Distinguishing between attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices

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Distinguishing Between Attitudes Towards Muslims and Tolerance of Islamic Practices

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Declaration

This thesis contains no material that has been extracted in whole or in part from a thesis that I have submitted towards the award of any other degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution. No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgement in the main text of the thesis. All research procedures reported in the thesis received the approval of the relevant Ethics/Safety Committees (where required).

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Abstract

Attitudes towards Muslims in Western society are often negative and pervasive. Traditionally, research has focused on identifying the causes and predictors of negative attitudes towards Muslims as a group. However, social psychologists are becoming increasingly interested in understanding the causes and predictors of tolerance of Islamic practices. From this research, a need has arisen to investigate both constructs simultaneously in order to disentangle their effects. Research into attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices are largely independent in the literature. As such, these two constructs have traditionally been measured using separate scales. Existing scales which measure attitudes towards Muslims are problematic in that they often include items which conflate target categories, making it difficult to understand what specifically is being measured. Research exploring tolerance of Islamic practices is a relatively recent addition to the literature, and the construct has been measured inconsistently across the literature. To date, no single scale has been developed to measure both constructs simultaneously. To address this, my thesis had two major aims, which were addressed across two main parts. The first major aim of my thesis, tested across three studies in Part 1, was to develop and validate a psychometrically sound scale to measure both attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. Specifically, across Studies 1 to 3, I provided initial psychometric evidence for the 12 item *Positive Attitudes and Tolerance towards Muslims Scale* (PATMS). This included an exploratory factor analysis (Study 1, $n = 315$), a confirmatory factor analysis to confirm the dual dimensions of the scale, and validity analyses (Study 2, $n = 338$), and a test-retest analysis to confirm the temporal stability of the scale (Study 3, $n = 40$). The second major aim of my thesis, tested across three studies in Part 2, was to evaluate common predictors of negative attitudes and tolerance using the PATMS, and further disentangle the two constructs.

Thus, across Studies 4 to 6, I provided additional evidence for the utility of the PATMS when measuring attitudes and tolerance, and provided evidence for the independence of the constructs. Specifically, in Studies 4 (n = 205) and 5 (n = 298), I evaluated the relationship between Christians' belief in the representation of God and their attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. In these studies, I found that Christians' belief in a Benevolent God (i.e., loving) predicts both positive attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices, and belief in a Limitless God (i.e., omnipresent) positively predicts tolerance. On the other hand, Authoritarian God (i.e., vengeful) belief and Mystical God (i.e., part of nature) belief predicts less tolerance of Islamic practices. These findings provided evidence for the importance of investigating the impact of specific representations of the Christian God (i.e., rather than general Christian religious belief) when researching attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. In Study 6 (n = 327), I evaluated the mediating role of tolerance of Islamic practices in the established relationship between the factors of the Dual Process Model (i.e., Right-Wing Authoritarianism [RWA] & Social Dominance Orientation [SDO]) and attitudes towards Muslims. I found that the relationship between RWA and attitudes towards Muslims was fully mediated by tolerance of Islamic practices, and the relationship between SDO and attitudes towards Muslims was partially mediated by tolerance of Islamic practices. These findings suggest that tolerance of Islamic practices play a key role in the relationship between the ideological factors of the DPM and attitudes towards Muslims. Taken together, these findings provide preliminary evidence for the usefulness of the PATMS in measuring attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. These findings also provide evidence for the independence of the two constructs, and the need to measure both constructs separately.

Chapter 1: Introduction and Thesis Overview

Attitudes towards Muslims

Islam is currently the most rapidly expanding religion in the world, with its prevalence predicted to surpass Christianity by the end of the century (Pew Research Center, 2017b). Despite this increase in prevalence, Muslims (i.e., those who follow Islam) are often the targets of stigma and prejudice. In the post 9/11 world, they have increasingly become the victims of hate crimes based on membership to their religious group (Byers & Jones, 2007; Disha et al., 2011; Kaplan, 2006) and have reported feelings of being perceived as dangerous, suspicious, and a terroristic threat (Cherney & Murphy, 2016). There are consistent reports of Muslims being considered 'less-than' their non-Muslim counterparts, including evidence that they are treated as inferior, or even sub-human (Gomez-Martinez & de la Villa Moral-Jimenez, 2018).

The negative portrayal of Muslims and Islam in Western media has become common, with news outlets often using fear mongering tactics to portray Muslims and Islam as a threat to Western society (Shaver et al., 2017). This includes linking terrorism with Muslims, and portraying Islam as a dangerous religion which endorses terrorism (Ahmed & Matthes, 2017). This negative sentiment towards Muslims extends to self-perceived discrimination, with three quarters of Muslims that were surveyed in a Western sample reporting that they believe they are largely discriminated against as a group, and approximately half of the Muslims surveyed reporting personal experiences of discrimination (Pew Research Center, 2017b, 2017c). With Muslims being the targets of prejudice and discrimination, it is imperative that we understand the predictors of negative attitudes towards the group in order to inform prejudice reduction strategies that could facilitate inter-group harmony.

There is currently little consensus on the specific origins of prejudice towards Muslims. To understand the mechanisms of prejudice towards this group, social psychologists have developed and tested a variety of theoretical frameworks. These include investigating individual difference factors (e.g., personality), the impact of media coverage, contextual cues (e.g., how the target category is framed), perceptions of value violations, and fear and threat-based attitudes (Matthews & Levin, 2012; Shaver et al., 2017; Van der Noll et al., 2018; Velasco González et al., 2008). In research about prejudice towards Muslims, the approach taken has been to measure attitudes towards the target category itself, rather than towards the group's beliefs and practices. In addition to different conceptual approaches, the literature has problematically seen the confounding of the attitude-object when measuring prejudice towards this group. Specifically, research has often conflated who or what is the target of prejudice. For instance, some researchers in this literature have measured negative attitudes towards both Muslims (i.e., as a group) and Islam (i.e., as a religion; Lee et al., 2009), and negative attitudes towards ethnic groups associated with Muslims (e.g., people who are Arab; Pratto et al., 1994). Research in the area therefore often conflates attitudes towards a number of different categories, making it difficult to understand what is being measured, and calling into question the validity of the associated findings.

In this thesis, I define prejudice towards Muslims as negative attitudes towards Muslims (as either individuals or as a group). These are notably independent of attitudes towards Islam and other associated categories (e.g., ethnic groups such as Arabs). In the empirical chapters of my thesis, my research focuses on attitudes towards Muslims specifically. However, because research in the area often conflates attitudes towards Muslims with attitudes towards other

categories, the literature review of prejudice towards Muslims in my thesis will include these conflated conceptualisations.

Tolerance of Islamic Practices

In multicultural societies, tolerance of the beliefs and practices of other groups is essential for promoting and maintaining intergroup harmony. In a separate line of research from that exploring prejudice towards Muslims, social psychologists have become increasingly interested in understanding tolerance of Islamic beliefs and practices. There are a number of Islamic practices which are present in Western society, including the building of Mosques in the community, the wearing of religious clothing, specific dietary requirements (i.e., Halal certified foods), and the observance of religious holidays (Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017). Muslims consider the expression of their religion a large part of their identity (Croucher, 2008), and the right to be able to express their religion in public is a human right which has been highlighted by the United Nations (Heider, 2012; United Nations [UN] General Assembly, 1948). Yet, some Islamic practices have been criticized and even banned in Western society, putting a strain on positive inter-group relations.

The wearing of some Islamic veils (i.e., such as the hijab, burqa, and niqab) have been prohibited in various ways across Western Europe, with the majority of non-Muslim Western Europeans surveyed supporting at least some restrictions on them (Pew Research Center, 2018). For instance, the wearing of the Burqa in public was recently prohibited in Switzerland after the proposed ban obtained a majority vote in a country referendum (Gesley, 2021). The bans across Western Europe of Islamic veils has been recognized as thinly veiled intolerance towards Islam (Heider, 2012). Like prejudice (i.e., expressed as negative attitudes towards Muslims), intolerance of the beliefs and practices of Muslims can have detrimental effects.

In this thesis, I define tolerance as the acceptance of an out-group's beliefs and rights to practice those beliefs, regardless of whether they are different to one's own or whether one disapproves of them. Following from this definition (i.e., and in the specific case of tolerance of Islamic practices), individuals do not have to agree with the beliefs and practices of Muslims to be tolerant of them, but merely accept that Muslims have the right to their beliefs and practices. For example, an individual may not agree with the teachings of Islam but accept that Muslims have a right to practice their religion (i.e., tolerance is not synonymous with sharing the belief or agreeing with the belief). Using the example of the Islamic veil, non-Muslims might not agree with or like the wearing of Islamic veils but simultaneously accept that Muslim women have the right to wear them. In the same instance, non-Muslims may not agree with or like Muslims observing religious holidays but simultaneously accept that Muslims have the right to practice their religion. Throughout my thesis, I will argue that prejudice towards Muslims (i.e., as demonstrated by negative attitudes towards the group) and tolerance of Islamic beliefs and practices are two related but distinct constructs. For example, individuals may harbor negative attitudes towards Muslim people, but tolerate Islamic beliefs and practices. On the other hand, individuals may have positive attitudes towards Muslim people, but not tolerate Islamic beliefs and practices. It is therefore important to improve our understanding of both constructs and accurately measure both separately in order to inform future research and interventions. The differentiation of attitudes and tolerance will be discussed in substantial detail in future chapters throughout this thesis.

Measurement of Prejudice and Tolerance

As the literature exploring prejudice towards Muslims is independent from the literature exploring tolerance of Islamic practices, the two constructs have also largely been explored

independently of each other, and thus have typically been measured separately (i.e., via different measures). As discussed, existing scales that have been designed to measure prejudice towards Muslims have been flawed, because they often conflate attitudes towards a number of categories (i.e., rather than specifically towards Muslims as a target group). For example, scales can measure attitudes towards a range of different targets including towards Muslims, Islam, and people who are Arab (e.g., Lee et al., 2009; Pedersen & Hartley, 2012; Pratto et al., 1994). The use of these scales limits the conclusions that researchers can make about prejudice towards Muslims, since participants may have a bias towards or against either Islam (a religion) or people who are Arab (an ethnic group), which might attenuate or exacerbate their attitudes towards Muslims as measured by the scale. In order for this field to be able to advance, it is necessary to create a valid scale which measures prejudice specifically towards Muslims (i.e., as a single target group). This will provide researchers with a tool which allows for accurate understandings of prejudice towards the group.

As the literature on tolerance of Islamic practices is relatively recent, the field is yet to reach a consensus on how to best measure the construct. Researchers have used single-items measures to assess tolerance of specific Islamic practices (e.g., attitudes towards the Islamic veil; Saroglou et al., 2009), or have used short multi-item measures evaluating tolerance of various Islamic practices with items varying across studies (e.g., Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2013a, 2013b; Smeekes et al., 2011; Verkuyten, 2007a; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2010). As such, there is a need in the literature for a single validated scale that can measure both attitudes towards Muslims (i.e., as a target group) and tolerance of Islamic practices. This scale will facilitate theoretical advances in exploring the distinction between attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic

practices. This in turn will facilitate the more distal goal of this field of research, which is to improve inter-group harmony and wellbeing.

Thesis Overview and Aims

The major aim of this thesis is to develop and present evidence for a new scale called the *Positive Attitudes and Tolerance towards Muslims Scale* (PATMS). This scale has been designed to measure both attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices concurrently, using separate subscales for each construct. The thesis will be split into two main empirical parts. In the first part of the thesis, I present initial evidence for the development and psychometric properties of the PATMS. In the second part of the thesis, I present further empirical evidence to evaluate predictors of attitudes and tolerance using the newly developed scale, and evidence to distinguish the two constructs. These two parts are derived from these two major aims:

1. *To develop and validate a scale which can measure both attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance towards Islamic practices*
2. *To evaluate common predictors of prejudice and tolerance using the newly developed scale, and further disentangle the two constructs*

Structure of Thesis

Following this introduction and overview, I present four theoretical literature review chapters. In the first, I present a review of the various processes and theories that have shaped the prejudice literature broadly. In the second, I present a review of the literature specifically exploring prejudice towards Muslims. In the third, I present a review of the much more recent literature exploring tolerance of Islamic practices, and discuss the conceptual differences between prejudice and tolerance. In the fourth, I review the existing self-report methods used to measure attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices, and identify the need to

develop a valid a reliable scale that is able to measure both constructs simultaneously. I then present the first empirical chapter of my thesis, which provides evidence for the development and psychometric properties of the PATMS. Following this empirical chapter is a short interim discussion chapter that summarizes the evidence gathered in the previous empirical studies and introduces the key variables investigated in the proceeding empirical chapters. Finally, I present the final two empirical chapters which use the PATMS to further establish the independence of the two constructs. The empirical chapters of my thesis have been prepared for submission to academic journals, and as such are presented a 'pre-print' format. I would like to highlight that because Chapters 6, 8, and 9 have been prepared so that they are ready to be submitted for publication, certain nouns, verbs, and noun-verb agreements will switch from singular (e.g., "I predict") to plural (e.g., "We predict") to reflect the multiple authorship nature of the submissions. After presenting these empirical chapters, I present the final discussion and conclusions drawn from my thesis.

Theoretical Literature Review Chapters

Chapter 2 (*Prejudice Review*) focuses on the key processes and theoretical approaches which have traditionally been adopted when examining prejudice towards outgroups broadly. The chapter then discusses the various forms of prejudice that have been identified in the literature (i.e., classic and contemporary forms of prejudice), and key findings from this area.

Chapter 3 (*Muslim Prejudice Review)* focuses on the literature presenting evidence of prejudice towards Muslims, starting with a discussion of previous conceptualisations and operationalisations of prejudice towards Muslims. The chapter then reviews the research which has been conducted to measure prejudice towards Muslims, including survey and experimental research. At the end of the chapter, the usefulness of existing prejudice reduction strategies is

discussed. The importance of not only considering attitudes towards Muslims, but tolerance of Islamic practices when developing effective interventions is highlighted.

Chapter 4 (*Tolerance Review*) begins with a review of the ways in which tolerance has previously been conceptualised and operationalised. The chapter then focuses on reviewing the research surrounding tolerance of Islamic practices. This includes tolerance of specific practices (e.g., tolerance of the Islamic veil), and tolerance of a range of practices (i.e., as a measurement of overall tolerance). Following this, the limited body of research looking into the differences between prejudice towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices is discussed. This provides a further rationale for the development of the PATMS.

Chapter 5 (*A Review of Methods for Measuring Prejudice towards Muslims and Tolerance of Islamic Practices*) begins with a review and critique of the existing methods used to measure prejudice towards Muslims. Following this is a review and critique of the existing methods used to measure tolerance of Islamic practices. The chapter then concludes with a rationale for the development of the PATMS.

Empirical Chapters and Bridging Chapter

Chapter 6 (*Studies 1-3*: *Presenting the Psychometric Properties of the Positive Attitudes and Tolerance towards Muslims Scale; PATMS*) presents three studies which evaluate the newly developed scale. This scale includes two subscales: one subscale to measure attitudes towards Muslims, and one subscale to measure tolerance of Islamic practices. In Study 1 (n = 315), an Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) is conducted to test for the dual dimensional factor structure of the PATMS. In Study 2 (n = 338), a Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) is conducted to confirm the dual dimensionality of the scale. Study 2 also presents initial evidence for the validity of the scale, including construct, criterion, and known groups validity. In Study 3 (n =

40), the temporal stability of the scale is evaluated using a test-retest analysis. Studies 1-3 also evaluate the internal consistency of the subscales in the PATMS. Together, these studies provide evidence that the PATMS is a valid and reliable scale which can measure both attitudes towards Muslims, and tolerance of Islamic practices.

