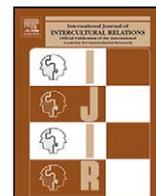


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# Acculturation orientations and religious identity as predictors of Anglo-Australians' attitudes towards Australian Muslims

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## ABSTRACT

Poll studies have shown an increase in Anglo-Australians' negative attitudes towards Australian Muslims. Such studies, however, by their nature present Anglo-Australians as a relatively unified group, making a limited scientific contribution to the understanding of intergroup relations. The present study aimed at revealing differences within Anglo-Australians by examining the extent to which their acculturation orientations and religious identity play a role in differentiating the levels of positive and negative attitudes they hold towards Australian Muslims. A total of 170 second year University students (116 females and 54 males) with a mean age of 22.09 ( $SD = 5.98$ ) participated in the study. Generally, findings revealed that while Integrationist and Individualist were the most endorsed acculturation orientations, Assimilationist and Segregationist emerged the least, and participants recorded more positive attitudes towards Muslims than negative attitudes. Additionally, Integrationist and Individualist orientations were positively related to positive attitudes and negatively related to negative attitudes; the reverse was the case for Assimilationist and Segregationist orientations. Religious identity of Anglo-Australians predicted positive attitudes towards Australian Muslims but did not predict negative attitudes.

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## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Growing interethnic tensions between Muslim and Anglo-Australians

Culture, ethnicity and religion play a critical role in shaping one's conceptions of the self, the relationships between the self and others, and ultimately the importance and rigidity with which groups are perceived as 'us' (the ingroup) and 'them' (the outgroup) (Dovidio & Esses, 2001). The problem of prejudice arises when there is a categorization of the outgroup as a negative homogenous group, where all members are perceived as alike, with no individuality or diversity. Allport defined prejudice as "An antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he [sic] is a member of that group" (1954, p. 9). The focal targets of prejudice in Australia have changed. Whilst Indigenous and Asian Australians still remain targets of prejudice (McGrane & White, 2007; White & Gleitzman, 2006), negative attention has now shifted to Australian Muslims.

In the post-September 11 era and after the Bali bombings in 2002, anti-Muslim sentiments, sometimes referred to as Islamophobia, increased in Australia. Forms of such sentiments include vandalism, threats against Mosques, schools, and centres, assaults of hijab-wearing women, telephone and mail threats to community leaders, and verbal abuse of Muslims

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(Browning, Jakubowicz, & Gold, 2003). The extreme negative ethnic stereotypes of the homogenous Muslim outgroup include terrorists, gang rapists, illegal immigrants, anti-Western, and anti-Christian (Poynting, Noble, Tabar, & Collins, 2004). Dunn (2004) found that Muslims in Australia endure problematic portrayals, stereotyping, and a negative perception within Australian society and that these perceptions are linked to real world impacts including exclusion, racist violence, arson, and various forms of unfair treatment. This 'politics of fear' ultimately promotes social segregation and undermines social inclusion in a culturally diverse society like Australia. Australian Muslims are perceived as culturally inferior, devalued or the 'dangerous other', and incompatible or radically different from non-Muslim Australian culture (Dunn, Klocker, & Salabay, 2007).

"The links that are made between these events and the perpetrators involved, however problematic, constitute a homogenized category of those of Muslim faith" Poynting et al., p. 6). Moral panic has triggered particular anxieties concerning the future of contemporary Australian society as enacted in the Cronulla riots of 2005, where a clash between Anglo and Muslim youths resulted in injuries to twenty-five people. In addition to these incidents, recent research has reported an increase in both explicit and implicit forms of anti-Muslim sentiment (Rowatt, Franklin, & Cotton, 2005).

