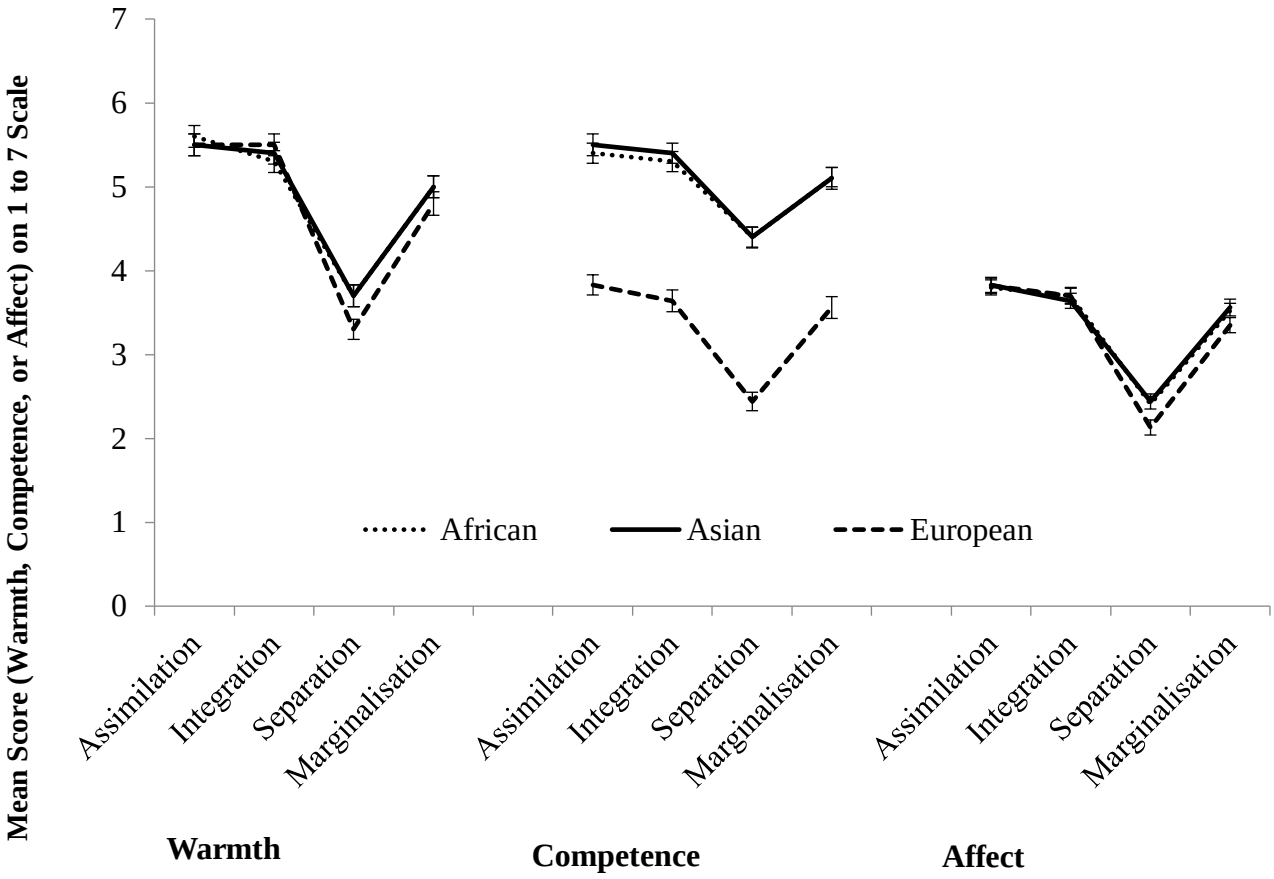

Figure 2. Mean ratings in Study 2 of targets' warmth, competence, and affect towards them when pursuing different acculturation strategies. Error bars are standard errors.

Affect.

The third ANOVA tested the effects of acculturation strategy and race on affect. The results showed a strong main effect of acculturation strategy, F (3, 984) = 171.11, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .34$. Post hoc tests with Bonferroni adjustments of .005 revealed that participants had the most positive affect towards targets who assimilated or integrated. Targets who separated were rated significantly lower for affect than all the other strategies. There was no significant effect of racial group, F (2, 948) = 2.06, $p = .13$, $\eta^2 = .00$, nor was there a significant interaction effect, F (6, 984) = 1.05, $p = .39$, $\eta^2 = .00$.

Cultural Distance.

The final ANOVA tested the effects of acculturation strategy and race on cultural distance (see Figure 3 for *M* and *SE* in each condition). The results showed a main effect of acculturation strategy, F (3, 989) = 97.18, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .23$. Post hoc tests with a Bonferroni adjustment of .005 showed targets who separated were rated significantly more culturally distant than other targets, but there were no significant differences between integration and assimilation, or integration and marginalisation. There was a main effect of race, F (2, 989) = 4.22, $p = .02$, $\eta^2 = .008$, and a significant interaction effect, F (6, 989) = 3.20, $p = .004$, $\eta^2 = .02$. However, post hoc tests with a Bonferroni adjustment of .005 did not reveal any significant differences.

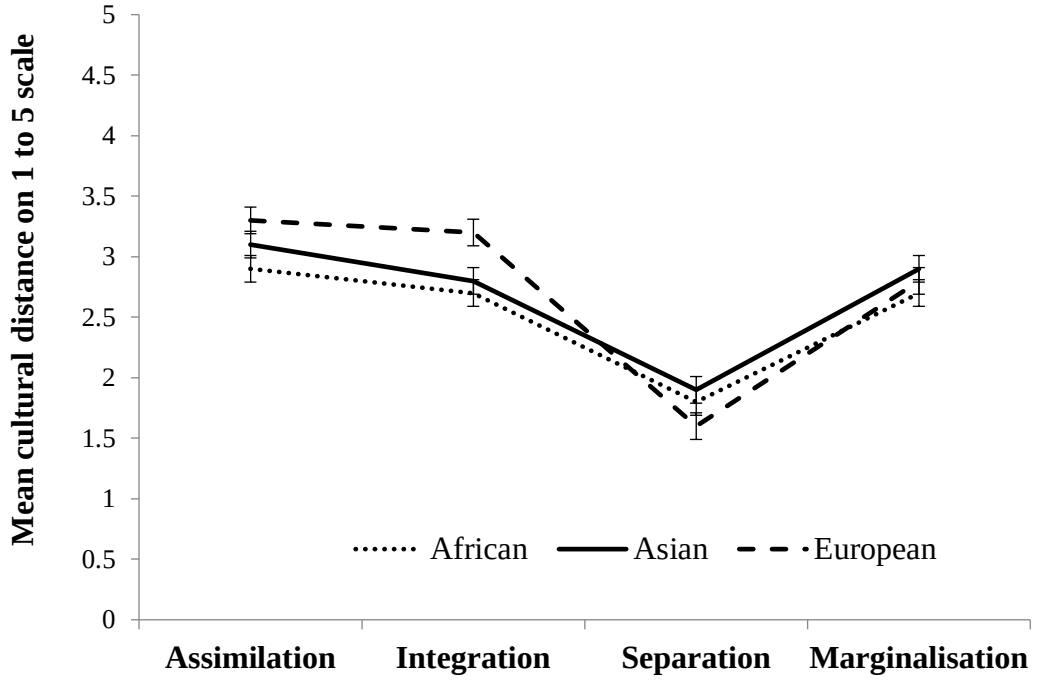

Figure 3. Mean ratings in Study 2 of targets' cultural distance when pursuing different acculturation strategies. Error bars are standard errors.

A correlational analysis was run between cultural distance and the other three dependent variables. This revealed a large correlation between cultural distance and warmth,

r (996) =.58, *p* < .01, cultural distance and affect, *r* (996) =.60, *p* < .01, and a medium correlation between cultural distance and competence, *r* (994) = .46, *p* < .01.

To assess whether the racial heritage of the participants had any effect on how they perceived the targets, we re-ran four 3 x 4 ANCOVAs with racial heritage (coded as (Caucasian, Asian, Middle Eastern, African, Aboriginal or Other) as a covariate. There were small significant effects for warmth, *F (*1, 904) = 4.60, *p* = .03, η^2 = .005 and competence, *F (*1, 901) = 10.52, *p* = .01, η^2 = .01, but affect was not significant. While there was also a significant effect for cultural distance, *F (*1, 906) = 15.31, *p* < .001, η^2 = .02, there was no change to the overall results for any of the variables, that is, acculturation strategy consistently had a large effect while the effect of racial group was very small or non-existent, as per the original ANOVAs. To understand if being born in Australia or not had any effect, four 3 x 4 ANCOVAs were performed, this time with Australian born or not as the covariate, with no significant results on any of the variables.

Discussion

Study 2 aimed to repeat the findings from Study 1 using a larger and more nationally representative sample, amended stimuli, and a between-subjects experimental design. The aim was also to test the effects of acculturation strategy and race on perceptions of cultural distance.

Like Study 1, there was a significant main effect of acculturation strategy on warmth, competence, and affect, and there were no significant effects of racial group on these variables. The only significant main effect of racial group was on cultural distance. However, this effect was small and pairwise comparisons did not find any significant differences between individual groups. The small main effect of racial group in Study 1, where African targets were rated more positively than Europeans, was not repeated. Thus, like Study 1 the results from this second study demonstrated consistently strong effects of

acculturation strategy and very little or no effect of racial group in host perceptions of immigrants.

Cultural distance was included in Study 2 to assess if an immigrant's acculturation strategy influences the hosts' perceptions of how culturally distant they seem. The results demonstrated that acculturation strategy does influence perceptions of cultural distance, with targets who did not adopt the host culture but maintained their own culture (that is, those who chose separation) being perceived as the most culturally distant. Correlational analysis revealed a relationship between cultural distance and the three other variables of warmth, competence and affect. The relationships between cultural distance, acculturation strategy, and ratings of warmth, competence, and affect, raises interesting questions which we will consider below, and suggests directions for future research.

General Discussion

Social perception and how host communities form impressions of and stereotypes about immigrants is a complex process. This paper focused on two important influences: acculturation strategy and racial group. The results of two studies showed consistent effects of acculturation strategy on perceptions of immigrants and very small or no effect at all of racial group, either as a main effect or in interaction with acculturation strategy.

In both studies, immigrants who integrated or assimilated were rated most positively. This supports other similar studies from populations in France (Maisonneuve & Teste, 2007) and the Netherlands (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998), and expands the investigations to an Australian multicultural context. A desire to integrate or assimilate projects an immigrant's positive attitude towards the mainstream culture and the host society, as these two acculturation strategies both involve adopting aspects of the host culture, and as such may indicate positive intent which is the basis of the warmth assessment (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002).

The basis of the competence dimension, when perceiving immigrants, is the capability of a target being able to pursue intent, specifically that which involves gaining power and status within the society (Fiske et al., 2002), and suggests to the perceiver a knowledge of the mainstream culture (e.g., language and social customs). This is reflected in the results of both studies, which consistently show the targets who assimilated or integrated being rated higher on this variable, whereas those who separated were perceived as the least competent.

Migrants who separated were perceived the most negatively on warmth, competence and affect. Furthermore, migrants who separated were perceived as the most culturally distant. There were strong correlations between warmth, competence, affect and cultural distance, which suggest a link between cultural distance and social perception. If the targets chose integration or assimilation, they were rated as less culturally distant to the participants. Both of these acculturation strategies see migrants adopting the host culture to some degree and this could be perceived by the mainstream society as a choice to become culturally similar. This is potentially rewarding to the host population as it confirms their values, beliefs and way of living as correct (Byrne & Clore, 1970; Baron & Byrne, 1997). That being said, even targets who chose marginalisation were perceived as more culturally similar than the ones who separated. This indicates that not maintaining one's culture of origin may play a part.

The targets who separated were consistently perceived negatively on all the dependent variables, and they were perceived as being the most culturally distant from the host participants. In fact the response to separation was so strong, that many of the participants voluntarily added comments to support their view, such as: "I'm not sure why this man is in Australia… Maybe he would be happier if he went back to Korea." (Participant #59, Study 1); "Send him and his family back to Holland." (Participant #116, Study 1); "…its quite obvious he doesn't want to adapt to the Australian way of life, so my friend…get back to

your own country, not wanted here!" (Participant #123, Study 2). The results demonstrate participants perceived migrants in a negative light when they maintain their own culture without adopting the host culture.

There is evidence to suggest that when acculturation strategies indicate immigrants are willing to adopt the host culture are well received it is reflecting a preference, on behalf of the host population, for maintaining the national identity status quo (Verkuyten, 2009). Integration is the preferred acculturation strategy of multicultural societies, but it can only be truly accepted in societies where there is a sense of identification with the larger society by all groups (Kalin & Berry, 1995). It has been argued that majority members infer national identification of immigrants when they adopt the host culture (Roblain, Azzi, & Licata, 2016). The scenarios used in the present research mentioned the target's attitude to formal identification with the larger national group via citizenship, and it seems the participants found this to be an important aspect of integration. While 100% of the unsolicited comments about the targets who chose integration were positive and encouraging, over 45% of these comments also revealed an expressed desire that the targets should become Australian and take citizenship. This was across all three racial groups. Examples of these comments are: "He should become an Aussie" (participant #79 African Study 2); "He may find Australians accept him better if he accepted Australian citizenship" (participant #65 African Study 2); "He should eventually obtain Australian citizenship otherwise he is on the right track" (participant # 3 Asian Study 2); "Why come to Australia if you do not want to become an Australian citizen. After 2 years they do not want to take Australian citizenship send them back home" (participant #148 European Study 2).

There were no significant differences between integration and assimilation. This is despite the fact that they are very different acculturation strategies that come with different inferences about the host societies that prefer either one or the other. As previously

mentioned, nations new to immigration or not used to a variety of minority cultural groups tend to prefer assimilation, whereas "settler societies" such as Australia and Canada tend to prefer integration (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). However, participants in the two present studies positively assessed immigrants on both of these strategies, with no differentiation between the two.

Interestingly, on further investigation into the comments made by participants about migrants who chose assimilation, we found that 38% were lamenting the fact the targets were not maintaining their culture, suggesting further support for integration. For example: "Jae should adapt to fit into Aussie society (which he has) but should also maintain his Korean culture (his heritage)...(participant #50 Study 1); "I think that it's sad to read that Anai thinks that to be a part of Australian culture that he has to ignore his African culture" (participant #141 Study 2). This is an area that could sustain further research, particularly in the Australian context, as further quantitative exploration may reveal nuances of attitudes to explain this equal preference for both assimilation and integration as acculturation strategies.

The results for racial group were not as expected. The Europeans, which is the racial ingroup for the Australian host majority, were not rated more positively than the other groups. This suggests no ingroup bias on the basis of race and also that race did not form a basis for negative responses. However, there is always the chance that participants were influenced by a sense of social desirability, not to be seen as biased towards their own racial group, or prejudiced against a racial minority outgroup. The current research used explicit, self-report measures rather than implicit measures, so participants were aware of the responses they were giving.

That being said, techniques were employed to avoid biased responding. Racial group was a between-subjects variable in both of the studies, meaning that participants were not aware there could be comparisons in responses to different racial groups. Furthermore, while

race was made salient as a category through visual priming with photographs, the scenarios did not draw overt attention to racial groups.

Although determining the cultural diversity ideology of the host population was not the focus of this research, there is a temptation to conclude from the results that colourblindness, not multiculturalism is the functioning ideology in Australia. Adopting the host culture is the common element in the presentation of integration and assimilation in this paper, and these are the two acculturation strategies that received the most positive assessment. An aspect of the colourblind ideology argues that equality among groups is best gained by downplaying group distinctions (Rattan & Ambady, 2013), rather than affirming group differences. This refers to cultural distinctions as well as racial group distinctions, and our results did not demonstrate any difference in perceptions between racial groups. Furthermore, it may help explain why the results did not demonstrate any ingroup bias, as research has found participants who endorse colourblindness are most concerned with showing others that they are unbiased (Apfelbaum, Norton, & Sommers, 2012). An interesting avenue for further research might be investigating colourblindness as a functioning ideology in Australia, with a discussion around what this means for multiculturalism in this pluralistic nation.

Conclusion

While race is an obvious and immediate visual category upon which we perceive and assess others, in modern immigrant nations it no longer necessarily imparts information about a person's nationality or culture. Our results showed that acculturation strategy, not race, forms a strong basis for positive or negative perceptions of immigrants. This bodes well for an increasingly multi-racial society such as Australia. However, the nature of a multi-cultural society seems more complicated. The results indicated a desire, on behalf of the host population, for immigrants to adopt the host culture, becoming culturally similar. True

multiculturalism requires acceptance of cultural diversity and tolerance that some immigrants may prefer not to adopt the mainstream culture, and some may prefer to separate. The strong negative reaction to separation across all three racial groups of targets in both of our studies indicates that racial differences have less impact than cultural differences. This suggestion is also supported by the strong positive reaction across all three groups, to assimilation. However, there was an equally strong positive reaction to integration. This is a good indication that, despite recent turmoil regarding asylum seekers and reports of discrimination towards immigrant minorities, multiculturalism is a functioning diversity ideology in Australia, albeit with room to mature.

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Declaration of Interest

None.

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Appendix A

Scenarios used in Study 1 and Study 2

Study 1 Scenarios:

Below are the scenarios from Study 1. All of the scenarios included the name and country of origin of the target. The examples given below are for the Sudanese/African group. Please see Appendix B for the 12 photos (depicting all three groups) that were randomly allocated and rotated with all four acculturation strategies.

Assimilation

Anai Nimeiri from Sudan in Africa

Anai is originally from Sudan. He moved to Australia around ten years ago, and at that time was apprehensive. He was wondering what life would be like here. He knew Australia and Sudan were quite different.

As it turns out Anai has a good job with the local council. He has a lot of Australian friends, and he prefers that they call him Andrew. He gets on well with is colleagues at work, and sees them regularly outside of work at weekend football matches and at social barbeques. Recently, Anai (Andrew) applied for Australian citizenship. When asked his views on maintaining his Sudanese language, culture, and his children marrying in Australia, he said:

"I've never really wanted to hang on to the Sudanese culture. I think you have to become part of the culture you live in. I have children and I don't want to hinder them in their development here. In Australia we should speak English and I do not care if my children do no speak a work of the Sudanic languages, or if my daughter grew up to marry an Australian, as long as he was a good person. I've felt Australian for a long time. I do not feel the need to maintain ties with Sudan".