Chapter 7 (*Interim Discussion and Outline of Final Studies)* links the two parts of my thesis together and begins with a review of the findings from the previous empirical chapter. One of the findings from the previous empirical chapter was that the correlation between our attitudes and tolerance subscales is high. Therefore, the need to provide further evidence for the independence of attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices is highlighted. Following this review is a brief outline of the proceeding empirical chapters which seek to further establish this independence, including an introduction to the key ideological factors being investigated.

Chapter 8 (*Studies 4-5: Exploring the Relationship between Christian God Representations and Attitudes towards Muslims and Tolerance of Islamic Practices)* presents two studies which use the PATMS to further evaluate common predictors of inter-group attitudes. These studies evaluate religious belief as a predictor of attitudes and tolerance. Specifically, Christian individuals' beliefs about the representation of God. Study 4 (n = 205) presents two hierarchical regression analyses on the relationship between Christians' belief in either an Authoritarian or Benevolent God (i.e., anthropomorphic representations) on both attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. Study 5 (n = 298) replicates and extends the previous study, by presenting two hierarchical regression analyses on not only anthropomorphic representations (i.e., Authoritarian and Benevolent), but also non-anthropomorphic representations (i.e., Mystical, Ineffable, Limitless) of God. The findings from these studies

highlight the usefulness of measuring both attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices when investigating inter-religious dynamics, and advance the recently emerging literature of representations of the Christian God.

Chapter 9 (*Study 6: The Mediating Role of Tolerance of Islamic Practices in the Relationship between the Dual Process Model and Attitudes towards Muslims)* presents one study which further establishes the two PATMS subscales (i.e., attitudes and tolerance) as separate constructs. Study 6 (n = 327) presents an investigation of the role of tolerance of Islamic practices in explaining ideology-based attitudes towards Muslims, using the DPM framework. Specifically, this study investigates the mediating role of tolerance of Islamic practices in the relationship between Right Wing Authoritarianism and Social Dominance Orientation and attitudes towards Muslims. The conclusions from this study highlight the integral role that tolerance of Islamic practices has on attitudes towards Muslims.

Chapter 10 (*General Discussion*) presents a review and discussion of the findings from the empirical chapters in the thesis. After reviewing the findings, limitations and implications are discussed for each of the studies. Broader implications for the thesis as a whole are then discussed, as well as future directions for research in the field.

Chapter 2: Prejudice Literature Review

In his seminal work, Allport (1954) defined prejudice as antipathy or a negative attitude[1] towards an individual based on their group membership, or towards the group itself. These attitudes were "based on faulty and inflexible generalization" (p.9) which he and others argue are the outcome of a process of social categorization, in which individuals automatically categorize others into groups for ease of information processing (Allport, 1954; R. Brown, 2010). This definition is still widely accepted in contemporary understandings of prejudice, with prejudice reflecting negative attitudes at both a group and individual level (Dovidio et al., 2010; Nelson, 2009).

Across time, researchers have proposed a number of processes and theories that have been used to explain why people are prejudiced towards outgroups such as Muslims. There has also been a shift in the way that prejudice is expressed. In this chapter, I will first outline the main four processes and theories that provide insight into the understanding of prejudice broadly (i.e., *individual differences, social categorisation, group conflict theory,* and *social identity theory*). I will then describe the different manifestations of prejudice (i.e., in *classic* and *contemporary* forms). In the next chapter, I will focus specifically on the research surrounding prejudice towards Muslims, which will inform the development of the PATMS (presented in Chapter 6).

Processes and Theories of Prejudice

Understandings of the mechanisms that drive and explain prejudice have evolved across time and include a number of different processes, as described by Duckitt (1992) and Dovidio et

[1] Throughout this thesis, I have used the terms prejudice and negative attitudes interchangeably to reflect the language used in the prejudice towards Muslims literature. This was a conscious decision made to mirror the chosen terminology of authors that I have cited.

al. (2010). Important developments into understanding these processes arguably began to be documented in the scientific literature in the 1950s. During this time, prejudice research typically focused on negative attitudes towards ethnic, racial, and religious minorities. There was a surge of research in this domain as a result of major historical events at the time such as World War II. During this time, minority group members such as Jewish individuals were the victims of mass genocide by Nazis and prejudice by the wider global community. At this time, some researchers considered prejudice to be the result of individual differences and psychopathology, with people who were prejudiced towards minority groups thought to have specific personality predispositions that were deviations from 'normal' thinking (Dovidio et al., 2010).

In *The Authoritarian Personality*, Adorno et al. (1950) put forward the idea that certain people have a pattern of personality (i.e., known as the authoritarian personality) that is responsible for negative attitudes towards minority groups broadly. This explanation was supported by evidence that the authoritarian personality predicted negative attitudes towards a range of different outgroups, including ethnic, racial, and religious minorities (Pettigrew, 1959; Siegman, 1961). The authoritarian personality (a forerunner to Right-Wing Authoritarianism) was said to include rigid belief systems, which included a lack of acceptance for those thought to be deviating from group norms (Devine et al., 2003). In summary, one early account for prejudice was driven by the view that negative attitudes were not about the features of any specific target group as an attitude-object, and instead were about the personality of the attitude holder. The understanding that individual difference factors can predict individuals' attitudes towards minority groups continues to be adopted today, but typically focuses on the interaction between attitude-holder and the attitude-object (Ekehammar & Akrami, 2003).

Another underlying mechanism of prejudice put forward by early researchers was the process of social categorization. In '*The Nature of Prejudice'*, Allport (1954) highlights the propensity of people to automatically and inevitably consider others in relation to the social groups that they belong to, rather than as individuals. This process is known as social categorization and serves as a method which people use to easily process the information around them. By this account, prejudice is the result of overly simplistic classifications of people into social groups based on available information, and the resulting judgement based on generalizations (i.e., stereotypes) made about the social groups. Tajfel (1969) later elaborated on this explanation, theorising that there were a range of consequences of social categorisation that also contributed to the eventual outcome of prejudice. For instance, Tajfel claimed that people tend to overly simplify the world around them into dichotomous categories (e.g., short vs. tall) rather than the continuous dimensions from which those categories may be derived (i.e., range of different heights). By doing this, people exaggerate the extent that members within the same group are similar to each other. At the same time, people also tend to believe that the differences between groups are bigger than what they are. This process of dichotomous categorisation is the basis of common stereotypes which people hold about attitude-objects, and can result in prejudice.

Evidence of social categorisation has been found in previous studies, including studies finding that participants categorise others based on group memberships such as ethnicity and gender (Tajfel & Sheikh, 1964; Taylor et al., 1978). Other studies have shown that these effects emerge even when categories are ambiguous or fabricated. For instance, randomly allocating individuals into groups (i.e., telling some participants that they are 'over estimators' of the number of dots projected onto a wall, while telling other participants that they are 'under

estimators') is enough to create conditions that lead to an 'ingroup' and 'outgroup' mentality (Tajfel et al., 1971). The understanding that social categorisation is associated with negative attitudes towards outgroups continues to be held as true in the literature today.

Socio-cultural change in the 1950s to late 1960s (i.e., the civil rights movement) led to a shift in the focus of research on the mechanisms of prejudice from individual differences to research explaining group conflict. This shift was largely due to the widespread racism towards African Americans in the United States during the time being understood as a product of biased social-structures (i.e., a group-based issue; Duckitt, 1992). This move towards assessing prejudice as a group-based structure highlighted the shift from once considering prejudice to be an artefact of individual differences, to prejudice being seen as a normal intergroup process (Dovidio, 2001). *Realistic Group Conflict Theory* (Campbell, 1965; Levine & Campbell, 1972; Sherif, 1966) proposes that social groups are in direct competition with one another for limited resources. These resources could include threat to the physical health of the group, as well as threats to monetary advantage (Jackson, 1993).

When groups perceive threats to the security of resources, they are motivated to maintain their status and power. This conflict leads to an 'us' versus 'them' mentality (similarly to social categorization), and can lead to overarching negative stereotypes about the group in competition. In this sense, the motivation to secure resources for one's own group (i.e., the ingroup) leads to the derogation of the group in competition (i.e., the outgroup; Brewer, 1999). This group conflict was demonstrated in the classic 'Robbers Cave' experiment, in which children were randomly allocated into one of two groups at a summer camp (Sherif et al., 1961). The children were first given time to bond with their group members separately from the other group, and then both groups were brought together to compete with one another in a series of games. This competitive

environment led to an ‘us’ versus ‘them’ mentality, with the groups derogating one another in order to secure victory for their own group.

Another theory explaining prejudice around this time that was based on the dynamics between ingroups and outgroups was *Social Identity Theory* (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In their paper proposing the theory, Tajfel and Turner (1979) argued that one of the important aspects of intergroup prejudice which had been overlooked in previous theories (such as *Realistic Group Conflict Theory*) was the strength of identification with one’s ingroup. According to *Social Identity Theory*, individuals are psychologically motivated to base their identity (i.e., self-concept) on their membership to specific groups. The groups to which people belong are *in*groups, and they can be formed by default (e.g., race) or by choice (e.g., hobby groups). People show ingroup favouritism in order to maintain connection to their ingroup and secure their self-concept. Based on the outcomes of the social categorisation process, those who do not belong to the ingroup are part of the outgroup. Outgroup members are typically seen as ‘others’, and can be the targets of prejudice.

Important to *Social Identity Theory* is that unlike *Realistic Group Conflict Theory*, competition between groups is not a necessary antecedent to prejudice. This was highlighted in research by Tajfel et al. (1971) which found prejudice effects using a minimal groups paradigm. In this study, students who were placed in random groups displayed ingroup favouritism by awarding their ingroup more monetary rewards in comparison to the outgroup. This effect occurred under non-competitive conditions between the groups. The decision to favour the ingroup occurred when it was not of immediate benefit to the participant making the decision (i.e., the participant was allocating the rewards to members of their group, not themselves).

However, by rewarding members of the ingroup, the participants supported the group and secured their identity.

With a number of processes and theories put forward to explain prejudice, it is clear that the underlying mechanisms explaining the construct are complex. This complexity is further exemplified by prejudice changing in the way it has been expressed over time. In the next section, I will describe the different forms of prejudice which have been identified. Specifically, I will outline classic forms of prejudice (e.g., blatant prejudice), as well as more contemporary forms of prejudice (e.g., subtle prejudice).

Forms of Prejudice and their Presentations

Prejudice has been and often still is commonly assessed and understood in its classical forms. Classic prejudice (i.e., also called blatant prejudice) involves openly negative attitudes towards minority groups which could in turn lead to discrimination towards the group (Devine et al., 2003). The Jim Crow laws in the United States are a historical example of classic prejudice towards African Americans, with the normalization and legalization of racial segregation. These laws made it more acceptable for people to be openly prejudiced and discriminatory towards individuals based on race (Devine et al., 2003). Classic prejudice therefore includes openly not wanting to affiliate or be intimate with members of the outgroup (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). R. Brown (2010) claims that classic forms of prejudice towards outgroups appear to be decreasing over time. However, this decrease in classic prejudice does not necessarily equate to an actual reduction in prejudice. Instead, it is argued that merely the *expression* of prejudice has changed over time due to the change in acceptability of public expressions of negative attitudes. Expression of classic forms of prejudice towards minority groups have become taboo, and even

illegal (i.e., with laws against discrimination towards minority groups). Instead of expressing prejudice in this classic form, negative attitudes now manifest in more contemporary ways.

Unlike classic prejudice which is expressed blatantly, contemporary prejudice involves the expression of negative attitudes towards minority groups in subtle ways, which may not be intentional or even known by the attitude holder (Dovidio, 2001). As noted by Devine et al. (2003), much of the research into the differences of classic and contemporary forms of prejudice has been conducted through the lens of racial prejudice (i.e., as a result of socio-cultural changes at the time making classic racism unacceptable). Therefore, the contemporary forms of prejudice are often theorised by researchers in terms of racial prejudice. These include *Modern Racism, Symbolic Racism,* and *Subtle Racism* (i.e., which are conceptually similar), as well as *Aversive Racism* and *Ambivalent Racism* (i.e., which both make important distinctions on the basis of prejudiced attitudes). These forms of prejudice are outlined below, through the lens of racial prejudice.

As mentioned, classic prejudice (i.e., and classic racism) occurs when individuals are openly negative towards outgroups (i.e., racial minorities) without an attempt to conceal their attitudes (Dovidio et al., 2010). Unlike Classic racism, *Modern Racism* occurs when individuals are only negative towards the racial outgroup when it is possible to conceal it as justified on the grounds of an external reason (McConahay, 1983, 1986). This stems from the notion that those who display modern racism do not consider themselves as prejudiced, but instead legitimately believe that their attitudes are justified on the grounds of external reasons. These external reasons include instances where ideological beliefs and political values can be used to excuse their attitudes (e.g., a person claiming they are not voting for a Black American candidate in the election because their political alignment is different than the attitude-holders).

Another reason includes concealing discriminatory actions based on orders by those who are in authority. To demonstrate this, Brief et al. (2000) evaluated modern racism in the context of hiring Black American candidates for a job at an organisation. In the study, White American college students first completed a measure of modern racism early in the semester, and later in the semester were asked to rate ten applications (a mix of Black and White American candidates) for a job at a firm. These applications consisted of three Black American candidates who were appropriately skilled for the job, two White American candidates who were also appropriately skilled for the job, and five White American candidates not appropriately skilled for the job. The researchers then manipulated a condition of authority justification, in which participants read a briefing from the president of the hiring firm that either endorsed the non-hiring of minority group members on the grounds of maintaining a homogenous business group (i.e., justification condition), or did not make any comment on making decisions based on race (i.e., no justification condition). Participants were then asked to choose candidates for a job interview based on the applications provided. The results showed that participants who scored high on modern racism and were in the justification condition selected significantly fewer Black American candidates in comparison to those scoring low on modern racism. On the other hand, there was no difference in candidate selection in the no justification condition. This suggests that participants were only comfortable displaying discrimination against Black American candidates when it appeared justified by an authority figure (i.e., they were able to conceal their true prejudice due to another reason). The presentation of modern racism is far reaching, and has been evaluated through the lens of biased court room decisions (e.g., Pfeifer & Bernstein, 2003; Pfeifer & Ogloff, 2003), and media representation in Western countries such as the USA and Australia (Entman, 1990; Simmons & Lecouteur, 2008).

Very closely related to modern racism (and sometimes conceptualised together) is *Symbolic Racism* (Kinder & Sears, 1981). Like modern racism, symbolic racism includes the concealment of blatant racism by justifying attitudes on the grounds of external reasons. This form of racism has been theorised as a mixture of the attitude-holder's negative affect towards Black individuals and their perception that Black individuals do not uphold the traditional morals which they value (Kinder & Sears, 1981). As the name suggests, symbolic racism is grounded in abstract ideas such as moral values and ideological beliefs, rather than actual experience with the outgroup (Sears & Henry, 2003). Symbolic racism is based on four main political beliefs held by the attitude holder. These include the beliefs that (a) Black individuals are no longer victims of prejudice and discrimination; (b) the reason Black individuals live with disadvantage is due to a lack of effort on their part; (c) that Black individuals are asking for too much, and (d) that Black individuals have already received more than what they deserve (Henry & Sears, 2002; Sears & Henry, 2003). This form of racism has been used to predict political outcomes in the United States, including White Americans' opposition to voting for Black American candidates in mayor elections (Kinder & Sears, 1981), White Americans' opposition to affirmative action policies, even after controlling for demographic factors such as political party identification (Jacobson, 1985), and White Americans' support for punitive crime policies which have an impact on Black Americans (Green et al., 2006).