Despite the prevalence of negative attitudes towards Australian Muslims, Anglo-Australians are not a homogenous group. Anglo-Australians have a wide variation of attitudes towards Muslims that can potentially range from positive, neutral, to negative. Many of the poll studies reviewed above, by their nature, present Anglo-Australians as a relatively *unified* group, making a limited scientific contribution to the understanding of intergroup relations. An appropriately sensitive approach needs to be adopted in order to accurately assess variation in Anglo-Australians' attitudes towards Australian Muslims. The present study aimed at revealing differences *within* Anglo-Australians by adopting two distinct research perspectives. The first has relied on Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, and Senécal's *Interactive Acculturation Model* (1997), which investigates the extent to which the acculturation orientations of majority members play a role in differentiating the levels of positive and negative attitudes they hold towards minority members. The second has focused on the relationship between religious identity and outgroup prejudice.

We argue that for psychologists to better understand prejudice and its impact on intergroup harmony within a multiethnic context, an acculturation orientations and religious identity approach which acknowledges variation *within* majority ingroup attitudes is a potentially worthwhile factor to pursue empirically.

## 1.2. *The Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM)*

According to Bourhis et al.'s (1997) *Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM)*, positive or negative attitudes of majority members (Anglo-Australians) towards ethnic minority members (Australians Muslims) differ according to the following acculturation orientations: (1) Integrationist, (2) Individualist, (3) Assimilationist, (4) Segregationist, and (5) Exclusionist. These orientations can be described as follows:

(1) Integrationist defines majority respondents' acceptance of ethnic minority members maintaining their heritage culture as well as adapting to important features of the mainstream majority culture; (2) Individualist refers to majority respondents' tendency to accept ethnic minority individuals as individuals rather than as representative members of given group-identity categories, e.g., ethnic members or immigrants; (3) Assimilationist refers to the expectation on the part of majority respondents that ethnic minority members relinquish their cultural identity in order to adopt the mainstream majority culture; (4) Segregationist defines the expectation on majority respondents' part that ethnic minority members would hold themselves separate from the mainstream majority culture; and (5) Exclusionist refers to majority respondents' intolerance for ethnic minority members maintaining their heritage culture and refusal to accept their adoption of any features of the mainstream majority culture.<sup>1</sup>

Bourhis et al.'s IAM assumes that the acculturation orientations endorsed by mainstream majority members towards ethnic minority groups tend to match with the ideology of their plural society. Within a plural society (like Australia) which explicitly adopts a multicultural ideology towards ethnic minority groups and individuals, the IAM predicts that the most likely acculturation orientations to be endorsed by mainstream majority members are Integrationist and Individualist. This is presumed to be particularly correct when the target group is a valued, i.e. preferred, ethnic minority. In comparison, the less likely acculturation orientations to be endorsed are Assimilationist, Segregationist, and Exclusionist.

Analogously, the IAM predicts a reverse order of acculturation orientations to be endorsed by mainstream majority members in the case of a plural society which is based on an Assimilation or Ethnic/Segregation ideology. This is presumed to be particularly correct when the target group is a devalued, i.e. non-preferred, ethnic minority.

Additionally, regardless of the ideology of a plural society, the IAM predicts a positive link between Integrationist or Individualist acculturation orientations and tolerance towards ethnic minority members. In contrast, the IAM predicts a positive relationship between Assimilationist, Segregationist, or Exclusionist acculturation orientations and prejudice against ethnic minority members.

Empirical findings concerning the predictions of Bourhis et al.'s IAM have been generally confirmative. Within the context of multicultural Canada, for instance, Montreuil and Bourhis (2004) have reported that both Anglo-Canadians and Franco-

<sup>1</sup> Exclusionist acculturation orientation was excluded from our study because a pilot test with Anglo-Australians has revealed that the subscale measuring this orientation (a modification of Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004) creates confusion and ambiguity.

Canadian (the mainstream majority Canadian cultures) were more in favour of Integrationist and Individualist and less endorsing of Assimilationist, Segregationist, and Exclusionist acculturation orientations towards particularly valued ethnic minority members. They also found that while the first two acculturation orientations were associated with good relationships with ethnic minority members, the last three orientations were associated with negative relations. A recent study on Anglo-Canadians has also confirmed these findings (Safdar, Dupuis, Lewis, El-Geledi, & Bourhis, 2008).