(Note: The first paragraph was the same for all four scenarios, with differences indicating the strategy beginning in the second paragraph):

Integration

Umar has a good job and has made friends at work, and he says he enjoys introducing his Australian colleagues to his favourite traditional Sudanese food. Umar has also developed many friendships within the Sudanese community in his local area. When asked his views on maintaining his Sudanese language, culture and his children marrying in Australia, he said:

"My wife and I are fairly traditional and we stick to all Sudanese customs, but we are not isolated from our environment. I am very happy for my children to speak English, but I hope they retain their Sudanese language. It enhances their knowledge about their heritage. I would like my son to learn the family traditions of Sudanese culture, but he has also taken an interest in the game of rugby league, which is fine. It would please me very much if my daughter grew up to marry a Sudanese man, but I would also understand if she chose to marry an Australian. I have recently been thinking of taking Australian citizenship, but at the moment I do not really see the advantage of doing so. I am Sudanese, in spite of the fact that I like living in Australia and I like the Australian people."

Separation

Sadiq has a good job with a government department. However, apart from his work, he has almost no contact with other Australian people. His social life is built around the Sudanese community in his local area. When asked about maintaining his Sudanese culture, language and about his children marrying in Australia, he said:

"My wife and I are very traditional and we stick to all Sudanese customs. This is very important to us. We have sent our children to school back in Sudan, so they know what it is to be Sudanese. Otherwise, they might become too Australian. I want them to be able to have a good future in their own country. I hope when my daughter grows up, she will want to

marry a Sudanese man. It is very important culturally, that she does. If I want to socialize with friends I prefer to go to the Sudanese Club. I am always welcome there and the people have similar values to mine. I often find that Australians are very forthright and I find it difficult to relate to Australians about anything. I do not want to become Australian. It is important that my family and I maintain Sudanese citizenship."

Marginalisation

Dahab has had a few jobs and is currently working. He has contact with Australian people at his job, but he rarely socializes with them. He does not live in an area with many other Sudanese people either, nor doe he seek out other Sudanese immigrants. He prefers to keep to himself. He seems to have abandoned the Sudanese culture but does not feel entirely at home with the Australian culture. When asked about his views on maintaining his Sudanese culture, language and his children marrying in Australia, he said:

"I've never wanted to adhere to Sudanese culture. Why would you want to do that when you're living here? But I don't think the Australian culture is right for me either, even though I try to adjust and fit in, because I have children, so it's the right thing to do for them. I do not care if my children never speak any of the Sudanic languages and only speak English, and it doesn't bother me if my daughter grows up to marry an Australian. But Australian people are much more outspoken than I am used to -I find it hard to find common ground with Australians generally. On the other hand, I don't want to pursue Sudanese cultural interests. It seems silly to waste my time on such things now. I might become an Australian citizen. I haven't given it much thought."

Study 2 Scenarios:

Below are the scenarios from Study 2. They differ from the scenarios in Study 1 in that they do not specify country of origin or language. The examples given are for the European group. Please see Appendix B for the six photos (depicting all three groups) that were randomly allocated and rotated with all four acculturation strategies.

Integration:

Dereck has lived here in Australia for about five years. He has a good job and has made friends at work, and he says he enjoys introducing his Australian colleagues to his favourite traditional food. Dereck has also developed many friendships with people from his original culture in his local area. When asked his views on maintaining his original language, culture and descendency, he said:

"My wife and I are fairly traditional and we stick to our traditional customs, but we are not isolated from our environment. I am very happy for my children to speak English, but I hope they retain their original language too. It enhances their knowledge about their heritage. I would like my son to learn the family traditions of our original culture, but he has also taken an interest in the game of rugby league, which is fine. It would please me very much if my daughter grew up to marry a man who was from our culture, but I would also understand if she chose to marry an Australian. I have recently been thinking of taking Australian citizenship, but at the moment I do not really see the advantages of doing so. I want to retain my original citizenship, in spite of the fact that I like living in Australia and I like the Australian people."

Assimilation

Dereck moved to Australia around five years ago, and he now has a job with a local business. He has a lot of Australian friends and gets on well with his colleagues at work. He sees them regularly outside of work at weekend football matches and at social barbeques.

Recently, Kurt applied for Australian citizenship. When asked about maintaining his culture, language and descendency, he said:

"I've never really wanted to hang on to my original culture. I think you have to become part of the culture you live in. I have children and I don't want to hinder them in their development here. In Australia we should speak English and I do not care if my children do not speak a word of our original language, or if my daughter grew up to marry an Australian man, as long as he was a good person. I've felt Australian for a long time. I do not feel the need to maintain ties with my original country."

Separation

Dereck has lived in Australia for almost five years and he has a steady job. However, apart from his work, he has almost no contact with other Australian people. His social life is built around his own cultural community in his local area. When asked about maintaining his culture, language and descendency, he said:

"My wife and I are very traditional and we stick to our own customs. This is very important to us. We have sent our children to good schools back in our original country, so they know what it is to be part of our culture. Otherwise, they might become too Australian. It is essential that they retain our original language. I want them to be able to have a good future in their own country. I hope when my daughter grows up, she will want to marry a man from our country of origin. It is very important culturally, that she does. If I want to socialize with friends I prefer to go to my local cultural club. I am always welcome there and the people have similar values to mine. I often find that Australians are very forthright and I find it difficult to relate to Australians about anything. I do not want to become Australian."

Marginalisation

Dereck has lived in Australia for about five years. He has had a few jobs and is currently working. He has contact with Australian people at his job, but he rarely socializes

with them. He does not live in an area with many other people of his original culture, nor does he seek out other immigrants. He prefers to keep to himself. He seems to have abandoned his original culture but does not feel entirely at home with the Australian culture. When asked about his views on maintaining his culture, language and descendency he said:

"I've never wanted to adhere to my original culture. Why would you want to do that when you're living here? But I don't think the Australian culture is right for me either, even though I try to adjust and fit in, because I have children, so it's the right thing to do for them. I do not care if my children never speak the language of my original culture and only speak English, and it doesn't bother me if my daughter grows up to marry an Australian. But Australian people are much more outspoken than I am used to -I find it hard to find common ground with Australians generally. On the other hand, I don't want to pursue aspects of my original culture. It seems silly to waste my time on such things now. I might become an Australian citizen. I haven't given it much thought."

Appendix B

Photographs used in Study 1 and Study 2

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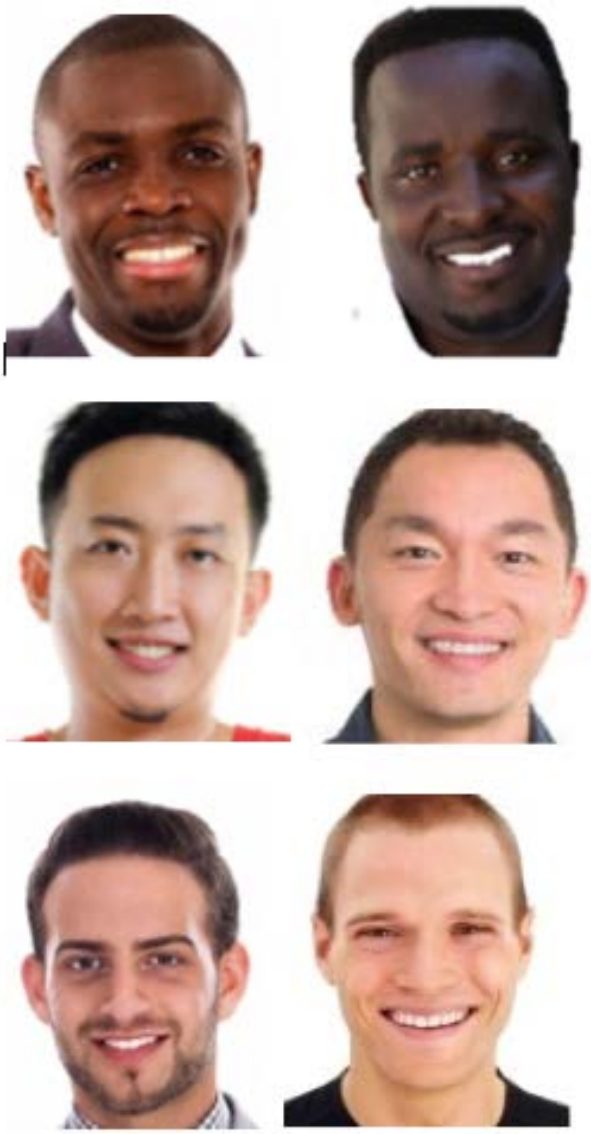
Photographs used in Study 1



Photographs used in Study 2

STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

(To appear at the end of each thesis chapter submitted as an article/paper)

We, the PhD candidate and the candidate's Principal Supervisor, certify that the following text, figures and diagrams are the candidate's original work.

Type of work	**Page number/s**
All, aside from contributions by other authors listed in the form below	N/A

Name of Candidate: Yvette Alcott

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_____ 31/10/19

Candidate Date

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31/10/19

Principal Supervisor Date

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STATEMENT OF AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTION

(To appear at the end of each thesis chapter submitted as an article/paper)

We, the PhD Candidate and the candidate's Principal Supervisor, certify that all co-authors hae consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate's contribution as indicated in the *Statement of Originality.*

	Author's Name (please print clearly)	**% of contribution**
Candidate	Yvette Alcott	75%
Other Authors	Dr. Susan Watt – editorial advice throughout, methodological advice, statistical advice, edits to all figures, and assistance with research design.	25%

Name of Candidate: Yvette Alcott

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Research Progression

Studies 1 and 2 in Chapter 2 found an overall significant and strong relationship between the acculturation strategy used by immigrants and the subsequent effect on how they were perceived by the host population in Australia. No effect of racial appearance was found in either study, and these studies were focused on what could be considered recent immigrants. These findings reveal valuable information on how participants in an immigrant based nation perceive members of minority groups who are first generation immigrants, and they shed light on how this particular multicultural society functions.

However, what has not been addressed is how deeper generation immigrants are perceived in Australia. Or how Australians who look like they might be from, for example, Asia (because of their racial appearance) but have been born and raised in Australia are assessed. The question is, how do the national majority perceive racial minorities that have been born and raised in Australia? Multicultural nations encourage ethnic minorities to retain and celebrate their cultural differences, but how are racial minorities perceived that identify with the majority culture? This is the aim of the following papers in this program of research.

The next chapter starts this process by investigating current Australian stereotypes. A study was created to investigate how Australians perceive themselves, how they *self-stereotype.* This was also done with a view to understanding how stereotypes operate in the process of impression formation when national majority group members perceive racial minority groups. The subsequent studies then used these findings to see if participants would apply Australian stereotypes to Australians with an Asian racial appearance, or if they would apply Asian stereotypes to these individuals.

Chapter 3

How do Australians view Australians?

Stability and Change in the Australian National self-stereotype.

Alcott, Y.D., & Watt, Susan.E. (2019). How do Australians view Australians? Stability and Change in the Australian National self-stereotype.

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Yvette Alcott

Susan Watt

Abstract

How a nation perceives itself can influence the behaviour of the population and underpin social norms. We investigated how Australians currently view their national character. Australian participants (N = 155) were reminded of their national identity to increase salience of their group membership, then a list of adjectives was administered using classic Katz-Braly methodology. The adjectives nominated to describe Australians and the degree of uniformity were compared with previous studies on Australian self-stereotypes to examine any changes over the last two or more decades. The results revealed that some traits have remained stable and have continued to be nominated by a high percentage of participants. A comparison of uniformity in stereotype consensus with past studies revealed that a trend of declining uniformity has abated. The results reflect the durable nature of some long-held Australian self-stereotypes despite growing changes in this multicultural and multi-racial society and reasons for this are discussed.

Key words: Australian stereotypes; Katz-Braly, national identity; stereotype consensus

How do Australians view Australians? Stability and change in the Australian national self-stereotype.

National stereotypes are qualities, whether accurate or not, perceived to be associated with a nation's people (Schneider, 2005) and national *self-stereotypes* are the descriptors that national ingroup members use to describe the character of their own national group. By the time an individual becomes an adult within a given nation, they are usually aware of the stereotypic qualities, both positive and negative that are assigned to one's national character (Smith, Giannini, Helkama, & Stumpf, 2005). National self-stereotypes are to a large degree collectively determined, and an individual has more choice over whether to identify with the nationality than they do over the content of the stereotype (Smith et al., 2005). Self-stereotypes are closely connected to our sense of social identity which is important to our sense of belonging to any social group (Haslam, Turner, Oakes, Reynolds, Eggins, Nolan, & Tweedie, 1998). An essential feature of stereotypes is that they are consensual, and there is evidence that group consensus about a stereotype is enhanced by making individuals' social identity salient (Haslam, Turner, Oakes, McGarty, & Reynolds, 1997; Haslam, Oakes, Reynolds, & Turner, 1999), and in the case of national self-stereotypes, this is one's national identity. Understanding how citizens of a nation identify themselves is important because such identities influence behaviours and group norms, de-individuation and collective behaviour (Hogg, 2016). Important factors in defining national identity encompass factual and observable concepts such as place of birth, place of residence, and common languages as well as more subjective feelings of membership and shared beliefs (Jones & Smith, 2001) within a nation about its people and values, and the symbols and practices that represent them (Phillips, 1998).

Australia's National Identity and Self-stereotypes

Australia lends itself as a useful context in which to review national self-stereotypes. It has a large immigrant based population with between 100,000 to almost 300,000 immigrants arriving in any one year since 2000 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016b). Currently, 28.5% of the population was born overseas, and there has been a gradual shift in the countries from where immigrants come. For example, in 1954 almost half of the immigrants to Australia came from the United Kingdom, and China did not rate in the top ten sending countries. In fact no Asian countries were in the top ten sending nations at that time. By 2001 Vietnam, China, the Philippines and India had appeared on the list of the top ten sending countries. In 2016, the United Kingdom was still the top sending nation, but with a reduction from almost half the total of all immigrants, to 18%. Whereas China was the third highest sending country, just behind New Zealand, making up more than 8% of the overseas-born population at that time (Parliament of Australia, 2018). Furthermore, the top ten list for 2016 also included other Asian nations such as Malaysia and Sri Lanka.

Australia has had significant changes politically and socially over the course of its history. From an initial Anglo-Celtic settlement, through immigration policies such as the 'White Australia Policy' and 'Populate or Perish' which were implemented to populate the country with people who were from British or European ancestry. However, the introduction of multiculturalism in the 1970s has seen Australia incrementally become more multicultural and more multi-racial. It has evolved into a nation of people from over 190 different countries and over 300 different ancestries (ABS, 2016b). Such changes in the composition of the population could be expected to change how Australia, as a nation of such diversity, now perceives its national character.

Australians have been described in many ways, but if a review of the literature on Australian identity is any indication, then Australians can be described as 'larrikins';

'battlers'; 'hardworking'; 'happy-go-lucky' and 'sports-lovers' (Phillips & Smith, 2000), with values such as egalitarianism and honesty underlying popular phrases such as 'fair dinkum' and 'fair go, mate' (Horne, 1964). These descriptions go back to early nationalist ideas of what it was to be Australian (Fiske, Hodge, & Turner, 1987) and traditional values have far outweighed more modern, political ideals in recent studies of Australian identity (Phillips & Smith, 2000). Australians have consistently been found to be very proud of their sporting achievements (McAllister, 1997), and particular clubs and organisations, such as the Flying Doctors, Surf Lifesavers, Surf Rescue, Country Women's Association; football and racing organisations have been nominated as typically Australian for two reasons: they were associated with generosity of spirit and a desire to help others, and they evoked images of Australian icons such as the surf lifesaver, the pioneer and the sports team (Phillips & Smith, 2000). In fact, the people, places, values, events and activities that participants in the Phillips and Smith (2000) study nominated as Australian were consistent with old, traditional and past-oriented understandings of Australia.

Various changes in the Australian social, political, and civic landscape have prompted studies investigating how the Australian identity has been influenced or changed by multiculturalism and political controversy (Chant, Knight, Smith, & Smith, 1989; Emmison & Western, 1990; Jones, 1997; McAllister, 1997; Phillips, 1996; Ray, 1981). It seems there has been some expansion of the traditional view of the Australian national personality from one of less homogeneity into one that is more pluralistic (Purdie & Wilss, 2007), perhaps due to multiculturalism.

Stereotype Stability and Stereotype Change

Stereotypes have been described as both stable and resistant to change over time (Lippman, 1922; Lueptow, Garovich-Szabo, & Lueptow, 2001), as well as unstable and influenced by the political and social climate (Haslam, Oakes, Reynold, and Mein, 1999).

The research on Australian identity suggests that Australian self-stereotypes may have remained similar. However, other research provides evidence that stereotype consensus and the degree of uniformity on Australian self-stereotypes has reduced over time (Haslam et al., 1999a).

At times, consensus has been an issue in the stereotype literature, (Condor, 1990; Gardner, 1993; Haslam et al.,1997) and there have been large differences in the degree of acceptable stereotype consensus. For example, some studies which have gone through the process of identifying self-stereotypes have included all traits that were nominated by more than one participant (Madon,1997). Other studies have included all traits that were nominated by over 5% of participants (Leeson, 2006) while others have only included traits that were nominated by at least 15% of participants (Hraba, Hagendoorn & Hagendoorn, 1989), or even 30% of participants (Haslam et al., 1999b). Including almost all of the attributes allows for a broad range of personal individual beliefs about one's national character and allows for the possibility that there are diverse sets of stereotypes that are endorsed by large subsets of a given population (Leeson, 2006). These traits would not be included if a cut off point for consensus was set at a higher point. However, as has been pointed out, an essential feature of stereotypes is that they are agreed upon by groups of people and are not just individual opinions. For this reason, it is not possible to consider stereotypes without assuming there is a degree of consensus (Haslam et al., 1999b). What that degree of consensus is, is a matter for further investigation.