There has been considerable criticism of symbolic racism as a construct, with some researchers arguing that old fashioned racism (i.e., classic racism) and symbolic racism tap onto the same concepts (i.e., with symbolic racism measurements being correlated to some of the causes and antecedents of classic racism), making it difficult to disentangle the effects of the two constructs on outcomes such as attitudes towards policy (Sniderman & Tetlock, 1986).

Furthermore, these researchers have highlighted that it becomes difficult to determine the true underpinnings of motivation to engage in symbolic racism with regards to political beliefs. In order to address these issues, research has been conducted using exploratory factor analyses of items which represent both classic and symbolic racism, finding that the two constructs load onto different factors (Tarman & Sears, 2005). To further confirm the unique contributions to prejudice-relevant outcomes, symbolic and classic racism were both used to predict preferences surrounding racial policies (Henry & Sears, 2002). These researchers found that symbolic racism was a significant negative predictor of support for racial policies (i.e., such as affirmative action plans and equal opportunity), and components of classic racism did not significantly predict these outcomes (i.e., except for anti-Black affect, which was a significant negative predictor). These findings suggest that constructs underlying symbolic racism can be differentiated from classic racism.

Another form of contemporary racism which has been proposed by researchers is *Subtle Racism* (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995), which has its basis in European prejudice research (i.e., unlike Modern and Symbolic racism which have their bases in the United States). These researchers make the distinction between blatant racism, which is thought to be a 'hot', direct expression of prejudice towards the attitude-object, and subtle racism, which is a 'cool', indirect expression of prejudice. Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) claim that attitude-holders are aware that group norms no longer permit the classic presentation of prejudice, so those who score high in measures of subtle racism choose to display their bias in ways they believe can go undetected by group norms. Subtle racism forms on the basis of three main components related to the attitude-object (i.e., racial outgroup). The first component is the belief that traditional values should be upheld, and the racial outgroup's behaviour does not respect these values (i.e., there is a need to

protect traditional values). The second component is an exaggeration of the differences between groups. This perceived dissimilarity can be exacerbated by prevailing stereotypes of the attitude-object. The third component is a lack of positive affect towards the attitude-object. Specifically, subtle racism does not involve explicit negative attributions and affect towards the outgroup (i.e., Black individuals). Rather, it involves the expression of fewer positive attributions or affect in comparison to the ingroup (i.e., White individuals).

The contemporary forms of prejudice mentioned so far have focused on the relationship between traditional values and conservativism, and on and the expression of bias in ways which appear acceptable. In this sense, the attitude-holder is aware that they hold the negative attitude and attempt to conceal it. One theory of contemporary racism which looks at bias by individuals who may not even necessarily be aware that they hold the attitude is *Aversive Racism* (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). According to Dovidio (2001), those who score high in measures of aversive racism possess egalitarian values (i.e., the belief that all groups deserve equal treatment), and believe that they are not biased towards specific minority groups (i.e., Black individuals). However, these same individuals hold a number of negative evaluations towards Black individuals which they can be unaware of. As well as these negative evaluations, the attitude-holder feels anxiety surrounding interactions with the out-group (Brown, 2010). As a reaction to this anxiety, those who score high in aversive racism will not directly show bias towards Black individuals, but will instead show bias when it is possible to justify the reaction on the basis of an external factor (i.e., not related to race). As mentioned, this can happen unintentionally due to the attitude-holder not being aware of the bias, so the process (i.e., including the negative evaluations) is thought to be non-conscious. Aversive racism has been demonstrated in numerous

studies, including discrimination towards Black candidates in hiring decisions (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000).

In order to measure patterns of classic and aversive racism over time, Dovidio and Gaertner (2000) measured White Americans' self-reported racism (i.e., as a measure of classic racism) and aversive racism as measured with hiring decision responses for White and Black American candidates on an experimental task in two samples, at two time points, ten years apart (i.e., 1988-1989 and 1998-1999). These researchers first asked participants to provide their self-reported attitudes towards Black Americans. Participants then completed an experimental task in which they evaluated interview excerpts of either a White or Black American candidate on a series of outcomes including their suitability for the job. The qualifications of the candidates were manipulated, with participants receiving excerpts from either an unambiguously strong candidate, an unambiguously weak candidate, or an ambiguous candidate who displayed both good and bad qualities. The results showed a decrease in self-reported negative attitudes across the time points, with the researchers suggesting this to be a decrease in classic racism (i.e., as the expression of this form prejudice is no longer socially acceptable). For aversive racism, the evaluations did not differ between White and Black candidates in the unambiguous conditions. However, in the ambiguous interview excerpts, Black participants were significantly less likely to be recommended for the job in comparison to their White counterparts. These findings were consistent across both time points. This confirms the hypothesis initially put forward by Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) which claims that those scoring high in aversive racism will only display their bias when it is concealable by another external factor (e.g., through interview excerpts that were ambiguous enough to claim the decision was based on credentials rather than racial bias).

As described so far, *Modern* and *Symbolic* racism involve traditionalist values and the motive to not appear overtly prejudiced while often holding conscious negative attitudes about the attitude-object. On the other hand, *Aversive* racism involves egalitarian values, and the notion that the attitude-holder does not believe that they are prejudiced, while holding unconscious negative attributes about the attitude-object. Another form contemporary racism which has been suggested by researchers is *Ambivalent Racism* (Katz, 1981; Katz & Hass, 1988). This form of racism posits that the attitude-holder has both positive and negative feelings towards the racial outgroup at the same time (i.e., attitudinal ambivalence). These feelings stem from the attitude holder having dual-attitudes, which include *both* traditionalist values (i.e., which lead to negative attitudes), and egalitarian values (i.e., which lead to positive attitudes; Katz & Hass, 1988). In specific situations which make the conflict of feelings salient, the attitude holder is likely to feel psychological tension. Due to this feeling, the attitude-holder reacts in ways which aim to resolve the contradicting attitudes by either behaving favourably or unfavourably. The specific reaction that the attitude-holder has depends on several external factors such as the situation.

To highlight the dual emotions that attitude-holders have, Katz and Hass (1988) presented scales measuring pro-Black and anti-Black attitudes, as well as scales measuring traditionalist and egalitarian values, to multiple groups of White American undergraduate students. They found that the pro-Black attitude scale scores were significantly and positively related to egalitarian values, and the anti-Black attitude scale scores were significantly and positively related to traditionalist values. The cross-correlations (i.e., correlations between anti-Black attitudes and egalitarian values) were much lower and mostly non-significant. Research has also been conducted to further evaluate the situations in which attitude holders are likely to display negative attitudes towards Black individuals.

Hass et al. (1988) conducted a study in which White American undergraduates were asked to evaluate Black and White Americans on their competence when hosting a trivia game. These researchers varied the race of the trivia host (i.e., either a Black or White male), as well as how successful the host was in ensuring the team was able to win the game (i.e., by either asking questions in a way that ensured the success of the team [success condition], or in a way that hindered the team [failure condition]). After the game, participants were asked to evaluate the host on a set of items including competence and intelligence. It was found that in the success condition, participants rated the Black male *more* favourably than the White male (i.e., although this difference was not significant). On the other hand, in the failure condition, participants rated the Black male significantly *less* favourably in comparison to the White male. Thus, when the situation resulted in a positive outcome, participants rated the Black male more favourably (i.e., as a sign of positive attitudes). However, when the situation resulted in a negative outcome, participants rated the Black male less favourably (i.e., as a sign of negative attitudes). This suggests that evaluations of racial minorities can be both positive and negative, depending on the situation, providing evidence for ambivalent attitudes.

In summary, there are a number of different ways prejudice has been conceptualised and understood. Firstly, there are classic forms of prejudice, in which prejudice is overtly expressed without attempts to conceal them (e.g., *blatant* prejudice). Secondly, there are contemporary forms of prejudice which have been theorised and explained in a variety of different ways (e.g., *modern*, *symbolic*, *subtle*, *aversive,* and *ambivalent* prejudices). Although these forms of contemporary prejudice have different names and slightly different variations, such as differences in the foundation of the attitudes (e.g., traditional and/or egalitarian values), they do share common ground. For example, the contemporary forms of prejudice all assume that the

expression of negative attitudes towards minority groups has evolved across time, and now manifest in more covert ways.

As mentioned, the forms of prejudice which have been outlined so far have been described with a specific focus on racial prejudice. The reason for this is that racial prejudice is a topic which has received considerable attention in the prejudice literature, due to its differing presentations and continuing presence across time (Devine et al., 2003). However, these forms of prejudice extend to a variety of different outgroups. In the next chapter, I will describe research which has been conducted to evaluate prejudice towards Muslims. The literature on prejudice towards the group has been less focused on researching the ways prejudice is expressed (i.e., classic versus contemporary), and more focused on understanding the causes of prejudice. I will first discuss how prejudice towards Muslims has been defined and conceptualised. I will then discuss the different themes which are prominent in the literature on prejudice towards the group.

Chapter 3: Prejudice towards Muslims Literature Review

Defining Prejudice towards Muslims

There is a lack of consensus in the literature about how prejudice towards Muslims is conceptualised, making it difficult to draw firm conclusions regarding attitudes towards Muslims specifically. Prejudice towards Muslims has previously been conceptualised and researched in a variety of ways. This includes negative attitudes towards the group itself (i.e., Muslims), negative attitudes towards the religion (i.e., Islam), negative attitudes towards racial groups commonly associated with Muslims (e.g., people who are Arab), or a combination of the above. Negative attitudes towards Muslims have often been labelled 'Islamophobia'. According to M. Brown (2000), the term 'Islamophobia' can be traced back to the 1980s, and involves negative conceptions of Muslim culture and the Islamic religion. However, arguably the earliest use of the term which gained the most attention came from reports released by the Runnymede Trust in 1997. The Runnymede Trust was established in the UK in 1968 with the aim of evaluating attitudes towards a range of different racial groups (Taras, 2013). In 1997, the Runnymede Trust released a report specifically focused on Islamophobia. In the report, Islamophobia is defined as a hatred of Islam, and as a result, a dislike of Muslims (Conway, 1997). The review highlighted eight main characteristics of Islamophobia, which are outlined below.

The first characteristic of Islamophobia is that Islam is viewed by the attitude-holder as a monolithic religion that does not allow for internal differences in opinions and attitudes, in comparison to a religion that includes beliefs and practices that are diverse. The second characteristic is that Islam is viewed as an 'other' which has no association with the culture, morals, or practices of countries with non-Muslim majorities (i.e., the West). The third characteristic stems from the 'other' mentality and is the belief of the attitude-holder that

followers of Islam (i.e., Muslims) are inferior to non-Muslims. This belief further perpetuates negative generalisations of Muslims and stereotypes about the group. The fourth characteristic is the belief of the attitude-holder that Islam as a religion is the enemy, and that followers of Islam are aggressive and hostile towards non-Muslim majorities (i.e., through acts of violence such as terrorism). The fifth characteristic is the view that followers of Islam (i.e., Muslims) are insincere in their beliefs, and strategically use their religion for military and political gain. The sixth characteristic is the notion that discrimination against Muslims based on 'race' is justified on the grounds of beliefs held by the attitude-holder. As noted by this characteristic, prejudice towards Muslims was suggested to be partially race based (i.e., with the attitude-holder categorizing Muslims based on skin colour), and not completely driven by religious dissimilarities. The seventh characteristic is the view that Muslim critique of Western society is not valid. In this sense, Muslim individuals are not given the opportunity to voice their opinions on Western issues. The eighth and final characteristic is the view that anti-Muslim attitudes are now considered a normal aspect of societal discourse (Conway, 1997). These eight characteristics are argued by the report to influence each other and lead to the perpetuation prejudice and discrimination towards Muslims. Since this original conceptualization of Islamophobia, researchers have noted that the term has taken on different meanings (Bleich, 2011; Mondon & Winter, 2017; Taras, 2013).

Some researchers use the term Islamophobia to describe negative attitudes which are grounded in fear of Islam and Muslims (e.g., Lee et al., 2009). Others use the term to describe negative attitudes towards Islam and Muslims that are not specifically related to fear (e.g., Bleich, 2011; Stolz, 2005). The term has also been critiqued as a blanket term which incorporates attitudes towards both Islam and Muslims, when these two should be treated as separate attitude-

objects (Halliday, 1999). There is therefore a lack of consensus about what Islamophobia is, and how it should be measured. Rather than use the term Islamophobia, it has been suggested that researchers should use more specific terms in order to clarify the construct they are measuring. For example, Halliday (1999) suggests more specific terms, such as 'anti-Muslim' to describe negative attitudes aimed directly at Muslims, independent of attitudes towards Islam. Zúquete (2008) suggests the term 'anti-Islam' for attitudes specifically towards Islam as a religion, independent of attitudes towards Muslims. Given this lack of consensus into definitions surrounding the topic, it is important to clarify my definition of prejudice towards Muslims for the current thesis. I define prejudice towards Muslims as negative attitudes towards Muslims as individuals and as a group, which are independent of attitudes towards Islam. However, because research in the area often conflates measurements of attitudes towards Muslims and Islam together (i.e., as a single measure of prejudice towards Muslims), in this chapter's literature review of prejudice I will include research using any of the above-mentioned conceptualisations.

Prejudice towards Muslims

Muslim individuals are dehumanized (Bruneau et al., 2018; Gomez-Martinez & de la Villa Moral-Jimenez, 2018), are the victims of hate crimes (Byers & Jones, 2007; Disha et al., 2011), and experience a wide range of negative attitudes and behaviours. A number of demographic and ideological factors have been found to predict negative attitudes towards Muslims. These include demographic factors such as age (i.e., with greater prejudice in older age groups), education levels (i.e., with greater prejudice in less educated groups), and political views (i.e., with greater prejudice amongst conservative groups), as well as ideological beliefs such as increases in universalism, increases in religious fundamentalism, increases in Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), and increases in Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA; Elchardus

& Spruyt, 2014; Field, 2007; Pedersen & Hartley, 2012; Rowatt et al., 2005; Strabac & Listhaug, 2008). The specific role of the most prominent of these factors (i.e., religious beliefs, SDO, & RWA) on attitudes towards Muslims will be discussed in detail in Chapters 7, 8, and 9.

There have been a number of national and cross-national surveys including items measuring attitudes towards Muslims, which indicate that prejudice towards the group is higher in comparison to other minority groups. In a wide scale exploration of prejudice towards Muslims in Europe, Strabac and Listhaug (2008) conducted a multi-level analysis of non-Muslim Europeans self-reported attitudes across 30 European countries. The analysis used data from the 1999-2000 European Values Survey (Halman, 2001), which included an item asking whether there were any groups that the respondent would feel uncomfortable having as a neighbour (options included Muslims and other groups such as Immigrants, Jewish individuals, and Gypsies). The analysis found that attitudes towards Muslims were more negative in comparison to immigrants as a general outgroup in both Eastern and Western European countries. The researchers noted that some demographic factors which predicted prejudice towards Muslims (i.e., age, education) also significantly predicted prejudice towards immigrants. This suggests that these demographic factors might predict a general dislike of outgroups. An important aspect of this analysis is that the period of self-reported data (1999-2000) preceded the 9/11 attacks in the United States, indicating that prejudice towards this group was still prevalent before an event which highlighted anti-Muslim prejudice.

