

Running head: SUSPICION, CRIMINALITY AND WILLINGNESS TO REPORT
MUSLIMS

Attitudes of Suspicion, Perceptions of Criminality and Willingness to Report Muslims in
Canada

by

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Abstract

The current research incorporated two studies to examine stigma toward Muslims within a forensic psychology framework. The studies utilized fictional news coverage to assess participant's attitudes of suspicion, perceptions of criminality and willingness to report Muslims vs. control suspects. In Study 1, 216 students from a Canadian university read about a suspicious event involving Muslims vs. control, conducted by Muslim and non-Muslim experimenters. In Study 2, 192 students read about either a burglary (home invasion) or explosion (terrorism) crime scenario, where the identity of the "person of interest" was either Muslim or Caucasian, conducted by either Muslim or non-Muslim experimenters. Results of Study 1 indicate greater suspicion toward suspects with Muslim experimenters, whereas Study 2 demonstrated greater suspicion, perceptions of criminality and willingness to report the Caucasian person of interest. The findings are discussed in terms of aversive racism and the implications for Canadian Muslims in forensic settings.

Keywords: Forensic psychology, Muslim, stigma, prejudice, crime, social media

SUSPICION, CRIMINALITY AND WILLINGNESS TO REPORT

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Shazia Ishrat and Farrukh Siddiqi. I am profoundly grateful for your continued love and support toward all my endeavours.

SUSPICION, CRIMINALITY AND WILLINGNESS TO REPORT

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SUSPICION, CRIMINALITY AND WILLINGNESS TO REPORT

Table of Contents

Chapters	Page
Title Page -----	i
Abstract -----	ii
Dedication -----	iii
Acknowledgements -----	iv
Table of Contents -----	v
Chapter 1: Literature review -----	1
<i>Stigmatization of Muslims</i> -----	4
<i>Muslims in the media and global platforms</i> -----	6
<i>The current research</i> -----	8
Chapter 2: Study one -----	15
<i>Method</i> -----	16
<i>Data analysis</i> -----	20
<i>Results</i> -----	21
<i>Discussion</i> -----	22
Chapter 3: Study two -----	26
Method -----	28
Data analysis -----	32
Results -----	33
Discussion -----	35

SUSPICION, CRIMINALITY AND WILLINGNESS TO REPORT

Chapter 4: General discussion ----- 36

 Limitations and future directions -----38

 Conclusion ----- 41

References ----- 43

Tables ----- 59

Appendices ----- .67

Chapter One: Literature Review

As of 2016, Canada's population comprised of over 36 million people (Statistics Canada, 2016). From 2001 to 2006, the Muslim population in Canada increased from 1.9 per cent to 2.7 per cent, and growth projections suggest that by 2031, Muslims could represent over 2.5 million (6 per cent) Canadians (Malenfant, Lebel & Martel, 2010). Roughly, one third of Canadian Muslims are of South Asian descent, a third are of Arab origin, and the remaining third are from a variety of backgrounds, including African and European (Malenfant et al., 2010). A vast majority of Muslims in Canada are foreign-born (68 per cent), originating from countries such as Pakistan, Iran, Algeria, Morocco, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and India (Environics Institute, 2016). More than half of Muslims in Canada (55.2 per cent) reside in Ontario, representing 4.6 per cent of the total provincial population (National Household Inventory, 2011). Moreover, approximately two thirds of Canadian Muslims live in the three largest metropolitan cities in Canada—Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver (Janhevich & Ibrahim, 2004; National Household Survey, 2011).

Despite Canada's multicultural identity (Canadian Multiculturalism: An Inclusive Citizenship, 2012), many Muslims claim that discrimination and negative stereotyping are a difficult reality in Canada (Helly & Perry, 2011; Perry, 2014). The Environics Institute (2016) and the Canadian Race Relations Foundation conducted a nationwide survey using stratified random sampling to examine both positive and negative experiences of Muslims in Canadian society. Many Muslim participants reported experiencing discrimination (35 per cent), stereotyping by neighbours or colleagues (39 per cent) and Islamophobia (13 per cent) (i.e., dislike or prejudice against Islam or Muslims). Moreover, about two thirds of participants reported that they were very

concerned (32 per cent) or at least somewhat concerned (35 per cent) about media portrayals of Muslims in Canada. Finally, Canadian Muslims also reported problems with respect to economic stability (34 per cent) and employment (18 per cent), where more than 33 per cent of Muslim participants were having a difficult time acquiring adequate employment, regardless of their educational backgrounds.

While Canadian legislation and policies are directed toward the country's multicultural identity and values (Smolash, 2004), research in Canada has demonstrated that Muslims are often the targets of hate crime—including violent assaults and vandalism of property (Allen, 2014; Cankar, 2002; Perry, 2016). The Canadian Islamic Congress (CIC) reported a 1600 per cent increase in hate crimes against Muslims or Islamic places of worship from 2001 to 2002. The CIC received 11 complaints related to such crimes the year preceding the 9/11 attacks; this figure increased to 173 complaints the following year (Helly, 2004). Statistics from 2010 to 2013 indicate that the majority of hate crimes targeting Muslims were non-violent, such as mischief (32 per cent) or damage to religious property (12 per cent). However, compared to other religions, hate crimes against Muslims (33 per cent) were more likely to be violent offences (Allen, 2014). Moreover, attacks against places of Muslim worship were a rare occurrence prior to 9/11; however, a sharp increase has been reported in recent years (Hussain, 2004; Perreux & Freeze, 2017). For example, an armed Caucasian man entered the mosque at the Islamic Cultural Centre of Quebec in February 2017, killing six men and wounding several others (Gillis & Woods, 2017). The same mosque was a target of vandalism the year preceding the mass murder: a gift-wrapped pig's head was left at the doorstep (The Canadian Press, 2016).

Researchers have speculated that stereotyping and discrimination toward Canadian Muslims may be reinforced through the security legislations enacted in response to 9/11 (Helly, 2004; Laser, 2014; Lyon, & Haggerty, 2012; Slonowsky, 2012). Among these legislations was the *Anti-Terrorism Act (ATA)*, which incorporated amendments to The Criminal Code purportedly to address issues of national security (Fenwick, 2002; Laser, 2014). The ATA defined new crimes, such as preparing or financing terrorist activities, and allowed the government to exercise increased power in preventative arrests to maintain national security (Kruger, Mulder & Korenic, 2004; Roach, 2009). Moreover, the ATA allowed conducting surveillance or secret searches, creating lists to identify terrorist suspects, and new procedures were introduced to facilitate the cessation of charities suspected of having affiliations with terrorist organizations. The ATA was enacted as a permanent legislation, which incorporated a wide range of acts committed inside or outside Canada, and built on the premise that standard criminal law could not apply to threats to national security (Fenwick, 2002; Roach, 2009; Roach, 2011).

Although these provisions and measures were introduced to ensure the safety of Canadian citizens, increased pre-entry assessments and surveillance of foreign nationals has resulted in concerns that individuals perceived to be Muslim are often subjected to unwarranted scrutiny or suspicion (Kruger et al., 2004; Roach, 2009; Slonowsky, 2012). In fact, following the provisions of the ATA, Muslims and people perceived to be Muslim have been targets of profiling by law enforcement officials and security agencies (Helly, 2004; Hurst, 2002; Makin, 2003; Perry, 2015). Legislation of this nature, that unfairly targets a specific group of people, has particularly devastating consequences on

citizenship by perpetuating mistrust and suspicion toward specific groups of people (Bahdi, 2003; Nagra, 2011; Slonowsky, 2012). Furthermore, when a country initiates counter-terrorism efforts by using immigration or security legislation, they are defining the groups that pose a threat, and thus, simultaneously identifying the individuals who may be dangerous to citizens (Crocker, Dobrowolsky, Keeble, Moncayo & Tastsoglou, 2007). As a result of these growing concerns, research has been conducted in both Canada and the United States (US) investigating stigma and discriminatory behaviour toward Muslims (Abu-ras & Suarez, 2009; Hanniman, 2008; Kalkan, Layman & Uslander, 2009; Khalema & Wannas-Jones, 2003; King & Ahmed, 2010; Rippy & Newman, 2006).

Stigmatization of Muslims

Stigma occurs when an individual possesses (or is believed to possess) an attribute or characteristic that conveys a devalued social identity in a particular social context (Crocker, Major, Steele, Gilbert & Fiske, 1998). According to Goffman (1963, p. 3): stigma is an attribute that extensively discredits an individual, reducing him or her “from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one.” Thus, stigma is a social construction that resides in the social context rather than the individual; in other words, the stigmatizing marker is applied by society (Crocker et al. 1998; Jones, Farina, Hastorf, Markus, Miller & Scott, 1984). These attributes or marks can be linked to appearance (e.g. clothing, physical deformity), behaviour (e.g., wife battering, child abusing), or group membership (e.g., African American, South Asian) (Crocker et al., 1998). The stigmatizing marks eventually become widely recognized among members of a culture (Crocker et al., 1998) and become associated with negative evaluations and stereotypes (Jones et al., 1984). Goffman’s stigma framework has been applied among various

populations, such as individuals with mental illness (Link, Yang, Phelan, & Collins, 2004; Rivera-Segarra, Rivera, López-Soto, Crespo-Ramos, & Marqués-Reyes, 2014), HIV-AIDS (Mahajan, Sayles, Patel, Remien, Ortiz, Szekeres, & Coates, 2008), members of the LGTBQ community (Arnold, Rebchook & Kegeles, 2014), as well as racial and ethnic groups (Casey, 2017; Mathews & Johnson, 2015).

In the US, Brown and colleagues (2013) investigated the role of stigmatizing marks to determine whether cues of foreignness, such as physical attire, complexion and a Muslim name, contribute to prejudiced views toward job applicants. The results demonstrated that portraits of the same individuals in Middle Eastern attire were rated less positively than portraits in western clothing. Portraits with a western name and western clothing were rated least negatively, whereas complexion did not influence perceptions. These findings support the hypothesis that distinguishing attributes among Muslims (names and clothing) were sufficient to elicit stigma toward Muslims. Park and colleagues (2009) found similar findings, where Muslim and European names were used to determine whether ethnicity influences an applicant's likelihood of acquiring employment, salary assignment, and other employment related characteristics. The results demonstrated that the Muslim applicant was judged unfavourably in salary assignment and job related characteristics (Park et al., 2009). Moreover, other research pertaining to stigma toward Muslims in the workplace has demonstrated that interactions with job applicants in traditional Muslim attire were shorter and more interpersonally negative in comparison to applicants in non-Muslim attire (King & Ahmad, 2010).