In contrast to multicultural Canada, research findings within the ethnist/segregationist context of Israel towards Israeli Palestinians (perceived as a devalued group) have also supported the IAMs predictions. Bourhis and Dayan (2004) found that Israeli Jews endorsed more Segregationist, Exclusionist, and to a lesser degree Assimilationist acculturation orientations towards Israeli Palestinians and less Integrationist and Individualist orientations.

In line with IAMs predictions, Bourhis and Dayan (2004) found that Israeli Jews who endorsed Assimilationist, Segregationist, and Exclusionist acculturation orientations towards Israeli Palestinians were those who perceived the most problematic relationships. Israeli Jews who endorsed Integrationist and Individualist orientations were those who perceived more harmonious relationships with Israeli Palestinians.

The cited research has confirmed that the cultural context of minority and majority groups is crucial in determining the acculturation orientations of mainstream members. More studied across a variety of cultural contexts are urgently needed to further investigate the IAMs predictions. Previous research within Australia has not as yet tested the capability of the IAM to differentiate between Anglo-Australians' positive and negative attitudes towards Australian Muslims.

Australia is a plural country which, over the years, had policy shifts from assimilation (1947–1964) to integration (1964–1972), to cultural pluralism (1972–1975), then to explicit adoption of a multicultural ideology (1975) towards ethnic minority groups and individuals (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). In principle, all of the IAMs predictions within the context of a multicultural society may extend to the Australian context. However, given that Australian Muslims are perceived as a prominently devalued target group (Dunn, 2004; Islam & Jahjah, 2001; Poynting et al., 2004), threatening Anglo-Australians' cultural identity, the present study hypothesized that:

- (1) Anglo-Australians tend to endorse Assimilationist and Segregationist acculturation orientations towards Australian Muslims more than Integrationist and Individualist acculturation orientations;
- (2) Anglo-Australians' Integrationist and Individualist acculturation orientations correlate positively with positive attitudes and negatively with negative attitudes they hold towards Australian Muslims; and
- (3) Anglo-Australians' Assimilationist and Segregationist acculturation orientations correlate negatively with positive attitudes and positively with negative attitudes they hold towards Australian Muslims.

### 1.3. Religion and outgroup prejudice

Religion constitutes a philosophy for interacting with, and interpreting the physical and social worlds. How people relate to their religion may have serious implications for their intergroup relationships. There is a strong accumulating empirical evidence that proposes that religion may contribute to prejudice against outgroup members. Hasnain and Abidi (2007) have reported that among Hindus and Muslims, religious people were significantly more prejudiced and ethnocentric towards one another than their non-religious counterparts. Likewise, Hewstone, Islam, and Judd (1993) examined Muslim and Hindu evaluations of target groups that varied by religion, Muslim or Hindu, and found religion to be important in predicting outgroup discrimination. Research evidence aggregated in Europe and North America has also supported the assertion that Christian religiosity contributes to more prejudice against other faith members (Altemeyer, 1996; Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Duriez & Hutsebaut, 2000; Saroglou, Lamkaddem, Pachterbeke, & Buxant, 2009).

Additionally, a review by Batson, Schoenrade, and Ventis (1993) revealed that in relevant studies published between 1940 and 1990, 37 out of 47 findings showed a positive relationship between religiousness and outgroup prejudice.

A recent complimentary review to Batson et al. (1993) of published studies on religion and prejudice between 1990 and 2003 has also concluded that religiousness relates positively to outgroup prejudice (Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005). The review was carried out on research which examined one or more of four facets or orientations of religiousness, namely Intrinsic, Extrinsic (Allport & Ross, 1967), Quest (Batson et al., 1993), and Fundamentalism (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992).

While Intrinsic religiosity is considered to be more mature, stemming from an internalized, committed, and sincere faith, Extrinsic religiosity is associated with religious immaturity, involving an externalized, consensual, and utilitarian orientation to religion (Allport & Ross, 1967). It is theoretically presumed that Intrinsic religiosity would be associated with tolerance and Extrinsic religiosity with outgroup prejudice.