In a longitudinal analysis of attitudes towards Muslims, Bleich (2009) examined public opinion poll data of non-Muslim respondents residing in Britain and France from 1988-2008. Survey items measuring attitudes towards Muslims differed across the individual surveys. For example, one survey asked participants whether they believed there were ‘too many’ members of

a particular group (i.e., including Muslims), and another survey asked which religious group the respondent had greater negative opinions towards (i.e., including Muslims). The surveys indicated an increase in negative attitudes towards Muslims across time in both locations. Muslim individuals were also the targets of greater negative attitudes in comparison to other religious group members, such as Christian and Jewish individuals.

Longitudinal analyses of opinion poll data in Australia also highlights the trend of negative attitudes towards Muslims in comparison to other minority groups, and the findings suggest that attitudes towards Muslims have remained consistent over time. Markus (2016) analysed the data of six surveys conducted by the Scanlon Foundation on random samples of the Australian population via telephone between 2010-2016. Attitudes towards Muslims were consistently more negative on average (24.2% negative) in comparison to other religious outgroups including Christians (4.2% negative) and Buddhists (4.6% negative). Another important finding in the analysis was that across the six years, there was no significant change in the severity of negative attitudes towards Muslims, indicating that attitudes towards the outgroup have remained consistent (i.e., rather than becoming more negative). The same pattern of results has been found in later surveys conducted by the foundation (Markus, 2019). Also found in the Scanlon Foundation surveys was a difference in the reporting of negative opinions about Muslims when being asked to provide attitudes publicly on a telephone survey with a researcher, in comparison to privately in a self-completed survey which was mailed to the respondent. When participants were responding publicly, negative opinions ranged from 21-25%, and when responding privately, negative opinions ranged from 39-41% (Markus, 2019). This suggests that respondents are more likely to be cautious in responding with their true attitudes when

responding publicly, but more likely to respond with their true attitudes when asked to respond in a way which protects their anonymity.

Although previous survey data has found greater negative attitudes towards Muslims in comparison to immigrants in general (i.e., Strabac & Listhaug, 2008), it is important to mention that other analyses of survey data have shown no differences between attitudes towards Muslim immigrants and immigrants in general (Strabac et al., 2014). In a cross-national survey of four Western countries (i.e., Sweden, Norway, the UK, and the USA), participants reported attitudes towards immigrants in general (i.e., using the term 'immigrant') and attitudes towards Muslim immigrants (i.e., using the phrase 'immigrants of a Muslim background'). These researchers found no significant differences between attitudes towards Muslim immigrants and immigrants in general when comparing responses in Sweden and Norway. Significant differences emerged when comparing the UK and USA, with attitudes towards immigrants being more negative in comparison to attitudes towards Muslim immigrants. Due to the way that attitudes were measured (i.e., using the term 'immigrant' versus 'immigrant of Muslim background'), what category was salient when participants were providing their responses to the term 'immigrant' is unknown. It is possible that participants had Muslims in their mind when providing their attitudes, which may be a potential explanation for these findings.

There have therefore been contradictory findings in survey data regarding whether Muslims are perceived more negatively in comparison to other minority groups such as immigrants. On the one hand, studies such as Strabac and Listhaug (2008) suggest that attitudes towards Muslims are more negative in comparison to attitudes towards immigrants in general. On the other hand, studies such as Strabac et al. (2014) suggest there is no difference. Providing further evidence that Muslims are indeed evaluated more negatively, experimental studies have

found that both explicit (i.e., conscious, self-reported) and implicit (i.e., non-conscious, demonstrated in response latency/accuracy measures) attitudes are more negative when participants are responding to targets framed as Muslim, in comparison to targets framed as immigrants (Anderson & Antalíková, 2014). Experimental research has also been conducted in order to attempt to explain the causes of prejudice towards Muslims, using a range of different frameworks. The literature surrounding prejudice towards Muslims is broad, with researchers conducting experiments through the lens of specific theories and predictors of prejudice.

Although prejudice towards Muslims was prevalent during the periods before the 9/11 attacks, this event has been associated with an increase in negative attitudes and hate crimes towards the group. Large increases in hate crimes were documented to have occurred in the weeks following 9/11 in the USA, which included crimes towards Muslim men and women who were wearing religious dress in public (Byers & Jones, 2007; Disha et al., 2011; Kaplan, 2006). These negative outcomes were not limited to the USA, with Muslim respondents in Australia reporting increases in feelings of being perceived as dangerous or suspicious since the attacks (Cherney & Murphy, 2016), Muslims in the UK reporting a dramatic increase in perceived direct and indirect discrimination after the attacks (Sheridan, 2006), and increases in hostility towards the group in countries across Europe (Allen & Nielsen, 2002). One of the reasons for the increase in negative sentiment towards Muslims after the period of 9/11 is the negative portrayal of Muslims and Islam in Western media (Shaver et al., 2017). Researchers have been interested in determining the specific elements of media broadcasts which result in these negative attitudes.

Media Portrayal and Prejudice towards Muslims

The representation of Muslims and Islam in Western media is often negative, with news reports focusing on terrorism linked to Muslims, as well as painting Islam as a dangerous

religion (for a meta-analysis, see Ahmed & Matthes, 2017). Moreover, Muslims have been framed as an 'other' in the media, further perpetuating negative stereotypes and prejudice (Saeed, 2007). In a national scale study on the effects of media exposure on attitudes towards Muslims in New Zealand, Shaver et al. (2017) found that regardless of viewers political affiliation, increased exposure to the news was related to an increase in anger and a reduction in warmth towards the group. Studies have suggested that individuals' negative attitudes towards Muslims are a result of the specific news reports that they view. For example, increases in Muslim prejudice have been associated with trusting news reports from organizations that hold traditionally conservative views, with the prejudice persisting even after being presented with contrasting positive information about the group (Calfano et al., 2016). Anti-Muslim immigration attitudes have also been associated with negative depictions of Muslims in the media when the attitude-holder agrees with the information presented (Schmuck et al., 2020), as well as increases in support for policies which are harmful to Muslims (e.g., increased military presence in Muslim countries; Saleem et al., 2017).

The presentation of media related to the 9/11 attacks has been associated with greater prejudice towards Muslims. For instance, Choma et al. (2015) presented participants with either a 9/11 video clip, a fear inducing video clip (i.e., not related to 9/11), or a neutral video clip, and then later measured prejudice towards Muslims. Participants who were presented with the 9/11 video clip reported greater prejudice towards Muslims in comparison to those who viewed the fear or neutral video clip. These findings were explained by greater 9/11 event-related distress leading to the greater prejudice towards Muslims. Previous studies have also suggested that the undifferentiated association of Islam and terrorism by the media can result in greater fear of terrorism, and greater negative attitudes towards Muslims, but only if participants had previous

negative experiences with Muslims (von Sikorski et al., 2017). Taken together, these findings suggest that the often-biased portrayal of Muslims and Islam in the media has a negative impact on attitudes towards Muslims. In addition, studies have shown that peoples negative attitudes towards Muslims have an impact on their attitudes towards the acculturation of Muslims into society.

Acculturation and Prejudice towards Muslims

Acculturation involves the potential ways that two separate cultural systems come together in society (Berry, 2005, 2008). Previous research in Norway has found that the more negative attitudes people have towards Muslims, the more likely they are to believe that Muslim individuals should have to assimilate into the host society, and not maintain their own cultural practices (Kunst et al., 2015). Studies in Australia have found that individuals who hold assimilationist views (i.e., the view that Muslims should not keep their cultural heritage, and instead should adopt the culture of the host society) and segregationist views (i.e., the view that Muslims should remain separate from the host society) are more likely to endorse negative attitudes towards Muslims (Abu-Rayya & White, 2010). Conversely, other research in Australia has found that positive attitudes towards Muslims are associated with more favourable acculturation themes, such as supporting multicultural communities, immigration, and diversity (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010). This suggests that individuals are more negative towards groups who they believe are culturally dissimilar, such as Muslims. Some research into attitudes towards Muslims has focused specifically on attitudes towards Muslim women, with studies measuring individuals' attitudes towards Muslim women in relation to specific cultural dissimilarities, such as the Islamic veil (i.e., hijabs).

Prejudice towards Muslim Women

Previous research has found that Muslim women wearing a hijab are rated more negatively in comparison to Muslim women without religious clothing, and that women wearing a niqab (i.e., full face veil) are rated more negatively in comparison to those wearing a hijab, in both explicit and implicit measures (El-Geledi & Bourhis, 2012; Everett et al., 2015; Strabac et al., 2016). Muslim confederates wearing religious attire have also reported greater perceived discrimination (i.e., via shorter interaction times and greater negative communication) during job applications in comparison to the same confederates applying without religious attire (King & Ahmad, 2010). Studies have investigated what specific factors predict opposition to women who wear the Islamic veil. For example, studies have found that opposition is related to factors such as subtle prejudice, anti-Arab Muslim ethnocentrism (i.e., characterised by feelings of superiority over Arabic-Muslim society), political conservativism, and not endorsing gender equality (Fasel et al., 2013; Saroglou et al., 2009; Sarrasin, 2016). These findings suggest that attitude holders have negative attitudes towards certain values which Muslims are perceived to hold, such as religious practices central to Islamic faith.

Value Violation and Prejudice towards Muslims

One of the most prominently researched antecedents of prejudice towards Muslims is the perceived belief that Muslim individuals are violating Western values. In this sense, it is not necessarily beliefs about Muslims in general which results in negative attitudes, but beliefs about some of the practices of Islam. Analyses from previous opinion polls suggests that an increasing number of non-Muslims believe that Muslims support anti-Western values (Field, 2007). To investigate the impact of these beliefs, Van der Noll et al. (2018) aimed to measure whether discrimination towards Muslims occurs as a reaction towards general Muslim behaviours (e.g.,

positive or neutral behaviours), or only towards behaviours which are viewed as conflicting with Western values. In the study, non-Muslim Belgian participants were asked to read a vignette addressed from either a Muslim (e.g., '*Fatma*') or non-Muslim (e.g., *'Marie*') student, who either flagged that they were planning on attending an anti-same-sex marriage event which goes against the majority's positive attitudes towards same-sex marriage in Belgium (i.e., value conflict condition), or a neutral event (i.e., visiting their brother). Participants then completed a numeric game, in which the participant either awarded money to the student in the vignette, or to a second unknown student. The researchers found a general main effect in which participants overall were less likely to allocate money to the Muslim student in comparison to the non-Muslim student, and participants were also less likely to allocate money to the student in the value violation condition in comparison to the neutral condition. Importantly, there was a significant interaction in which participants were less likely to allocate money to the Muslim student in comparison to the non-Muslim student in the value violation condition. However, there were no significant differences of money allocation between Muslim and non-Muslim students in the neutral condition. These results were found after controlling for previously identified predictors of prejudice including age, gender, and level of education. These results suggest that it is not general anti-Muslim attitudes, but the association between Muslims and value-violating behaviours which leads to less positive behaviours towards the group.

The specific effect of value-violating beliefs (i.e., such as the belief that Muslims do not value gender equality) on prejudice towards Muslims has also been investigated. For instance, Moss et al. (2019) asked non-Muslim participants in the US to report their beliefs about Christian and Muslims views on gender equality (e.g., whether the groups opposed or supported equality). Prejudice towards Muslims was later measured. The results showed that individuals were more

likely to believe that Muslims' value gender equality less than Christians, and this belief predicted prejudice towards Muslims. A follow-up study by these researchers (2019; Study 2) found that participants who read a passage stating that Muslims valued gender equality as much as Christians reported significantly lower prejudice towards the group in comparison to when they read a passage stating that Muslims did not value gender equality. This suggests that negative attitudes towards Muslims may be the result of preconceived notions about the values that the group holds, and that attitudes may change after the presentation of counter information.

Research in Australia has also highlighted the relationship between values and prejudice. In an Australian survey of non-Muslims, Pedersen and Hartley (2012) found that amongst other predictors of prejudice such as low levels of education and right-wing ideological beliefs, participants reported significantly greater negative attitudes if they believed that Muslims were not conforming to the values of other Australians. Participants in the study who reported greater prejudice were also more likely to report that they were concerned about gender equality within the Islamic community. Further research in Australia on the function of attitudes towards Muslims highlighted a similar pattern, with Griffiths and Pedersen (2009) finding that 83.2% of their sample reported that their attitudes towards Muslims took into account the attitude-holders' values. Taken together, these studies suggest the belief that Muslims violate or do not share the same values as those in Western society contributes to negative attitudes towards the group.

Threat and Prejudice towards Muslims

Another prominently researched antecedent of prejudice towards Muslims is perceived threat. *Integrated Threat Theory* (ITT; Stephan & Stephan, 1996, 2000) posits that four components of threat posed by the outgroup, including *realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety,* and *negative stereotype traits,* lead to prejudice towards outgroups such as

Muslims. *Realistic threat* refers to threat to the safety and welfare of the ingroup. This can include threats to the physical safety of the group, as well as threats to the group's economic and political power. These threats posed by the outgroup do not have to be based on real events or actions. Rather, the ingroup can perceive this threat from the outgroup. *Symbolic threat* refers to threat to the worldviews of the ingroup. These threats are described as non-tangible, and include threats to the ingroup's values, morals, attitudes, and beliefs. *Intergroup anxiety* refers to feelings of threat by the ingroup surrounding interactions with the outgroup. These feelings of threat are due to perceived consequences of these interactions, including being negatively evaluated by the outgroup and/or ingroup, as well as feelings of embarrassment. Finally, *negative stereotypes* refer to the negative expectations that the ingroup have about the outgroup. Due to these expectations, the ingroup feel threatened by interactions with the outgroup. Since the original formulation ITT, Stephan and Renfro (2002) have highlighted a distinction between individual- and group-level processes for the four components. Specifically, in the original theory, intergroup anxiety arises at an individual level (i.e., with the individual ingroup member feeling the sense of anxiety), whereas realistic and symbolic threat arise at a group level (i.e., with the group potentially being affected by losses of economic and political power, as well as losses of value systems).

Research on prejudice towards Muslims through the lens of ITT has primarily focused on group level processes (i.e., realistic and symbolic threat), and stereotypes of Muslims, rather than measuring individual levels of intergroup anxiety towards Muslims. For example, a cross-national analysis of survey data (i.e., collected from parts of Europe, Britain, & the USA) found that the strongest predictor of negative attitudes towards Muslims across all countries was increases in perceived threats to safety (i.e., realistic threat), in comparison to increases in perceived threats to ingroup culture (i.e., symbolic threat; Wike & Grim, 2010). Other studies

have suggested that symbolic threat is the strongest predictor of anti-Muslim attitudes (Obaidi et al., 2018). Specifically, these researchers found that both increases in symbolic and realistic threat predicted negative behavioural intentions such as an increased willingness to persecute Muslims, but symbolic threat was the strongest predictor of hostility towards Muslims in comparison to realistic threat. Similarly, increases in generalised cultural and economic threat (i.e., not based specifically on Muslims, rather towards immigrants) was found to be a stronger predictor of prejudice towards Muslims in comparison to criminal threat (Jedinger & Eisentraut, 2020), further suggesting that symbolic threats are stronger predictors of prejudice towards Muslims.