Research examining stigmatization toward Muslims has also been conducted outside of North America. Strabac and Listhaug (2008) analyzed 30 countries in Europe

and found that levels of anti-Muslim prejudice were significantly higher than levels of anti-immigrant prejudice in the majority of countries they studied (both Eastern and Western Europe). Additionally, research conducted in Britain, France, Germany, Spain, and the US suggested that prejudice toward Muslims was influenced by perceived threat from outgroups (Wike & Grim, 2010), such that Muslims were often perceived as security threats. Moreover, research stigma toward Muslims in western countries suggests that negative media representations can influence attitudes and perceptions toward Muslims and people perceived to be Muslim (Bullock & Jafri, 2000; Moore, Mason & Lewis, 2008; Saeed, 2007).

Muslims in the Media and Global Platforms

Socio-cognitive theories are often used to describe the powerful role of the media in social learning and stereotype formation with respect to infrequently encountered groups (Saleem & Anderson, 2012). These theories suggest that opinions, ideologies and beliefs are developed and shaped through the exposure of information about a group of people. A US study examining media portrayals of foreign nations suggested that negative news coverage about a specific nation increases viewers' likelihood of developing negative beliefs about that nation (Wanta, Golan & Lee, 2004). This phenomenon can be observed with respect to Muslims, where continuously associating a group with negative characteristics in the media (e.g., terrorist attacks) may result in reinforcing negative stereotypes and beliefs toward Muslims (e.g., Muslims are terrorists) (Moore, Mason & Lewis, 2008; Saleem & Anderson, 2013). Research suggests that Islam is perceived as an intolerant, oppressive, and dangerous religion, where democracy or modernity is not possible (Helly, 2011; Henzell-Thomas, 2001). Other research has

demonstrated that Muslims have been associated with negative stigma in newspapers (Nacos & Torres-Reyna, 2007), TV and movies (Shaheen, 2009), children's literature (Schmidt, 2006), online articles/publications (Mohideen & Mohideen, 2008), and web animations and flash-based games (Van Buren, 2006). Thus, it appears that Islam and Muslims are portrayed negatively in various mediums and avenues.

Trevino and colleagues (2011) analysed three elite newspapers (e.g., The New York Times, The Los Angeles Times and The Washington Post), and concluded that all three newspapers portrayed Muslims more negatively after the 9/11 attacks. For instance, there was a higher usage of negative labels for Muslims (e.g., terrorists, extremists, fundamentalists, radicals, and fanatics) post 9/11 than pre 9/11 (Trevino et al., 2010). Similarly, in the United Kingdom, Moore and colleagues (2008) conducted an analysis of representations of Islam in news coverage. They found that Muslims were often portrayed as a military threat, threat to political violence, internal threat to democracy and a social threat against gender equality. Such portrayals have the potential to become stereotypes, and find their ways into mainstream opinion and media images, which in turn may contribute to a general climate of unease toward Muslims in Western society (Saleem & Anderson, 2012).

Within the last decade, we have observed a shift in news sharing platforms, where people are becoming more reliant on the internet and social media (Mangold & Faulds 2009). Social media platforms, such as Twitter, have emerged as a powerful tool in diffusing information (Lee & Ma, 2012). In fact, the US President, Donald Trump, frequently utilizes Twitter to disseminate information and share his opinions (Henninger, 2017). Researchers revealed that a retweet (forwarding a twitter post) could reach an

average of 1000 additional users regardless of the number of followers in the first tweet (Kwak, Lee, Park & Moon, 2010). Furthermore, an analysis of 41.7 million twitter user profiles, 1.47 billion social relations, 4,262 trending topics, and 106 million tweets revealed that the majority of the topics discussed in tweets are news headlines or persistent news events (Kwak et al., 2010). With the advent of social medial and networking platforms, it becomes crucial to examine the effects of media and internet in shaping opinions and ideologies pertaining to less frequently encountered and/or stigmatised groups. While significant strides have been made in research with respect to social media (Lee & Ma, 2012; Mangold & Faulds, 2009), research examining the impact of social media on opinions and views of Muslims is limited.

The Current Research

Researchers have proposed that international events and debates often serve a central component in forming attitudes toward less frequently encountered groups (Strabac & Listhaug, 2008). A series of events involving individuals from the Islamic faith or Muslim countries (e.g., Israeli-Palestinian conflict; wars in Lebanon, Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, Iraq; terrorist attacks in Kenya, Madrid, 9/11 attacks in the US, London bombings and the Manchester attack) have generated significant international and political global attention (Gleditsch & Rudolfsen, 2016; Helly, 2011). Repeatedly associating a religion or ideology with violence or crime has the potential to create a cognitive link in people's minds between that belief system and criminal behaviour (Slonowsky, 2012), which can lead to the development of a stereotype that a particular religion—or the people who practice that particular religion—are more prone to violence or criminal behaviour. This might result in Muslims—including individuals simply

perceived to be Muslim—essentially being equated to publicized Islamic fundamentalists, who are the primary subjects of media reports and security concerns (Weld, 2003). In this way, a crime committed by a single individual can come to be erroneously perceived as a reflection of an entire group of people (Whitfield, 2004).

Although Canadian Muslims have reported increasing incidences of discrimination and hate crime (Allen, 2014; Alphonso, 2017; Perry, 2014), research suggests that Islamophobia has been decreasing, and Canadians have more favourable views of Muslims in comparison to other western countries (Hussain, 2004; Survey of Muslims in Canada, 2016). In 2010, research indicated that about half of Canadians believe racism is not a significant problem in Canada (Simard & Redeye, 2010). Other public polls have reported that Canadians are not as concerned about terrorism; with about 72 per cent of Canadians reporting that they do not expect terrorist attacks in Canada (Laser, 2014). Previous research in this area seems to suggest that Muslims in Canada may not experience the same level of negativity and discrimination as Muslims in other Western countries. That is *not* to say that stigmatization of Muslims is not a problem in Canada (Perry, 2016), but that it may be different from the experiences in other countries, and thus worthy of greater research attention.

To add to these potentially conflicting findings, recent international political changes favouring exclusionary national identity, anti-immigration sentiment, and political populism have been observed in news coverage and online social platforms (Shane, Rosenberg, & Lipton, 2017; Shear, 2017; Thrush, 2017). Specifically, political changes and entry examinations in the US may influence attitudes toward Muslims generally (Hwang & Pang, 2017). In January 2017, President Donald Trump signed an

executive order prohibiting all individuals from seven Muslim majority countries (e.g., Yemen, Syria, Somalia, Iran, Libya, Sudan, and Iraq) from entering the US for a minimum of 90 days, this included the possibility of a greater “Muslim ban” (Zapotosky, Nakamur & Hauslohner, 2017; Masri & Senussi, 2017). The order also suspended US refugee admissions for 120 days, suspended the Syrian refugee program indefinitely, prioritized refugee claims on the basis of religious persecution, and decreased the total number of refugees accepted into the country from 110,000 to 50,000 indicating more stringent refugee acceptance standards (Yuhus & Sidahmed, 20117). President Trump’s policies and political changes were pitched as necessary to protect and benefit Americans. However, when a President declares a specific nation or group of people as dangerous, it may logically increase negative perceptions toward those nations or groups of people (Hoffstaedter, 2017). With recent changes in political climate and ongoing attitudes of suspicion toward Muslims in North America, research examining attitudes toward Canadian Muslims in the forensic context seems necessary.

Focusing on Muslims in forensic contexts seems particularly relevant for research, as an increase in global scrutiny toward Muslims has implications for racial profiling by law enforcement and security agencies (Helly, 2004; Patel, 2012; Perry, 2015; Razzack, 2007). Following the attacks of 9/11 and the enactment of legislation to enhance national security (e.g., ATA), many Canadian Muslims have reported experiences of hyper-surveillance from law enforcement or security agencies, where they, or someone close to them, were subject to unwarranted scrutiny in their personal and public lives (Nagra, 2011; Patel, 2012; Perry, 2015). Various communities (e.g., Middle Eastern, Central and South Asian Muslim groups), including individuals with traditional

Muslim names, have reported feeling targeted, profiled, or presumed guilty (Dobrowolsky, 2007). For instance, Poynting and Perry (2007) found that 8 per cent of their Muslim participants reported having been approached and contacted by law enforcement and security agencies, and 43 per cent reported knowing someone who had been contacted for questioning. Many of these interactions were observed in public or social spheres, such as the workplace, drawing attention, doubt, and suspicion toward their Muslim identities (Poynting & Perry, 2007). Such practices have the potential to contribute to the alienation of Canadian Muslims, foster mutual distrust, and reinforce the belief that Muslims are indeed suspicious and untrustworthy (Dobrowolsky, 2007; Macdonald, 2015; Perry & Poynting, 2006; Poynting & Perry, 2007). In the aftermath of these legislations and increased security measures, there is little research examining perceptions toward Canadian Muslims, particularly whether stigmatization of Muslims extends to forensic perspectives.

The current analyses focused on concepts such as suspicion, criminality, and willingness to accuse Muslims of criminal behaviour. The aforementioned concepts are the focus of the current research as previous literature has demonstrated that Muslims are subject to greater scrutiny and suspicion (Khaleema & Wannas-Jones, 2003; Helly & Perry, 2011; Helly, 2004; Biles & Ibrahim, 2002; Razzack, 2007; Patel, 2012). Other research has demonstrated that Muslims are regarded as untrustworthy (Sides & Gross, 2013), violent, and hostile (Henzell-Thomas, 2001; Akbarzadeh & Smith, 2005). Thus, this research tested whether these stereotypical perceptions are generalized to perceiving Muslims as criminal as well. Lastly, the concept of willingness to report potential suspects is addressed in this research because a proclivity to asserting an unjust

accusation against an individual based on group membership has implications in activities of law enforcement, profiling, and the Canadian Criminal Justice system. Perry and Poynting (2007) suggested that such practices in public spheres may contribute to the belief that increased scrutiny and legislation unfairly targeting Muslims is justified. Thus, this research investigated whether Canadians believe that Muslims are suspicious and criminal, to the extent that would warrant reporting an individual to law enforcement agencies. With these considerations in mind, this Master's research was designed to investigate the extent to which Muslims are stigmatized in Canada, particularly whether stigma can be generalized to forensic contexts.