Quest religious orientation involves a questioning, doubting, open, and flexible approach to religious issues (Batson et al., 1993). This orientation is theoretically thought to be associated with tolerance rather than prejudice.

Religious Fundamentalism focuses on closed-mindedness, the acceptance of the teachings of a particular religion, and the attitude that one's religious beliefs contain the fundamental and inerrant truth about humanity and deity (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992). Adherents to this religious orientation tend to be convinced that their God favours them and disfavors others, implying that the others are deficient in some fundamental ways and therefore must be either converted to the 'way' or eliminated. It is theoretically asserted that religious Fundamentalism would be associated with outgroup prejudice.

Hunsberger and Jackson's (2005) review concludes that generally, with the exception of the Quest religious orientation, research tends to support a hypothesis of a positive association between religiousness and outgroup prejudice. However,

when the target of prejudice is an ethnic/racial group or a religious outgroup within the prejudice-religious orientation relationships, the relationship between Quest orientation and tolerance disappears. The review concludes that there is growing evidence of a positive relationship between religiousness and outgroup prejudice as far as the target of prejudice is an ethnic/racial outgroup or a religious outgroup, regardless of what dimensions or orientations of religiousness are measured.

In line with this research, the present study finally hypothesized that (4) identification of Anglo-Australians with their religion correlates positively with negative attitudes and negatively with positive attitudes they hold towards Australian Muslims.

To summarize, this study hypothesizes that:

**H1.** Anglo-Australians tend to endorse Assimilationist and Segregationist acculturation orientations towards Australian Muslims more than Integrationist and Individualist acculturation orientations.

**H2.** Anglo-Australians' Integrationist and Individualist acculturation orientations correlate positively with positive attitudes and negatively with negative attitudes they hold towards Australian Muslims.

**H3.** Anglo-Australians' Assimilationist and Segregationist acculturation orientations correlate negatively with positive attitudes and positively with negative attitudes they hold towards Australian Muslims.

**H4.** Identification of Anglo-Australians with their religion correlate positively with positive attitudes and negatively with negative attitudes they hold towards Australian Muslims.

## 2. Method

### 2.1. Participants

A total of 371 second year University students of psychology (72% females and 28% males) living in Sydney metropolitan area participated in this study. Their *mean age* was 21.7 years ( $SD = 4.88$ ). The sample comprised of a wide range of ethnic backgrounds including 46% Anglo-Australian; 13% European-Australian; 25% Asian-Australian; 2% Middle Eastern; 14% Other. The sample also contained a wide range of religious backgrounds including 43% Christianity, 3% Islam, 2% Judaism, 4% Buddhism, 2% Mixed-religion, 40% No-religion, and 6% Other.

However, for the purposes of testing the research hypotheses, only participants who identified themselves as non-Muslim Anglo-Australians were included in the analyses. The size of this actual sample was 170 (116 females and 54 males) with a *mean age* of 22.09 ( $SD = 5.98$ ). While 43% of the final sample identified as Christian, 48% identified as having no religion; the rest identified as belonging to Judaism (.6%), Buddhism (.6%), mixed-faith (1.2%), or other religions (7.1%).

### 2.2. Procedure

Testing took place in 2008 and was conducted within a second year tutorial program at the students' University. Prior to testing, all participants were informed that their responses would be confidential and would not be accessed by anyone other than the researchers. Once their consent was given, participants completed their questionnaires on-line in a counterbalanced fashion to eliminate any order effects of the identity measures (acculturation orientations and religious identity) on intergroup attitudes measures and vice versa. In half of the cases the acculturation orientations and religious identity measures were presented first followed by the intergroup attitudes measures, and in the second half the reverse order was presented. Participants completed their on-line questionnaires in a tutorial room and it took them about 20 min to complete the task. All participants were debriefed upon completion of testing.

### 2.3. Measures

Four measures were administered to all participants:

*The Demographic section* measured participant characteristics such as age, gender, ethnicity, and religion. Participants had to choose their ethnicity and religion from fixed categories. For ethnicity the categories were: Anglo-Australian, European-Australian, Indigenous/Aboriginal-Australian, Asian-Australian, Middle Eastern-Australian, and Other. For religion the categories were: Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Mixed, No-Religion, and Other.