Velasco González et al. (2008) measured self-reported levels of symbolic threat, realistic threat, negative stereotypes, and prejudice towards Muslims amongst adolescents in the Netherlands. These researchers also included measures of in-group identification, multiculturalism, and frequency of contact with Muslims as potential antecedents of prejudice towards the group. In a multilevel analysis, they found that symbolic threat from Muslims was higher than realistic threat, and that symbolic threat and negative stereotypes of Muslims were significantly related to greater prejudice towards the group while realistic threat was not. Symbolic threat was also found to fully mediate the relationship between participants' identification to their ingroup, and prejudice towards Muslims. Specifically, the more participants identified with their ingroup, the higher they perceived symbolic threat to be, which in turn was related to higher levels of prejudice. The researchers suggested that this was due to participants feeling threatened by incongruity between perceived Muslim beliefs and values, and those of their ingroup. Stereotypes of Muslims were found to partially mediate the relationship between intergroup contact and prejudice towards the group. Specifically, the more self-reported

contact participants had with Muslims, the less negative stereotypes they held regarding the group. Finally, both symbolic threat and negative stereotypes were found to partially mediate the relationship between multiculturalism and prejudice towards Muslims. Specifically, the more participants endorsed multiculturalism in the community, the less symbolic threat they perceived, and the less negative stereotypes they held.

Researchers have also investigated how ideological factors commonly associated with negative outcomes are related to threat and prejudice towards Muslims. Measures of Authoritarianism and SDO have both been found to predict greater perceived threat from Muslims (i.e., generalised threat including threats to safety and values), and greater endorsement of anti-Muslim policies (Dunwoody & McFarland, 2017). One study found that authoritarian aggression (a facet of RWA) predicted perceived threat from Islamic terrorism, but SDO did not (Tartaglia et al., 2019). However, another study found that higher SDO was related to both higher realistic and symbolic threat, and that these factors predicted prejudice towards Muslims (Uenal, 2016). This suggests that both RWA and SDO are related to prejudice towards Muslims via threat. The relationship between these ideological factors (i.e., RWA and SDO) and prejudice towards Muslims is further reviewed in Chapter 7 and empirically tested in Chapter 9 of my thesis.

As seen throughout this review, the literature on prejudice towards Muslims is vast, and encapsulates a wide variety of theoretical frameworks and a diverse set of findings. However, regardless of the frameworks and approaches which have been used to measure prejudice towards the group, it is clear that Muslim individuals are largely the targets of negative attitudes. It is imperative that we continue to conduct research in this area in order to further understand what creates and maintains negative attitudes towards this group. Research into the field of

prejudice aims to understand the underlying mechanisms of negative attitudes towards target groups in order to reduce prejudice. In the specific case of prejudice towards Muslims, research aims to understand why individuals harbor negative attitudes towards Muslims, in order to inform prejudice interventions which are aimed at reducing prejudice. In the next section, I will discuss research which has focused on these outcomes.

Prejudice Interventions

A number of researchers have attempted to implement interventions aimed at reducing prejudice towards Muslims. One of these interventions includes using corrective information (i.e., information which aims to correct negative stereotypes surrounding Muslims and Islam) as a learning tool to reduce prejudice. This has the potential to be effective since non-Muslims typically have negative beliefs about Islam as a religion (and as a result also about Muslims), which results in greater perceived distance between Muslims and non-Muslims. These include the belief that Islam as a religion has different views on equality (i.e., such as women's rights), democracy, free speech, and science (Jones et al., 2018; Norton, 2013). Studies have shown that individuals who have factual rather than inaccurate knowledge about Islam, and individuals who are presented with information which corrects inaccurate knowledge (i.e., corrective information) are subsequently less prejudiced towards Muslims and Islam (Mansouri & Vergani, 2018; Moritz et al., 2017). As well as corrective information, researchers have investigated the role of intergroup contact on prejudice towards Muslims.

According to the *Intergroup Contact Hypothesis* (Allport, 1954), increased contact with members of the outgroup (i.e., Muslims) can result in less prejudice towards the group under specific conditions. These conditions include the understanding that both groups should be equal in status, both groups should cooperate with each other, both groups should have shared goals,

and both groups should have the support of external authorities (Allport, 1954). More recent analyses have suggested that having these specific conditions in place is not necessary to reduce prejudice, and that less structured contact (i.e., without all conditions) can be just as effective (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

The contact hypothesis has been used in research in an attempt to reduce prejudice towards Muslims. In a study which focused on the impact of positive and negative self-reported direct contact (i.e., personal experience with Muslims) and indirect contact (i.e., experiences of members of their ingroup with Muslims), on prejudice towards the Muslims, Vedder et al. (2017) found that each form of contact was related to prejudice (i.e., with positive contact related to less prejudice, and negative contact related to more prejudice). These researchers also found that each form of contact was mediated by intergroup anxiety, with less anxiety leading to less prejudice, and more anxiety leading to more prejudice. Other studies have found that increased frequency of contact with Muslims (i.e., via self-report) has a positive impact in a variety of outcomes including greater positive attitudes, greater positive behavioural intentions, and greater perceived outgroup (i.e., Muslim) variability (Hutchison & Rosenthal, 2011; Mansouri & Vergani, 2018). These findings were also mediated by intergroup anxiety, with less anxiety resulting in greater positive outcomes (Hutchison & Rosenthal, 2011). Realistic and symbolic threat has been found to mediate the relationship between contact and prejudice towards Muslims, with contact lessening the feeling of threat from Muslims (Abrams et al., 2017). Although the studies mentioned have found that contact (i.e., both real and imagined) can reduce prejudice towards Muslims, further studies have suggested that studies relating to these factors can fail to replicate.

Some studies have found that contact may not reduce prejudice as has been suggested. For example, one previous study found that imagined contact with Muslim individuals resulted

in greater positive outcomes, such as greater intention to interact with Muslims in real life (Husnu & Crisp, 2010). However, in a wide scale replication study of Husnu and Crisp (2010) which used 36 separate samples, the finding of imagined contact was only replicated in 4 of the 36 samples, suggesting that the originally presented effects have been overestimated (Klein et al., 2014). Research has also found contact asymmetry effects when investigating the impact of positive and negative contact on prejudice towards Muslims (Barlow et al., 2012). Specifically, these researchers found that negative contact with Muslims leads to greater prejudice at a stronger rate than positive contact leads to less prejudice. This finding suggests that although positive contact may lead to a reduction in prejudice, the impact of negative contact with Muslims may prevail and perpetuate prejudice. Further, Henry and Hardin (2006) have argued that the literature on the relationship between contact and prejudice typically involves self-report (i.e., explicit) attitudes, and that implicit attitudes might be a more accurate source of true attitude change, due to potential self-report bias. These researchers found that contact with Muslims significantly reduced the self-reported prejudice of Christians towards Muslims, but implicit attitudes remained unchanged. Further studies have confirmed this over-estimation, finding no significant impact of imagined contact on the reduction of prejudice towards Muslims (Hoffarth & Hodson, 2016).

Due to issues such as a failure to replicate studies on prejudice reduction, researchers have continued to evaluate interventions aimed at reducing prejudice, in order to determine their true effectiveness. Paluck and Green (2009) conducted a systematic literature review of 985 experimental and non-experimental studies which aimed to reduce prejudice towards a variety of different outgroups (e.g., sexual, religious, and racial outgroups). From the review, the researchers concluded that due to lack of methodological consistency (i.e., with some studies not

being able to infer the causality of interventions on prejudice reduction due to non-experimental methods, and others being conducted via laboratory experiments with differing methods), research into prejudice interventions being successful in reducing prejudice is inconclusive. Paluck et al. (2020) conducted a meta-analysis on experimental research into prejudice reduction ($k = 418$), and found that across studies there was a significant, but modest effect of intervention strategies on prejudice reduction (Cohen's $d = 0.36$). After considering publication bias these effects were significantly lower, suggesting that estimated effect sizes might be inflated. Another important finding from this study was that the long-term impact of these interventions on prejudice is rarely investigated, which indicates that these effects may not hold into the future.

It is clear that the literature on prejudice as well as the research on prejudice towards Muslims more specifically lacks consensus on what causes prejudice towards the group. The literature reviewed suggests that prejudice comes from a number of different factors, including contextual cues (e.g., how Muslims are framed; Anderson & Antalíková, 2014), individual difference factors such as acculturation beliefs, religious beliefs, RWA, and SDO (e.g., Abu-Rayya & White, 2010), the impact of external sources such as media (e.g., Shaver et al., 2017), feelings of value violations (e.g., Van der Noll et al., 2018), and feelings of threat (e.g., symbolic and realistic; Obaidi et al., 2018). It is also known that the prejudice reduction strategies which have been suggested to reduce prejudice (i.e., including prejudice towards Muslims) can be flawed, and often do not produce consistent findings. Although prejudice reduction towards Muslims is important, it is at times not effective, and we should pursue and add other strategies which can help improve inter-group relations. One strategy which is useful in improving inter-group relations is increasing tolerance (i.e., acceptance) towards Muslims. This includes increasing tolerance towards the beliefs and practices of Muslims which could go against the

value systems of the attitude-holder. In the next chapter, I will evaluate the literature on tolerance, and more specifically the literature exploring the tolerance of Islamic practices.

Chapter 4: Tolerance Literature Review

Tolerance is an emerging construct in social psychology that can be used as a tool to maintain intergroup harmony in societies. Tolerance is especially important in multicultural societies, particularly those in which the component cultures have disparate beliefs and practices, as it has been argued to act as a buffer against intergroup conflict (Verkuyten, 2007b; Verkuyten et al., 2019, 2020). In comparison to the prejudice literature (reviewed in Chapters 2 & 3), the literature on tolerance in social psychology is relatively recent and remains under-researched, with relatively few empirical studies having been conducted in the area. In this chapter, I will discuss how tolerance has been defined as a construct, and describe the research that has investigated the degree to which people are tolerant of Islamic practices. Finally, I will discuss research which has shown that attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices are two separate constructs and should be evaluated separately. This research evidence provides the rationale for the development of the PATMS (presented in Chapter 6), which aims to provide researchers with a tool that can be used to validly and reliably measure these two independent constructs.

Defining Tolerance

Tolerance has been defined in a number of conflicting ways, which has impacted the ways it has been studied (Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017; Vogt, 1997; Witenberg, 2019). One way tolerance has been defined is simply as the absence of prejudice (Duckitt, 1992). This definition suggests that tolerance and prejudice exist on two ends of a continuum, implying that being tolerant is equivalent to being unprejudiced. This definition is problematic because it rests on the assumption that tolerance and prejudice are the same construct. However, more precise definitions of tolerance acknowledge that tolerance and prejudice are two separate constructs,

and that to be tolerant does not necessarily mean to be unprejudiced (Witenberg, 2019). For example, tolerance has also been defined as a forbearance in which individuals do not necessarily agree with the beliefs and practices of the group in question, but restrain from interfering with them (Forst, 2003; Vogt, 1997). Other researchers have argued that it should not only be restraint from interfering, but respect for the out-group's beliefs and practices that drives tolerance (Simon et al., 2018; Von Bergen et al., 2012).

Further discussion on this definition has continued to separate tolerance and prejudice as independent constructs, suggesting that tolerance is a practice which can be used when individuals dislike a group and/or their practices (Verkuyten & Slooter, 2007; Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017; Verkuyten et al., 2020). The argument for the separation of tolerance from prejudice comes from findings that these two constructs can vary in opposite directions. For example, individuals may have negative attitudes towards Muslims (i.e., prejudice), but prevent themselves from acting upon negative attitudes, instead accepting the rights of the Muslims to practice their beliefs and values in a display of tolerance (Adelman & Verkuyten, 2020; Verkuyten et al., 2020). On the other hand, individuals may have positive attitudes towards Muslims but not be tolerant of Islamic practices such as Muslim women wearing the hijab (Helbling, 2014). As such, the importance of a distinction between attitudes towards groups and tolerance of their beliefs and practices has been argued (Verkuyten, 2013).

In this thesis, I define tolerance as the acceptance[2] of an out-group's beliefs and rights to practice those beliefs, regardless of whether they are different to one's own or whether one disapproves of them. According to this definition, and in the specific case of tolerance of Islamic

[2] There are some differences in the literature regarding the conceptualisation of tolerance with regards to acceptance. Some researchers have conceptualised tolerance and acceptance as two different constructs (i.e., Cvetkovska et al., 2020; Cvetkovska et al., 2021). My definition and contention for the thesis is that tolerance involves the acceptance of outgroup practices, with this acceptance being synonymous with tolerance.

practices, individuals do not necessarily have to agree with the beliefs and practices of Muslims (i.e., Islamic practices), but there is an acceptance that Muslims have the right to have those beliefs and engage in those practices. This definition makes the distinction between how Muslims are evaluated as a target group (i.e., attitudes), and acceptance of their beliefs and practices (i.e., tolerance). Specifically, it is possible to have negative attitudes towards Muslims as a group, but simultaneously accept that Muslims should be able to practice their religion (i.e., a display of tolerance). In contrast, it is possible to have positive attitudes towards Muslims as a group, but not accept that Muslims should be able to practice their religion (i.e., a display of intolerance). In line with this dual-construct approach, I contend that prejudice and tolerance are two separate constructs. While prejudice involves having negative attitudes towards a group or individual based on their group membership, tolerance involves accepting that group or individuals' rights to practice their religion regardless of personal attitudes.

Tolerance of Islamic Practices

Researchers have contended that Islamic practices are often perceived by those in the West as incompatible with Western cultures and values (Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007). As a result of this incompatibility, individuals in the West are often intolerant of Islamic practices. Similar to the literature exploring prejudice towards Muslims, research into the tolerance of Islamic practices has used several different approaches. These include investigating tolerance of specific Islamic practices (e.g., such as Muslim women wearing Islamic veils; Saroglou et al., 2009). Other research investigates tolerance of various Islamic practices (i.e., sometimes as a single aggregated tolerance variable, and sometimes as separately tolerated practices in order to compare different responses; Dangubić et al., 2020b; Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2013b). Researchers have also explored different factors that can predict tolerance (or intolerance) of Islamic

practices. These include inter-religious tolerance (i.e., Christian-specific tolerance of Islamic practices), threat to national identity and cultural continuity, perceived realistic and symbolic threat, tolerance of campaigning for a practice in comparison to engaging in the practice, and differential tolerance of Islamic versus Christian practices (e.g., Aarøe, 2012; Gieling et al., 2010; Hirsch et al., 2019; Smeekes et al., 2011; Verkuyten, 2009). This research is described in turn below.

Tolerance of the Islamic Veil

The wearing of the Islamic veil is a contentious religious practice in Western society. Indeed, some countries in Western Europe have imposed bans on wearing the veil in specific settings, such as the ban on religious head coverings in schools in France (Saroglou et al., 2009). It is therefore not surprising that tolerance of Islamic religious veils (i.e., such as the hijab, burqa, & niqab) is commonly investigated. This line of research is distinct from the research reviewed in Chapter 3, with these studies focusing on tolerance of the practice itself rather than attitudes towards Muslim women who wear the veil. Saroglou et al. (2009) investigated predictors of tolerance of the Islamic veil in various settings (i.e., using a multi-item scale) amongst majority Christian participants in Western Europe (i.e., Belgium). These researchers found a number of predictors of intolerance of the veil, including right-wing political ideologies, values of self-enhancement (i.e., the value of power and security), and anti-religious thinking (i.e., the belief that no religion has a place in society). Predictors of tolerance of the Islamic veil included the value of universalism and spirituality. Other studies have found further evidence for the link between conservative ideology and tolerance of the Islamic veil, with both individual and community level conservative ideology predicting less tolerance (Fasel et al., 2013). These researchers also found that the population prevalence of Muslims in the community had an

impact on tolerance, with higher numbers of Muslims in conservative communities leading to less tolerance of the Islamic veil.