The current research investigated how individuals perceive a situation of potentially criminal circumstances when they believe Muslims or non-Muslims committed criminal actions. Two studies were conducted utilizing fictional news coverage of potentially criminal events to investigate whether participants are more suspicious of, perceived people as more criminal, and were more likely to accuse Muslims of wrongdoing than non-Muslims. The term "Muslim" is used to describe individuals who are identified by others—regardless of race, ethnicity, religion, national origin, or country of familial origin—as Muslim (Chaudhry-Kravitz, 2013). We are investigating intergroup attitudes and perceptions, rather than the veracity of those attitudes and perceptions. Thus, even if a person is not of the Islamic faith, but other people perceive the individual to be Muslim, people's attitudes and perceptions of said individual would fall within the parameters of this research.

Given the influential role of social media in disseminating news coverage (Lee & Ma, 2012; Mangold & Faulds, 2009) and the power of Twitter as a new medium of

information sharing (Kwak et al., 2010), participants in this research were presented with news coverage in the form of Tweets and online articles. Tweets were utilized to portray the news coverage in this research because tweets allowed us to briefly describe a suspicious event to assess possible underlying beliefs or opinions *before* further context was provided. Moreover, tweets allowed us to simulate contemporary information avenues (e.g., Twitter), thus enhancing the credibility of our cover story. The cover story suggested that participants were viewing news coverage regarding a local incident and the purpose of the study is to examine participant reactions to the news event as it unfolded. Ambiguity with respect to whether a crime had been committed was maintained in Study 1, as previous research has demonstrated that racial stereotypes are most influential in ambiguous situations (Fiske, 2000; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000).

Study 1 incorporated fictional news coverage of an ambiguous event, which could have been interpreted as a possible terrorist act (the crime that is arguably most stereotypically associated with Muslims), with descriptions of suspects as information on the event unfolded. Participants completed an explicit measure of prejudice toward Muslims and questions pertaining to their perceptions of suspicion, criminality and willingness to accuse the suspects of a crime. Study 2 also incorporated fictional news coverage, but this time the incident resulted in the death of a woman, and it was clearly described as a criminal event. Participants viewed news coverage with circumstantial evidence to suggest the person of interest may have been involved, however, it was unclear whether the individual indeed perpetuated the crime. In addition, two separate crime scenarios were utilized—one related to terrorism and one not—to test whether

Muslims are associated with crime in general or just more strongly associated to stereotypical crime scenarios.

Chapter Two: Study One

Study 1 was designed to investigate whether participants are more likely to suspect, perceive as criminal, and accuse Muslims of wrongdoing than non-Muslims in an ambiguous situation. Previous research has used Muslim names to manipulate a Muslim identity (Park et al., 2009; Brown, Awad, Preas, Allen, Kenney, Roberts, & Lusk, 2013) in research examining stigma toward Muslims. We utilized a 2x2 design, where the suspects' identity was manipulated using Muslim names (Muslim names vs. no names) and a Muslim label ("Muslim" vs. no label). Participants began the study by reading a series of fictional tweets specifically designed to resemble the news updates from a popular local newspaper (i.e., Toronto Star) followed by a fictional news article formatted to appear as if it was from a local police department's website (i.e., Durham Regional Police Services (DRPS)). Participants answered a series of questions about the news coverage, as well as several questions about their reactions to the events. We hypothesized that participants in the Muslim conditions (Muslim name and Muslim label, Muslim label only, Muslim name only) would exhibit greater suspicion, perceptions of criminality, and willingness to report the behaviour in comparison to individuals in the control condition where no identifying information was provided. We also analyzed for differences between experimenters to determine whether completing the study with a Muslim or non-Muslim experimenter influenced participant responses to the news coverage presented in the study. Specifically we had two research questions for Study 1.

1. Are there differences in participants' perceptions toward the suspects in the news coverage between the Muslim conditions (e.g., name, label or both) in comparison

to the control condition with respect to attitudes of suspicion, perceptions of criminality, and willingness to report the suspects?

2. Are there differences in participants' perceptions when participants complete the study with a Muslim experimenter in comparison to a non-Muslim experimenter?

Method

Participants. The sample consisted of 216 (94 male and 122 female) undergraduate students from a mid-size GTA-based university. Students participated in the study in exchange for course credit toward their Introductory Psychology or Abnormal Psychology courses ($M_{age} = 19.79$, $SD_{age} = 2.69$, age range: 18–40). The participants self-identified as Caucasian (25.5 per cent), South Asian (20.4 per cent), Middle Eastern (13.9 per cent), South East Asian (10.6 per cent), Black (9.3 per cent), East Asian (7.4 per cent), West Indian (6.5 per cent), Hispanic/Latino (1.9 per cent) and other (4.6 per cent). Over a third of the sample reported that they identified with Christianity (38.9 per cent), followed by Islam (20.4 per cent), Hinduism (14.4 per cent), Agnosticism (6.5 per cent), Atheism (6 per cent), Buddhism (3.2 per cent), Sikhism (2.8 per cent), Judaism (0.5 per cent), and other (7.4 per cent). See Table 1 for sample profile of participants included in the analysis.

Materials.

Tweets. Three fictional tweets were created and designed to appear similar to the twitter post updates from a local newspaper (i.e., The Toronto Star). The tweets were used to briefly convey information, similar to what happens when an authentic newsworthy event transpires. Following each tweet, participants answered two filler

open-ended questions to maintain the cover story: “what did the tweet tell you?” and “how does this information make you feel?”

The first two tweets were as follows: (1) DRPS investigating possible threat to public safety in North Oshawa and (2) Police searching for two male suspects in dark hoodies and jeans, carrying a suspicious package. All participants saw these two tweets. The third tweet was manipulated across conditions (and participants were randomly assigned to a condition). In the first condition, participants read a tweet with Muslim names and Muslim label (i.e., Two Muslim suspects have been identified, Amir Yassin and Younis Khan, the investigation is ongoing). The second included a Muslim label only (i.e., Two Muslim suspects have been identified, the investigation is ongoing). The third condition consisted of Muslim names only (i.e., Two suspects have been identified, Amir Yassin and Younis Khan, the investigation is ongoing). The fourth condition (control) had neither Muslim names nor label (i.e., Two suspects have been identified, the investigation is ongoing).

Durham Regional Police Services (DRPS) article. Following the tweets, participants were presented with a fictional article formatted to simulate a news article from the actual DRPS website. The article provided further context to the investigation (e.g., the nature of the circumstances and how the suspects were reported to the police) and similar information to the tweets (e.g., physical description of the suspect and the location of the potential threat). Due to the fictional nature of the article—and its authentic appearance—the article was not uploaded to the internet, but rather saved as a screen shot and stored on password protected computer hard drives to ensure that it was only used for the purposes of this study.

The article stated:

A resident of North Oshawa contacted local law enforcement at approximately 9:30 pm on March 20th 2012, to report the suspicious behavior of two men, carrying what appeared to be a homemade electrical device. The two men, partially concealing the device under a blanket, were walking it into a subdivision in North Oshawa. The witness claims she called 911 because she thought it looked like an explosive device.

The investigation is ongoing. The suspects are two young men, in their early twenties. The men were last seen in dark sweatshirts and jeans. One man was wearing a blue ball cap. Durham Regional Police ask anyone with new information to call 1-888-579-1520. Anonymous information can be sent to Durham Regional CrimeStoppers at 1-800-222-TIPS (8477) or online at www.durhamregionalcrimestoppers.ca

Stimuli comprehension questionnaire. Participants were presented with seven factual questions after viewing the news coverage (e.g., tweets and article) in each condition. Participants answered questions regarding the suspects identified (e.g., age, location, clothing), embedded among our manipulation check questions (e.g., name and ethnic background of suspects). The factual questions were included to assess whether participants were attentive throughout the study and comprehended the information portrayed in the news coverage accurately. Unfortunately, many participants ($n=78$) failed to correctly identify the suspects' identity ("Muslim" vs. "did not say") and were excluded from the analyses; we did not remove participants for incorrectly answering any of the filler questions.

Dependent measures. As previous research has not explored perceptions of Muslims (vs. non-Muslims) as more suspicious, criminal, and worthy of reporting in a forensic context, we created our own dependent measure items. Seven items were designed to assess each variable: suspicion (e.g., the men were acting suspicious), criminality (e.g., the men are engaging in criminal activity), and willingness to report the

incident (e.g., I would have called the police if I had witnessed these events). In total, we created 21 items (see appendix A). All items employed a 5-point Likert-type scale (e.g., 1 = *strongly disagree*, 2 = *disagree*, 3 = *neither agree nor disagree*, 4 = *agree*, 5 = *strongly agree*).

Filler items. To help conceal the true purpose of the study, participants completed a number of filler items as well. Filler items included items from Fiske and colleagues' (2002) Stereotype Content Model, which proposes that all stereotypes arise from a combination of warmth (vs. cold) and competence (vs. incompetence) traits, McConahay's (1986) Modern Racism scale, which targets attitudes toward Blacks, and the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996), which measures benevolent and hostile aspects of sexist attitudes. These items were not analyzed and, thus, are not discussed further.

Procedure. The study was completed on a computer in a psychology laboratory. Upon arrival at the lab, participants viewed a consent form (displayed on the screen) describing the purpose of the study, confidentiality, and their rights as a participant in the study. Participants clicked continue and provided consent to participate before starting the study. Next, they saw the tweets (and open-ended questions asking what they read and how it made them feel) and fictional article from the DRPS website. Following the article, participants answered a series of factual questions about what they had just read in the tweets and article (e.g., suspects' ethnicity, age, clothing, etc.). Next, participants answered the questions pertaining to their perceptions of suspicion, criminality and their likelihood of reporting the behaviour, followed by the filler scales. Finally, participants concluded the study with a series of demographic questions (gender, age, ethnicity, etc.).