Studies conducted to investigate the Australian self-stereotype, particularly during decades of political and social change have used a variety of methods. However measures of consensus were not always included. To be able to compare with other social psychological research in this area, the current research focused on a set of studies which have all used the

same methodology, the Katz-Braly checklist. An advantage of the Katz-Braly method is that it measures 'degree of agreement' to compare the uniformity of consensus across studies.

The Katz-Braly Checklist Method

The checklist method was originally created by Katz and Braly (1933) to investigate what stereotypes people allocate to various national, racial and cultural groups. It was created primarily from an American point of view about national or ethnic groups that were either found in America or were pertinent to American society at the time, for example, African Americans, Jews, Germans, Italians, Irish. American university students were given a list of nationalities and ethnic groups and a list of 84 personality traits. They were asked to select the traits they thought applied to each ethnic or national group and were permitted to add further traits if they found the list inadequate. They then picked five traits which they thought were most typical of each group. Once these five traits were selected, a 'degree of agreement' or uniformity of stereotype allocation was used to measure the level of consensus between participants. In this way, the topic of stereotype consensus was directly investigated by Katz and Braly, and the checklist method was well designed to elicit group-based responses (Haslam et al., 1997).

While the Katz-Braly checklist was explicitly developed as a tool for exploring consensual beliefs about groups, it has been subject to criticism. Brigham (1971) suggested that it shed no light on whether the subject believed a trait is typical of a group. Others have suggested that it is a weak method that may artificially force stereotyping (Eysenck & Crown, 1948) and that its "striking inadequacy …is that it does not provide a measure of individual stereotyping" (McCauley, Stitt, and Segal, 1980, p.197). Further criticism suggests that it obstructs the analysis of psychological processes, treating attributes as if they mean the same thing to all participants (Brigham, 1971; McCauley & Stitt, 1978). However, in contradiction to the critics of the checklist method, Haslam et al. (1997) argue that "stereotypes are worth

investigating only to the extent that they are held by groups and that many of the *group* origins and effects of stereotypes can only be guessed at without a group-based measure which taps and quantifies their *shared* nature" (p. 210). The one thing that is an essential property of a stereotype is its group consensus, and it is not possible to consider stereotypes without the knowledge that they are shared to some extent by individuals (Stangor & Lange, 1994).

Investigating Australian Self-Stereotypes Over Time.

Haslam et al. (1999a) investigated change in Australian self-stereotypes and their consensus over five-years. Their goal was to understand the effects of new political and social issues around the "race debate" on self-stereotype consensus of the national ingroup. They had the opportunity to compare results over time because details of Australian students' self-stereotypes using the Katz Braly checklist had been collected from previous studies conducted between 1992 and 1996. They predicted that increasing division in Australian society would impact on participants' self- stereotypes as Australians. More specifically, they predicted internal conflict would reduce consensus in stereotypes of the national ingroup, and reduce the overall favourableness of the ingroup representation.

Haslam et al. (1992a) compared the levels of stereotype uniformity across their studies. Consistent with predictions, they found that self-stereotypes of Australians were less uniform in 1997 than in any of the previous four years. However, even though the level of uniformity varied, some traits were consistently selected across all the studies. These traits were: sportsmanlike, straightforward, pleasure-loving, and happy-go-lucky. However, the studies used in the analysis had very small samples (range: 16 to 46 participants), and all were university student samples. Furthermore, the items in the inventory of the Katz-Braly checklist are over 80 years old and could be out of date as contemporary adjectives.

A study conducted almost ten years later (Leeson, 2006) addressed the issue of potentially outdated adjectives. Leeson created a new checklist, using the Katz-Braly methodology (see Katz & Braly, 1933). In a free-response questionnaire, he asked 67 undergraduate participants to suggest any attribute which they believed to be typical of the average Australian. They generated a total of 155 attributes. After assessing semantic similarity and evaluating items for inter-rater reliability, 27 attributes were included in the final list. The results showed some changes in the adjectives that Australian participants used to describe themselves, although many of them could be construed as reflecting similar meaning as the original items from the Katz-Braly list. For example, 'sports-oriented' could be considered an update on 'sportsmanlike'; 'carefree' could be an update on 'happy-go-lucky'; and 'fun-loving' a less formal version of 'pleasure-loving'. Leeson's list was created by Australians about themselves, and few negative adjectives appeared on the list. This is consistent with self-stereotypes generally being positive as people identify with the positive aspects of their national character rather than the negative traits, and more readily attribute positive traits to their nation (Smith et al., 2005; Tajfel, 1974). The Katz-Braly checklist was initially created to investigate the stereotypes people of one nation use to describe the character of other nations (hetero-stereotypes) and included many negative traits. It should also be noted that the participants who created Leeson's checklist were undergraduate university students who were predominantly female (72%), and over 80% were between 19 and 29 years old. The sample was perhaps too small and restricted for generalisation. Furthermore, the final list included items that were nominated by as few as 5.7% of the participants. Nevertheless, this checklist provides some information on contemporary language used in Australian self-stereotypes.

The Current Study

Drawing on the results of the research described above and taking into account that it is more than a decade since Leeson's work, and more than two decades since the Haslam et al. studies, the goal of the current research was to understand how Australians currently view themselves in terms of which traits they use to describe themselves, and the consensus on these traits. The aim was to update the Australian auto-stereotype using the Katz-Braly method. This update is important because, since previous studies were conducted, Australia has had various political and social changes that may affect how nationals see themselves and their national character. For example, it has had a referendum about becoming a republic (1999), social unrest and clashes based on race and ethnicity have manifested (Cronulla riots in 2005), and over the last two decades multiculturalism has become more functionally embedded into mainstream society and its institutions than ever before. The consistent increase in changes to Australia's immigrant base may also impact the nation's self-stereotype.

The Haslam et al. studies (1999a) demonstrated strong support for social group identification as a factor in consensus. Therefore, to make their national group membership salient, we reminded participants of their Australian citizenship. We then measured how favourably they felt about their identity as Australian, before asking them to assign traits to Australians as a people. We used Leeson's (2006) Australian-focused list of traits and administered the inventory in the Katz-Braly checklist method. We further investigated whether the decreasing degree of uniformity of Australia self-stereotypes observed by Haslam et al. (1999a) has continued. Finally, we broadened the sample from university students to general population Australians, with a balanced gender ratio and broader age range than in previous studies.

Method

Participants

One hundred and fifty-seven Australian citizens, over 18 years of age, *M* = 46 years, range 18- 81 years, were recruited using an online panel. Two participants did not complete the survey and were excluded from analysis. The majority (76%) were born in Australia. The remaining 24% who were not born in Australia had lived in Australia an average of 27.9 years. Forty-nine percent were male, 51% female. The demographics of this sample were representative of the broader Australian population, with gender parity and approximately 25% born overseas (ABS, 2016a).

Measures and Materials

Group Identity Measure.

To make national identity salient, participants were reminded that they had been asked about being an Australian citizen (in the demographic questions) and that we all belong to various groups. They were told that we were interested to understand how they identify with, and how much they relate to, belonging to the group "Australian". They were asked "Do you identify as being Australian" (yes/no). Then they were asked to complete Cameron's (2004) measure of social identity. This measure consisted of five statements, asking participants to indicate how they felt about belonging to the group "Australian" on a scale of 1 – strongly disagree to 5 – strongly agree, ("I identify with this group"; "I am glad to belong to this group"; "I do not consider this group to be important" – reverse scored; "It is important for me to belong to this group"; "I feel strong ties to this group"). Cronbach's Alpha for this scale was .77.

Checklist.

Participants were then given the modified Katz-Braly checklist, where the items were based on Lesson's (2006) contemporary adjectives.[1] The instructions were similar to Leeson's, but we were not generating a new set of attributes. To assist with consensus, we modified the instructions to ensure participants were aware that these were attributes nominated previously by fellow Australians:

Australians differ from each other in many ways. However, underlying these differences are some key similarities. In 2006, a sample of Australian people nominated the following 27 adjectives to describe the 'typical Australian'. They are presented below in alphabetical order. We ask you to check the square beside the words that you think best describe the 'typical Australian'. Check as many as you feel applicable.

This was followed by an expandable blank space in which the participants could add more words if they felt they were necessary to describe the 'typical Australian'. Finally, as per the Katz-Braly methodology, they were asked to review their list of words and choose the top five words which they felt best described the 'typical Australian'.

Comparing items nominated as stereotypes with previous studies.

In creating the new checklist of Australian self-stereotypes, Leeson (2006) included traits that were nominated by just five percent of participants to be sensitive to diversity of opinion in creating the new list. When creating their original checklist, Katz and Braly did not mention any cut off percentage rate when they asked 25 university students to list specific traits for selected "racial and national groups" (Katz & Braly, 1933, p. 284). We were not creating a new checklist but rather administered Leeson's more modern and Australian focused items in the Katz-Braly method to discover current self-stereotypes. In light of the variation in the degree of uniformity of checklist-nominated traits from past studies, we

followed the example of Haslam et al. (1999a) and only included the items that were nominated by over 30% of participants.

Comparing degree of uniformity with previous studies.

To assess changes in the degree of agreement of Australians assigning traits to their national group, we conducted the U_{max} / U calculation (Haslam et al., 1999a, p. 270). This finds the least number of traits which have to be included to find 50% of the 755 possible allocations that were made by the 155 participants in the current study (i.e., 387.5 allocations). As per the Katz Braly process, each participant selected their top 5 preferred traits (therefore, 155 x 5 = 755 / 2 = 387.5). If there were perfect agreement, 2.5 traits would have received 50% of the allocations. Perfect disagreement or chance would mean that 13.5 (half of the 27 checklist traits) would be necessary to have half the allocations. This gives us the U_{max}, or the maximum degree of uniformity in the calculation. A further step, dividing U_{max} by the minimum number of traits necessary to include 50% of the trait selections that were actually made by participants (U) means a higher score is indicative of greater uniformity.

Procedure

The study was presented as being about how Australians perceive themselves as Australians and how they assign attributes as typically Australian. Participants completed a brief demographic section asking their gender and their age, if they were an Australian citizen, if they were born in Australia, and if not how many years they have lived in Australia. They then completed the other measures. It was delivered as an anonymous online survey, using online panels.

Results

Measuring Group Identity

Three participants responded "no" to the question "Do you identify as being Australian?" and were not included in the group identity analysis. For the group identity measure, scores had a range of 9-25, with $M = 21.8$, $SD = 3.6$. Seventy-one percent of participants scored 21 and over, demonstrating that the participants had a strong positive Australian group identity.

The Stereotype Checklist

As can be seen from Table 1, a large proportion of participants (78.3%) viewed Australians as friendly. Other items that received a high proportion of endorsement (over 60%) were: a good sense of humour (74.5%), down to earth (71.3%); out-door loving (67.5%), laid back (66.9%), fun loving (63.7%), and sports-oriented (61.1.%).

Table 1.
Stereotype Checklist Items, The Frequency (N) and the Percentage of Participants Who Nominated Each Item.

Stereotype Item	*N*	% of Participants †
Friendly	123	78.3
Good Sense of humour	117	74.5
Down to Earth	112	71.3
Out-door Loving	106	67.5
Laid Back	105	66.9
Fun Loving	100	63.7
Sports-Oriented	96	61.1
Freedom loving	92	58.6
Hardworking	91	58.0
Adventurous	89	56.7
Open Minded	89	56.7
Welcoming	87	55.4

Carefree	86	54.8
Caring	86	54.8
Multicultural	86	54.8
Loyal	85	54.1
Happy	84	54.8
Straightforward	80	51.0
Outgoing	75	47.8
Dependable	74	47.1
Tolerant	74	47.1
Helpful	72	45.9
Patriotic	67	42.7

† Items nominated by a minimum 30% of participants.

Top Five

Participants then selected their top five choices. The items chosen by 30% or more of participants as their top five are listed in rank order in Table 2.

Comparing Nominated Stereotypes and Degree of Uniformity with Previous Studies

The top five nominated adjectives from the current study were compared with the top five nominated in the previous studies conducted by Haslam et al., as well as the degree of uniformity. The $U_{max} / U = .32$ (See Table 2).

Table 2.

Top Five Items Selected Across Six Separate Studies, Indicating Percentage of Participants Who Nominated the Item, and the Degree of Uniformity Across Participants. Note: * Table contains only traits assigned by at least 30% of participants. (Table adapted from Haslam et al., 1999a, page 271).

Year (*N*)	Study	*U*	Uniformity (U_{max} / *U*)	Content* (Top 5 traits)	%
2019 (155)	**Current Study**	7.7	.32	down to earth	43
				good sense of humour	36
				sports oriented	34
				friendly	33
				laid back	33
1997 (20)	Haslam et al. (1999)	9.0.	.28	happy-go-lucky	40
				pleasure-loving	40
				straightforward	40
				sportsmanlike	30
1996 (46)	Haslam et al. (1998, Exp 3)	8.0	.31	sportsmanlike	54
				straightforward	43
				pleasure-loving	39
1995 (20)	Haslam et al. (1998, Exp. 1)	8.0	.31	sportsmanlike	65
				happy-go-lucky	35
				straightforward	35
				pleasure loving	30
1994 (20)	Haslam et al. (1996a, Exp. 2)	7.1.	.35	happy-go-lucky	50
				sportsmanlike	50
				pleasure-loving	45
				straightforward	35
				talkative	31
1992 (16)	Haslam et al. (1995, Exp. 1)	6.8	.36	happy-go-lucky	56
				straightforward	50
				sportsmanlike	44
				reserved	31
				talkative	31

We could not make this comparison with the checklist created by Leeson (2006) as Leeson's participants were not asked to nominate their top five traits, so to compare our items with those Leeson obtained in 2006, we compared the twelve traits most frequently assigned to Australians in both studies, as per Katz and Braly (1933). See Table 3.

Table 3.

The Twelve Traits Most Frequently Assigned To Australians By Participants In Studies Conducted In 2006 And 2019.

2006 (Leeson) *N* = 67	*N*	%	2019 (Current Study) *N* =155	*N*	%
Friendly	43	81.1	Friendly	123	78.3
Laid Back	34	64.2	Good Sense of humour	117	74.5
Sports-Oriented	23	43.4	Down to Earth	112	71.3
Outgoing	11	20.8	Out-door Loving	106	67.5
Fun loving	10	18.9	Laid Back	105	66.9
Hardworking	9	17.0	Fun Loving	100	63.7
Good sense of humour /	7	13.2	Sports-Oriented	96	61.1
Multicultural	7	13.2	Freedom loving	92	58.6
Carefree	6	11.3	Hardworking	91	58.0
Out-door loving/	5	9.4	Adventurous	89	56.7
Tolerant	5	9.4	Open Minded	89	56.7
Helpful	4	7.6	Welcoming	87	55.0

Free Response

Out of 155 participants, 34 responded to the offer to add more words to the checklist in describing the 'typical Australian', resulting in a total of 53 added descriptors. Three independent judges assessed the semantic similarity of the 53 new items to the existing words on the checklist. Interrater reliability was assessed using Krippendorff's alpha. The result of $\alpha = 0.65$ indicated moderate agreement between judges. The results showed that many of the free response items semantically reflected the words already on the list. For example:

genuine, fair, kind, generous, good blokes, and mate were rated as being semantically similar to *Friendly*. Sports loving, passionate about sports teams, plays hard, very sports minded were categorised as *Sports oriented*. Tough, blunt, unrefined and fair-dinkum *(n*= 2) were rated similar to *Down to earth*. Easy-going and ocker (*n*= 2) were rated semantically similar to *Laid-back*. The aim was to separate words that were already similar to those on the checklist from the truly novel additions. There was also a category *'Other'* which allowed the judges to categorise words that they thought did not fit anywhere else. For example: Anglo-Celtic, arrogant, bigoted, bogan, diverse, drunk, multi-cultured, racist, unintelligent, xenophobic. These were considered the truly novel additions. However, as all the novel words were nominated by just one participant, they were not considered to be viable items for self-stereotypes.

Discussion

The purpose of conducting this study was to update the Australian self-stereotype, and to test if levels of uniformity had continued to decrease over time. The level of uniformity results showed that our score of .32 is closest to the .31 scores of the studies conducted by Haslam et al. in 1995 and 1996. This indicates that, rather than following the trend in the Haslam et al. studies of a continued decrease in uniformity, there has instead been a slight increase since their last study was conducted in 1997. The Haslam et al. studies used the original Katz and Braly checklist with potentially outdated adjectives. It may be that the more contemporary, Australian-centric items used in the present study contributed towards this small increase in uniformity. Also, taking into account the small sample sizes in the Haslam et al. studies, it may be difficult to conclude a trend in the results of uniformity.

In comparing the top five items from our study and the Haslam et al. studies, we found only one item that Australians kept assigning to themselves throughout the years: sportsmanlike/sports oriented. Furthermore, when comparing the 12 most nominated items

from the current study with the 12 most nominated items from Leeson's 2006 study, we found that many of the traits had shifted in their priority. For example, traits such as 'outgoing', 'carefree' and 'helpful' which were included in the 2006 list no longer appeared in the top 12 in 2019, but 'down to earth', which was not rated in 2006 was nominated by over 70% of participants in the current study.

Twenty-three out of 27 traits in the current study were nominated by a minimum of 30% of the participants. This seems to be a very high rate of endorsement overall when compared to Leeson's 2006 study, where traits endorsed by over 30% of participants only included the first three: 'friendly', 'laid back', and 'sports-oriented.' The earlier study was conducted to create a new, Australian focused version of the original Katz and Braly set of descriptors, whereas the present study offered the already ratified checklist to participants. The instructions of the present study immediately enhanced consensus among participants by making them conscious of their Australian national group identity and by informing participants that the items on the checklist had been previously nominated by their fellow Australians. That we achieved higher percentage of nominations overall than the 2006 study could support that consensus is enhanced by making individuals' social identity salient (Haslam et al., 1999).

There were also obvious similarities between the studies. The trait 'friendly' was endorsed by the highest number of participants in both studies. The traits 'laid back' and 'sports-oriented' were also endorsed by over 30% of participants in both studies. In these instances, Australian self-stereotypes have remained consistent.