Rather than investigate general tolerance of the Islamic veil, some studies have investigated tolerance of the veil in specific settings such as schools. Helbling (2014) investigated Western Europeans' tolerance of Muslims wearing the Islamic veil within schools. This researcher found a distinction between participants attitudes towards Muslims, and their tolerance of religious practices (i.e., wearing a religious veil). Specifically, Christian participants had greater negative attitudes towards Muslims than non-religious participants, but their tolerance towards wearing a religious veil in schools was equivalent (i.e., to non-religious participants). Showing a more distinct separation between attitudes and tolerance, liberal (i.e., socially progressive) respondents reported positive attitudes towards Muslims, but were opposed to Muslims' wearing a religious veil in schools. This was explained by the researcher as reflecting liberal participants hesitance in endorsing practices which may go against their liberal values (i.e., with wearing a veil such as the hijab potentially being viewed as issue of gender inequality).

In order to further investigate the impact of liberal values on tolerance of the Islamic veil, Gustavsson et al. (2016) evaluated tolerance by individuals who endorsed different conceptualisations of liberalism. Specifically, these researchers investigated tolerance amongst *enlightenment* liberals (i.e., who value the autonomy of all individuals and believe that there should be universal rules for everyone) and *reformation* liberals (i.e., who value religious diversity and freedom of religious practices). These researchers found that reformation liberals were significantly less likely to endorse a ban on Muslim women wearing Islamic veils in school settings. On the other hand, enlightenment liberals were significantly more likely to endorse a

ban on wearing Islamic veils in schools. This suggests that liberal views can predict tolerance and intolerance towards Islamic religious practices, depending on the values which liberal individuals hold.

Inter-Religious Tolerance

Some researchers have investigated the effect of the attitude-holder's own religion on tolerance of Islamic beliefs and practices (i.e., inter-religious tolerance). Aarøe (2012) investigated whether tolerance of the Islamic religious expression of Muslims in positions of power (i.e., judges) varied depending on salience of religious signaling (i.e., conspicuous vs subtle) in comparison to Christian religious expression (i.e., the religious ingroup of the sample). In an embedded survey design, Christian participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions. Specifically, they were asked whether they would support a ban on judges wearing either an Islamic veil (i.e., a conspicuous expression of outgroup religion), an Islamic crescent (i.e., a subtle expression of outgroup religion), or a Christian cross (i.e., a display of ingroup religion) in courtrooms. This study found that participants reported less tolerance towards Muslims' wearing an Islamic headscarf in comparison to an Islamic crescent or a Christian wearing a cross, and that the most conspicuous expression of religion resulted in the greatest feelings of anxiety within the sample. This was suggested to be due to the more conspicuous expression resulting in greater salience of Muslims as an outgroup, highlighting religious differences. Similarly, religious exclusivism (i.e., the belief that the attitude-holder's religion is the only one which is true) and belief in a predominately Christian nation has been associated with less tolerance towards Islamic practices such as allowing Mosques in the community (Merino, 2010). This study also found that increased prior contact with Muslims and an

appreciation for religious diversity was associated with greater tolerance of these Islamic practices.

Other studies have shown that individual difference factors associated with Christian religious belief can impact tolerance of religious outgroup practices, including Islamic practices. Specifically, Van Tongeren et al. (2016) measured Christian participants' levels of Quest religiousness (i.e., an individual difference factor which includes openness to the search for meaning in religion and a greater acceptance of different possibilities surrounding religious belief; Batson, 1976; Batson & Schoenrade, 1991), and asked a series of questions regarding six non-Christian religious groups (i.e., including Muslims). Among the questions was the extent of support for building of religious places of worship in the community for each of the non-Christian religious groups, with responses to each of the six groups averaged to create a single tolerance score. These researchers found that a higher endorsement of Quest religiousness was associated with greater tolerance towards the non-Christian groups. This suggests that specific factors associated with religious belief (i.e., such as being open minded to other religious possibilities) can lead to greater tolerance of religious outgroup practices, including Islamic practices. Another prominent factor which has been associated with intolerance of Islamic practices is having a strong national identity.

National Identity, Cultural Continuity, and Tolerance

Having a strong connection to national culture (i.e., national identity) has been found to predict opposition to immigrant minorities, including towards Muslim groups (Falomir-Pichastor & Frederic, 2013; Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007; Sniderman et al., 2004). This opposition is associated with a perceived clash between the cultural practices of non-Muslims and Muslims (Sniderman et al., 2004). Tolerance of Islamic practices in Western Europe has been found to

vary depending on how national culture is framed, and can even lead to opposition amongst those who do not strongly identify with national culture. For example, Smeekes et al. (2011) conducted a study which investigated whether participants in the Netherlands were less tolerant of Islamic practices when Dutch national history was framed as grounded in Christianity. Specifically, these researchers presented participants with either an excerpt which claimed that the country's national history was grounded in Christianity (i.e., Christian condition), or an excerpt that was unrelated to national history (i.e., control condition), and then measured levels of national identification and tolerance of Islamic practices. Participants in the control group who did not strongly identify with the national ingroup (i.e., lower identifiers) were more tolerant of Islamic practices in comparison to participants who strongly identified with the national ingroup (i.e., higher identifiers). However, in the Christian condition, both lower and higher identifiers were equally opposed to Islamic practices. This suggests that when national culture is framed as grounded in Christianity, even those who do not strongly identify with the national ingroup feel opposed to outgroup religious practices. On the other hand, the suggestion that the participants' country is historically tolerant of all religions has been found to increase tolerance of Islamic practices amongst non-Muslims residents that strongly identify with the national ingroup in the Netherlands (Smeekes et al., 2012). These researchers found that the increase in tolerance was explained by participants reduced perception that there is an identity incompatibility between non-Muslims and Muslims.

Further studies have explored the impact that perceived national cultural continuity has on tolerance of Islamic practices (Badea et al., 2020; Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2013b, 2015). Cultural continuity is described as the perceived continuation by ingroup members of ingrained cultural facets that remain unchanging (Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2013b). Cultural continuity has

been argued to provide individuals with a sense of certainty and identity, and can lead to opposition towards practices which are not in line with host culture norms (Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2013b, 2015). Research has explored the role of cultural continuity threat in the relationship between belief in the foundations of national culture and tolerance of Islamic practices. Smeekes and Verkuyten (2013b) have found evidence that perceived continuity threat (i.e., measured with three items asking whether Muslims were a threat to the continuity of national culture) was high for Dutch nationals who believed that the national culture was grounded in Christianity, which in turn was related to less tolerance towards Islamic practices. On the other hand, perceived continuity threat was low for Dutch nationals who believed that the national culture was grounded in religious tolerance, which in turn was related to greater tolerance of Islamic practices. Other studies have also found that perceived national cultural continuity threat can negatively impact tolerance of Islamic practices. For example, in a study on the relationship between deprovincialization (i.e., the recognition that there are different cultural practices and norms than just ones' ingroup) and tolerance of Islamic practices amongst Dutch natives, Velthuis et al. (2020) found that higher deprovincialization beliefs were related to increased tolerance of Islamic practices. However, this relationship was weaker amongst those who were concerned for the national cultural continuity of the Netherlands, in comparison to those who were not. This suggests that national cultural continuity threat can even lower tolerance levels amongst those who are understanding of other cultural practices and norms.

The impact of cultural continuity threat on tolerance of Islamic practices has also been explored through the lens of collective self-continuity (i.e., feelings of personal continuity gained from being part of the ingroup; Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2013a). Specifically, Dutch nationals who were told to imagine that the Netherlands no longer existed and there was therefore no longer a

shared identity (i.e., as an induction of existential threat to cultural continuity and national identity) reported feeling higher collective self-continuity in comparison to those in the control condition (i.e., who did not receive an induction of threat). In turn, the participants who reported these feelings of higher collective self-continuity reported less tolerance of Islamic practices. This suggests that perceived threat to the continuity of the ingroup results in stronger feelings of connection to the group, which can lead to less tolerance towards outgroup (i.e., Islamic) practices.

As an explanatory factor of feelings of threat to cultural continuity, studies have shown that national nostalgia (i.e., feelings of longing for how the nation 'used' to be prior to perceived change) and autochthony (i.e., the belief that the group considered to be the first inhabitants of a nation are entitled to the land and rights within it) can predict less tolerance of Islamic practices (Smeekes et al., 2015). These researchers found that amongst Dutch nationals, feelings of national nostalgia were related to beliefs about autochthony, which in turn predicted less tolerance of Islamic practices. This finding was interpreted as feelings of national nostalgia leading to a process of social categorisation (i.e., an increase in salience between ingroup and outgroup dynamics), which in turn increased Dutch nationals' opposition to outgroup practices. Further research has found that the endorsement of ethnic national belonging (i.e., the belief that the national group is of shared cultural descent) is related to greater feelings of autochthony, which in turn is related to less tolerance of Islamic practices (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2015). On the other hand, these researchers found that civic national identity (i.e., the belief that citizens can be from different cultures as long as they follow the same norms and rules) is related to less feelings of autochthony, which is in turn related to greater tolerance of Islamic practices. Although these studies show that threat to national continuity can lead to less tolerance of

Islamic practices, other research has shown that interventions during feelings of threat can result in greater tolerance.

Badea et al. (2020) investigated the impact of self-affirmation (i.e., at a personal level) and group-affirmation (i.e., at a group level) on tolerance of Islamic beliefs and practices amongst French nationals when Christian national continuity is threatened. These researchers found that for individuals who believed that France's national history was grounded in Christianity, those who completed a group-affirmation activity (i.e., ranking the importance of a series of national values to themselves as a French citizen) reported greater tolerance of Islamic practices in comparison to a control activity (i.e., ranking the importance of the same set of national values to someone else). This suggests that reminding people of the virtuous aspects of national culture can increase positive outcomes towards outgroups. Another aspect that can increase tolerance of Islamic practices is the belief that Muslims are essential to the identity of the nation (Verkuyten et al., 2014). These researchers found that Dutch nationals who believed that Muslims were essential to the Netherlands were more likely to endorse common dual belonging (i.e., the belief that although the Netherlands is multicultural, it is unified), which in turn predicted greater tolerance of Islamic practices. Taken together, these findings show that the way that beliefs about cultural continuity and the way national identity is framed has in impact on individual's tolerance of Islamic practices.

Threat and Tolerance

The research which has been outlined so far has included various themes of threat (e.g., continuity threat). Research into tolerance of Islamic practices has further explored feelings of threat surrounding Muslims and Islamic practices, using more specific models of threat perception (i.e., realistic and symbolic threat). For example, Wirtz et al. (2016) found that

symbolic threat was directly related to less tolerance of Islamic practices, as well as indirectly related through the emotion of anger. Similarly, analysis of survey data from natives across the UK, Netherlands, and France also found that individuals with higher perceived symbolic threat from Muslims were more likely to endorse a ban on the wearing of the Islamic veil in comparison to those with less perceived symbolic threat (Van der Noll, 2010). Verkuyten (2009) investigated the role of out-group threat (i.e., both realistic and symbolic) on the relationship between national identification and tolerance of Islamic practices amongst Dutch adolescents. It was found that higher national identification was related to greater perceived outgroup threat, which in turn resulted in less tolerance of Islamic practices such as the right for Muslims to have their own schools in the Netherlands.

Research from Australia has also found that higher perceived symbolic threat is related to less tolerance of Islamic practices (White et al., 2012). These researchers also found a significant interaction between participants' reliance on media to stay informed (i.e., television, newspapers) and symbolic threat on tolerance of Islamic practices (i.e., a single scale score of tolerance towards multiple practices such as allowing Muslim workers time to pray). Specifically, individuals who were reliant on media and had high perceived symbolic threat from Muslims were less tolerant of Islamic practices. These studies suggest that perceived symbolic threat from Muslims (i.e., threat stemming from the perceived cultural and value differences of non-Muslims and Muslims) is consistently associated with less tolerance of the practices which could be seen as threatening to Western society culture.

Differences in Tolerance between Campaigning for and Engaging in Practices

In research on tolerance in general (i.e., not explicitly linked to Islamic practices), Wainryb et al. (1998) found that adolescents reported greater tolerance of others holding a

dissenting belief and keeping it to themselves in comparison to expressing the beliefs (i.e., engaging in the practice itself). This finding suggests that individuals consider the consequences of tolerance when making judgements. Research in the sphere of tolerance of Islamic practices has taken a similar approach, but has focused on the differences between individuals' tolerance of Muslims' campaigning for public support of a practice in comparison to engaging in the practice itself.

Research has found that individuals are less tolerant of Muslims campaigning for public support for a practice in comparison to engaging in the practice itself. Gieling et al. (2010) investigated differences in tolerance regarding four hypothetical situations amongst Dutch adolescents. Specifically, they measured tolerance of women wearing the Islamic veil in schools, the founding of Islamic schools, a female Muslim teacher who does not wish to shake hands with males, and an Imam giving a speech opposing LGBTIQ+ individuals. These researchers found that participants were more opposed to Muslim targets publicly attempting to persuade others to engage in the mentioned practices (i.e., except for the founding of Islamic schools), in comparison to the target engaging in the practice themselves. Gieling et al. (2014) replicated this finding in a later study, with Dutch adolescents reporting less tolerance towards Muslim targets publicly persuading others with the same hypothetical situations as the previous study, in comparison to Muslim targets engaging in the practice themselves. The researchers suggested that Muslims persuading others to engage in practices presents a perceived threat to Dutch national identity (i.e., which is predominately Christian and secular), as more Muslims engaging in these practices would lead to the increase in presence of Islam in the country. As a result, individuals are less tolerant towards Muslims persuading others to engage in Islamic practices in comparison to tolerance of a Muslim engaging in the practice themselves.

Another key finding in the Gieling et al. (2010) research described above was that participants were more tolerant of practices which were viewed as personal choices (i.e., wearing the Islamic headscarf) in comparison to practices which were viewed as harmful to others and therefore of moral concern (i.e., the Imam giving a speech opposing LGBTIQ+ individuals). Research into tolerance broadly has suggested that practices which are perceived as harmful to others are viewed as universally problematic regardless of the group that performs them (Skitka et al., 2008; Skitka et al., 2005). This suggests that certain practices that are perceived as harmful to others can result less tolerance regardless of whether the practice involves a Muslim or non-Muslim individual. An emerging line of research has focused on exploring this kind of generic intolerance of certain practices, by examining the differences in tolerance of Muslims and Christians engaging in religious practices. In the next section I will review findings from this research.