Participants were debriefed at the end of the study, and notified that all news coverage in the study was fictional and created to resemble authentic news information sources.

Data Analysis

Within our four conditions, we had three Muslim conditions and one control condition. Initially in Study 1, we wanted to explore whether or not there were differences among the varying Muslim conditions (Muslim name only, Muslim label only, Muslim name and Muslim label). However, the analysis was not possible due to the limited number of participants who passed the manipulation checks ($n=94$). Due to these low numbers, we combined all participants who passed the manipulation checks in all three Muslim conditions to create one single Muslim condition ($n=48$) and compared that combined condition to the control condition ($n=46$). Participants who failed the manipulation checks ($n=78$) and those who identified as Muslim ($n=44$) were excluded from the analyses.

As we created our own dependent measures, we conducted reliability tests to determine a combination of dependent variable items yielding acceptable internal consistency. Dependent measure items were excluded until a Cronbach's alpha value of 0.6 or above was obtained (Field, 2009, p. 647). Those items were then averaged together to create a suspiciousness ($\alpha = .678$), criminality ($\alpha = .776$), and willingness to report ($\alpha = .728$) variable. The items that did not enhance internal consistency after conducting reliability tests were not analyzed further.

In order to control for experimenter ethnicity, research assistants from varied ethnic backgrounds (e.g., Caucasian, Black, and Chinese) assisted with data collection. We analyzed for possible experimenter differences from when the study was conducted

by a Muslim experimenter compared to when the other experimenters ran the experiment. The data analysis consisted of a 2x2 multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) test, where we assessed for differences in suspects' identities (Muslim vs. control) and experimenter identity (Muslim vs. non-Muslim) on participants' ratings of suspicion, perceptions of criminality and a willingness to report the suspects in each condition. The assumptions of the MANOVA test (i.e., continuous dependent variables, categorical independent variables, independence of observations, adequate sample size, and absence of multivariate outliers, normality, linearity, and no multicollinearity) were satisfied, with the exception of equality of variance-covariances. The Box's test of equality of covariance was significant, $F(18, 25728) = 34.27, p = 0.21$, indicating that the assumption for equal covariances was violated. Thus, the Pillai's Trace test was utilized to correct for unequal variance-covariances between the matrices.

Results

As mentioned in the Data Analysis section, participants who failed the manipulation check or self-identified as Muslims were excluded from analyses. The final sample consisted of 94 (42 males and 52 females) undergraduate students. A two-way MANOVA was conducted, where the independent variables were suspects' identity (Muslim vs. non-Muslim) and experimenter identity (Muslim vs. non-Muslim) on the dependent measures suspicion, criminality, and willingness to report the suspects. Means (with standard deviations) and multivariate statistics pertaining to the analysis are presented in Table 2 and 3, respectively. A significant main effect was found on the experimenter variable for the dependent measure assessing suspicion, $F(1, 90) = 5.90, p = .017$, partial $\eta^2 = .061$ (see Table 4). Participants who had undergone the study with the

non-Muslim experimenters reported greater attitudes of suspicion ($M=3.53$, $SD= .774$) in comparison to participants who completed the study with a Muslim experimenter ($M=3.09$, $SD= .664$). No other findings approached significance.

Discussion

We found that participants who were conducted through the study by a Muslim experimenter were less likely to report suspicion toward the suspects—regardless of condition—in comparison to participants who had undergone the study with other experimenters. Similar findings were reported among a sample of Francophone students in Canada, where participants' attitudes toward Arab Muslims were more positive in the condition with a Muslim experimenter in comparison to the control condition (El-Geledi, & Bourhis, 2012). If participants in the Muslim condition harboured suspicious attitudes toward the suspects, they may have been less inclined to express those views to a Muslim experimenter than a non-Muslim experimenter, for fear of appearing prejudiced.

Alternatively, researchers have suggested that a person may be more positively motivated by an honest desire to correct any possible biases one unintentionally has and, in this way, try to consciously control for prejudice (Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Monteith, Ashburn-Nardo, Voils, & Czopp, 2002). If this were the case, the presence of the Muslim experimenter may have made participants more reflective of their views, and made them try to correct for any possible biases they might feel that they had. As the participants with the other experimenters were not similarly unintentionally prompted to self-reflection for potential bias, this would lead to less prejudice being expressed to the Muslim experimenter than the other experimenters. As a result of this self-reflection, participants may have generally demonstrated greater suspicion toward the suspects with the non-Muslim experimenter, regardless of experimental condition. In the context of

media and news coverage, intentionally controlling for biases has been identified as the spiral of silence, where people may intentionally attempt to conceal their true attitudes when confronted with negative media content or when their own views contrast with the views of the majority (Scheufle & Moy, 2000; Liu, Rui, & Cui, 2017). Other researchers have put a more negative spin on these type of effects using the aversive racism framework (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986).

In 1970, the terms “dominant racism” (traditional overt bigotry) and “aversive racism” (subtler forms of racism) were coined (Kovel, 1984). Dovidio and colleagues (1986) expanded on the theory aversive racism to conceptualise non-overt forms of racism. An aversive racist can be described as an individual, who supports racial equality, acknowledges and sympathizes with victims of racial prejudice, and is described as a well-intentioned individual with strong egalitarian values. However, an aversive racist also possesses negative feelings and/or beliefs toward out-groups (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Pearson, Dovidio & Gaertner, 2009). Consequently, an aversive racist can be described as an individual who demonstrates an aversion toward interracial interaction; however, they also avoid open racial discrimination or acting inappropriately in interracial environments (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Pearson, Dovidio & Gaertner, 2009). In circumstances in which a discriminatory act, decision, policy or statement would be explicitly obvious to the individual and others, an aversive racist will not discriminate (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004). Conversely, if a discriminatory act can remain ambiguous or justified in a given situation, an aversive racists’ negative beliefs and feelings about the target group will be more apparent (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Pearson, Dovidio & Gaertner, 2009).

Other researchers have speculated that people may be unable to control biases (Devine, Monteith, Zuwerink & Elliot, 1991) especially biases that involve automatic unconscious processes (Devine, 1989). Thus, people often adopt standards or beliefs about how one *should* respond to members of stereotyped groups (Monteith, Lybarger, & Woodcock, 2009; Monteith, Mark, & Ashburn-Nardo, 2010). In fact, research suggests that the need to avoid being perceived as prejudiced by others (Devine & Monteith, 1993) and the motivation to avoid feelings of guilt (Devine, 1989) can assist in reducing prejudiced responses (Ramasubranium & Oliver, 2007). If aversive racism was involved, participants might be less willing to report suspicion in any condition, as the scenario itself was about a potential bomb threat, and that very scenario may have suggested to aversive racists that they respond carefully, regardless of condition. However, the cue to hide prejudicial responding would be stronger when the study was conducted by a Muslim experimenter than a non-Muslim experimenter. Unfortunately, in this study, these varying possibilities could lead to the same findings (e.g., expressing less prejudice to the Muslim experimenter).

Contrary to previous literature (Park et al., 2009; Brown et al., 2013), the manipulation check to identify the suspect suggests that Muslim names alone were not sufficient to manipulate a Muslim identity in this study, as many people failed to make the correct identification. Even mentioning that the suspects were Muslim (Muslim label conditions) in both a tweet (which is very short) and an article (where the information was repeated) was insufficient, suggesting that our participants may not have been dedicating as much attention to our study as we would have liked. Another possible limitation may have been the control condition, where it was unclear how participants

perceived the suspects. It is possible that some participants noted that ethnic identity was not mentioned, yet still assumed that the suspects were Muslim, which may have limited our ability to detect differences between our conditions. Although we did not specify ethnicity or group membership in the control condition in an attempt to have a clear test of the effect of the presence or absence of Muslim names and the Muslim label, it may have actually led to a diluted control condition. Finally, in Study 1 it was unclear whether a crime had occurred, because past research has found that people are more likely to respond in a prejudiced or stereotypical manner when faced with ambiguity (Fiske, 2000). Perhaps when it comes to accusing individuals of a crime, people want to be sure that a crime has indeed occurred, and the ambiguity can surround whether or not the potential person to accuse was involved or not. We explored this possibility further in Study 2.

In order to address these limitations, changes in design and methodology were implemented in Study 2. We strengthened our conditions and investigated criminality more generally to determine whether Muslims are stigmatized as being more involved in crime—and not simply being stereotypically associated with terrorism. Study 2 included two separate crime scenarios: one unrelated to terrorism and one related to terrorism. Unlike Study 1, each crime scenario in Study 2 involved only one person of interest in connection with the investigation for the purposes of clarity. Finally, in order to address a possibly diluted control condition from Study 1, the suspect in the control condition for Study 2 was defined as Caucasian because this research was conducted to investigate differences in attitudes toward Muslims, as a minority group, in comparison to the in-group majority in Canada, which are Caucasians.

Chapter Three: Study Two

Although previous research examining stigma toward Muslims has utilized Muslim names to successfully describe Muslims in research (Park et al., 2009; Brown et al., 2013), the results from Study 1 suggest that only Muslim names or simply saying “Muslim” were not sufficient to elicit the correct identification of the suspects in each condition. In Study 2, we used names, group labels, and photographs of the persons of interest in connection with the investigation to strengthen our manipulation. The control condition identified the person of interest as Caucasian (Caucasian name, label, and photo), whereas the experimental condition described the person of interest as Muslim (Muslim name, label, and photo). With respect to the crime scenario, we presented participants with news coverage that clearly demonstrated a crime had occurred. This change decreased the possibility of participants simply assuming that a crime had not occurred, and thus not feeling suspicious or willing to accuse the suspects. Research has demonstrated that prejudice and bias are more likely to become apparent in ambiguous situations (Fiske, 2000). In order to maintain some form of ambiguity in our experimental stimuli, we provided participants with news coverage where it was unclear whether the person of interest was involved in the crime.