*The Attitudes towards Australian Muslims Scale* (a modification of Stephan & Stephan's (1985), *Intergroup Anxiety Scale*) is an 18-item Likert scale. Here participants are asked to rate how they would feel mixing socially with members of the Muslim community in Australia, by rating nine positive (such as 'relaxed') descriptors and nine negative (such as 'awkward') descriptors on a 5-point scale ranging from 0 (*not at all*) to 4 (*extremely*). Cronbach's alpha reliabilities of the positive and negative attitudes measures in the present study were .89 and .86, respectively.

*The Acculturation Orientation Scale* (a modification of Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004) is a 16-item Likert Scale. The scale comprises four subscales pertaining to Integrationist, Individualist, Assimilationist, and Segregationist orientations with items relating to domains of marriage, cultural maintenance, rental housing, and social activities. For example, the

Integrationist marriage item states “I would be as likely to marry a Muslim living in Australia as I would an Anglo-Australian as long as the culture of both spouses was respected; the Individualist cultural maintenance item states “Whether Muslims living in Australia maintain their cultural heritage or adopt the Anglo-Australian culture makes no difference because each person is free to adopt the culture of their choice”; the Segregationist social activities item states “I would prefer to engage in a social activity with an Anglo-Australian rather than a Muslim living in Australia because I prefer the Anglo-Australian culture”; and the Assimilationist rental housing item states “I would share accommodation with a Muslim living in Australia as long as they gives up their culture of origin for the sake of adopting the Anglo-Australian culture”. Participants were asked to rate each item on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 4 (*Strongly agree*). In the present study, Cronbach’s alpha reliabilities of the acculturation orientations were .70 for Integrationist, .67 for Individualist, .81 for Assimilationist, and .79 for Segregationist.

*The Multi-Religion Identity Measure* (Abu-Rayya, Abu-Rayya, & Khalil, 2009) contains 15 items divided equally between three aspects of religious identity: religious affirmation and belonging, religious identity achievement based on a process of exploration of and commitment to religious issues, and religious faith and practices. Items were rated on a 7-point Likert scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*absolutely*). It should be noted that, at least in theory, some respondents might not express a religious affiliation or might consider themselves to be atheists. The scale acknowledges this and has a point of 0 (*not applicable*) as a possible response to account for such cases. Cronbach’s alpha reliability of the measure was .95 in the present study.

#### 2.4. Analysis of data

Statistical analyses of participants’ responses were conducted using the statistical package SPSS 15.0 for Windows. Beyond the objectives of the current research focusing on the identity and attitudes of Anglo-Australians and to maximize utilization of the data, differences between Anglo and non-Anglo participants’ attitudes towards Australian Muslims were examined using ANOVA analyses. These analyses revealed non-significant differences between the groups.

The rest of analyses relied on the usage of the non-Muslim Anglo-Australian sample ( $n = 170$ ). Bivariate correlations were carried out to examine relationships between the central variables of this study and the demographic variables of gender and age. These analyses showed that gender and age did not have any statistically significant relationship with acculturation orientations, positive outgroup attitudes, negative outgroup attitudes, and religious identity. The outcome of these analyses meant that demographic variables were not controlled for in subsequent analyses. In general, a paired-sample  $t$ -test revealed that participants’ positive attitudes towards Australian Muslims ( $M = 2.01$ ,  $SD = .73$ ) were statistically significantly higher than their negative attitudes towards Australian Muslims ( $M = .84$ ,  $SD = .62$ ),  $t_{(169)} = 12.60$ ,  $p < .001$ .

### 3. Results

#### 3.1. H1

To test this hypothesis a repeated measures ANOVA was carried out. Participants’ acculturation orientations towards Australian Muslims were statistically significantly different,  $F_{(3, 167)} = 262.01$ ,  $p < .001$ . Post hoc univariate tests revealed that while the Integrationist orientation was the most endorsed followed by Individualist orientation, the Segregationist orientation was the least endorsed followed by Assimilationist (see Table 1 for means and standard deviations).