Differences in Tolerance of Islamic and Christian Practices

Hirsch et al. (2019) investigated differences in tolerance of practices of Muslims or Orthodox Protestants (i.e., a group which is culturally similar to the ethnic Dutch sample). These researchers presented participants with three vignettes involving religious practices which were framed as either involving Muslim or Orthodox Protestant targets. The vignettes varied in level of morality from least to most morally concerning. Specifically, the first vignette involved founding religious schools (i.e., least morally concerning), the second vignette involved women being excluded from religious administration, and the third vignette involved religious leaders giving a speech opposing LGBTIQ+ individuals (i.e., most morally concerning). Participants were less tolerant of the Muslim scenario in comparison to the Orthodox Protestant scenario in the founding of religious schools' vignette, indicating that participants displayed bias against

Islamic practices when the scenario was not morally concerning. However, participants were equally opposed to both the Muslim and Orthodox protestant scenarios for the more morally concerning vignettes (i.e., women being excluded and anti LGBTIQ+ speech), indicating a generic intolerance of the practices. Other studies have also found generic intolerance of specific acts for both Muslim and Christian targets (Dangubić et al., 2020a; Sleijpen et al., 2020; Van der Noll & Saroglou, 2015).

Dangubić et al. (2020a) evaluated differences in tolerance of Muslim and Christian practices among national majority group members in five Western European countries (i.e., Belgium, Germany, Netherlands, Switzerland, & France). These researchers found that approximately half of the respondents were equally against both Muslims and Christians engaging in practices such as religious education (i.e., education on Islam or Christianity) and wearing religious symbols in schools (i.e., hijabs or the cross), providing evidence of generic religious practice intolerance. On the other hand, there were a number of respondents who reported less tolerance of Islamic practices in comparison to Christian practices, providing evidence of what the authors termed discriminatory intolerance. Further analysis of this pattern showed that those who displayed discriminatory intolerance were more likely to also report negative attitudes towards Muslims and report a Christian religious affiliation in comparison to being non-religious (i.e., in-group bias), whereas those who displayed generic intolerance were more likely to endorse secularism.

Research using Dutch national samples has also found that individuals are equally opposed to Islamic and Christian practices such as using a quiet room to pray at work and teaching religious values in schools, again providing evidence of generic religious practice intolerance (Sleijpen et al., 2020). These researchers found that Dutch nationals' belief that the

practices were a threat to the Dutch national culture were more likely to report less tolerance of the practices, regardless of the target. Van der Noll and Saroglou (2015) reported similar findings in their study of a German nationally representative sample, with a large number of respondents evaluating Islamic and Christian education equally (i.e., either endorsing education for both denominations in schools, or endorsing neither).

The findings above provide evidence for the distinction between attitudes towards target groups and tolerance of their religious practices. Specifically, individuals may be intolerant of specific practices regardless of their attitudes towards the target group, and make distinctions between the two. Put another way, individuals can be intolerant towards practices because they disagree with the practice itself, rather than the group it involves (Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017). Emerging research in the field of social psychology has begun to specifically differentiate attitudes towards target groups and tolerance of specific practices which are associated with the group. This research is described in detail below.

Differentiation between Prejudice and Tolerance

Of specific relevance to this thesis, researchers have begun to examine the differences between attitudes towards Muslims, and tolerance of Islamic practices. As mentioned earlier, Helbling (2014) investigated attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of women wearing the Islamic veil in schools. This researcher found that national majority group members across six Western European countries made a distinction between attitudes towards Muslims, and tolerance of Islamic practices. The key findings from the study were that participants generally reported positive attitudes towards Muslims, but more than half of respondents reported opposition to women wearing the Islamic headscarf in schools (i.e., displaying differences in the reporting of attitudes towards Muslims as a group and tolerance of Islamic practices). This

finding was qualified by participants level of religiosity and liberalism. Specifically, this finding was further broken down to show that participants scoring high on a Christian religiosity measure reported more negative attitudes towards Muslims than those scoring low in the religiosity measure. However, there were no differences between these groups in opposition to the Islamic veil (i.e., tolerance). This suggests that although Christians oppose Muslims as a group, they are somewhat accepting of non-Christian religious practices. On the other hand, participants who self-identified as liberal reported positive attitudes towards Muslims overall, but were opposed to the wearing of Islamic veils in schools.

Similarly, Van der Noll (2014) examined the differential responses of German national participants' attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of a number of different Islamic practices (i.e., measured separately). This researcher found that the majority of the sample (72%) reported having positive attitudes towards Muslims. However, these same individuals reported intolerance of various Islamic practices. Specifically, a number of participants who reported positive attitudes towards Muslims endorsed a ban on Muslim women wearing Islamic veils (18%), were against Mosques being built in the community (17%), were against public schools allowing Islamic education (22%), and only a small number of participants reported support for Islamic public holidays (7%). These findings provide evidence that individuals consider the differences between attitudes towards Muslims (i.e., the social group) and tolerance of the religious practices which are associated with the group.

In order to further understand the different combinations of individuals attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of practices associated with Muslims, researchers have analysed the constructs using latent profile analyses. Adelman and Verkuyten (2020) examined Dutch majority members attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. These

researchers differentiated between four forms of attitudes; '*general liking*', which is indicated by both positive attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of all Islamic practices, '*general disliking*', indicated by negative attitudes towards Muslims and intolerance of all Islamic practices, '*prejudiced intolerance*', indicated by neutral to positive attitudes towards Muslims and intolerance of all Islamic practices (i.e., reportedly due to having negative feelings towards Muslims which they did not want to explicitly express), and '*principled intolerance*', which is indicated by neutral to positive attitudes towards Muslims and intolerance of some Islamic practices for specific reasons associated with the practice itself. For example, those displaying principled intolerance reported tolerance of building Mosques in the community, however reported intolerance of establishing Islamic schools. There were also demographic differences between individuals in the prejudiced and principled intolerance profiles, with those displaying principled intolerance generally being more educated and liberal.

In another latent profile analysis of responses from Dutch majority members, Dangubić et al. (2020b) found a similar pattern of attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. These researchers found a general *'positive*' pattern, indicated by both positive attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of all Islamic practices, a general *'negative'* pattern, indicated by both negative attitudes towards Muslims and intolerance of all Islamic practices, and an *'intolerant*' pattern, indicated by positive attitudes towards Muslims but intolerance of all Islamic practices. There was also a '*partly tolerant*' pattern, indicated by negative attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of one Islamic practice (i.e., acceptance of an Islamic holiday), and a '*partly intolerant*' pattern, indicated by positive attitudes towards Muslims, and intolerance of specific practices which were viewed as disrespectful in the West (i.e., refusal of some Muslims shaking hands with the opposite sex), while maintaining tolerance of less controversial

practices (i.e., building of Mosques in the community). Taken together, these findings show that individuals can be congruent with their attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices (i.e., negative attitudes and intolerance, and positive attitudes and tolerance). However, and more importantly for the aims of this thesis, these findings highlight the ability for individuals to have 'incongruent' attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices (i.e., negative attitudes and tolerance, and positive attitudes and intolerance). These findings provide clear evidence for the notion that attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices are related, yet distinct constructs.

While most research on outcomes towards outgroups in social psychology has focused on attitudes towards the target itself, there is only a relatively small literature on tolerance of the outgroup's practices. In the specific case of Muslims, much research has focused on predictors of attitudes towards the group itself, with measurement of this outcome often being conflated (i.e., scales which measure attitudes towards the multiple constructs at once). However, not much research has focused on the predictors of tolerance of Islamic practices. As social psychologists have argued, understanding tolerance of Islamic practices is essential, and needs to be evaluated in addition to mere attitudes towards Muslims (Van der Noll et al., 2010; Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017; Verkuyten et al., 2020). This is because positive attitudes towards Muslims in Western society are desired, but not always guaranteed. However, a peaceful multicultural society which is free of conflict and discrimination requires that individuals are accepting of Islamic practices and the notion that Muslims have a right to express themselves and their culture in society. This means that researchers investigating outcomes towards Muslims should not only focus on prejudice reduction strategies to reduce negative attitudes to Muslims where possible,

but also consider the importance of increasing tolerance of Islamic practices (Verkuyten et al., 2020).

Tolerance of practices which are different to one's own, and the respect which arises from tolerance can act as a buffer against major group conflicts and improve inter-group outcomes (Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017). With Islam currently the second largest religion in the world, and the presence of Muslims steadily increasing (Pew Research Center, 2017b), it is important to continue to research both attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. The current thesis aims to bring these two literatures together in order to provide a better understanding of predictors of attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. A greater understanding of predictors of these two outcomes towards Muslims will provide the opportunity for future research into creating better suited interventions aimed at increasing inter-group harmony.

Chapter 5: A Review of Methods for Measuring Prejudice towards Muslims and Tolerance of Islamic Practices

Social psychology has a long and established history of theorising and understanding prejudice. However, research into attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices is relatively recent in the field. In the literature, these two constructs have largely been theorised and evaluated separately. In this chapter, I will first review how the two constructs have traditionally been measured separately. I will then introduce the *Positive Attitudes and Tolerance towards Muslims Scale* (PATMS) that I have developed as the major empirical contribution for the first part of this thesis. The PATMS is a 12-item measure with dual subscales to allow the distinct measurement of both attitudes towards Muslims (i.e., attitudes subscale) and tolerance of Islamic practices (i.e., tolerance subscale).

Measuring Prejudice towards Muslims

Prejudice towards Muslims has previously been assessed using a range of different measurement techniques. This includes the evaluation of attitudes towards Muslims using single-item measures. For example, researchers have used feeling thermometer measures, in which participants are required to provide warmth ratings towards the target group 'Muslims', ranging from '*cold'* to '*warm*' (Cook et al., 2018; M. K. Johnson et al., 2012; LaBouff et al., 2012), or rate how favourable their attitudes are towards the target group 'Muslims', ranging from *'unfavourable'* to '*favourable'* (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010). Other single-item measures of prejudice towards Muslims include measures of social distance. For example, some measures have asked participants to rate how they would feel about having Muslims as neighbours (Strabac & Listhaug, 2008; Velasco González et al., 2008). Single-item measures are an efficient form of measurement, with the benefit of easy administration and scoring. However, assessing

complex constructs such as attitudes towards Muslims using a single-item measures can limit the scope of and accuracy of responses. Researchers have argued that using multi-item measures when assessing complex constructs provides greater validity, and reduces the ambiguity of single-item responses (Diamantopoulos et al., 2012; Loo, 2002). Rather than the use of single-item measures to assess prejudice towards the group, the most commonly used measures are multi-item, Likert-type scales.

As a simple alternative to single-items, researchers have adapted scales from previous measures, for use in capturing attitudes towards Muslims. For example, the *Attitudes towards Australian Muslims Scale* (Abu-Rayya & White, 2010) is an 18-item scale which was adapted from the *Intergroup Anxiety Scale* (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). The scale measures participants affect towards Muslims by asking participants to rate nine positive and nine negative emotions which arise when thinking about interacting with Muslims in Australia (e.g., 'relaxed' as a positive emotion, and 'awkward' as a negative emotion). Similarly, the *Intergroup Anxiety toward Muslims Scale* (IATMS; Hopkins & Shook, 2017) is an 11-item scale adapted from the *Intergroup Anxiety Scale* (Stephan & Stephan, 1985) and other intergroup anxiety related scales (Britt et al., 1996; Plant & Devine, 2003). The IATMS measures affective responses (i.e., including anxiety and fear) towards interacting with Muslims, as well as participants fear of being viewed negatively by Muslims (i.e., fear of being viewed as prejudiced). Other adapted scales focus on social distance type measures. For example, Tabri et al. (2018) used three items adapted from Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) which measured how comfortable participants were with having Muslims as a boss, as a neighbour, and as a romantic partner.

An issue with adapting scales from previous research to measure attitudes towards Muslims is that the original scale the measure was adapted from was not validated with Muslims

as a target group. In addition, the studies that have adapted these scales often do not present information regarding validity or other psychometric properties for the adapted scale, making it difficult to ascertain its usefulness in measuring appropriate constructs. Although these scales have been used as indicators of prejudice towards Muslims, they do not evaluate participants' responses to a broader range of beliefs about Muslims.

The most common scales used by researchers when measuring prejudice towards Muslims are purpose built, multi-item scales in which participants endorse items with content about Muslims. These scales often include items which measure attitudes towards the group itself (i.e., Muslims) and attitudes towards the religion (i.e., Islam) together in one scale (e.g., Lee et al., 2009). All items in the scale are then averaged or a total score is calculated to give a single score that purports to measure prejudice towards Muslims, although the scales include items which measure responses to other associated categories. Items which measure attitudes towards Muslims as a group typically include stereotypical beliefs about Muslims (e.g., 'Muslims have a hatred of Western values'; Griffiths & Pedersen, 2009). Items which measure attitudes towards Islam as a religion typically include beliefs about the teachings and values of Islam (e.g., 'Islam promotes kindness and love toward all people'; Ernst & Bornstein, 2012) and beliefs about the role of Islam in the participant's country (e.g., 'Islam, by its nature, is contrary to the American way of life'; Ernst & Bornstein, 2012). These scales, as well as others, are mentioned in further detail below.

Researchers such as Wirtz et al. (2016) have used four items adapted from the work of Stephan and Stephan (1996) to measure prejudice towards the group, including items measuring peoples' impression of Muslims as a group and Islam as a culture. Larger scales of this kind include the *Anti-Muslim Prejudice* scale (AMP; Ernst & Bornstein, 2012) which consists of 20

items measuring both attitudes towards Muslims and Islam, including peoples' perceptions of the teachings of Islam (e.g., perceptions of whether Islam promotes kindness towards others).

Other scales have included several items which measure fear-based evaluations. For example, the *Attitudes towards Muslim Australians* scale (ATMA; Griffiths & Pedersen, 2009), consists of 16 items that measure both attitudes towards Muslims and attitudes towards Islam in the context of Australia. However, the ATMA also includes items which measure peoples' beliefs about Muslims and Islam being threatening (i.e., fear-based beliefs). For example, the scale includes items measuring the extent to which Muslims are perceived as terrorists and Islam is perceived as a dangerous religion. The *Islamophobia Scale* (Lee et al., 2009; Lee et al., 2013) includes 16 items which measure affective-behavioural and cognitive components of attitudes towards Muslims and Islam together. Specifically, the scale measures the fear component of prejudice towards the group and towards the religion simultaneously. Similarly, The *Attitudes Toward Muslims Scale* (ATMS; Altareb, 1997) includes 25 items which measure five separate components of attitudes towards Muslims, including fear-based evaluations.

Some scales have aimed to disentangle attitudes towards Muslims and Islam from a secular critique of Islam. The *Scale for Islamoprejudice and Secular Critique of Islam* (SIPSCI; Imhoff & Recker, 2012) contains 35 items, with 19 items measuring Islamoprejudice (i.e., based on previously theorised indicators of Islamophobia and including items measuring attitudes towards Islam and Muslims) and 16 items measuring secular critiques of Islam The researchers argued that the secular critique subscale was measuring critical beliefs about Islam that are grounded in political views and value systems, rather than prejudice towards Islam and Muslims. These beliefs were argued to be grounded in political views and value systems. As well as beliefs

about Islam, the secular critique subscale also includes items relevant to the role of all religions in the community (i.e., not only Islam).

As well as scales which include items that measure attitudes towards Muslims and Islam, a number of scales also feature items which measure attitudes towards racial groups which are associated with Muslims (i.e., people who are Arab). For example, the *Anti-Arab Racism Scale* (Pratto et al., 1994) includes 5 items which measure attitudes towards Muslims and people who are Arabs. This scale has occasionally been expanded to 11 items in other research (Pratto & Glasford, 2008). Similarly, the *Anti-Arab Scale* (Echebarria-Echabe & Guede, 2007) includes 42 items which measure attitudes towards people who are Arabs, attitudes towards Islam, and attitudes towards Muslim culture.