Furthermore, we included an additional scenario in Study 2, reflecting a different and non-stereotypical crime (e.g., home invasion). In Study 1, we observed participants demonstrating generally greater attitudes of suspicion when led through the study by experimenters who were not Muslim in comparison to when the experimenter was Muslim. We wanted to examine whether this effect would generalize to the more explicit bomb scenario and possible terror attack in Study 2, and whether it might generalize to

other, non-stereotypical crimes as well. The inclusion of multiple crime scenarios allowed us to test whether Muslims are associated with criminality beyond the threat of terrorism. The alternative crime was presented in the news coverage as a burglary and possible home invasion. This particular crime was chosen for this study because we found no evidence that a home invasion is stereotypically associated with Muslims, whereas violence may be stereotypically associated (Hurwitz & Peffley, 1997; Henzell-Thomas, 2001; Akbarzadeh & Smith, 2005), excluding many violent offences from consideration.

In summary, in Study 2, we sought to extend the findings of Study 1 by incorporating stronger stimuli (i.e., inclusion of suspect pictures), multiple crime scenarios (terrorism and home invasion), and to make it clear that a crime had occurred (in both scenarios, a woman is killed). The same cover story from Study 1 was used (i.e., investigating reactions to news coverage), but new dependent measures were created to reflect the new stimuli. The study utilized a 2x2x2 design, where the identity of the person of interest (Muslim vs. Caucasian), crime scenario (terrorism vs. home invasion), and experimenter identity (Muslim vs. Caucasian) were manipulated. Participants began the study by reading a series of fictional tweets specifically designed to resemble the news updates from a popular local newspaper (Toronto Star) followed by a fictional news article formatted to appear as if it was from the Toronto Police news website. To ensure consistency between conditions, the only variation in the news coverage was the crime and the identity of the person of interest. We had three main research questions for Study 2.

1. Are there differences in attitudes of suspicion, perceptions of criminality and a willingness to report the person of interest identified as either Muslim or Caucasian?
2. Are there differences in attitudes of suspicion, perceptions of criminality and a willingness to report the person of interest when participants completed the study with a Muslim or Caucasian experimenter?
3. If there are differences in attitudes toward individuals identified as either Muslim or Caucasian (Question 1), do the findings remain the same across crime scenarios (home invasion and terrorism)?

Method

Participants. The sample consisted of 192 (89 males and 103 females) undergraduate students from a mid-size GTA-based university ($M_{age} = 19.70$, $SD_{age} = 2.89$, age range: 17-38). Students participated in the study in exchange for course credit toward Introductory Psychology or Abnormal Psychology courses. The participants self-identified as Caucasian (27.6 per cent), South Asian (19.8 per cent), Middle Eastern (12.5 per cent), Black (12 per cent), South East Asian (7.8 per cent), East Asian (6.8 per cent), West Indian (5.7 per cent), Hispanic/Latino (0.5 per cent), and other (6.3 per cent). Over a third of the sample reported identifying with Christianity (44.3 per cent), followed by Hinduism (16.1 per cent), Islam (13.5 per cent) Atheism (9.9 per cent), Agnosticism (3.6 per cent), Sikhism (2.6 per cent), Buddhism (1 per cent), and other (8.9 per cent). See Table 5 for sample profile of participants included in the analysis.

Materials. Similar to Study 1, fictional tweets and news articles were created for the study. The tweets were created and designed to appear similar to the twitter post

updates from a local popular newspaper (Toronto Star). Further news coverage, formatted to appear as if it was from the Toronto police website was incorporated to assist with the credibility of our cover story, given the severe nature of the crimes (terrorism or home invasion).

Tweets. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two crime scenario (terrorism or home invasion), and within each crime scenario condition, participants read three tweets that reported about the crime and a search for a person of interest in connection with the investigation. The tweets were designed similar to Study 1 and briefly conveyed information about crime type (i.e., explosion or home invasion) where the identity of the alleged person of interest was manipulated (i.e., Muslim or Caucasian) using either a Muslim name and label or Caucasian name and label. Following each tweet, participants answered two open-ended questions: “what did the tweet tell you?” and “how does this information make you feel?”

The first two tweets in the terrorism condition were as follows: (1) Toronto police investigating an explosion in a Toronto residence, possible case of terrorism, (2) Toronto woman reported dead following the explosion; the investigation is ongoing. The third Tweet manipulated the identity of the person of interest (Muslim vs. Caucasian). In the Muslim person of interest condition participants read, “Toronto Police are looking for a Muslim man, Amir Yassin, as a person of interest in their investigation into last night’s explosion”. In the control condition participants read, “Toronto Police are looking for a Caucasian man, John Taylor, as a person of interest in their investigation into last night’s explosion”.

The first two tweets in the home invasion condition were as follows: (1) Toronto Police are investigating a burglary in a Toronto residence; possible case of home invasion, (2) Toronto woman reported dead following a burglary, the investigation is ongoing. In the final Tweet, participants viewed either a Muslim person of interest (e.g., Toronto Police are looking for a Muslim man, Amir Yassin, as a person of interest in their investigation into last night's burglary). Participants in the control condition viewed a Caucasian person of interest (e.g., Toronto Police are looking for a Caucasian man, John Taylor, as a person of interest in their investigation into last night's burglary).

Toronto Police article. Following the tweets, participants were presented with a fictional article designed to resemble an authentic news article from the Toronto Police website. The article was utilized to provide further context to the investigation (i.e., the nature of the circumstances and how they were reported to the police) with similar information to the tweets (i.e., physical description of the person of interest and the location of the potential threat). The inclusion of the article allowed for the examination of perceptions toward Muslim and Caucasian "persons of interest" in a situation where it is unclear whether the individual indeed committed the crime in question.

The news article portraying the terrorism scenario stated:

Toronto police are investigating an explosion in a West Toronto residence that occurred at approximately 11:30 pm Friday night. Evidence from the crime scene suggests that it was a premeditated act; not an accident or act of opportunity.

First responders found a 27-year-old woman, reported dead at the scene.

Toronto police is requesting the public's assistance with this investigation. A man in his early twenties has been identified, [Muslim or Caucasian name], as a person of interest. He was witnessed near the residence, carrying a large black bag, around the time of the explosion and is wanted for questioning.

He was last seen wearing a dark hooded sweatshirt and black pants. A photograph has been released, however the public is encouraged not to approach this man.

Anyone with new information is advised to call 416-808-3300, Crime Stoppers anonymously at 416-222-TIPS (8477) or online at www.222tips.com.

The news article portraying the home invasion scenario stated:

Toronto police are investigating a burglary in a West Toronto residence that occurred at approximately 11:30 pm Friday night. Evidence from the crime scene suggests that it was a premeditated act; not an accident or act of opportunity.

First responders found a 27-year-old woman, reported dead at the scene.

Toronto police is requesting the public's assistance with this investigation. A man in his early twenties has been identified, (Muslim or Caucasian name), as a person of interest. He was witnessed near the residence, carrying a large black bag, around the time of the burglary and is wanted for questioning.

He was last seen wearing a dark hooded sweatshirt and black pants. A photograph has been released, however the public is encouraged not to approach this man.

Anyone with new information is advised to call 416-808-3300, Crime Stoppers anonymously at 416-222-TIPS (8477) or online at www.222tips.com.

To strengthen the identity manipulation and reaffirm the identity of the person of interest, Study 2 incorporated photographs of the person of interest to accompany the news coverage. Pilot tests were conducted on several selected photographs from the FEI Face Database, where participants saw photographs of ten individuals and rated each photo on a number of different characteristics (e.g., attractiveness, does the person look Muslim, does the person look Caucasian, competence, criminality). Following the pilot tests, photographs that received higher ratings for Muslim or Caucasian were selected to serve as the Muslim and Caucasian person of interest for the crime scenarios. Additional criteria for photograph selection included similar ratings on Fiske's emotion and feeling scales, as well as similar ratings of criminality and attractiveness. The photographs were colour images, taken over a white homogenous background with the individual in an upright frontal pose (640x540 pixels). The photos appear in the study with the police

article and caption depicting the name of the individual in the photograph (i.e., Amir Yassin or John Taylor).

Stimuli comprehension questionnaire. Participants were presented with 15 multiple-choice factual questions pertaining to the news coverage. Participants answered questions with respect to the crime itself (e.g., location, crime, age of person of interest), and embedded within these questions were manipulation checks (e.g., identity of person of interest, crime scenario). Participants who failed to correctly answer the manipulation checks ($n=18$) were excluded from the analyses.

Dependent measures. Ten items were designed for each of the dependent variables, for a total of 30 items. Similar to Study 1, we investigated suspicion (e.g., It was suspicious because he was there at night), criminality (e.g., I think this man should be taken into custody) and willingness to report the person of interest (e.g., I would have called the police if I had witnessed this man around the residence) in each condition (See appendix B). The items utilized a 6-point Likert-type scale ($1 = \text{strongly disagree}$, $2 = \text{disagree}$, $3 = \text{somewhat disagree}$, $4 = \text{somewhat agree}$, $5 = \text{agree}$, $6 = \text{strongly agree}$).

Filler items. As in Study 1, a number of scales and items were included as filler, so that the true nature of the study was not readily apparent. We used the same filler items as Study 1.

Procedure. The same as Study 1.

Data Analysis

Similar to Study 1, reliability analyses were carried out on the dependent measures to ensure the variables had internal consistency to create the suspicion ($\alpha = .798$), a criminality ($\alpha = .761$), and a willingness to accuse variable ($\alpha = .734$). The items

that did not load together as expected in the factor analysis were not analyzed further. The study utilized a 2x2x2 design, where the identity of the person of interest (Muslim vs. Caucasian), experimenter identity (Muslim vs. Caucasian) and crime type (terrorism vs. home invasion) were manipulated between participants. Prior to analyses, participants who failed to correctly answer the manipulation checks for our identity and crime type conditions ($n=18$), and/or identified as Muslim ($n=26$) were excluded from the analyses. The assumptions of the MANOVA test (i.e., continuous dependent variables, categorical independent variables, independence of observations, adequate sample size, absence of multivariate outliers, normality, linearity, equality of covariance matrices and the no multicollinearity) were satisfied. The Box's test of equality of covariance was not significant, $F(42, 35026) = 36.65, p = .799$, indicating the assumption for equal covariances was satisfied and there is homogeneity of variance-covariance in the matrices. Thus, the Wilk's Lambda test was utilized for the analysis in Study 2.