Mateship, sports-loving, and having a relaxed and easy-going orientation to life are well known Australian values. They have been chronicled through the decades as some of the traditional values that are most associated with the Australian identity (Fiske, Hodge, Turner, 1987; Horne, 1964; Phillips et al., 2000). The items nominated in the current study reflect

these same traditional values. Whether this suggests a relatively stable and constant social environment in Australia, or whether it reflects the notion that self-stereotypes are constant in the same way as Kawakami & Dovidio (2001) describe implicit stereotypes – stable and enduring because they have been learned through years of environmental influences, remains to be investigated. Endorsing certain aspects of Australian-ness may also serve to enfranchise particular groups (Phillips, 2000), and maintaining views based on traditional values may reflect demographics of the majority population sample in the present study.

The primary goal of the current research was to understand the current Australian self-stereotype and to determine if there has been any change in its consensus over time. While the trend of declining uniformity seems to have stabilised, there does seem to be a variation in the broader endorsements of what traits describe the typical Australian. However, despite this, it does appear that we can say the anecdotal 'friendly, laid back, down-to-earth Aussie who loves their sport' is a self-stereotype that remains clearly in the minds of Australians today.

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STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

(To appear at the end of each thesis chapter submitted as an article/paper)

We, the PhD candidate and the candidate's Principal Supervisor, certify that the following text, figures and diagrams are the candidate's original work.

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We, the PhD Candidate and the candidate's Principal Supervisor, certify that all co-authors hae consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate's contribution as indicated in the *Statement of Originality.*

	Author's Name (please print clearly)	**% of contribution**
Candidate	Yvette Alcott	80%
Other Authors	Dr. Susan Watt – editorial advice throughout, statistical advice, and assistance with research design.	20%

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Research Progression

The study in the previous chapter produced a list of current self-stereotypes to understand how Australians perceive themselves. We now move on to investigating the theory of nonverbal accent and its influence on how majority populations perceive people of racial minority groups in Australia. We incorporate the role national self-stereotypes play in this process and the effect of nonverbal accent on Australian participants when they are asked to identify and include racial minority groups as "looking" or being fellow Australians. The first study asked Australian participants to identify fellow Australian nationals by observing thin slices of nonverbal behaviour. A second study assessed the influence of lay theory of race on participants' decisions. The third study investigated how participants used stereotypes in impression formation. We wanted to understand if stereotypes play a role in how majority groups categorise minority group members who have an Asian racial appearance and a cultural majority nonverbal accent. We also investigated the effects of lay theory of race on the ability of participants to attribute Australian stereotypes to Australians, regardless of the apparent heritage conveyed by racial appearance.

Chapter 4

Identifying Racial Minorities' Nationality: Nonverbal Accent as a Cue to Cultural Group Membership

Alcott, Y.D., & Watt, Susan. E. (2019) Identifying racial minorities' nationality: nonverbal accent as a cue to cultural group membership.

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Abstract

Historically, racial appearance has been a common source of information upon which we categorise others, as have verbal accents. Enculturated *nonverbal* accents that can be detected in the expression of emotion and everyday behaviours have also been found to exist. We investigated nonverbal accent in how participants categorise, assess, and apply stereotypes to people who are fully enculturated to a mainstream culture but have a minority racial appearance. The effects of racial essentialism, which inclines people to categorise and assess others by race, were also tested. The research was conducted in Australia, a multiracial and multicultural nation with a white-Anglo majority. In three studies, Australian participants were shown short, muted videos of target individuals performing everyday activities. All targets were of a minority (Asian) racial appearance, but half had been interracially adopted as babies and had grown up in the Australian mainstream culture. The other half were foreign nationals who grew up in Asia. In Studies 1 and 2, participants correctly identified who was an Australian national at above chance levels. In Study 3, participants allocated common Australian stereotypes to the interracially adopted individuals more than to the foreign nationals. Lay theory of race moderated the effect, with participants who endorsed racial essentialism less influenced by nonverbal accent than those who endorsed social constructionism when stereotyping the targets. The findings reveal subtle effects of nonverbal accent in person perception, and implications for the effect of nonverbal accent over racial appearance in impression formation are discussed.

Keywords: nonverbal accent; stereotypes; Australian; enculturation; thin slices of behaviour

Identifying Racial Minorities' Nationality: Nonverbal Accent as a Cue to Cultural Group Membership

Majority populations in multicultural societies generally consider it desirable that immigrants integrate, which involves interacting with, and adopting aspects of the host culture while maintaining their culture of origin (Berry, 2006). They hold a more positive perception of individuals and immigrant groups who integrate, and this outcome seems to be regardless of whether the racial appearance of an immigrant is the same or different to the host majority (Alcott & Watt, 2017; Maisonneuve & Teste, 2007; Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998).

The concept of 'race' is contentious. Historically it has referred to the division of humanity into groups which reflect an inherited biological foundation and is manifested in physical phenotypes, such as skin colour, eye shape, hair texture and bone structure. While these physical phenotypes are used as markers for categorisation, the extent of racial essentialism regarding abilities, character or behaviour has been debunked on scientific and evolutionary grounds (Kurzban, Tooby, & Cosmides, 2001; Fishbein, 1996). Despite this, people all over the world categorise themselves and each other according to 'race', and it continues to be a salient factor in the organisation of people's social worlds (Celious & Oyserman, 2001; Gossett, 1997). In the current research, we conceptualise 'race' as 'racial appearance', referring to the physical phenotypes mentioned. Social perception is essentially categorical (Spears & Haslam, 1997), and for immigrants of minority racial appearance around the world, racial categorisation can have substantial effects on social and national belonging. Racial appearance has often been relied upon as a cue to nationality. For example, studies conducted in the United States of America (USA), have shown that Americans of Asian descent are often labelled as "foreigners" rather than as Americans (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Tuan, 1998), and issues around identity and belongingness are frequent.

Racial appearance, or at least visible minority status, can be an obstacle to full participation in the majority culture for a variety of reasons and can create sensitivity to exclusion (Tafarodi, Kang, & Milne, 2002). Research performed in Canada by Tafarodi et al. found that priming subjects of a racial minority (Chinese) for self-awareness of their physical appearance and racial minority status produced a "compensatory conformity" effect in the subjects. The compensatory conformity effect was expressed as a stronger alignment with majority group attitudes compared to those who did not have an awareness of their physical appearance heightened. Tafarodi et al. interpreted this as an effort to ensure inclusion and belonging with the majority population by individuals who did not want to be "ethnified" by the majority group members based on physical appearance. However, this is difficult if one of the conditions of being included in the majority population depends on being of the same racial appearance. For instance, France does not officially acknowledge race or ethnicity, as just being French is seen to be the most important identification (Beaman, 2018). However, it seems having a white racial appearance is unofficially synonymous with being included as French by the majority population (Beaman, 2018). Many individuals (particularly North African second-generation immigrants) do not feel accepted as French, even though they were born there, because they are not seen to "look French" (Simon, 2012). In Australia, research has also demonstrated that being white is more readily associated with the concept of being Australian than is being Indigenous Australian (Sibley & Barlow, 2009).

Minority racial appearance and majority enculturation

The current research investigated the attitudes and perceptions of an Australian majority population towards individuals who have a minority racial appearance but who are fully enculturated into the dominant mainstream culture. One example of this is generations "deep" immigrants who may no longer identify with the culture of their ancestors' country of origin, such as fifth or sixth generation Chinese Australians. Another example is people who

are interracially adopted. Usually, people who are adopted into Australia from other countries are adopted and raised in white-Anglo homes. They may have little exposure to the culture from their country of birth and become fully enculturated into Australia's dominant mainstream culture. However, does their racial appearance preclude them from being included by the national majority members as a cultural ingroup? Are they destined to be perceived by the dominant majority as "not quite Australian"? It is important to investigate this question as the answer has ramifications not only for the lives of individuals who are interracially adopted and are in this situation but also for long term immigrants who identify with the mainstream or dominant culture.

Although all people grapple with issues of self-esteem and identity throughout their lives, numerous authors have argued that the process of identity development is longer and more complex for adoptees (Grotevant, 1997; Hoopes, 1990). The identity process becomes increasingly complex as layers of "differentness" are added. Therefore, identity development is typically more complex for adopted than for non-adopted persons. For interracially adopted persons, this is even more so due to the extra layer of "differentness" in racial appearance (Grotevant, 1997). If a person is adopted from another country, additional issues are raised. For example, how might they deal with the potential disparity of having a minority racial appearance and identifying as a cultural majority group member? Will this require additional "identity work" and adjustments to a dominant host society which may or may not be hostile (Grotevant, 1997)? The perceptions and attitudes of the dominant majority population toward minority groups influence the groups' ultimate inclusion and sense of belonging in the broader society.

Nonverbal Accent as a cue for categorisation

How people who have been adopted and have a minority racial appearance are perceived and included by their compatriots is an interesting question to ask in light of the

continuum model of categorisation (Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). Among other things, this model proposes that sex, age, and race are 'privileged' categories that mark social group membership. They are privileged because they are prominent, visual, and can be easily and immediately applied to most people we encounter. We, therefore, can instantaneously categorise others according to these three cues. There is evidence that racial categories are processed early in person perception. For example, American participants have been found to give preferential attention to race over the other two salient categories of sex and age (Ito & Urland, 2005), and studies have shown that race, as a social category, is processed in under 200ms (Kubota & Ito, 2017). There is also the work by Greenwald & Banaji (1995) and the development of the Implicit Association Test (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998) which demonstrates people will react implicitly to racial stereotypes.

However, accents have also been found to be strong cues for social categorisation (Ladegaard, 1998). While the usual understanding of accent is that it is an aspect of spoken language, research has also demonstrated the existence of nonverbal accents (Marsh, Elfenbein, & Ambady, 2003; 2007). For example, emotional expression, as nonverbal behaviour, has been characterised as being a universal language as people of all nations can process whether someone is sad, happy, or angry just by looking at their facial expression (Ekman, 1972; 1977). However, it seems emotional expression is also a language that carries nonverbal accents. Similar to verbal accents, nonverbal accents arise in enculturation and signal one's cultural background, and it has been demonstrated that they reveal enough information that observers can identify the expresser's nationality. For example, Marsh et al. (2003) had American participants judge the nationality of people who were racially Japanese but had grown up either in Japan or the USA after looking at photographs that showed them expressing discrete emotions (e.g., sadness or anger). Participants correctly identified at above chance levels and with a large effect size, the nationality of the targets displaying these

emotional expressions. They also found the effect was much larger in photographs where emotions were being expressed rather than when targets had a neutral face. These findings indicate that expressions of emotion can contain nonverbal accents that identify nationality or culture and that cultural differences are intensified when expressing emotions.

Recent research by Matsumoto and Hwang (2018) replicated Marsh et al.'s study to investigate nonverbal accents and to isolate cues participants use to detect nationality. They used the same stimulus photos as Marsh et al. but manipulated the stimuli by switching hairstyles. While Marsh et al. concluded that facial expression of emotion was responsible for the results, Matsumoto et al. found that hairstyle differences contributed to differences in detecting nationality, especially in judgement of Japanese nationals. However, in another study, Marsh et al. (2007) used different stimulus photos (of white Americans and Australians) and even after removing the targets' hairline and hair, found participants could still correctly judge nationality at above chance levels, particularly when the targets expressed emotion on their faces.

Hamamura & Wai Li (2012) found that Hong Kong participants could detect whether or not a Hong Kong target identified with Western culture (as is commonly the case in Hong Kong) by observing muted 60-second videos of seated targets as they responded to questions asked by an off-camera interviewer. Targets were asked about their stress levels, how they managed their stress, and what things they hated or disliked. Questions like these with affective content may elicit emotional responses, and detection of cultural influence may be due to nonverbal accents in emotional expression. The researchers recognised this and removed emotional expressions in a subsequent study by using still photos of the targets' head, then took it another step further removing the targets' hair, showing just the face with the hair removed. After removing the hair, the targets' cultural identification was no longer

perceived. The authors concluded that hairstyles play a role in conveying cues regarding Western cultural identification among Hong Kongers.

Physical behaviours such as walking and waving have also been found to reflect detectable cultural influences. Marsh et al. (2007) showed American participants photographs of American and Australian targets either with their arm raised, waving, or walking mid-stride. In this study, they had the targets wear hairnets to minimise differences in hairstyle. They found participants were able to identify at above chance level which targets were Australian and which were American, with a medium to large effect size. Furthermore, participants assigned a dominant stereotype to the Americans and a likeable stereotype to the Australian targets, demonstrating that manner of behaviour played a role in determining cultural group membership. Together, this stream of research shows that nonverbal cues to cultural identification include controllable aspects of appearance such as hairstyle, and also less controllable aspects such as emotional expression (nonverbal accents) and physical movements.

The current research

The current research investigated if nonverbal accents will override race as a cue to categorising as fellow nationals, people who have a minority racial appearance, but majority population enculturation, such as exhibiting behaviours that correspond with the majority culture. People who are interracially adopted and who have a minority racial appearance form a strong exemplar of this situation and were the focus of this research. Three studies were conducted in Australia, a country built on immigration, with 28% of its current population born overseas. While Australia is a multicultural and multiracial nation, the dominant majority population is racially white with an Anglo/European ethnic heritage. The majority of interracial adoptions in Australia have been from Asian countries of origin. Australia has a small number of interracially adopted people (just over 4,500 in the last two decades;

Australian Institute of Health & Welfare, 2018). Nevertheless, intercountry adoption is intricately connected with society's ideas about race, culture, ethnicity, kinship and belonging to family and nation (Volkman, 2003). Australia provides a natural context for examining if and how people who have been interracially adopted, and how people of racial minorities generally, are included as members of the larger mainstream national/cultural group.

One goal of the present research was to extend our understanding of nonverbal accent to the cues conveyed in brief observations of everyday behaviours, such as in common situations like walking or running along a street, or having a conversation which can be observed but not heard, such as when in a café and observing a stranger across the room. To this end, our studies applied the technique of *thin slices of behaviour* to mimic a brief "on-the-street" type of encounter. Thin slices of behaviour refers to short glimpses of dynamic behaviour that provide enough information for observers to form impressions of the targets being viewed (Ambady & Rosenthal, 1992).

Individual differences in attitudes towards race are likely to affect social categorisations (No, Hong, Liao, et al., 2008). According to the lay theory of race, people endorse either 'racial essentialism' or 'social constructionism' lay theories. Social constructionism suggests that race is a malleable construct depending on the context. Therefore, based on nonverbal accent, people who endorse this view might easily categorise someone with a minority racial appearance as having majority enculturation. On the other hand, racial essentialism believes that race bestows immutable characteristics and traits upon individuals and groups. Research has found that people who endorse racial essentialism are more likely to categorise based on race (Chao, Hong, & Chiu, 2013). Therefore, an effect of nonverbal accent might not be present when people endorse racial essentialism, because they may not see past a minority racial appearance, and not be sensitive to the nonverbal manifestations of mainstream enculturation.

The present studies aimed to put some well-known effects from the impression formation literature to the test in a dynamic environment, more akin to many real-world impression formation situations. To test the effect of nonverbal accent we presented Australian nationals with videos of people of Asian racial appearance who had been adopted as babies and raised in Australia, or who were foreign nationals who had been in Australia for less than two years. Experiment 1 investigated whether participants would correctly identify people who had been adopted interracially into Australia and were fully enculturated Australians, as being Australian. We predicted they would be able to do this at above chance levels through the influence of nonverbal accent. Furthermore, we probed the reasons why participants decided a target was Australian, asking them a free response question after they had made their choice, to discover whether participants were aware of any particular aspect of nonverbal accent that influenced their decision. A second study explored the effect of lay theory of race. We predicted that participants who endorsed racial essentialism would be less accurate when identifying nationality than participants who endorsed social constructionism. A final study investigated the influence of nonverbal accents by asking participants to rate each target against a mixed set of Australian and Asian stereotype traits. We predicted that targets who were interracially adopted would be allocated higher scores than foreign targets on Australian stereotypes than Asian stereotypes. We further predicted that the effect would be moderated by lay theory of race as people who endorsed racial essentialism would be less influenced by nonverbal accent in their stereotyping than those who endorsed social constructionism.

Study 1

Method

Participants.

Two hundred and five participants aged between 18 and 83 years (M = 47, SD = *17.2*) were recruited from Qualtrics online panels. Forty-eight percent were males, and all participants were Australian citizens, with 78% born in Australia. The 22% not born in Australia had lived in Australia for an average of 33 years, with a range of three to 70 years.

Design.

A single factor experimental design was used, where targets' nonverbal accent (Australian, foreign) was a within-subjects factor. The dependent variable was the identification of the target's nationality.

Stimuli - Films of targets displaying physical accents.

The stimuli were six videos where each showed an individual of Asian racial appearance. Half were Australian nationals, two of which had been adopted from Korea and one from Vietnam, all had grown up in Australia. They were located via adoption websites and through contacts of the authors and were aged between 20 and 45 years (see Table 1). The other half were foreign nationals who were temporarily visiting Australia. They were recruited from English as a Second Language Schools in Sydney, were between 20 and 45 years of age and were from China and Mongolia (see Table 1). They had been in Australia for less than two years. All targets were paid for their time and consented to their images being used for research purposes. Before the filming, the subjects were not given information about the research objectives, except that it was investigating race relations in Australian society. They were fully debriefed afterwards. Based on research by Eagly and Kite (1987) which found that men are perceived to resemble stereotypes of their nationalities more than women, and to reduce any effects of gender, only male targets were used in the scenarios.

All attempts were made to make the subjects relaxed and at ease, for example, they were given time to get acquainted with the researcher and assistants, were offered refreshments and given time to get comfortable before filming began. The foreign nationals could speak English and were selected by their teacher for competence and ease while communicating in English. To ensure their ease during the filming, they were given the questions beforehand, translated into Chinese and Mongolian, so they could prepare and feel comfortable in the interview.

Video Content. Filming took place over separate sessions and was in the same location each time. Each subject walked down the same suburban footpath; waited while using a mobile phone in the same spot each time; ran down the same stretch of footpath; and

finally was seated, having a conversation with an off-camera interviewer in the same chair/lighting etc., of the same room as they answered simple non-affective questions about their lives (e.g., "Where do you live?" "Do you play any sports?" "What are your hobbies?").