Beyond the main analyses required to test this hypothesis, we were intrigued to find out whether the acculturation domains of marriage, social activities, cultural maintenance, and renting have equal endorsements within the acculturation orientations. We chose to limit our analyses in this regard to the welcoming/positive Integrationist and Individualist acculturation orientations as these remain the most important for policy makers. Repeated measures ANOVAs revealed a statistically significant difference between the four domains within the Integrationist,  $F_{(3, 167)} = 32.38$ ,  $p < .001$ , and Individualist,  $F_{(3, 167)} = 38.23$ ,  $p < .001$ , acculturation orientations. In the case of the Integrationist orientation, post hoc univariate tests revealed that marriage domain was statistically significantly the least endorsed and social activities domain the most endorsed (see Fig. 1 for means and standard deviations). In the case of the Individualist orientation, post hoc univariate tests revealed that marriage domain was statistically significantly the least endorsed and the other domains most endorsed (see Fig. 2 for means and standard deviations).

**Table 1**  
Differences among the acculturation orientations.

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Integrationist	3.11 <sub>a</sub>	.49
Individualist	2.98 <sub>b</sub>	.55
Assimilationist	1.61 <sub>c</sub>	.47
Segregationist	2.25 <sub>d</sub>	.56

Note. Means with different subscript letters differed significantly ( $p < .001$ ).

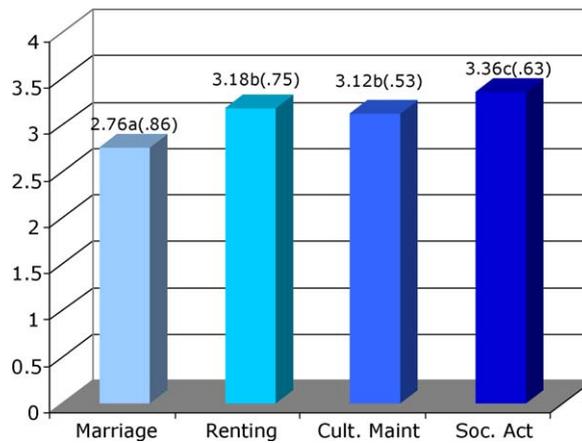


Fig. 1. Differences between the domains of marriage, renting, cultural maintenance, and social activities within the Integrationist acculturation orientation. Note. Standard deviations are in parentheses. Means that do not share a similar letter differed statistically significantly ( $p < .001$ ).

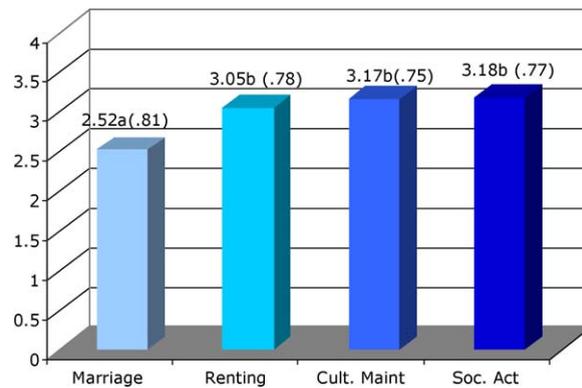


Fig. 2. Differences between the domains of marriage, renting, cultural maintenance, and social activities within the Individualist acculturation orientation. Note. Standard deviations are in parentheses. Means that do not share a similar letter differed statistically significantly ( $p < .001$ ).

Table 2  
Bivariate correlations ( $r$ 's) among acculturation orientations and attitudes towards Australian Muslims.

	Positive attitudes	Negative attitudes
Integrationist	.39*	-.32*
Individualist	.44*	-.41*
Assimilationist	-.33*	.35*
Segregationist	-.45*	.44*

\*  $p < .001$ .