Results

Following the exclusion of participants who self-identified as Muslim and/or failed the manipulation checks, the final sample consisted of 158 (73 males and 85 females) undergraduate students. Similar to Study 1, a multivariate analysis of variance test was utilized to determine if there were differences among person of interest identity, experimenter identity and crime type on the dependent variables of suspicion, perceptions of criminality and a willingness to report. See Table 6 for means and standard deviations of the variables included in the analysis. The analysis revealed several multivariate effects for the person of interest variable on all the dependent measures included in the analysis. See table 7 for multivariate statistics.

A significant main effect was observed for the identity of the person of interest variable on the dependent measure for suspicion, $F(1, 150) = 9.68, p = .002$, partial $\eta^2 = .061$ (see Table 8). Participants reported higher attitudes of suspicion toward the Caucasian ($M = 3.91, SD = 1.01$) person of interest, in comparison to the Muslim ($M = 3.43, SD = .853$) person of interest—regardless of experimenter ethnicity and crime scenario condition. Similarly, there were significant main effects of person of interest identity on criminality scores, $F(1, 150) = 7.28, p = .008$, partial $\eta^2 = .046$, and willingness to accuse, $F(1, 150) = 7.58, p = .007$, partial $\eta^2 = .048$ (see Table 8). Participants reported higher perceptions of criminality toward the Caucasian ($M = 3.73, SD = .839$) person of interest and were more willing to accuse them ($M = 4.50, SD = .853$), in comparison to the Muslim person of interest (criminality: $M = 3.34, SD = .881$; willingness to accuse: $M = 4.13, SD = .889$)—again, regardless of experimenter ethnicity and crime scenario condition.

A significant experimenter identity x crime type interaction was found on willingness to accuse scores, $F(1, 150) = 4.153, p = .048$, partial $\eta^2 = .026$. Participants who completed the study with a Muslim experimenter demonstrated a higher proclivity to accuse the person of interest in the home invasion condition ($M = 4.57, SD = .881$) in comparison to the terrorism condition ($M = 4.30, SD = .883$). Whereas, participants who had undergone the study with a Caucasian experimenter reported a higher likelihood of asserting an accusation toward the person of interest in the terrorism condition ($M = 4.33, SD = .905$), in comparison to the home invasion condition ($M = 4.06, SD = .856$). Unfortunately, the means no longer significantly differed after controlling for Type 1 error and applying the Bonferroni correction (see appendix C).

Discussion

Contrary to previous literature pertaining to negative stigma toward Muslims (Allen, 2014; Brown et al., 2013; King & Ahmad, 2009; Nacos & Torres-Reyna, 2007; Park et al., 2009; Schmidt, 2006; Shaheen, 2009; Trevino et al., 2010; Van Buren, 2006), the results from Study 2 suggest that participants reacted more positively toward the Muslim person of interest than the Caucasian person of interest. These findings were consistent with other research in this area (e.g., El-Geledi & Bourhis, 2012) and findings from Study 1. Furthermore, our findings are similar to aversive racism research that has found participants demonstrated more favourable perceptions toward minority groups than controls, such as leniency to defendants of minority groups (e.g., African Americans) (Fein, Morgon, Norton & Sommers, 1997), and less guilty verdicts assigned to minority defendants when race was particularly salient (Cohn, Bucolo, Pride & Sommers, 2009; Mannes, 2016). This may indicate that participants were unwilling to let their biases and stereotypical thought processes become apparent when ethnic identity was particularly salient (the person of interest was Muslim), resulting in higher reports of suspicion, perceptions of criminality and likelihood of accusing in the Caucasian condition instead.

Chapter Four: General Discussion

The results from Study 1 suggest that participants who completed the study with non-Muslim experimenters reported greater attitudes of suspicion in comparison to those who had undergone the study with a Muslim experimenter. In Study 2, participants reported increased suspicion, perceptions of criminality, and a greater propensity to report the person of interest when they were identified as Caucasian rather than Muslim. These combined findings seem to suggest that participants are less inclined to demonstrate prejudiced views or attitudes when there is a cue within the study that prejudicial views may be unacceptable (e.g., a Muslim experimenter, a Muslim person of interest) and are consistent with the aversive racism framework (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). Previous research has reported that people may assign more favourable attitudes and qualities to individuals from an out-group in order to appear non-prejudiced (Dovidio, 2001; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005); our participants in Study 2 may have responded more favourably than they truly felt in the Muslim person of interest condition for fear of appearing racist. If participants in the Muslim person of interest condition were responding more positively than they felt—knowingly or not—that could be why participants in the Caucasian person of interest condition reported significantly more negative views on all of our dependent variables.

The aversive racism framework posits that contemporary bias is expressed in indirect ways that may not necessarily threaten an individual's non-prejudiced self-image (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). Thus, negative feeling and opinions underlying contemporary forms of bias are embedded in unconscious *normal* cognitive, motivational and social-cultural processes (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Dovidio, 2001). Concerning

cognitive processes, people generally categorize others into groups in order to define one's own group from others (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005). The motivational processes can be described as the basic inherent need for power, status and control; this can often exacerbate bias and intergroup conflict (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Finally, the socio-cultural influences can be observed when people adopt cultural stereotypes and ideologies that justify inequalities between groups to reinforce group hierarchy (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005). As a result of these unconscious processes, negative bias may occur spontaneously or automatically, and without full awareness of the individual (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; Dovidio, 2001). The aversive racism framework has been widely applied to intergroup conflict between Caucasians and Blacks (Pearson, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2009; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000), as well as other minority groups (Dovidio, Gaertner, Anastasio, & Sanitioso, 1992; Mastro, Behm-Morawitz & Kopacz, 2008).

With respect to the findings in our studies, it may also be possible that during the political and social climate of unease toward Muslims (Thrush, 2017; De Freytas-Tamura, 2016), some Canadians are particularly motivated to demonstrate egalitarian views and acceptance of the Muslim community as a response to the discrimination and prejudiced opinions toward individuals of the Islamic faith. For instance, in the wake of negativity and anti-Muslim rhetoric during the presidential campaign of Donald Trump in the US (Abdelkader, 2016; Sandoval, 2017), similar anti-Muslim sentiment was also observed in Canada. An anti-Muslim protest was held outside a city mosque in Toronto (The Canadian Press, 2017), a Quebec City mosque was attacked, resulting in the death of six men (Gillis & Woods, 2017), and an Anti-Islamophobia motion passed by the

Canadian government provoked protests in Montreal and Toronto (Kalvapallé, 2017).

Thus, in order to combat these negative views, some Canadians may be particularly motivated to demonstrate inclusive egalitarian views toward Muslims. This can be observed in instances where anti-Muslim protests in Toronto were confronted with counter protests in support of Muslim Canadians (Brait, 2017). Actively protesting in support of Muslims appears to be more than simple aversive racism at work.

Alternatively, it is possible that this social instance—and the findings from our studies—arise from a more sincere motive to combat prejudice (e.g., Monteith et al., 2002).

Another possible explanation for our findings may be that, contrary to some literature (Henzell-Thomas, 2001; Akbarzadah & Smith, 2005; Khaleema & Wannas-Jones, 2003; Helly & Perry, 2011), Muslims are not perceived as more suspicious, criminal and people are less likely to report Muslims of wrongdoing, in comparison to Caucasians. These findings would corroborate research suggesting that racism in Canada is decreasing (Redeye & Simard, 2010), or not as pervasive as in other western countries (Environics, 2006). It is possible that participants in the current sample genuinely harbour egalitarian and inclusive attitudes toward Muslims or individuals perceived to be Muslim, and thus refrain from engaging in any form of discriminatory or prejudiced behaviour.

Although this is a possible interpretation of our findings, it is not the only one.

Limitations & Future Research

This MSc research was conducted with a diverse sample at a GTA-based university in reasonably close proximity to Toronto. Although we had participants from various ethnic/religious backgrounds across a variety of faculties and university programs, it is important to note that the sample was comprised of students. Thus, the

results of the current analysis may be limited in its generalizability, and may or may not apply to community samples, or to communities further away from the multicultural concentration of Canadians in the GTA. Future research is warranted to examine stigma toward Muslims in forensic settings within rural communities to determine whether attitudes and perceptions toward Muslim Canadians differ in regions where Muslims represent less frequently encountered groups.

With respect to the stimuli implemented in the current research, we created fictional Tweets from the Toronto Star as well as articles from the Durham Regional Police and Toronto Police services websites to disseminate information about the suspects and criminal (or potentially criminal) events in each study. However, we had no way of controlling for any pre-existing biases or opinions that participants may have had toward these information sharing avenues and agencies. Thus, any pre-conceived biases or opinions about the information platforms utilized in the current research may have influenced our current findings.

Another limitation in the current research pertains to the additional crime scenario incorporated in Study 2. We were interested in determining whether Muslims are only associated with stereotypical crimes, or criminality in general. Thus, we examined perceptions toward Muslims in both terrorism and home invasion crime scenarios. However, it was unclear whether Muslims are associated with other crimes (e.g., homicide, sexual assault, robbery, battery, etc.). Future research may wish to examine the crimes that are stereotypically associated with Muslims prior to further examining more general perceptions of Muslims as suspicious or criminal. Furthermore, future research should examine participant perceptions to various other potentially violent offences to

investigate whether Muslims are stereotypically associated with other crimes, other than terrorism or crimes pertaining to national security.

Research on aversive racism in the courtroom demonstrates differences among members of a jury following instructions pertaining to the inadmissibility of evidence based on race (Fein et al., 1997; Cohn et al., 2009; Sommers & Ellsworth, 2001). With respect to Muslims in a forensic setting, research has largely addressed veiling practices in the courtroom, (Leach, Ammar, England, Remigio, Kleinberg & Verschuere, 2016; Maeder, Dempsey & Pozzulo, 2012). Future research in this area can determine whether the aversive racism framework can be extended to Muslims in the forensic context by addressing implications of pre-trial publicity, jury instructions, as well as jury decision-making among Muslim populations.