The soundtrack of the conversation was entirely removed; only ambient sounds could be heard. The subjects were asked to wear their everyday casual clothes and were advised they were not required to "act" but just be themselves. Finally, the films were all edited in the same manner, with the cuts as close to the same timing as was possible. The final length of each film was 60 seconds. The films were presented to participants in random order.

Measures.

Identifying Nationality. Participants viewed the targets in separate 60-second videos. Following each video, they were asked *Please indicate if you agree with this statement: "The man in the film is an Australian (has grown up in Australia)."(* Yes / No).

Open response. After identifying the nationality of each target, participants were offered the option of explaining their decision with an open response question: "*Can you say*

what made you answer yes or no?" Several themes emerged from the responses, based on references to movement, demeanour and attitude, clothing and hair, or a more general description of the target. Three independent judges allocated the responses into the thematic categories, and Krippendorff's alpha was calculated to assess agreement between the judges, using the Kalpha macro (Hayes & Krippendorff, 2007).

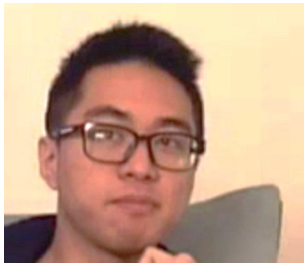
Previous Knowledge Check. A check was made at the end of the survey to ensure that none of the participants knew any of the men in the videos. The question asked, *"Do you know any of the men in any of the videos?"* None of the participants knew any of the targets.

Procedure.

The experiment was presented via an anonymous survey online. Participants were told that it was an investigation into how much information is needed to form first impressions. They completed a demographics questionnaire (citizenship, age, gender, born in Australia, years lived in Australia). Participants then had a brief familiarisation trial in which they were shown 20 seconds of the videos and were asked to rate, as a filler task and to support the cover story, the targets on the dimensions of warmth and competence (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). This is commonly done in such judgement studies (e.g., Marsh et al., 2003; 2007; Matsumoto, 1993) so that participants are familiar with the format of the stimuli, allowing them to adapt to the situation which can enhance the quality of data (Barley, 2011).

After the familiarisation trial, they were told that some of the targets had grown up in Australia and were Australian nationals, while some were foreign nationals who had not been in Australia for very long. This ensured participants understood that each target had a chance of being an Australian national or not which limits test bias (Marsh et al., 2003). Participants then watched the full 60-second videos and judged the national identity of each target, stating who was Australian (has grown up in Australia) and who was not.

Table 1. *Target stimuli*

Foreign Nationals			
Target Individual:			
	Man A	**Man B**	**Man C**
Country of Birth:	China	Mongolia	China
Time in Australia:	5 mths	2 yrs	8 mths

Interracially adopted Australian Nationals			
Target Individual:			
	Man D	**Man E**	**Man F**
Country of Birth:	South Korea	Vietnam	South Korea
Time in Australia:	From a baby	From a baby	From a baby

Results

Identifying Nationality.

A single sample t-test on the total overall correct identifications, with a test value of 3 (being half of the 6 targets viewed), was conducted to test the hypothesis that Australian participants would be able to identify, at above chance level, targets who were Australian and had grown up in Australia, by observing their nonverbal accents. Supporting the hypothesis, a significant result, with medium effect size, was found, $t(201) = 5.63$, $p < .001$, $d = .40$, $M = 3.43$ $SD = 1.10$. . Similar single sample t-tests were conducted for each target group, this time with a test value of 1.5 (being half of the three targets in each group). Participants correctly identified the Australian targets at above chance level, $t(201) = 4.50$, $p < .001$, $d = .31$, $M = 1.78$, $SD = .89$, with a small to medium effect size. They also correctly identified the foreign

nationals at above chance level, $t(202) = 2.17$, $p = .03$, $d = .15$, $M = 1.65$, $SD = .97$, with a smaller effect size.

Open responses.

The open responses were analysed to shed light on how participants correctly identified the Australian targets as Australian. Participants were invited to explain their decision following each target. Out of 361correct identifications of Australian targets, 299 open responses were provided. These were analysed to identify if participants were aware of relying on any particular aspects of nonverbal accent when deciding that a target was Australian. Comments that made no sense or were irrelevant were removed ($N = 26$), leaving 273 responses for coding. Preliminary coding revealed five thematic categories (see Table 2). Three independent judges were then recruited to rate the comments against the thematic categories and Krippendorff's alpha was computed to measure agreement between the judges. The result of $\alpha = 0.86$ indicates acceptable interrater reliability (Krippendorff, 2010). Only the comments with 100% inter-rater agreement were included in the percentages for each category as presented in Table 2. Examples of the comments are included.

Table 2. *Thematic categories, percentages and examples*

Theme	Percent ($N = 273$)	Comment examples
Confident / Comfortable	21%	*"He strikes me as quite confident…"; "Relaxed and easy confident manner"; "Comfortable confidence."*
Laid Back /Easygoing / Casual	19.5%	*"His casual approach"; "He appeared laid back enough to be an Aussie"; "A very relaxed and laid back individual."*
Movement Style	15%	*"He just ambled along..."; "How he walks and runs – very relaxed"; "Swaggering and relaxed walk"; "How he runs and his casual walk style"*

Dress & Hair	10%	*"...the way he is dressed seems Australian"; "His hairstyle, outfit and movement"; "He wears Aussie clothes"*
Don't Know/ Just an impression	34.5%	*"His demeanour"; "Seems to be a typical Aussie"; "Just a feeling"; "Looks that way is all I can say"; "Just a gut feeling"; "Very typical Australian"; "Just do".*

Discussion

This study tested if nonverbal accent is a discernible marker of enculturation and nationality when presented briefly in thin-slices of spontaneous behaviour. We hypothesised that Australian participants would be able to identify people who had grown up in Australia as Australian by briefly observing thin slices of their behaviour, which potentially conveyed nonverbal accents. The targets were either people of a minority Asian racial appearance who had been interracially adopted into Australia or were recent arrivals to Australia. Race commonly has a significant influence on categorisation, but if race were the only influence, we would expect no difference between the two groups of targets because it was held constant across the conditions. The results supported the hypothesis because, on average, participants correctly identified the Australians at above chance levels. That participants could identify the targets' nationality based on their nonverbal accent builds upon previous research which has found that nonverbal accent (such as emotional expression, and communicative behaviours such as waving, or instrumental behaviours like walking) is sufficient for participants to correctly infer cultural and national differences (Marsh et al., 2003; 2007). While the targets in the current study did not demonstrate specific, discrete emotional expressions (e.g., happiness, sadness, anger) or overt communicative behaviours like waving, they did display ordinary behaviours that one may observe another performing in everyday life. The effect sizes were small to medium, and the results indicate that people

who have been adopted interracially into Australia and who have a minority racial appearance, display nonverbal accents which signal their national belonging.

While the free responses supported that the participants based their decisions on various elements of nonverbal accent, the largest percentage tended to see the overall effect of nonverbal accent rather than the components. This reflects a comment of Marsh et al. (2007), that participants in their study responded to a gestalt impression – meaning they responded to the overall impression, rather than the individual components of the target.

There are further questions about the moderators of the effect. Namely, is nonverbal accent a useful source of information if one endorses an essentialist lay theory of race ? Racial essentialism purports that race is inevitably associated with a person's traits and abilities; that race is biologically based and genetically determines behaviour, justifying endorsements of racial stereotypes (Jayaratne, Ybarra, Sheldon, et al., 2006). Therefore a person who endorses racial essentialism may have difficulty in identifying ingroup enculturation in someone whose racial appearance represents "outgroup." Because the two lay theories of race (essentialism and social constructionism) understand race differently, in Study 2 we predicted that participants who endorsed social constructionism would be open and sensitive to the nonverbal accents of the individuals who have been interracially adopted. They would, therefore, be able to identify them as Australian at above chance level. On the other hand, the perceptions of participants who endorsed racial essentialism would be dominated by the target individuals' racial appearance, and would therefore not respond to the effect of the individual's nonverbal accent.

Study 2

Method

Participants.

Two hundred and twelve participants were recruited from Qualtrics, an online participant panel. There were equal numbers of male and female participants, with a mean age of 47 years, *SD = 17.2,* (18 - 86 years). All were Australian citizens, and almost 80% were born in Australia, the remaining 20% who were not born in Australia had lived an average of 32 years in the country (ranging from five to 68 years).

Design.

A 2 within-subjects (nonverbal accent: Australian, foreign) x 2 between-subjects (lay theory of race: racial essentialism, social constructionism) mixed experimental design was used. The dependent variable was the identification of Australian nationality.

Materials.

Films of targets displaying physical accents. The stimuli were the videos that were used in Study 1. They were presented in random order.

Measures.

The same identification of nationality was used as in Study 1. Study 2 also included a measure of lay theory of race.

Lay Theory of Race Scale. The Lay Theory of Race Scale (No et al., 2008) was presented to participants as investigating how people understand the notion of race. The scale consists of eight items which determine whether a respondent endorses racial essentialism or social constructionism. Four items measure racial essentialism (e.g., *"What a person is like (e.g., his or her abilities or traits) is deeply ingrained in his or her race. It cannot be changed much.")* and four items measure social constructionism (e.g., *"Racial groups do not have inherent biological bases, and thus can be changed.").* Participants were asked to rate their score on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). We reverse-scored the social constructionism items so that high scores reflected an endorsement of racial essentialism and low scores, social constructionism. This procedure, presentation and scoring of the lay theory

of race measure was consistent with previous research (No et al., 2008). However, as the two lay theories of race are based on opposing assumptions about the nature of race we created a categorical variable to further differentiate and separate the two lay theories. "Social constructionism" was identified by scores of less than 28 (n = 72, M = 22.9, SD = 3.7) with a minimum low score of 8, and "racial essentialism" was identified by scores of more than 28 (n = 101, M = 32.5, SD = 3.3), with a maximum possible high score of 48. The 27 participants who scored 28 endorsed neither theory more than the other and were excluded from the analysis of lay theory of race. Cronbach's alpha for the scale was .63.

Procedure.

The procedure was the same as in Study 1, except participants also completed the lay theory of race scale before viewing the videos.

Results

Identifying nationality.

We first looked to replicate the findings of Study 1, hypothesising that nonverbal accent conveys information about enculturation such that observers can identify nationality at above chance levels. This was tested using a single-sample t-test, with the test value of 3 (being half of the six targets). A significant result with a medium effect size was found, t (197) = 6.70, $p < .001$, d = .49, with M = 3.50, SD = 1.02.

Lay theory of race.

We then tested whether participants who endorsed social constructionism or racial essentialism were both able to identify nationality at above chance levels. A single-sample t-test of correct nationality identification was conducted for each lay theory, again using a test value of 3. Both tests revealed that correct responding was significantly above chance (i.e., significantly exceeded the test value of 3). For social constructionism, $t(96) = 5.54$, $p < .001$, d = .56, M = 3.56, SD = .99. For racial essentialism, $t(100) = 3.98$, $p < .001$, d = .40, M =

3.42, *SD* = 1.05. Finally, an independent samples t-test on the number of correct identifications revealed no significant difference between social constructionism and racial essentialism, t (171) = .78, p = .44, d = .14.

Discussion

The hypothesis for this study predicted that participants who endorsed racial essentialism would not be able to discern who was Australian because they would assess the targets on racial appearance and not be sensitive to the nonverbal accent of the target individuals. This hypothesis was not supported. The results demonstrated no significant difference between participants who endorsed racial essentialism and social constructionism. Both groups were able to detect nationality at above chance levels based on nonverbal accent, and there was no significance difference in their accuracy.

In a country such as Australia that has a population of people from diverse ancestries, racial appearance is not a barrier to formal national citizenship. Someone who endorses racial essentialism is just as likely to understand that a person can migrate from another country, and officially be an Australian national while having an Asian racial appearance (or be of any racial appearance). They may not, however, attribute typical Australian traits to these individuals. A shortcoming of Study 2 is that it lacks a clear understanding of *how* the participants determined the target individuals' national status.

Suggestions of national stereotypes being responsible for the ability to determine another's nationality offer a viable explanation. Previous studies (Hamamura & Wai Li, 2012; Marsh et al., 2007) have proposed that accuracy of nationality judgements based on nonverbal cues may depend on the stereotypes that observers hold about the members of the national group. The comments made by the participants in the open responses in Study 1 even hinted at such commonly known Australian stereotypes (e.g., laid back; easy-going).

Therefore, Study 3 had two goals. The first goal was to remove the task of identifying nationality and instead test if participants could discern people who are enculturated Australians by asking them to attribute cultural and or racial stereotypes to the targets. The second goal was to see if participants who endorsed racial essentialism would attribute Australian stereotype traits to Australian people who have a minority Asian racial appearance (in this case people who have been interracially adopted).

We hypothesised that nonverbal accent would be a cue upon which participants base social judgments. This would be demonstrated if participants attributed Australian stereotypes to Australian targets who have an Asian racial appearance, rather than attributing Asian stereotypes to this group, and vice-versa. Therefore, an interaction between nonverbal accent and stereotype group was expected. We also hypothesised that participants who endorsed social constructionism would more readily apply Australian stereotypes to the targets than those who endorsed racial essentialism. Racial essentialism inclines people to categorise by race (Chao, et al., 2013), so these participants would, therefore, allocate lower scores on Australian stereotypes to both the Australian and foreign targets, because of their Asian racial appearance. In this way, lay theory of race was expected to modify the interaction between target and stereotype, such that a three-way interaction would be present.

Study 3

Method

Participants.

Two hundred and eight Australian citizens were recruited as participants via Qualtrics online panel (52% female, 48% male). The mean age was 47 years , *SD = 18.0*, (range 18 - 86 years). Seventy-nine percent were born in Australia, the remaining 21% who were not born in Australia had lived in Australia an average of 34 years (ranging from two to 68

years). In this respect, the sample was representative of Australia's population, where approximately 25% are born overseas (ABS, 2016).

Design.

A 2 (nonverbal accent: Australian, foreign) x 2 (lay theory of race: racial essentialism, social constructionism) x 2 (stereotype: Australian, Asian) mixed experimental design was used, where the nonverbal accent and stereotype were within-subject factors and lay theory of race was the between-subjects factor. The dependent variable was endorsement of Australian and Asian stereotype traits.

Materials.

Stimuli – Films of targets displaying physical accents. The stimuli were the videos that were used in Study 1 and Study 2. They were presented in random order.

Measures.

Lay Theory of Race Scale. The Lay Theory of Race Scale (No et al., 2008) was the same as used in Study 2. The items were presented in random order. Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .59. Like Study 2, categories were created to identify whether the participant endorsed social constructionism (scores below 28, n = 103, M = 23.4, SD = 3.3) or racial essentialism (scores above 28, n = 90, M = 33.4, SD = 4.2). Fifteen participants who scored 28 did not endorse one lay theory more than the other and were excluded from the final analysis.

Stereotypes. After viewing each video, the participants were presented with a list of items, and on a scale of 1 ("definitely not") to 5 ("definitely yes") they were asked to rate how much they thought each trait applied to the person in the film. The traits were five commonly held Australian stereotypes (down to earth, good sense of humour, friendly, laid back, outgoing) which were chosen from a preliminary study conducted by the authors (Alcott & Watt, 2019) as well from other studies examining Australian stereotypes (Haslam,

Oakes, Reynolds & Mein, 1999; Leeson, 2006). There were also five commonly held Asian stereotype traits (courteous, quiet, sincere, shy, traditional) which were chosen from various studies which examined consensual Australian stereotypes of Asian Australians as well as commonly held stereotypes of Asian Americans (Borresen, 1982; Jackson, Sullivan, & Harnish, et al., 1996; Johnson, Terry, & Louis, 2005; Karlins, Coffman, & Walters, 1969). The scores for the Australian stereotypes were separately calculated for the Australian targets and the Asian targets. In this way, a total Australian stereotype endorsement was calculated for each group. This process was repeated to calculate the Asian stereotype scores for each group. The possible range of scores for Australian and Asian stereotypes for each group was 15 to75.

Previous Knowledge Check. The same check as Study 1 was made at the end of the survey to ensure that none of the participants knew any of the men in the videos.

Procedure.

Participants completed an anonymous survey online. The study was presented as an investigation into how much information we need to form a first impression of others. Participants completed the demographic questions (Australian citizenship; gender, age, born in Australia, years lived in Australia) followed by the Lay Theory of Race scale (No et al., 2008). They then watched the 60-second videos of the targets and after each one, scored the target on the list of descriptors provided. Due to the lengthy nature of the survey in this study, and to avoid participant fatigue, no familiarisation task was conducted.

Results

A 2 (nonverbal accent: Foreign, Australian) x 2 (stereotype: Asian, Australian) x 2 (lay theory of race: racial essentialism, social constructionism) mixed ANOVA was conducted, where nonverbal accent and stereotype were repeated measures, and lay theory of

race was a between-subjects variable. Assumption checks were performed, and there were no significant violations of normality or homogeneity of variance.

The first hypothesis predicted an effect of nonverbal accent, such that Australian targets would be rated higher on Australian stereotypes than Asian stereotypes, and foreign targets would be rated higher on Asian stereotypes than Australian stereotypes. The results supported this hypothesis, with a significant interaction between nonverbal accent and stereotype, $F(1,189) = 56.36$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .23$. When the nonverbal accent was foreign, the Asian stereotype ($M = 49.2$, $SE = .59$) was rated significantly higher than the Australian stereotype ($M = 47.2$, $SE = .62$), $t(206) = 4.03$, $p < .001$, and when the nonverbal accent was Australian, the Australian stereotype ($M = 50.1$, $SE = .62$) was rated significantly higher than the Asian stereotype (M = 47.4, $SE = .58$), $t(205) = -5.9$, $p < .001$.

The second prediction was an effect of lay theory of race, where people endorsing racial essentialism would be less influenced than those endorsing social constructionism when applying Australian and Asian stereotypes to the Australian and foreign targets. A significant three-way interaction was found between lay theory of race, nonverbal accent and stereotype, $F(1,189) = 56.36$, $p = .004$, partial $\eta^2 = .043$. Posthoc testing revealed a larger interaction between nonverbal accent and stereotype for social constructionism , $F(1,102) = 47.51$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .32$, than for racial essentialism, $F(1,87) = 13.36$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .14$. The interaction showed that nonverbal accent affected stereotyping in a similar manner for both participants who endorsed racial essentialism and those who endorsed social constructionism, but with a weaker effect.