### 3.2. H2

To test this hypothesis bivariate correlations were calculated. As shown in Table 2, participants' Integrationist and Individualist acculturation orientations were statistically significantly positively correlated with positive attitudes towards Australian Muslims,  $r = .39, p < .001, r = .44, p < .001$ , respectively. Participants' Integrationist and Individualist acculturation orientations were also statistically significantly negatively correlated with negative attitudes towards Australian Muslims,  $r = -.32, p < .001, r = -.41, p < .001$ , respectively

### 3.3. H3

To test this hypothesis bivariate correlations were calculated. As shown in Table 2, participants' Assimilationist and Segregationist acculturation orientations were statistically significantly negatively correlated with positive attitudes towards Australian Muslims,  $r = -.33, p < .001, r = -.45, p < .001$ , respectively. Participants' Assimilationist and

Segregationist acculturation orientations were also statistically significantly positively correlated with negative attitudes towards Australian Muslims,  $r = .35, p < .001, r = .44, p < .001$ , respectively

### 3.4. H4

To test this hypothesis bivariate correlations were calculated. The analysis disclosed a statistically significant positive relationship between participants' religious identification ( $M = 4.51, SD = 1.44$ ) and positive attitudes towards Australian Muslims,  $r = .31, p < .002$ . The analysis yielded a non-significant relationship between participants' religious identification and their negative attitudes towards Australian Muslims.

## 4. Discussion

Findings of this study did not support the first hypothesis. Despite the status of Australian Muslims as being a prominently devalued group within Australia, Anglo-Australian university sample endorsed the Integrationist and Individualist acculturation orientations towards Australian Muslims the most, followed by Segregationist, and Assimilationist. A possible reason for Anglo-Australians' endorsement of the Integrationist and Individualist orientations towards Australian Muslims is that it seems consistent with the multicultural policy adopted by the Australian government. Alternatively, participants in this study were psychology students who have been shown to be liberal and broad-minded thinkers when it comes to attitudes towards ethnic minority groups living in Australia (Islam & Jahjah, 2001). It is also possible that the factor of social desirability, i.e. the tendency of participants to report the socially desirable acculturation orientations, may explain this finding. Psychology students may indeed be more sophisticated in sniffing out the real purpose of a study and thus acting in a social desirability manner.

Preferences for the Integrationist and Individualist orientations accord also with results of studies within multicultural Canada on devalued ethnic groups. Montreuil and Bourhis (2004), for instance, have found that mainstream Canadian University students were in favour of Integrationist and Individualist in the case of devalued ethnic members such as Haiti and Sikh, although this support was less than when compared to their support for these orientations regarding valued ethnic groups such as the British and French. Likewise, Safdar et al. (2008) found that Anglo-Canadian University students endorsed the welcoming Integrationist and Individualist acculturation orientations towards culturally distant Arab Muslims, albeit less than their support for culturally close British individuals. These findings combined together imply that mainstream individuals living in social-cultural contexts characterized by an explicit adoption of a multicultural ideology tend to endorse the acculturation orientations encouraged by the multicultural ideology towards minority groups.

Beyond testing the first hypothesis, we were intrigued to find out whether the acculturation domains of marriage, social activities, cultural maintenance, and renting were equally endorsed within the welcoming Integrationist and Individualist acculturation orientations. This post hoc explorative analysis revealed that while the marriage domain was consistently the least endorsed within the Integrationist and Individualist orientations, the domain of social activities was the most endorsed in the case of the Integrationist orientation. From a multicultural policy perspective, it therefore might be more effective to encourage joint social and cultural activities that involve positive intergroup contact but are also less intimate (than i.e., marriage) when it comes to promoting Integrationist and Individualist acculturation orientations amongst the mainstream culture. These additional analyses further highlighted the differences *within* the Anglo-Australian cohort, an important aim of this research.