Previous research has examined implicit prejudice toward Arab populations (Park, Felix & Lee, 2007), and other research has suggested methodological techniques investigating implicit attitudes are effective in detecting aversive racism (Wittenbrink, Judd & Park, 2007; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2009). Implicit attitudes often occur without conscious awareness, and are therefore difficult to detect using overt measures of prejudice detection (Fazio & Olson, 2003). Thus, future research may wish to examine stigma and subtle manifestations of aversive racism toward Muslims using implicit measures, in an effort to discern whether participants are simply responding in a socially desirable manner or genuinely harbour inclusive non-prejudice opinions toward Muslims.

Finally, the data was collected through self-report measures. Self-report measures require that participants be aware of the attitudes they are reporting, and that they are willing to honestly report said attitudes (Skinner, Blick, Coffin, Dudgeon, Forrest, &

Morrison, 2013). Thus, the data may be subject to possible bias, as participants may have responded in a socially desirable manner, or may not have been consciously aware of prejudices they may have had (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; Dovidio, 2001).

Conclusion

The current analysis was carried out to determine whether the stigmatizing experiences of Canadian Muslims (Helly, 2004; Perry, 2015; Perry, 2016) can be generalized to forensic contexts. In particular, we investigated whether Muslims are perceived with a greater degree of suspicion and criminality, as well as a higher propensity for people to report Muslims to law enforcement agencies. Our results suggest that Canadians were *not* more likely to perceive Muslims as more suspicious and criminal, or to report them. Instead, our results suggested that participants viewed Muslims more favourably than controls. Across two studies, these findings may indicate that some Canadians are demonstrating egalitarian views toward Muslims, or intentionally promote positive views toward Muslims when group identity is particularly salient.

A possible explanation for these findings may be that Canadians may be more likely than Americans to empathize with the negative experiences of Muslims. For instance, thousands of Canadians in downtown Toronto assembled in front of the US consulate to protest Islamophobia following the executive orders of President Donald Trump banning citizens from seven Muslim majority countries; similar protests were held in Montreal, Edmonton, Ottawa, Vancouver as well as the Maritime provinces (Draaisma, 2017). Such demonstrations and protests corroborate past research that has found Muslims in Canada to be less alienated by the majority population in comparison

to other western countries (Hussain, 2004; Environics Institute, 2006). That is not to say that Canadians are not prejudiced, but that they may not be as prejudiced toward Muslims as are citizens in many other countries, and that perhaps Canadians have a greater desire to not express prejudice toward Muslims—whether that desire is intrinsically or extrinsically motivated. Researchers suggest that people learn to control prejudiced responses through self-regulatory outcomes that follow from awareness of failures to control stereotyping (Monteith, Ashburn-Nardo, Voils, & Czopp, 2002). More recently, research has suggested people either control prejudice through external motivations (i.e., concern with appearing prejudice by others) or internal motivations (i.e., personal concern involving moral obligations to control prejudice) (Monteith et al., 2009; Monteith et al., 2010). With these considerations in mind, future research may wish to explore whether these findings are driven by aversive racism, self-regulation to control prejudice, social desirability, or a reaction to the recent surge in political populism that glorifies nationalism and scapegoats other cultures.

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Table 1

Study 1 – Sample Profile

<i>n</i> = 94		
<i>M</i>_{age} = 19.60, <i>SD</i>_{age} = 2.61 (Age range = 18-29)		
	N	%
Gender		
Male	42	44.7%
Female	52	55.3%
Ethnicity		
Caucasian	28	29.8%
South Asian	20	21.3%
South East Asian	11	11.7%
Black	10	10.6%
Middle Eastern	7	7.4%
West Indian	6	6.4%
East Asian	6	6.4%
Hispanic/Latino	2	2.1%
Other	4	4.3%
Religion		
Christianity	41	43.6%
Hinduism	16	17%
Agnosticism	10	10.6%
Atheism	6	6.4%
Buddhism	6	6.4%
Sikhism	4	4.3%
Other	11	11.7%
Faculty		
Faculty of Health Sciences	29	30.9%
Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities	23	24.5%
Faculty of Science	17	18.1%
Faculty of Business and Information Technology	10	10.6%
Faculty of Engineering and Applied Science	10	10.6%
Faculty of Energy Systems and Nuclear Science	5	5.3%

Note: Participants who failed our manipulation check (e.g. incorrectly identified the identity of suspect) or self-identified as Muslim were excluded from the analysis

Table 2

Study 1 – Means and Standard Deviations

Suspect Identity	Experimenter	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	95% <i>CI</i>		<i>n</i>
				<i>Lower bound</i>	<i>Upper bound</i>	
<i>Suspicion</i>						
Muslim	Muslim	3.04	1.09	2.70	3.74	26
	Non-Muslim	3.36	.774	2.99	3.73	22
Control	Muslim	3.15	.844	2.77	3.53	20
	Non-Muslim	3.69	.664	3.36	4.03	26
<i>Criminality</i>						
Muslim	Muslim	2.78	.909	2.53	2.95	26
	Non-Muslim	2.51	.520	2.21	2.82	22
Control	Muslim	2.70	.789	2.38	3.02	20
	Non-Muslim	2.67	.590	2.39	2.95	26
<i>Willingness to report</i>						
Muslim	Muslim	3.46	.883	3.12	3.81	26
	Non-Muslim	3.18	.867	2.99	3.73	22
Control	Muslim	2.90	.749	2.77	3.53	20
	Non-Muslim	3.30	1.13	3.36	4.03	26

Note: CI = confidence interval.

Table 3

Study 1 – Multivariate Effects on the Dependent Measures

Variable(s)	V	F	df	Error df	p	η²	Power
Suspects' identity	.044	1.34	3	88	.266	.044	.346
Experimenter identity	.097	3.14	3	88	.029*	.097	.711
Suspects * Experimenter	.037	1.13	3	88	.340	.037	.296

Note: V = Pillai's Trace; η² = partial eta squared

Table 4

Study 1 – Univariate Main Effects on Dependent Measures

	<i>df</i>	<i>Mean Square</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>η²</i>
<i>Attitudes of Suspicion</i>					
Suspects	1	1.12	1.52	.221	.017
Experimenter	1	4.37	5.90	.017 *	.061
Suspects *experimenter	1	.274	.369	.545	.004
Error	90	.740			
Total	94				
<i>Perceptions of Criminality</i>					
Suspects	1	.503	.783	.783	.001
Experimenter	1	.040	.965	.329	.011
Suspects*experimenter	1	.336	.644	.424	.007
Error	90	.521			
Total	94				
<i>Willingness to Report</i>					
Suspects	1	1.10	1.34	.249	.025
Experimenter	1	.095	.116	.734	.001
Suspects *experimenter	1	.274	3.35	.070	.036
Error	90	.817			
Total	94				

Note: η^2 = partial eta squared

Table 5

Study 2 – Sample Profile

<i>n</i> = 158		
<i>M</i>_{age} = 19.58, <i>SD</i>_{age} = 2.64 (Age range = 18-29)		
	N	%
Gender		
Male	73	45.6%
Female	87	54.4%
Ethnicity		
Caucasian	50	31.3%
South Asian	32	20%
Black	22	13.8%
South East Asian	14	8.8%
West Indian	11	6.9%
East Asian	9	5.6%
Middle Eastern	9	5.6%
Aboriginal/ Métis/Inuit	2	1.3%
Hispanic/Latino	1	0.6%
Other	10	6.3%
Religion		
Christianity	81	50.6%
Hinduism	31	19.4%
Atheism	19	11.9%
Agnosticism	6	3.8%
Sikhism	5	3.1%
Buddhism	2	1.3%
Other	16	10%
Faculty		
Faculty of Science	58	36.3%
Faculty of Engineering and Applied Science	42	26.3%
Faculty of Health Science	24	15%
Faculty of Energy Systems and Nuclear Science	21	13.1%
Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities	14	8.8%
Faculty of Education	1	0.6%

Note: Participants who failed our manipulation checks (e.g., incorrectly identified the person of interest) or self-identified as Muslim were excluded from the analysis

Table 6
 Study 2 – Means and Standard Deviations

Crime type	POI	Experimenter	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	95% <i>CI</i>		<i>n</i>
					<i>Lower bound</i>	<i>Upper bound</i>	
<i>Attitudes of suspicion</i>							
Explosion	Muslim	Muslim	3.38	.901	2.96	3.80	20
		Caucasian	3.57	.974	2.94	3.78	24
	Caucasian	Muslim	3.83	.871	3.39	4.28	18
		Caucasian	3.94	.843	3.54	4.41	20
Home invasion	Muslim	Muslim	3.36	1.14	3.18	3.95	20
		Caucasian	3.43	1.11	3.01	3.85	20
	Caucasian	Muslim	3.98	.950	3.51	4.36	19
		Caucasian	3.89	.791	3.43	4.35	17
<i>Perceptions of criminality</i>							
Explosion	Muslim	Muslim	3.24	.973	3.04	3.83	20
		Caucasian	3.29	.897	2.95	3.75	20
	Caucasian	Muslim	3.81	.793	3.39	4.22	18
		Caucasian	3.80	.826	3.25	4.06	20
Home invasion	Muslim	Muslim	3.35	1.07	2.93	3.65	20
		Caucasian	3.59	.897	2.90	3.68	20
	Caucasian	Muslim	3.66	.902	3.40	4.20	19
		Caucasian	3.75	1.00	3.22	4.08	17
<i>Willingness to report</i>							
Explosion	Muslim	Muslim	4.21	.950	3.83	4.59	20
		Caucasian	4.35	.856	3.73	4.49	24
	Caucasian	Muslim	4.39	.837	3.99	4.79	18
		Caucasian	4.99	.691	4.16	4.94	20
Home invasion	Muslim	Muslim	4.11	1.04	3.81	4.50	20
		Caucasian	4.23	.716	3.65	4.40	20
	Caucasian	Muslim	4.05	.690	4.61	5.37	19
		Caucasian	4.09	1.02	3.68	4.50	17