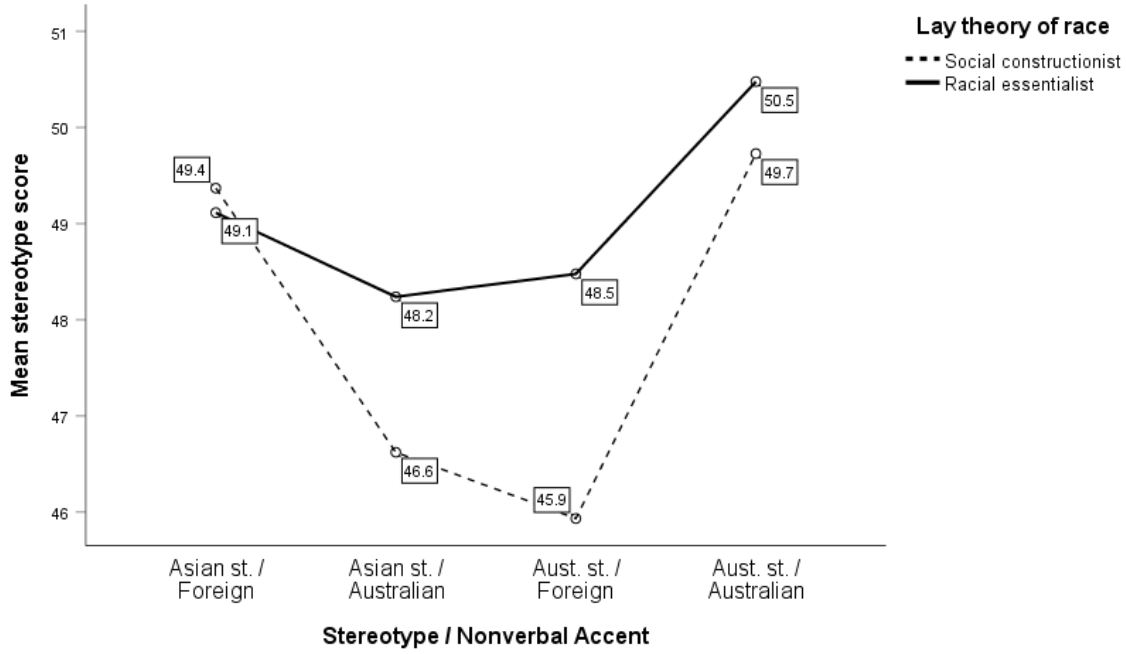


Figure 1. Ratings of Asian and Australian stereotypes by people endorsing social constructionism or racial essentialism when target enculturation was foreign or Australian.

Discussion

We predicted that nonverbal accent, observed in thin slices of everyday behaviour, would influence the allocation of national and racial stereotypes. We specifically hypothesised that participants would attribute Australian stereotypes to Australian interracially adopted targets (with Asian racial appearance) rather than attributing Asian stereotypes to this group, and vice-versa. This hypothesis was supported. Importantly, the participants were blind to the true purpose of the experiment. They were not informed that the traits represented national stereotypes, and they did not know that they were seeing members of different national and cultural groups. They also did not know they were identifying compatriots and foreigners. Despite these conditions, participants still allocated Australian stereotypes to fellow Australians and Asian stereotypes to Asian nationals.

We also predicted that lay theory of race would influence outcomes in how national ingroup stereotypes were attributed. A three-way interaction showed participants who

endorsed racial essentialism allocated Australian stereotypes similarly to those who endorsed social constructionism, but with a weaker effect size. Prima facie, the results for lay theory of race could be interpreted as a positive finding for people who have been interracially adopted into societies with a racially different majority population. It suggests that even when presented with what may be perceived as a racial minority outgroup, people who hold a racial essentialist view can still be influenced by other factors such as nonverbal accent, over and above racial appearance, and lean towards inclusiveness.

General Discussion

This research suggests that, in a racially mixed society, nonverbal accent conveys cues to nationality and national stereotyping that appear to be stronger than the cues offered by race alone. Studies 1 and 2 showed that participants from an Australian cultural majority identified targets of a minority racial appearance as national ingroup members. Study 3 found that nonverbal accent displayed in thin slices of behaviour formed a basis for group stereotyping. This further extends research that has been conducted to investigate nonverbal accents (Marsh et al., 2003; 2007; Hamamura & Wai Li, 2012; Matsumoto & Hwang, 2018), all of which have pointed to recognition of stereotypes via nonverbal accent in discerning the cultural identification or nationality of target individuals.

Previous research has also sought to separate and discern what nonverbal accent cues are used when judging another's national cultural group. The results have been mixed. For example, is it emotional expression (Marsh et al., 2003)? Is it communicative movements such as waving (Marsh et al., 2007)? Is it hairstyle (Hamamura & Wai Li, 2012; Matsumoto & Hwang, 2018)? Participants' comments in Study 1 shed some light on this. Hair and dress style was seldom mentioned, but a confident demeanour, behavioural style (casual, relaxed), and movement style (swaggering walk, running style) were commonly mentioned as a reason why respondents decided the target was Australian.

A large percentage of the open responses showed participants could not articulate why they made their decision. This adds support to Marsh et al.'s (2007) suggestion, on finding that participants did not seek out particular physical disparities in judging nationality, that participants may have been more attuned to gestalt differences. As the open responses indicate, some decisions on who is Australian were based on a nebulous "looked Australian" and "seemed Australian".

One of our goals was to assess the influence of nonverbal accent in common everyday encounters, to add to the ecological validity of the research. That we obtained the current results from participants viewing such brief moments of nonverbal behaviour is remarkable and begs the question, how far can we reduce the exposure to nonverbal accent before people can no longer perceive enculturation? Alternatively, and even more critical, how brief can these moments be before racial appearance takes over as the salient cue? Research on the small amount of time it takes to form a first impression is well known, and the time it takes to register race as a category is less than 200ms (Kubota & Ito, 2017). Further research in this area would benefit from incrementally reducing the exposure time to discern this cut-off point.

Limitations

Previous research has consistently shown effects of racial essentialism on categorisation (Chao, Hong, & Chiu, 2013). As the current results showed that people who endorse racial essentialism allocated stereotypes based on nonverbal accent rather than race, our findings are curious and consideration around methods must be included.

The internal reliability was somewhat low for both of the studies for the lay theory of race scale, which could indicate the number of questions for each category was too low. Also categorising the participants into two discrete groups might have created a measure that was too blunt to detect differences. Furthermore, some data was lost in removing participants who

were on the mid point of the scale and were not allocated to either group. In previous experiments on effects of lay theory of race, participants have been primed for one theory or the other. No et al. (2008) argued that, depending on an individual's prior experience or social environment, lay theory of race might become more chronically accessible. They suggested it is also possible to increase the temporary accessibility of either social constructionism or racial essentialism by presenting participants with convincing evidence supporting that theory. This method has been shown to prime the corresponding theory in other research too, on implicit theories of morality (Hong, Chan, Chiu, et al., 2003) and gender (Coleman and Hong, 2008) and the propensity to categorise by race or theme (Chao, Hong, & Chiu, 2013). We did not prime our participants, nor did we embed the questions from the lay theory measure into a battery of other survey questions, as some previous research has done (Kung, Chao, Yao, et al., 2018) to conceal the intention and minimise demand characteristics. To help ensure stronger endorsement of a lay theory of race, temporarily priming participants for either racial essentialism or social constructionism may be beneficial.

Conclusion

The present research suggests that an individual's enculturation can be detected and used as a social category over and above the effects of race. These are significant findings, particularly in the context of modern plural societies where one's racial appearance may not mean anything beyond a distant heritage. Members of racial minorities who are enculturated within the mainstream culture can be recognised as such, even from the moment of first impressions. This result was found in multiracial, multicultural Australia where it is potentially common for people with minority racial appearance to belong to the mainstream culture. Whether the same effect occurs in other countries is a matter for future research.

We focused specifically on interracially adopted individuals of minority racial appearance. However, the results could also reasonably generalise to immigrants more broadly and perhaps to other racial groups. It isn't known how long an immigrant retains their enculturated nonverbal accent; nonverbal accent could change quite quickly upon immigration and as a precaution we only included targets who had been in Australia less than two years. We found that ingroup nonverbal accent is a trigger for ingroup categorisation and inclusion, but conversely, outgroup nonverbal accent could also trigger outgroup categorisation, prejudice and discrimination.

Australian citizens granted national ingroup status to interracially adopted individuals with a minority racial appearance both by identifying them as fellow Australian nationals and by assessing them as displaying Australian cultural stereotypes. This is a revelation to be pursued further for its implications on the inclusion of Australians of diverse racial backgrounds including interracially adopted people and others who have immigrated to Australia, who "look Asian" but have grown up as one of the cultural majority and are very much Australian. Perhaps, in a relatively new multicultural and multiracial society such as Australia, there is an opportunity to "look Australian" no matter what racial appearance one may have.

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STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

(To appear at the end of each thesis chapter submitted as an article/paper)

We, the PhD candidate and the candidate's Principal Supervisor, certify that the following text, figures and diagrams are the candidate's original work.

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We, the PhD Candidate and the candidate's Principal Supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate's contribution as indicated in the *Statement of Originality.*

	Author's Name (please print clearly)	**% of contribution**
Candidate	Yvette Alcott	80%
Other Authors	Dr. Susan Watt – editorial advice throughout, statistical advice, edits to all figures, and assistance with research design.	20%

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Chapter 5

Summary and Conclusions

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The research reported in the previous chapters investigated the roles of race and culture in the categorisation, evaluation and inclusion of racial minority immigrant groups by the majority host population in Australia.

The dominant majority of Australians are white in racial appearance and are of Anglo or European ethnicity. However, there is also a large variety of racial minorities and diverse ethnicities, including Indigenous Australians, that make up the Australian population. Multiculturalism is the formal national policy for managing diversity and immigration in Australia. Research has found it to be the most successful policy for managing diversity as it is closely linked with low racial and ethnic prejudice (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Rattan & Ambady, 2013). Integration is the ideology which underlies multiculturalism, and integration supports diverse ethnicities and encourages immigrant minority groups to maintain their culture of origin. However, this may be difficult for some individuals. For example, generations deep immigrants who may or may not identify with their ancestors' culture of origin, or interracial adoptees who may not have any connection to their country of birth or cultural ancestry. Where do racial minority group members belong if they do not maintain the culture of their country of origin as prescribed by multiculturalism? If they identify with the dominant culture in a country where they are a racial minority, will they be perceived as cultural majority group members, despite their racial appearance? Studies investigating the perceptions of racial minority groups in America, France and in Australia have shown that majority groups accept only those of white racial appearance as true nationals of these countries (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Beaman, 2018; Sibley & Barlow, 2009).

We investigated these issues by exploring the attitudes towards racial minority immigrants in Australia, and by drawing on well-established theories in these areas, for

example, Berry's theory of acculturation (1980), as well as theories of intergroup ideologies (Guimond, de la Sablonniere, Nugier, 2010). First, we examined the effect of different acculturation choices and different racial appearances on evaluations of immigrants by the host majority. Next, more specifically, we examined the effect of enculturation on the categorisations, evaluations and inclusion of people who have been interracially adopted and have grown up in Australia, who have an Asian racial appearance. Basing our studies on aspects of Fiske and Neuberg's (1990) continuum model of categorisation, we explored the theory of nonverbal accent (Marsh, Elfenbein, & Ambady, 2003) and its salience in the categorisation process. To these ends, the present research experimentally manipulated racial group and acculturation strategy to understand attitudes towards recent immigrants. We also experimentally manipulated enculturation and race, using thin slices of behaviour to test for the effects of nonverbal accent on the attitudes of national cultural majority host members towards minority racial groups. Finally, to understand the role of stereotypes in the process, the present research also created an updated list of Australian self-stereotypes using the Katz-Braly methodology.

The set of studies presented throughout this thesis provide compelling evidence for the relevance of cultural behaviours when host populations are evaluating racial minority immigrants. Notably, the findings showed that majority group members perceive immigrants, regardless of race, as more warm, competent, and likable if they adopt the host majority culture. Furthermore, the findings demonstrated that nonverbal accent can be as 'privileged' a category as race when national majority populations make judgements about racial minorities. Thin slices of behaviour were found to convey enough nonverbal information about the subjects that Australian participants could, at above chance levels, identify who was a fellow Australian national. Another contribution of the current project was an updated checklist of Australian self-stereotypes. Finally, this thesis presented findings that

demonstrate nonverbal accent is a significant cue which elicits allocation of ingroup cultural majority stereotypes by observers to targets, regardless of the target's minority racial appearance. A final prediction was there would be an influence of lay theory of race on how sensitive participants would be to nonverbal accent. Specifically, participants who endorsed racial essentialism would be less sensitive to nonverbal accent than participants who endorsed social constructionism, and they would not identify fellow cultural ingroup members because they would categorise according to racial appearance and not enculturation. This prediction was not supported when identifying nationality. However, there was an interaction effect when participants allocated stereotypes to the targets. Participants who endorsed racial essentialism were slightly less affected by nonverbal accent than participants who endorsed social constructionism.

This final chapter will revisit the broad aims, the specific research questions, and key findings of the present research program in detail. The theoretical implications of the results for intergroup ideologies and immigration policies, acculturation, and nonverbal accent will be considered. Directions for future research will also be discussed. Finally, the chapter will conclude with a discussion of the contribution and importance of the present research, and how it may be usefully considered and applied to intercultural and interracial relations more broadly.

Aims and Key Findings

The first aim was to investigate the attitudes of an Australian host population towards recent immigrants of diverse racial backgrounds, who adopted various acculturation strategies when settling into Australia, bearing in mind an attitude of acceptance is more beneficial to immigrants and the locally born population alike (Helliwell, Huang, Wang, & Shiplett, 2018). Historically, race has been an important cue for impression formation and categorisation. According to the continuum model (Fiske & Neuberg,1990), race is an

immediately detectable category because of its visual nature. It is a category upon which people can quickly base stereotypical judgments. The aim was to understand if the effect of acculturation strategy can be more influential than the effect of racial appearance on the host population's attitudes. This question was investigated in Studies 1 and 2, reported in Chapter 2. The findings from these first two studies supported previous research on the effects of acculturation choices on host populations' affective responses to immigrants (Maisonneuve & Teste, 2007; Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk,1998). However, they were the first to be performed in Australia.

Furthermore, to test for the effect of race, these studies used visual primes for race which the previous research did not. The studies were constructed to utilise Berry's (1980) theory of acculturation with a view to understanding which acculturation strategy the Australian participants preferred, by the positive or negative affective responses toward the target individuals. This was connected to a broader aim of the current research which was to understand if Australian participants endorsed the formal national policy of multiculturalism for managing diversity in immigration.

Another aim of the present research was to explore the separate influences of race and culture on impression formation of minority groups. Specifically, the research explored the effects of race and culture on impressions formed about people who are fully enculturated into the mainstream majority culture of a nation, but who have a minority racial appearance. The next four studies, reported in Chapters 3 and 4, addressed these aims. In Chapter 4 the focus was on a small group of people who may be potentially vulnerable to discrimination; those who have been adopted interracially into Australia. This is an ideal group for investigating the effects on which the studies are focused, as they exemplify people who have a racial minority appearance but mainstream enculturation.

Several specific research questions stemmed from the broader aims, and the results have been reported in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. The key findings of these studies are summarised presently.

The results in Chapter 2 demonstrated that acculturation strategy consistently had a large effect on the host population's perceptions of immigrants, while the effect of racial group was very small or non-existent. Specifically, the results showed there was a strong relationship between positive affect and high ratings of warmth/competence towards immigrants, and the acculturation strategies of assimilation and integration. As predicted, there was also a strong relationship with negative affect and low ratings of warmth/competence, and the acculturation strategy of separation. Even though these studies visually primed race, all the results showed no effect of racial group.

The study presented in Chapter 3 was an update on the self-stereotypes that Australians allocate to themselves as a nation, using the Katz-Braly methodology. Such a study was last conducted in 2006 (Leeson, 2006). As stereotypes are integral to impression formation (Hamamura & Wai Li, 2012; Marsh, Elfenbein, & Ambady, 2007), understanding how Australians see themselves as a nation and knowing how they perceive their national character was an important undertaking in the present research. The results found some long held Australian self-stereotypes such as 'friendly', 'laid back' and 'sports loving' had remained highly endorsed by participants, while others such as 'outgoing' and 'carefree' had declined in popularity. This study also found the trend of declining uniformity in consensus about Australian stereotypes had stabilised.

In Chapter 4, the results of three separate studies revealed that nonverbal accent offers information about enculturation and national belonging. Race commonly has a significant influence on categorisation, but if race were the only significant influence on national identification, national stereotyping and inclusion, we would have found no difference

between the two groups of targets, because race was held constant across the conditions. The first study in Chapter 4 tested if nonverbal accent is a discernible marker when identifying fellow national group members. Results showed that participants could, on average, correctly identify the Australian targets (people who had been interracially adopted from Asia and had grown up in Australia) from the foreign national targets of a similar racial appearance, based on thin slices of exposure to the nonverbal behaviours.

Drawing upon the lay theory of race (No, Hong, Liao, et al., 2008), the second study in Chapter 4 investigated whether individual differences in beliefs about race moderated the above outcome. The hypothesis predicted that participants who endorsed racial essentialism would not be able to discern who was Australian due to the fact they would be more likely to categorise and make their assessments based on racial appearance (Chao, Hong, & Chiu, 2013). However, the results did not support the prediction. There was no significant difference between the participants who endorsed racial essentialism and those who endorsed social constructionism in how they identified the targets.