As far as attitudes of Anglo-Australians towards Australian Muslims are concerned, findings of this study revealed that Anglo-Australians recorded more positive attitudes towards Muslims than negative attitudes. The acculturation orientations perspective adopted in this study played indeed a role in differentiating the levels of positive and negative attitudes Anglo-Australians hold towards Australian Muslims. Specifically, as predicted in the second hypothesis, the Integrationist and Individualist acculturation orientations of Anglo-Australians correlated positively with their positive attitudes towards Australian Muslims and negatively with negative attitudes. In contrast, as predicted in the third hypothesis, the Assimilationist and Segregationist acculturation orientations of Anglo-Australians correlated positively with their negative attitudes towards Muslim Australians and negatively with positive attitudes.

Collectively, these findings confirm the predictions of the IAM as far as acculturation orientations and outgroup attitudes are concerned. In addition, these findings are consistent with previous research confirming that the Integrationist and Individualist orientations are closely linked to positive relationships with ethnic minority members, and the Assimilationist and Segregationist orientations are linked to negative relations (Bourhis & Dayan, 2004; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004; Safdar et al., 2008). These findings accord also with the Pettigrew and Topp's (2006) meta-analysis showing that intergroup contact reduces intergroup prejudice within the context of ethnic minority and majority groups. Anglo-Australians' Integrationist and Individualist acculturation orientations, most specifically, contain positive attitudes to social activities and contact involving Australian Muslims, and these orientations were shown here to be better for relationships with the outgroup.

Although religious identification of Anglo-Australians seems also sensitive in revealing *within* Anglo-Australians variation in outgroup attitudes, findings of this study did not confirm the last hypothesis of a positive relationship between religious identification and outgroup prejudice. The study disclosed rather a significantly positive relationship between Anglo-Australians' religious identification and their positive attitudes towards Australian Muslims. The degree of Anglo-Australians' attachment to, and practice of their religion, did not predict their negative attitudes towards Australian

Muslims. These findings diverge from previous research which confirmed a positive relationship between religiousness and outgroup prejudice (Altemeyer, 1996; Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Batson et al., 1993; Duriez & Hutsebaut, 2000; Hasnain & Abidi, 2007; Hewstone et al., 1993; Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005; Saroglou et al., 2009).

There are several possible explanations for these discrepant findings. Firstly, as previously discussed, the university sample has been found to be very liberal minded. Secondly, it may be the case that Christianity is more tolerant to diversity within the Australian context or that the multicultural Australian context plays a role in softening the impact of religiousness on outgroup prejudice, a worthwhile empirical issue to pursue in future research. We also suggest that the association of religiousness with positive outgroup attitudes towards Muslims found here may have been a result of the explicit attitudes measures used. With explicit measures there is the increased possibility of social desirable acquiescence where respondents provide the ratings they believe the researcher would prefer. To overcome this, future research could adopt subtle and implicit measures to assess bias towards Muslims. For example, an Australian study by Unkelbach, Forgas, and Denson (2008) found that university students reported an implicit bias towards Muslims using the 'Shooter Bias' task. Such reaction time measures which assess automatic bias can be employed with research on religiousness and outgroup prejudice to better understand the nature of their interrelations. In fact, the inclusion of such measures could also better map the relationships between acculturation orientations and outgroup attitudes.

In conclusion, the findings of this study confirm that there is indeed a variation within Anglo-Australian's attitudes towards Muslims, and the IAM and religious identity approaches adopted here seem sensitive in revealing this variation. Policy makers may be encouraged by the findings to promote Integrationist and Individualist acculturation orientations and a positive approach to religion as these have been shown to be associated with positive outgroup attitudes. Researchers may also consider explicitly promoting these aspects in prejudice reduction interventions as an important step in fostering inter-ethnic harmony within multicultural societies.

Generalisability of the findings to Australian community attitudes and policy recommendation is limited in terms of the sample and correlational method used in the present study. Future research employing a more diverse sample and sophisticated methods may better test the research hypotheses pursued in this study and draw conclusions to policy makers interested in intercultural relations. Future research, in this regard, may want to look at attitudes of mainstream members towards different ethnic Muslim groups. It would be also useful to map the attitudes of mainstream members towards secular versus firmly religious Muslims to better understand intergroup relationship from an acculturation and religious identity perspectives.

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