Note: POI = Person of interest identity; CI = confidence interval

Table 7

Study 2 – Multivariate Effects on Dependent Measures

Variable(s)	Λ	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	Error <i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	η^2	Power
Person of interest identity	.922	4.15	3	148	.007*	.078	.844
Crime type	.993	.365	3	148	.779	.007	.120
Experimenter	.977	1.16	3	148	.326	.023	.308
Crime type * person of interest	.994	.274	3	148	.844	.006	.102
Crime type * experimenter	.949	2.62	3	148	.053	.051	.634
Person of interest * experimenter	.990	.516	3	148	.672	.010	.154
Crime type * person of interest * experimenter	.966	1.74	3	148	.160	.034	.449

Note: Λ = Wilk's Lambda

Table 8

Study 2 – Univariate Main Effects in Dependent Measures

	<i>df</i>	<i>Mean Square</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>η 2</i>
<i>Attitudes of Suspicion</i>					
Identity	1	9.68	9.68	.002 *	.061
Experimenter	1	.008	.009	.926	.000
Crime	1	.206	.206	.651	.001
Identity*experimenter	1	.161	.175	.677	.001
Experimenter*crime	1	.232	.252	.616	.002
Identity*crime	1	.135	.135	.703	.001
Identity*crime*experimenter	1	.014	.014	.903	.000
Error	150	.921			
Total	158				
<i>Perceptions of Criminality</i>					
Identity	1	5.83	7.28	.008 *	.046
Experimenter	1	.377	.470	.494	.003
Crime	1	.124	.154	.695	.001
Identity*experimenter	1	.107	.133	.716	.001
Experimenter*crime	1	.015	.019	.892	.000
Identity*crime	1	.090	.112	.738	.001
Identity*crime*experimenter	1	.019	.024	.877	.000
Error	150	.801			
Total	158				
<i>Willingness to Report</i>					
Identity	1	5.58	7.58	.007 *	.048
Experimenter	1	2.29	3.10	.080	.020
Crime	1	.000	.000	.986	.000
Identity*experimenter	1	.622	.844	.360	.006
Experimenter*crime	1	2.93	3.97	.048 *	.026
Identity*crime	1	.189	.256	.613	.002
Identity*crime*experimenter	1	2.61	3.53	.062	.023
Error	150	.737			
Total	158				

Note: η^2 = partial eta squared

Appendix A

Suspicion (stereotypes)

1. The men were acting suspicious
2. Attempting to conceal the device was suspicious
3. These events are nothing more than a prank (reverse coded)
4. Neighborhood watch programs should be wary of this sort of suspicious behavior
5. I think this was just a misunderstanding (reverse coded)
6. Their clothing was suspicious
7. Their behavior was suspicious for night time

Criminality (prejudice)

1. The witness should have minded her own business (reverse coded)
2. This was an issue of public safety
3. This sort of behavior may result in violence
4. The men were engaged in criminal activity
5. These men are engaged in illegal activity
6. This kind of behavior will likely lead to crime
7. If the men were innocent, the police would not be investigating them

Discrimination (willingness to report)

1. I would have called the police if I had witnessed this behavior
2. The witness was right to call the police and report what she saw
3. I would refrain from approaching these men
4. I would not consider these events as a call for alarm (reverse coded)
5. I would have asked the men what they were up to (reverse coded)
6. These events are not out of the ordinary (reverse coded)
7. I would not have taken notice of these events (reverse coded)

Appendix B

Suspicion (stereotypes)

1. He was behaving in a suspicious manner.
2. It was suspicious because he was there at night.
3. It is suspicious that he was around the scene of the incident.
4. His clothing was suspicious.
5. Carrying a large bag at the scene of the incident is suspicious
6. Neighbourhood watch programs should be wary of these kinds of incidents.
7. Communities should implement surveillance and safety programs in order to deter this sort of crime.
8. His behaviour was out of the ordinary.
9. These events are nothing more than petty crime that got out of hand
10. I think this was an accident and foul play was not involved

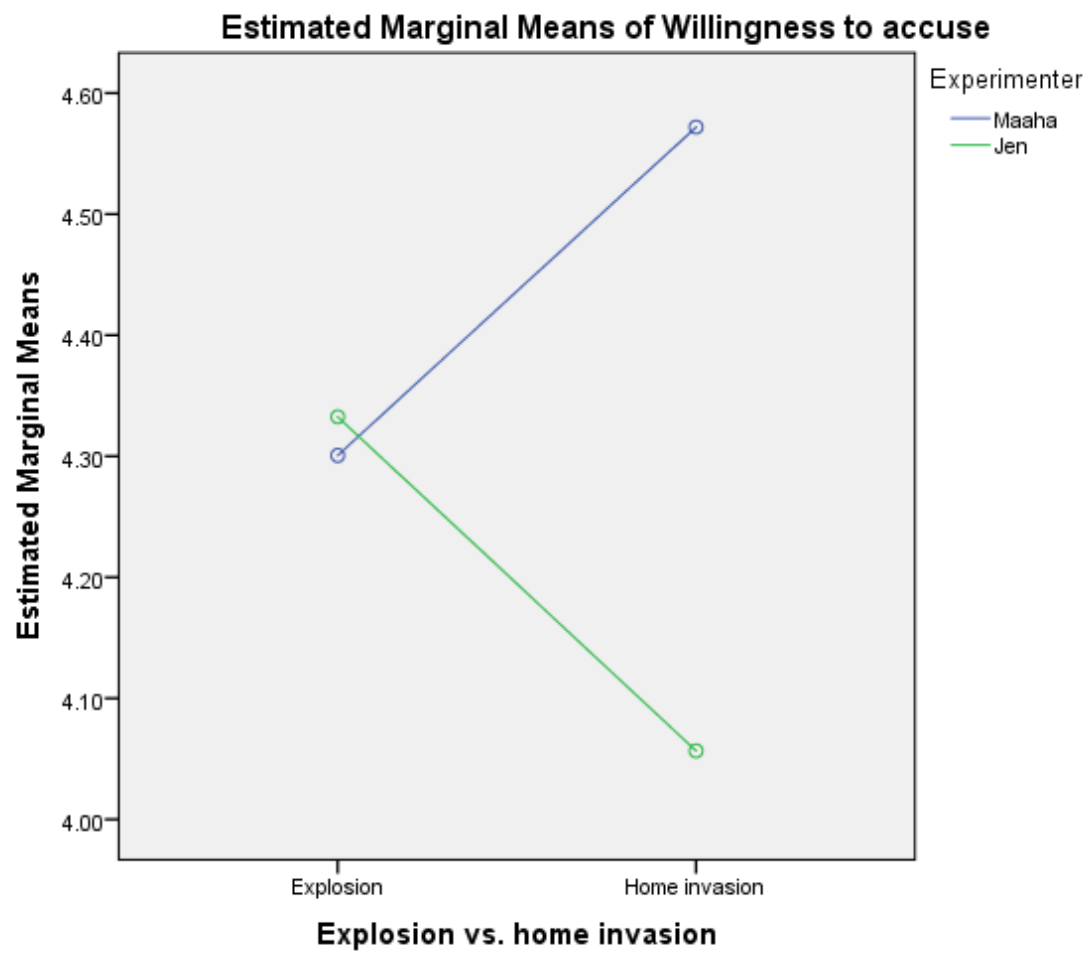
Criminality (prejudice)

1. It is likely that he has a criminal record.
2. I think he was engaged in some form of organized criminal activity.
3. If he was innocent, the police would not be investigating him.
4. I believe the police should issue an arrest warrant for this man.
5. I believe this man should be taken into custody.
6. This incident is a threat to public safety and should not be taken lightly
7. Crimes of this nature will likely result in other similar forms of crime in the city
8. It is unlikely that the reported fatality was a deliberate act of violence
9. The police identified him as a “person of interest” because he is a viable suspect in this investigation.
10. With the growing population in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), it is likely that criminal behaviour of this nature will increase.

Discrimination (willingness to report)

1. I would have called the police if I had witnessed anyone around the residence
2. If I had witnessed this incident I would have made note of identifying information (e.g., clothing, physical description etc.) to assist first responders upon arrival
3. If I had witnessed this incident, I would not have gotten involved
4. I would have called the police if I had seen this man around the residence.
5. I would not approach this man if I saw him.
6. I would report this man immediately if I saw him after reading that the Toronto Police were looking for him.
7. I would call the police tip line if I saw this man.
8. I would advocate for, and participate in, community programs to prevent such incidents in the future
9. In the wake of these events, I would attend information sessions to learn how to identify and report unusual behaviour or dangerous behaviour
10. Communities should implement surveillance and safety programs in order to deter this sort of crime

Appendix C



Date: December 15, 2015
To: Kimberley Clow
From: Shirley Van Nuland, REB Chair
REB # & Title: (15-019) Pearl
Decision: APPROVED
Current Expiry: December 01, 2017

Notwithstanding this approval, you are required to obtain/submit, to UOIT's Research Ethics Board, any relevant approvals/permissions required, prior to commencement of this project.

The University of Ontario, Institute of Technology Research Ethics Board (REB) has reviewed and approved the research proposal cited above. This application has been reviewed to ensure compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2 (2014)) and the UOIT Research Ethics Policy and Procedures. You are required to adhere to the protocol as last reviewed and approved by the REB.

Continuing Review Requirements (forms can be found at:
<http://research.uoit.ca/faculty/policies-procedures-forms.php>):

- **Renewal Request Form:** All approved projects are subject to an annual renewal process. Projects must be renewed or closed by the expiry date indicated above ("Current Expiry"). Projects not renewed within 30 days of the expiry date will be automatically suspended by the REB; projects not renewed within 60 days of the expiry date will be automatically closed by the REB. Once your file has been formally closed, a new submission will be required to open a new file.
- **Change Request Form:** Any changes or modifications (e.g. adding a Co-PI or a change in methodology) must be approved by the REB through the completion of a change request form before implemented.
- **Adverse or Unexpected Events Form:** Events must be reported to the REB within 72 hours after the event occurred with an indication of how these events affect (in the view of the Principal Investigator) the safety of the participants and the continuation of the protocol (i.e. un-anticipated or un-mitigated physical, social or psychological harm to a participant).
- **Research Project Completion Form:** This form must be completed when the research study is concluded.

Always quote your REB file number (15-019) on future correspondence. We wish you success with your study.

REB Chair
 Dr. Shirley Van Nuland
 shirley.vannuland@uoit.ca

Ethics and Compliance Officer
 compliance@uoit.ca