The final study in Chapter 4 investigated this further. We drew on previous research (Hamamura, & Wai Li; 2012; Marsh et al., 2007) which suggested that stereotypes play a large part in the accuracy of identifying nationality based on nonverbal accent. This final study removed the task about national identity and instead tested how Australian nationals would assign Australian self-stereotypes to the two groups of target individuals. This study simultaneously tested for lay theory of race. The results supported the prediction that stereotyping would be influenced by nonverbal accent. Participants allocated Australian auto-stereotypes to the Australian targets (the people who were interracially adopted and grew up in Australia) with significantly higher scores for this group. Lay theory of race moderated the effect, such that people who endorsed racial essentialism showed a weaker effect of nonverbal accent than those who endorsed social constructionism.

Together, the studies presented in Chapter 4 suggest that nonverbal accent is a salient and influential cue when majority group members categorise, judge and include minority group individuals, specifically, in this instance, people who have been interracially adopted. They also demonstrated that enculturation via nonverbal accent can be detected in brief, everyday observations of others and may, therefore, be a contender against racial appearance as a relevant category when majority populations decide upon national and cultural inclusion.

Drawing the six studies in this research together, we have presented a systematic investigation of the relative effects of culture (manifested as acculturation or enculturation) and race. The results have consistently shown that culture is an influential and salient category upon which host populations make affective judgements, and judgements about nationality and cultural group inclusion.

Implications for Theory

Race has been the focus of a robust and long history of research, and it is of particular interest in a world where migration is prevalent. The effects of race have been and continue to be pernicious in the lives of individuals in multi-racial nations, where people continue to categorise each other by their racial group. Research on impression formation has demonstrated that impressions based on people's racial appearance are formed in milliseconds (Ito and Urland, 2005), with racial stereotyping a common outcome. An overarching concern of the present research and something that has been demonstrated by previous research (Beaman, 2018; Devos & Banaji, 2005; Sibley & Barlow, 2009) was that when judging and forming impressions of others, people's cultural identity is often conflated with their racial appearance. Ultimately, people of a minority racial appearance have not been included as truly belonging to the national majority – even in modern plural immigrant nations.

The studies presented in this program of research sought to understand how the relative influences of culture and race on the formation of impressions and subsequent group categorisations, can be successfully separated. The results make several important contributions to the literature.

The first contribution is showing the effects of acculturation strategy relative to race when an Australian host population formed impressions of minority and majority racial group immigrants. Acculturation strategy was the most influential factor when participants were asked to rate immigrant individuals of different racial groups on warmth, competence and affect. Regardless of race, participants liked the individuals who assimilated and integrated the most, and rated them the most warm/competent, while individuals who separated were rated as the least warm/competent and they were liked the least.

These results inspired further investigation, in a more specific way, into the relative influence of manifestations of culture and race. If majority populations like individuals who assimilate and integrate, will they then go that one step further to acknowledge and recognise them as cultural and national ingroup members based on their enculturation? For example, it is unlikely American people would think of Bill Clinton or Tom Hanks as "ethnic". With Americans, there is no conflict between an English background and an American identity (Pulera, 2004), but again these examples are of people who are racially white. What of people who are not white but are completely assimilated into the mainstream culture? Will they be included in that national cultural majority or will they be considered as belonging to an "ethnic" group?

The next contribution to the literature is showing that the first impressions Australian majority participants formed of racial minority group individuals were influenced by nonverbal accent. The research on nonverbal accent is fledgling when compared to the research on the impact of race and racial categorisation. The set of studies reported in

Chapter 4 contributes to and extends this existing body of work. Previous research has demonstrated that, in the absence of verbal communication, people are sensitive to subtle differences in emotional facial expression across cultures, proposing a theory of nonverbal accent that can differ across cultures such that perceivers can identify a target's nationality (Marsh et al., 2003). Previous research has also sought to discern the individual factors that are the cues for nonverbal accent. As well as emotional expression (Marsh et al., 2003), cues such as hairstyle (Hamamura & Wai Li, 2012; Matusmoto & Hwang, 2018); movements that have a 'communicative' purpose (like waving) or an 'instrumental' purpose (like walking) have been identified as separate factors that alert observers to nonverbal accent (Marsh, et al., 2007). However, the results have been mixed. The results from the studies in this thesis further this discussion on the specific cues, by suggesting that other means, such as enculturated physicality (which may include, for example gait, tempo-rhythm, posture) assist in determining nationality, and may enter into the notion of nonverbal accent.

Another significant contribution in this context is that the experiments in the present research used thin slices of behaviour of common everyday scenarios one might observe in the street, rather than confining the focus to facial emotional expressions or any one specific cue. Participants were presented with a real-world situation, which not only supports previous research but also increases the ecological validity of the results, as the real world is where the theory of nonverbal accent will be most often applied and its effects will be most palpable.

Finally, the present research extended the studies by Marsh et al (2007) which looked at the effects of nonverbal accent upon perceptions of racial majority (white) targets from two different cultures (American and Australian), and by Hamamura & Wai Li (2012) who investigated the effects of nonverbal accent, again, of racial majority (Asian) targets in Hong Kong who identified with either Western or Chinese culture. The point of difference in the present research is that the studies focused on how nonverbal accent affects impression

formation of racial minorities. This was achieved by asking majority host population members to identify racial minority individuals as fellow nationals and allocate stereotypical ingroup traits. The studies were also conducted to understand the effects of lay theory of race on this process of inclusion. This has not been previously investigated. The results suggest that even people who believe race is immutable can detect and recognise ingroup enculturation from nonverbal accent in racial minority group members.

The continuum model (Fiske & Neuberg, 1990) proposes that race is a privileged category. Also, evidence shows that race is processed very early in the categorisation process, even before age and sex (Ito & Urland, 2005). While our results do not dispute this, they do shed light on other processes at work when majority populations form impressions about minority racial groups in immigrant nations. They show that culture, manifested as an acculturation strategy or nonverbal accent, can have a greater influence over the categorisations made and impressions formed by observers, and the subsequent stereotyping of individuals, even when they are not aware of it.

Finally, we make an important contribution by clarifying and consolidating the role that stereotypes play in forming first impressions. No studies have investigated how people who have been interracially adopted and who have been enculturated into the mainstream culture are perceived stereotypically by the host majority. Are they stereotyped according to racial stereotypes or are they allocated typical majority cultural self-stereotypes? Our results showed that such individuals were allocated typical host majority Australian stereotypes from just brief observations of nonverbal accent. These results provide a deeper understanding of the cues upon which perceivers base their impressions. The findings could conceivably be generalised to other fully enculturated Australians of Asian racial appearance, as well as other racial minorities. It is remarkable that without knowing that the stimuli represented different nationalities, in 60 seconds perceivers formed stereotypic impressions that were

consistent with the targets' nationality, and stereotyped Australian targets as Australian. Furthermore this was regardless of the targets having a minority racial appearance.

This program of research has provided information regarding the social psychological and impression formation processes that underlie intergroup identification and inclusion in dominant majority populations towards racial minority groups. Ultimately, it offers further support and increases knowledge in acculturation theory and the theory of nonverbal accent. It also offers a new point of discussion regarding the continuum theory. It may be that culture, along with race, sex, and age, can be considered to be another 'privileged' category when we form impressions of others.

Implications for Research

The results suggest several promising avenues for further research in the area of nonverbal accent and intergroup relations. We exposed participants to 60 seconds of everyday behaviour. According to the technique of thin slices of behaviour, a 'thin slice' can be anything between a few seconds (Ambady & Rosenthal, 1993) and five minutes (Funder & Colvin, 1988). Future research might incrementally reduce the amount of time participants are exposed to the stimuli, to understand the minimum amount of exposure needed before it is no longer possible to detect nationality, and to understand if and when race becomes the salient category.

Furthermore, our videos showed participants thin slices of behaviour of targets walking, running, waiting and sitting down (i.e., instrumental movements). They also showed targets in a conversation, albeit muted. Further research might separate these two – just showing the 'instrumental' movements in one video and the muted conversation in another. Such research could contribute to the discussion about what cues participants rely on to detect nationality and allocate stereotypes (Marsh et al., 2003; 2007; Hamamura & Wai Li,

2012; Matsumoto & Hwang, 2018) while maintaining the ecological validity of a naturalistic environment.

The three nonverbal accent studies all used the same stimulus set. Doing so was necessary due to limited resources and time; however, it is now necessary to replicate the effect with a different stimulus set. Research exploring the effects of nonverbal accent with a different, and more diverse stimulus set (for example including targets from more racial groups) would serve to broaden the generalisability of results.

Having attention brought to one's minority racial appearance has been found to affect the desire for stronger alignment with majority group attitudes, interpreted as not wanting to be "ethnified" by the majority group based on racial appearance (Tarafodi, Kang, & Milne, 2002). Understanding the implications of identifying someone as a mainstream cultural group member from the viewpoint of the minority group individual would be a significant advance in this area of research. For example, how do the Australians who are interracially adopted mentioned in this thesis identify culturally? Do they identify as Australian or do they identify with their birth country's culture, despite their Australian enculturation?

Implications for Practice

The research presented throughout this thesis provides further insights into our impression formation processes. These insights could be helpful to policymakers when promoting racial and ethnic diversity in multicultural societies. While multiculturalism encourages ethnic groups to maintain and foster their differences, our results are a reminder that smaller populations of people within plural societies may have a unique position that needs to be considered. Multiculturalism functions well in Australia, at an institutional level where the law punishes racial discrimination, and with support and initiatives that educate and encourage majority host populations to embrace diversity. However, multiculturalism may create the expectation of cultural boundaries within which minorities are expected to

stay (Visintin, Birtel, & Crisp, 2017), and a more multicultural and racial diversity conscious approach does not necessarily alleviate bias (Park & Judd, 2005). Our research shows that people can and do identify majority enculturation in people with a minority racial appearance. However, in an integrationist society, some people may be inclined to ignore their initial impressions based on the cultural cues and elevate differences based on race, which they may think indicates cultural heritage, because it is the "right thing to do". It is essential to remind people that embracing ethnic difference is important to the happiness and well-being of many, but it is also entirely acceptable to tune into the immediate impressions we form about others based on their nonverbal accent or their acculturation choices. Race does not equal culture. That is, like culture itself, modern plural societies are continually evolving, and it is important to acknowledge that we can perceive the potential separateness of the racial-ethnic-cultural identity of others. In fact, the failure to perceive the necessity for this separation was cited as one of the most critical errors of past research on ethnicity in the United States (Alba, 1990).

Our results contribute to the debate regarding the benefits and drawbacks of various intergroup ideologies. They may stimulate serious consideration for a mixture of multiculturalism and colourblindness as the most beneficial way forward for plural societies, considering they demonstrated that race and enculturation could be understood as two separately detectable concepts.

However, it would be naïve to disregard the fact that racial appearance can be an obstacle to full participation in majority cultures. Despite the fact that this research has demonstrated we can and do categorise or judge others on their nonverbal accent rather than their racial appearance, we cannot deny that the socially constructed perceptions of race are an everyday occurrence for some members of society. As described earlier in this paper, it has been firmly disputed that race is an immutable biological construct, but people can still

be subject to “ethnification” based on their racial appearance. Initiatives that foster people’s knowledge and awareness of nonverbal accents and enculturation, as demonstrated in the results of the current research, might contribute to eliminating behaviour of “ethnifying” individuals based on race (Tarafodi, Kang & Milne, 2002). Or put another way, it may disrupt the assumption that some people may have that others must belong to an ethnic minority because of their racial appearance.

Our results demonstrated that participants could correctly include targets as Australians by allocating typical Australian stereotypes to them, without realising this was the task at hand. This indicates that nonverbal accent is a cue to group membership whether we are aware of it or not. Knowing that we tune into the cultural identification of others is useful to promote inclusion in the workplace and educational institutions. It is also beneficial for people in consulting roles, such as counsellors or health professionals, as it will direct behaviour towards the client in an appropriate manner. Our results demonstrated that when immigrants adopt (for whatever reason) the acculturation strategy of separation, they are perceived as less warm, competent and likeable. Being ‘separate’ from the majority culture may create tension and miscommunication in a consultative role, and although trust is essential in such situations, it may be difficult to foster. If practitioners are aware of the subtleties of communication due to the different cultural perspectives, this may enhance the experience for both concerned.

Results from this research showed that people are sensitive to cultural cues and that racial appearance is not always the most influential category when judging others’ national and cultural belonging. Verbal accent has a long history of being a cue to socially categorise others, once we have access to hearing it spoken. However, nonverbal accent can be immediately recognised, at zero acquaintance, at least by other cultural ingroup members. Therefore, the concept of nonverbal accent is very important to the process of inclusion.

It is understood that the diversity beliefs of majority populations have very real implications for minority group members in outcomes of mental and physical health, prosperity, and ultimately happy lives. It may seem the author is advocating an assimilationist or colourblind approach, which seeks to minimise group differences. This approach, however, has been found to reinforce majority group dominance and minority marginalisation, and this is a serious consequence that must be considered. Rather, it is suggested that the results contribute greater insight, and certainly further knowledge, toward negotiating the ever-changing landscape of multicultural and multi-racial immigrant societies. Developing initiatives to promote awareness of nonverbal accent and education about the race-ethnic dichotomy, that are sensitive to a range of racial and cultural configurations, is critical in a plural society such as Australia.

Conclusion

Culture in a society is often maintained by, among other things, the need of people to conform, to not stand out or distinguish oneself from other people too much. Social and cultural meaning, cultural practices and cultural identification imbue situations and interactions with others from the beginning. They exert an effect on these interactions, even before they start, at zero acquaintance. While it is essential that the populations of multicultural nations embrace diversity of cultures and ethnicities, this research demonstrates it is equally important to acknowledge the capacity we have to be able to identify people who are of a minority racial appearance as culturally “one of us”, rather than placing an ethnic expectation upon them because of their racial appearance. Human beings are compelled to identify with members of their groups, and in democratic plural societies an individual’s cultural group may not be synonymous with their racial group. The research in this thesis offers that nonverbal accent is a means of identifying and creating solidarity with the members of one’s cultural group, regardless of racial appearance.

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Appendices

APPENDIX A

Chapter 2 Measures

Study 1

University of New England HREC Approval Number HE11/026

1) Demographic Information

Instructions: Please answer each question below by clearly printing the answer in the space provided or by placing an X in the box. This information is gathered to get a general picture of the participants as a whole, and cannot or will not be identified with you as an individual. Please answer truthfully and as accurately as possible.

What is your age? _____

What is your gender?

④ Male

④ Female

Were you born in Australia?

④ Yes

④ No

Were both your parents born in Australia?

④ Yes

④ No

Did one or both of your parents immigrate to Australia?

④ Yes

④ No

If yes, from which country did you emigrate? _____

Did you immigrate to Australia?

④ Yes
④ No

If yes, from what country did you emigrate? _____

What is your ethnic or racial heritage?_____

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

④ School Certificate
④ Higher School Certificate
④Trade Certificate/Diploma
④University Degree

What is your occupation?_____

What is the name or postcode of the suburb in which you live? _____

Instructions: Thank you. You have completed the demographics questionnaire. Please continue to the next page to proceed to the first of the four stories.

(Participants were presented randomly with a photo of one of the 12 individuals, and a story depicting one of the four acculturation strategies, each followed by the warmth and competence measure (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick and Xu, 2002) and the affect measure (adapted from Maisonneuve & Teste, 2007). Finally, participants were presented with the manipulation check (Maisonneuve & Teste, 2007)).

Instructions: Based on your first impression, please rate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

"The man in the story is…."

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Not Sure	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Competent	④	④	④	④	④	④	④
Trustworthy	④	④	④	④	④	④	④
Efficient	④	④	④	④	④	④	④
Warm	④	④	④	④	④	④	④
Capable	④	④	④	④	④	④	④
Good natured	④	④	④	④	④	④	④
Sincere	④	④	④	④	④	④	④
Confident	④	④	④	④	④	④	④
Friendly	④	④	④	④	④	④	④
Intelligent	④	④	④	④	④	④	④
Skilful	④	④	④	④	④	④	④
Well Intentioned	④	④	④	④	④	④	④

Instructions: Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Not Sure	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I like the man in the story	④	④	④	④	④	④	④
I would get along with the man in the story	④	④	④	④	④	④	④

Instructions: Please rate your opinion of the following statements on the scale below:

In my opinion…	Definitely Not	Probably No	Maybe	Probably Yes	Definitely Yes
The person in the story wants to keep his original culture	④	④	④	④	④
The person in the story wants to adopt the Australian mainstream culture	④	④	④	④	④

Instructions: We welcome any further comments you may have about the attitude, behaviour and potential of the man in the article (optional):

Appendix A

Study 2

University of New England HREC Approval Number HE13-189

Demographic Information

Instructions: The first section of the survey is a brief demographics questionnaire. This information is gathered for a general picture of participants as a whole, and will not be identified with you as an individual. Please answer each question.

Please indicate if you are an Australian citizen:

④ Yes, I am an Australian citizen

④ No, I am not an Australian citizen

What is your age? _____

What is your gender?

④ Male

④ Female

Were you born in Australia?

④ Yes

④ No

Were both your parents born in Australia?

④ Yes

④ No

Did one or both of your parents immigrate to Australia?

④ Yes

④ No

If yes, from what country or countries did your parent (s) emigrate?

_____

Did you emigrate to Australia?

④ Yes

④ No

If yes, from what country did you emigrate? _____

What is your ethnic or racial heritage?_____

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

④ School Certificate (Year 10)

④ Higher School Certificate (Year 12)

④Trade Certificate/Diploma

④University Degree

What is your occupation?_____

What is the name or postcode of the suburb in which you live? _____

Instructions: The next section will ask you to consider your thoughts and feelings towards an individual who has immigrated to Australian from (Africa, Asia, Europe – participants viewed only one of these groups). You will find a photograph of this man and then there will be a brief summary of the way he has chosen to adapt to life in Australia. In varying degrees, he has either chosen to adopt the Australian mainstream culture and involve himself with Australia people , or he has chosen to retain his original culture and remain involved with other immigrants from his original country.

(Participants were presented randomly with a photo of one of the 6 individuals, and a story depicting one of the four acculturation strategies, followed by the warmth and competence measure (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick and Xu, 2002, and the affect measure (adapted from

Maisonneuve and Teste, 2007) and the Cultural distance measure (adapted from Nesdale and Mak, 2003) Finally, participants were presented with the manipulation check (adapted from Maisonneuve & Teste, 2007)).

Instructions: Based on your first impression, please rate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

"The man in the story is…."

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Not Sure	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Competent	④	④	④	④	④	④	④
Trustworthy	④	④	④	④	④	④	④
Efficient	④	④	④	④	④	④	④
Warm	④	④	④	④	④	④	④
Capable	④	④	④	④	④	④	④
Good natured	④	④	④	④	④	④	④
Sincere	④	④	④	④	④	④	④
Confident	④	④	④	④	④	④	④
Friendly	④	④	④	④	④	④	④
Intelligent	④	④	④	④	④	④	④
Skilful	④	④	④	④	④	④	④
Well Intentioned	④	④	④	④	④	④	④

Instructions: Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Not Sure	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I like the man in the story	④	④	④	④	④	④	④
I would get along with the man in the story	④	④	④	④	④	④	④

Culturally how similar or different do you feel from the person in the story?

④ Completely different
④ Different
④ Neither different nor similar
④ Similar
④ Very similar

Instructions: Please rate your opinion of the following statements on the scale below:

In my opinion…	Definitely Not	Probably No	Maybe	Probably Yes	Definitely Yes
The person in the story wants to keep his original culture	④	④	④	④	④
The person in the story wants to adopt the Australian mainstream culture	④	④	④	④	④

Instructions: We welcome any further comments you may have about the attitude, behaviour and potential of the man in the article (optional):

APPENDIX B

Chapter 3 Measures

University of New England HREC Approval Number HE17-154

Demographic Information

Instructions: The first section of the survey is a brief demographics questionnaire. This information is gathered for a general picture of participants as a whole, and will not be identified with you as an individual. Please answer each question.

Are you an Australian citizen:

④ Yes

④ No

Please state if you were born in Australia?

④ Yes

④ No*

How many years have you lived in Australia? _____

What is your age? _____

What is your gender?

④ Male

④ Female

④ Prefer not to say

You have just answered a question about being an Australian citizen.We all belong to different groups, and most of us belong to many groups.We are interested to understand how you identify yourself as belonging to the group “Australian”.

Instructions: Please answer the following question by checking ‘yes’ or ‘no’

Do you identify as being Australian?

④ Yes

④ No

Please answer the following questions by indicating the number that best reflects how you feel about belonging to the group “Australian”.

	Strongly DISAGREE 1	2	3	4	Strongly AGREE 5
I identify with this group	④	④	④	④	④
I am glad to belong to this group.	④	④	④	④	④
I do not consider this group to be important	④	④	④	④	④
It is important for me to belong to this group	④	④	④	④	④
I feel strong ties to this group	④	④	④	④	④

Instructions: Australians differ from each other in many ways. However, underlying these differences are some key similarities. In 2006 a sample of Australian people nominated the following 27 adjectives to describe the ‘typical Australian’. They are presented below, in alphabetical order.

We ask you to check the square beside the words that you think best describe the ‘typical Australian’.

Check as many items as you feel are applicable.

□ Adventurous	□ Friendly	□ Laid Back	□ Prejudiced
□ Carefree	□ Fun-loving	□ Loyal	□ Straightforward
□ Caring	□ Good sense of humour	□ Multicultural	□ Sports oriented
□ Coarse	□ Happy	□ Open-minded	□ Tolerant
□ Dependable	□ Hard-working	□ Out-door loving	□ Unassuming
□ Down to earth	□ Helpful	□ Out-going	□ Welcoming
□ Freedom loving	□ Independent	□ Patriotic	

If you would like to add more words that you feel are necessary to describe the ‘typical Australian’, please do so in the space provided below.

Other adjectives that might describe the typical Australian:

Finally, we ask you to please go over the times you have selected from the list and choose the **TOP FIVE** words which you feel best describe the ‘typical Australian’.

You will find the words you checked in the column below, on the left. To enter your top five choices, click on the word then drag it across to the space on the right, and drop it. At any time you can re-arrange the order if you want, by clicking and dragging the word to the correct place.

Items		Top Five
Adventurous	Independent	
Carefree	Laid Back	
Caring	Loyal	
Course	Multicultural	
Dependable	Open-minded	
Down to earth	Out-door loving	
Freedom loving	Out-going	
Friendly	Patriotic	
Fun-loving	Prejudiced	
Good sense of humour	Straightforward	
Happy	Sports oriented	
Hard working	Tolerant	
Helpful	Unassuming	
	Welcoming	

APPENDIX C

Chapter 4 Measures

Study 1

University of New England HREC Approval No: HE17-154

Demographic Information

Instructions: The first section of the survey is a brief demographics questionnaire. This information is gathered for a general picture of participants as a whole, and will not be identified with you as an individual. Please answer each question.

Please indicate if you are an Australian citizen:

④ Yes, I am an Australian citizen

④ No, I am not an Australian citizen

Please state if you were born in Australia?

④ Yes

④ No*

How many years have you lived in Australia? _____

What is your age? _____

What is your gender?

④ Male

④ Female

④ Prefer not to say

Instructions: First impressions are formed in milliseconds, and often, we aren't even aware they are forming. Sometimes they are correct, sometimes not. Sometimes we change them upon receiving further information. Either way, we inevitably form an immediate first

impression upon sighting another person.

We ask you to view the following videos and rate your **immediate** first impression using the following words:
Competent; Warm; Capable; Well-intentioned; Sincere; Confident; Friendly; Skilful.
The videos are 20 seconds long and you will be provided with a scale after each video to rate your impressions. Please do not think too much about your choices or spend too much time trying to decide on your answers. The videos have had the vocal track removed, so even though you will see the person talking, you will not hear their voice. You will only hear ambient sounds. This is intentional and not a technical problem with your computer or the video.

(Participants were presented randomly with each of the videos, one by one, each followed by the warmth/competence scale).

1) **Warmth and Competence Measure** (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick and Xu, 2002).

Based on your first impression, please rate your responses to the following:

	Not at all	Not very	Somewhat	Quite	Very
How competent do you view this man to be?	④	④	④	④	④
How friendly do you view this man to be?	④	④	④	④	④
How confident do you view this man to be?	④	④	④	④	④
How warm do you view this man to be?	④	④	④	④	④
How capable do you view this man to be?	④	④	④	④	④

How well intentioned do you view this man to be?	④	④	④	④	④
How skilful do you view this man to be?	④	④	④	④	④
How sincere do you view this man to be?	④	④	④	④	④

Thank you. You have completed the first section. We now ask you to watch seven short videos, one after the other. They are of the same people you have just viewed, but this time the videos are longer - approximately 60 seconds.

The people appearing in them were not asked to "act" in any particular way. They were asked to do ordinary things as they would naturally do them. They came dressed in clothes that they usually wear on the weekend.

The people in some of the films have grown up in Australia and are Australian, while others are not Australian, but are foreign nationals visiting Australia and have been in the country for less than two years.

Instructions:

1) We ask you to observe the way the person in each film moves, walks, runs, reacts to others, and how they present themselves generally.

2) Then, based on your immediate first impression, we ask you **to try and identify who is Australian (has grown up in Australia) and who is not.**

Again, the videos have had the vocal track removed, so even though you will see the person talking, you will not hear their voice. You will only hear ambient sounds. This is intentional and not a technical problem with your computer or the video.

Sometimes internet speeds vary and the videos may take a few moments to load and play. If this occurs, we ask you to please be patient and persevere with the task of observing the

person in the film. Please ensure you watch the entire film, for the full minute from beginning to end.

Thank you. Please continue.

(Participants were presented randomly with each of the videos, one by one, each followed by the two questions below).

Based on your immediate first impression, please indicate if you agree with this statement:

The man in the video is an Australian citizen (has grown up in Australia)

④ Yes

④ No

Can you say what made you answer yes or no?

_____

Finally, please state if you know or recognise any of the men in the videos.

_____

Study 2

University of New England HREC approval number: HE17-154

Demographics

Instructions: The first section of the survey is a brief demographics questionnaire. This information is gathered for a general picture of participants as a whole, and will not be identified with you as an individual. Please answer each question.

Please indicate if you are an Australian citizen:

④ Yes, I am an Australian citizen

④ No, I am not an Australian citizen

Please state if you were born in Australia?

④ Yes

④ No *

How many years have you lived in Australia? *_____

What is your age? _____

What is your gender?

④ Male

④ Female

④ Prefer not to say

Instructions: We care about the quality of our survey data and we are striving to receive the most accurate measures of your opinions. Part of this survey consists of several videos and it is important that you commit to focusing your attention when viewing the videos and answering the questions about what you see.

When they appear, do you commit to focusing your attention on the videos and answering the questions?

- O Yes, I will focus my attention when viewing the videos and answering the questions
- O No, I won't focus my attention when viewing the videos or answering the questions
- O I can't promise either way

(Participants were presented with the Lay theory of race measure (No, Hong, Liao, et al, 2008). The eight questions presented in random order).

Instructions*:* What is a group? People have different opinions on what creates various groups in society. Their ideas about "racial groups" and "national groups" are sometimes quite abstract. A sample of these ideas has been collected from different people and listed below. We are interested in knowing how you think about these ideas of others. Please read through each statement carefully and indicate how much you agree or disagree.

"Although a person can adapt to different cultures, it is hard if not impossible to change the disposition of a person's race."

- O Strongly Disagree
- O Disagree
- O Somewhat Disagree
- O Somewhat Agree
- O Agree
- O Strongly Agree

"What a person is like (e.g., his or her abilities or traits) is deeply ingrained in his or her race. It cannot be changed much."

O Strongly Disagree

O Disagree

O Somewhat Disagree

O Somewhat Agree

O Agree

O Strongly Agree

"A person's race is something very basic about them and it can't be changed much."

O Strongly Disagree

O Disagree

O Somewhat Disagree

O Somewhat Agree

O Agree

O Strongly Agree

"Racial groups are just arbitrary categories and can be changed if necessary."

- O Strongly Disagree
- O Disagree
- O Somewhat Disagree
- O Somewhat Agree
- O Agree
- O Strongly Agree

"Racial categories are constructed totally for economic, political, and social reasons. If the socio-political situation changes, the racial categories will change as well."

- O Strongly Disagree
- O Disagree
- O Somewhat Disagree
- O Somewhat Agree
- O Agree
- O Strongly Agree

"Racial groups do not have inherent biological bases, and thus can be changed."

- O Strongly Disagree
- O Disagree
- O Somewhat Disagree

O Somewhat agree

O Agree

O Strongly agree

"Racial categories are fluid, malleable constructs."

O Strongly Disagree

O Disagree

O Somewhat Disagree

O Somewhat Agree

O Agree

O Strongly Agree

"To a large extent, a person's race biologically determines his or her abilities and traits."

O Strongly Disagree

O Disagree

O Somewhat Disagree

O Somewhat Agree

O Agree

Thank you. You have completed the first section of the survey. The next section is about forming First Impressions.

Instructions: First impressions are formed in milliseconds, and often, we aren't even aware they are forming. Sometimes they are correct, sometimes not. Sometimes we change them upon receiving further information. Either way, we inevitably form an immediate first impression upon sighting another person.

We ask you to view the following 20 second videos and rate your **immediate** first impression using the descriptive words that follow each video
(Competent; Warm; Capable; Well-intentioned; Sincere; Confident; Friendly; Skilful).
You will be provided with a scale after each video to rate your impressions.

THE VOCAL TRACK HAS BEEN REMOVED
So even though you will see the person talking, you will only hear ambient sounds.
YOU WILL NOT HEAR THEIR VOICE.
This is intentional and not a technical problem with your computer or the video.

(Participants were presented randomly with each of the videos, one by one, each followed by the warmth/competence scale (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick and Xu, 2002)).

Based on your first impression, please rate your responses to the following:

	Not at all	Not very	Somewhat	Quite	Very
How competent do you view this man to be?	④	④	④	④	④
How friendly do you view this man to be?	④	④	④	④	④
How confident do you view this man to be?	④	④	④	④	④
How warm do you view this man to be?	④	④	④	④	④

How capable do you view this man to be?	④	④	④	④	④
How well intentioned do you view this man to be?	④	④	④	④	④
How skilful do you view this man to be?	④	④	④	④	④
How sincere do you view this man to be?	④	④	④	④	④

Instructions: Thank you. You have completed the second section of the survey.

Finally, we now ask you to observe these people again. Following are videos of the same people you have just viewed, but this time the videos are longer - approximately 60 seconds.

The people in some of the films have grown up in Australia and are Australian, while others are not Australian, but are foreign nationals visiting Australia and have been in the country for less than two years.

1) We ask you to observe the way the person in each film moves, walks, runs, reacts to others, and how they present themselves generally.

2) Then, based on your immediate first impression, we ask you **to try and identify who is Australian (has grown up in Australia) and who is not.**

Again, please be aware the vocal track has been removed, and you will only see ambient sound, even if the person is talking, you will not hear their voice. This is intentional and not a technical problem with your computer or the video.

Sometimes internet speeds vary and the videos may take a few moments to load and play. If this occurs, we ask you to please be patient and persevere with the task of observing the

person in the film. Please ensure you watch the entire film, for the full minute from beginning to end.

Thank you. Please continue.

(Participants were presented randomly with each of the videos, one by one, each followed by the two questions below).

Based on your immediate first impression, please indicate if you agree with this statement: The man in the video is an Australian citizen (has grown up in Australia)

④ Yes

④ No

Can you say what made you answer yes or no?

_____

Finally, please state if you know or recognise any of the men in the videos.

_____

Study 3

University of New England HREC approval number: HE17-154

Demographics

Instructions: The first section of the survey is a brief demographics questionnaire. This information is gathered for a general picture of participants as a whole, and will not be identified with you as an individual. Please answer each question.

Please indicate if you are an Australian citizen:

④ Yes, I am an Australian citizen

④ No, I am not an Australian citizen

Please state if you were born in Australia?

④ Yes

④ No *

How many years have you lived in Australia? *_____

What is your age? _____

What is your gender?

④ Male

④ Female

④ Prefer not to say

Instructions: We care about the quality of our survey data and we are striving to receive the most accurate measures of your opinions. Part of this survey consists of several videos and it is important that you commit to focusing your attention when viewing the videos and answering the questions about what you see.

When they appear, do you commit to focusing your attention on the videos and answering the questions?

O Yes, I will focus my attention when viewing the videos and answering the questions

O No, I won't focus my attention when viewing the videos or answering the questions

O I can't promise either way

(Participants were presented with the Lay theory of race measure (No, Hong, Liao, et al, 2008). The eight questions presented in random order).

Instructions*:* What is a group? People have different opinions on what creates various groups in society. Their ideas about "racial groups" and "national groups" are sometimes quite abstract. A sample of these ideas has been collected from different people and listed below. We are interested in knowing how you think about these ideas of others. Please read through each statement carefully and indicate how much you agree or disagree.

"Although a person can adapt to different cultures, it is hard if not impossible to change the disposition of a person's race."

O Strongly Disagree

O Disagree

O Somewhat Disagree

O Somewhat Agree

O Agree

O Strongly Agree

"What a person is like (e.g., his or her abilities or traits) is deeply ingrained in his or her race. It cannot be changed much."

O Strongly Disagree

O Disagree

O Somewhat Disagree

O Somewhat Agree

O Agree

O Strongly Agree

"A person's race is something very basic about them and it can't be changed much."

O Strongly Disagree

O Disagree

O Somewhat Disagree

O Somewhat Agree

O Agree

O Strongly Agree

"Racial groups are just arbitrary categories and can be changed if necessary."

- O Strongly Disagree
- O Disagree
- O Somewhat Disagree
- O Somewhat Agree
- O Agree
- O Strongly Agree

"Racial categories are constructed totally for economic, political, and social reasons. If the socio-political situation changes, the racial categories will change as well."

- O Strongly Disagree
- O Disagree
- O Somewhat Disagree
- O Somewhat Agree
- O Agree
- O Strongly Agree

"Racial groups do not have inherent biological bases, and thus can be changed."

- O Strongly Disagree
- O Disagree
- O Somewhat Disagree

O Somewhat agree

O Agree

O Strongly agree

"Racial categories are fluid, malleable constructs."

O Strongly Disagree

O Disagree

O Somewhat Disagree

O Somewhat Agree

O Agree

O Strongly Agree

"To a large extent, a person's race biologically determines his or her abilities and traits."

O Strongly Disagree

O Disagree

O Somewhat Disagree

O Somewhat Agree

O Agree

Thank you. You have completed the first section of the survey. The next section is about forming First Impressions.

First impressions are formed in milliseconds, and often, we aren't aware they are forming. Sometimes they are correct, sometimes not. Sometimes we change them upon receiving further information. Either way, we inevitably form an immediate first impression upon sighting another person.

Following are a series of short films. We ask you to view the people in the films and rate your immediate first impression using the descriptive words that follow. Each film is approximately 60 seconds long and each shows a different person doing ordinary things.

Instructions:

1) We ask you to observe the person in the film: the way they move, walk, run, react to others, and how they present themselves generally.

2) Then, based on your immediate first impression, we ask you to rate how much you think the trait might apply to the person in the film.

Sometimes internet speeds vary and the videos may take a few moments to load and play. If this occurs, we ask you to please be patient and persevere with the task of observing the person in the film. Please ensure you watch the entire fil, for the full minute from beginning to end. **THE VOCAL TRACK HAS BEEN REMOVED**. So even though you will see the person talking, you will only hear ambient sounds. **YOU WILL NOT HEAR THEIR VOICE.** This is intentional and not a technical problem with your computer or the video. Thank you. Please continue.

Instructions: Based on your first impression, please rate how much you think the following traits could apply to the man in the film:

	Definitely Not	Not really	A little bit	Quite a bit	Definitely Yes
Courteous	④	④	④	④	④

Down to earth	④	④	④	④	④
Friendly	④	④	④	④	④
Good sense of humour	④	④	④	④	④
Laid back	④	④	④	④	④
Outgoing	④	④	④	④	④
Quiet	④	④	④	④	④
Sincere	④	④	④	④	④
Shy	④	④	④	④	④
Traditional	④	④	④	④	④

Finally, please state if you know or recognise any of the men in any of the films.