Due to these scales conflating several components of the target group, and sometimes confounding entire social categories, it is difficult to determine whether scores on these measures reflect negative attitudes towards Muslims as a group, Islam as a religion, people who are Arab as a racial group, or any combination of these. As previously mentioned, the items in these reviewed scales are averaged or totaled to create a single factor score (or a score for each subscale) which have been interpreted as prejudice towards Muslims. However, these scales do not consider the possibility that individuals may have conflicting attitudes towards these categories. For example, it is possible that individuals have positive attitudes towards Muslims but negative attitudes towards Islam, and vice versa. As research into prejudice towards Muslims is increasingly becoming more nuanced, it is important to have a scale which can measure specific attitudes towards Muslims as a group, separate from other conflating categories. This will allow future research to further identify predictors of prejudice towards the group specifically.

Measuring Tolerance of Islamic Practices

Tolerance of Islamic practices is a topic which is a relatively recent addition to the social psychology literature, and the field is yet to reach a consensus on how best to measure this construct. Research in this area has also used single-item measures to evaluate tolerance of Islamic practices. In order to measure broad tolerance (i.e., using single overarching questions which cover a range of Islamic practices), researchers such as Sniderman and Hagendoorn (2007) have asked participants whether Muslims have a right to practice their way of life in the participants home country (i.e., the Netherlands). Other measures use single items to evaluate tolerance of specific Islamic practices, such as tolerance of the Islamic veil in different spheres, and tolerance of Mosques being built in the community (Fasel et al., 2013; Helbling, 2014; Merino, 2010; Van der Noll, 2010). For example, Helbling (2014) asked participants to report whether they agreed that schoolgirls should have the right to wear Islamic headscarves in schools. To measure tolerance in a more expansive setting, Van der Noll (2010) asked participants to report whether a ban on the Islamic veil in public settings is a good idea. Other researchers have used short scales to measure tolerance towards specific Islamic practices, such as the wearing of Islamic head veils (Gustavsson et al., 2016; Saroglou et al., 2009). For example, Saroglou et al. (2009) used an eight item measure which asked participants to report how comfortable they were with Muslim women wearing Islamic veils in a number of settings (including public places and schools). Similarly, Gustavsson et al. (2016) used three items which evaluated tolerance of Muslim women wearing Islamic veils in schools (i.e., as teachers or students) and as caretakers.

Studies have also presented participants with different scenarios involving Muslims engaging in practices, and asked participants to choose from a number of different actions

regarding what the response should be (Gieling et al., 2010, 2014; Hirsch et al., 2019; Sleijpen et al., 2020). For example, Gieling et al. (2010) asked participants to read four scenarios involving Muslims, including a scenario in which a Muslim female teacher did not want to shake hands with males (including colleagues and male parents). These researchers then asked participants what the school should do about the situation, with four options including actions such as "*do nothing and allow it*", "*try to convince them not to do it, but forbid it if they do not agree*", and "*simply forbid [not allow] it"*. Responses were then re-scored, so that higher scores indicated more willingness to allow the behaviour (i.e., greater tolerance).

Although studies have measured tolerance of singular Islamic practices (i.e., Islamic veils) and more intricate scenarios, the most common form of measurement of tolerance of Islamic practices are multi-item Likert-type scales. Responses towards a number of different Islamic practices are averaged or totaled, resulting in a single tolerance factor score. For example, White et al. (2012) measured participants' tolerance of the accommodation of Islamic practices in Australia using five items. These items included tolerance towards employers allowing Muslims to take time off work to pray, and Muslim schoolgirls wearing uniform which accommodates their religious requirements. Similarly, Wirtz et al. (2016) measured tolerance of Islamic practices in the Netherlands using six items, including items which measured government accommodation of Muslims. For example, items included endorsement of Mosques being built by the Muslim community, as well as the endorsement of the Niqabs being worn in the community.

One method which is frequently used to measure tolerance of Islamic practices includes a series of items (i.e., often ranging from eight to four, with the items retained for use differing across studies) which measure participants endorsement of Muslims being able to express their

religious identity publicly (Verkuyten, 2007a; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2010). These items have been used to measure tolerance towards Muslims' own expressive rights (e.g., Verkuyten, 2007a; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2010) as well as the extent to which non-Muslims tolerate the expressive rights of Muslims (e.g., Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2013a, 2013b; Smeekes et al., 2011, 2012; Velthuis et al., 2020; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2015; Verkuyten et al., 2014). These items were originally framed for the Netherlands and include participants endorsement of Islamic schools being built in the community, the wearing of Islamic headwear in the Netherlands, Dutch TV accommodating Muslim broadcasts, and national Dutch holidays accommodating Muslim holy days. Although these items are centered around the Netherlands, they have been adapted for use in other countries (e.g., France, see Badea et al., 2020). Although these items are frequently used across studies to measure tolerance of Islamic practices, there is often no consistency in the set number of items which are used. Further, there is little psychometric evidence presented for the usefulness of these items in measuring tolerance of Islamic practices. With the literature on tolerance of Islamic practices growing, it is important to develop a validated scale which can be used by researchers when measuring this construct. Using a validated scale with a set number of items will help to circumvent inconsistencies across studies.

Bridging the Gap Between Prejudice and Tolerance

In summary, previous scales measuring attitudes towards Muslims have often conflated several categories within the same scale. For example, scales have included a combination of items including attitudes towards Muslims as a group (i.e., not making religion or race salient), Islam as a religion, and Arabs as a group. With these scales creating a single factor score which is interpreted as prejudice towards Muslims, this conflation makes it difficult to determine participants true attitudes towards Muslims. It is important to develop a scale which can measure

attitudes towards Muslims specifically as a target group (i.e., rather than towards Islam as a religion or people who are Arab as an ethnic group in order to obtain the most accurate responses. As the literature exploring the tolerance of Islamic practices is relatively recent, measurement of this construct in the literature has been inconsistent, with little scale development or psychometric evidence. It is important to develop a psychometrically stable, validated scale which can measure this construct in order to provide researchers with a tool which can be used for further studies.

It is important to acknowledge that some recent research has found that individuals can be tolerant towards some practices but not others, suggesting an independent evaluation of tolerance towards Islamic practices may be beneficial (Adelman & Verkuyten, 2020; Dangubić et al., 2020b; Van der Noll, 2014). Although there is utility in evaluating differential tolerance of various Islamic practices, a valid and reliable multi-item scale provides researchers with a simple tool which can be used to measure an aggregate tolerance of Islamic practices (i.e., the tolerance of several Islamic practices in a single factor score). Additionally, multi-item scales are widely known as superior tools for the measurement of complex constructs (i.e., for a discussion of the utility of multi-item measures over and above single-item measures, see; Loo, 2002).

To date, no single scale has been developed to concurrently measure both attitudes towards Muslims (i.e., as a target group), and tolerance of Islamic practices. The literature reviewed has suggested that these two constructs are related, yet distinct. Researchers have argued for the importance of not only evaluating attitudes towards Muslims, but also tolerance of their practices (Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017; Verkuyten et al., 2019, 2020). With the literature in these areas continuing to grow, and tolerance of Islamic practices being an important

aspect in promoting inter-group harmony, a scale which measures each of these related, but distinct constructs is needed.

The first major aim of the current thesis is to develop and present the preliminary scale development evidence for the PATMS. This scale is a 12-item measure of attitudes towards Muslims (i.e., as a target group) and tolerance of various Islamic practices. Specifically, six items have been designed to measure attitudes towards Muslims, and six items have been designed to measure tolerance of Islamic practices (i.e., as separate subscales). This scale will provide researchers with a validated tool which can be used when evaluating predictors of outcomes for both constructs. In the next chapter, I will present the first three studies of my thesis which provide initial evidence for the psychometric properties of the PATMS. These three studies are presented in a single paper which has been prepared for publication at a peer-reviewed journal.

Chapter 6: Presenting the Psychometric Properties of the Positive Attitudes and Tolerance towards Muslims Scale (Studies 1-3)

Abstract

Muslims are highly stigmatised in most Western cultures, and attitudes toward this group are negative and prevalent. Social psychologists are becoming increasingly interested in the conceptual differences between attitudes towards Muslims, and tolerance of Islamic practices. As such, we aimed to develop a brief, psychometrically stable measure that assesses these related, yet distinct constructs. In this paper, we present evidence of the psychometric properties of the *Positive Attitudes and Tolerance towards Muslims Scale* (PATMS) across three studies. We present exploratory (Study 1) and confirmatory (Study 2) factor analyses which confirm the predicted dual dimensions of the scale, as well as construct, criterion, and known groups validity (Study 2). Finally, we present reliability estimates which evidence its internal consistency (Studies 1-3) and temporal stability (Study 3). Taken together, we argue that these findings are evidence that the PATMS is a concise, psychometrically stable tool that can distinguish attitudes towards Muslim people from tolerance of Islamic practices.

Introduction

Islam is currently the most rapidly expanding religion in the world, predicted to surpass Christianity in its prevalence by the end of the century (Pew Research Center, 2017b). Simultaneously, followers of Islam have increasingly become the targets of prejudice in Western society, with the often-negative depiction of Islam in the media leading to support for anti-Muslim policies, as well as increased anger towards the group (Saleem et al., 2017; Shaver et al., 2017). Confirming these negative attitudes, 75% of American Muslims in a recent survey based in the United States reported believing that they are largely discriminated against (Pew Research

Center, 2017c). An alarming number of Muslim individuals in Australia have also reported that they have experienced a range of negative events such as physical and verbal assaults by non-Muslims (Iner, 2019). With Islam rapidly growing in popularity and prejudice increasing, it is important to determine the why negative attitudes toward the group exist.

Several variables have been found to predict negative attitudes towards Muslims, including religious fundamentalism, high levels of national identification, high social dominance orientation, right wing political orientation, low levels of education, and the belief that Muslims pose a threat to Western value systems (Ernst & Bornstein, 2012; James et al., 2011; Pedersen & Hartley, 2012; Strabac & Listhaug, 2008; Van der Noll et al., 2018). Several scales have been developed to measure attitudes towards Muslims, with items often conflating both evaluations of the target social group (i.e., Muslims), and evaluations of the religious belief (i.e., Islam). For example, the *'Islamophobia Scale'* (Lee et al., 2009), measures affective-behavioural and cognitive components of attitudes towards both Muslims and Islam – that is, items in the scale measure the fear component of prejudice towards the group and its religious teachings simultaneously. Scales have also been context specific, such as the '*Attitudes towards Muslim Australians'* scale, with items designed to measure attitudes towards Muslims living in Australia (Griffiths & Pedersen, 2009). Some scales have also aimed to differentiate general negative attitudes towards Muslims and Islam, and a secular critique of Islam as a religion, such as the *Scale for Islamoprejudice and Secular Critique of Islam* (Imhoff & Recker, 2012). Scales developed to measure attitudes towards people who are Arab also include specific items measuring attitudes towards Muslim culture and Islam, such as the '*New Anti-Arab Scale*' (Echebarria-Echabe & Guede, 2007). In addition to item conflation, the scales previously mentioned consist of a large number of items.

One aspect that has not yet been considered when developing scales to measure outcomes for Muslims is tolerance of the group's practices. We define tolerance as the acceptance of an out-group's beliefs and rights to practice those beliefs, regardless of whether they are different to one's own or whether or not one disapproves of them. In the specific case of tolerance of Islamic practices, this can include acceptance of different religious views and practices (Verkuyten & Slooter, 2007), while potentially still maintaining negative attitudes of individuals who subscribe to them. Specifically, individuals can have negative attitudes towards Muslims, but prevent themselves from acting on the attitude, instead accepting these different views and practices (Verkuyten et al., 2020). While negative attitudes towards outgroups such as Muslims involves a dislike of the group, tolerance can be thought of as a related yet distinct construct, involving a disapproval (yet underlying acceptance) of the views and practices of the group in question (Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017).

In this sense, it is possible for individuals to dislike Muslims, and simultaneously believe that the group deserves respect, and freedom of religious practice. On the other hand, individuals may have positive attitudes towards Muslims, but be intolerant towards religious views and practices. For example, previous research has shown that although a relatively high proportion of participants with liberal values in a Western European survey reported positive attitudes towards Muslims, they were still likely to disagree with girls being permitted to wear the Muslim headscarves in schools (Helbling, 2014). Based on latent profile analysis of responses to prejudice towards Muslims and tolerance of various Islamic practices, Adelman and Verkuyten (2020) have suggested that there are four profiles of outcomes towards the group (i.e., including having neutral-positive attitudes towards Muslims, but negative attitudes towards Islamic practices).

There is currently a gap in the literature pertaining to scales which simultaneously capture both attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. With tensions toward Muslims in Western society increasing, it is important to measure both these constructs separately, as the two constructs provide distinct insight into the negative perceptions and treatment of the group. Developing a short scale which can measure these two related, yet distinct constructs will provide researchers with a tool that can aid future interventions, aimed at reducing these negative outcomes.

Study Overview and Hypotheses

In the current paper, we outline the development of the *Positive Attitudes and Tolerance towards Muslims Scale*; PATMS, and present initial evidence of its psychometric properties. We identified the need for a short, useable scale that captured the two conceptually distinct components of: (a) *positive attitudes* – defined as positive evaluations towards Muslims, and (b) *tolerance* – defined as the acceptance of Islamic beliefs and practices, independent of their personal endorsement. We have designed this scale so that researchers can use either scale in isolation, or use the subscales together, to capture both attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices.

The PATMS is comprised of a selection of items that were generated by the authors of this paper after reviewing the relevant literatures. Specifically, items for the tolerance subscale were informed by previous themes which were prevalent in the tolerance of Islamic practices literature (e.g., Smeekes et al., 2012; Verkuyten, 2007a; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2010), and items for the attitudes subscale were informed by previous themes which were prevalent in prejudice towards Muslims literature (e.g., Griffiths & Pedersen, 2009). The authors initially generated a pool of 40 items (i.e., 20 items to measure attitudes towards Muslims, and 20 items to measure tolerance

towards Islamic practices). Given that the aims of this project were to produce a concise measure, we selected the six items that we decided best reflected the content of the attitude construct and another six items that reflected the content of the tolerance construct. To circumvent the obvious subjectivity bias in this process, the 12 items of the PATMS were reviewed by 24 social psychology students after receiving training about the constructs, and we calculated a content validity ratio (CVR) for each subscale. This was based on the protocol suggested by Lawshe (1975). Both the attitudes (M_{CVR} = .875) and tolerance (M_{CVR} = .750) subscales were found to have item-level and dimension-level content validity (CVRs > .417). Based on these reviews, we retained all items and are satisfied that they reflect the constructs we are intending to measure.

We explored the psychometric utility of the PATMS across three studies. We predict the following for our scale:

H1 - *Factor structure*: We predicted two distinct yet overlapping constructs to emerge from an exploratory factor analysis of the 12 items generated for the PATMS (EFA; Study 1). We then confirmed the structure of the measure by conducting a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA; Study 2) in which we predicted values of RMSEA < .08 and CFI > .90 (Kline, 1999), and SRMR < .06 (Hu & Bentler, 1999).

H2 – *Reliability Predictions*:

a. We predicted internal consistency estimates (i.e., Cronbach's α; Studies 1 - 3) to be above .70 (Cronbach, 1990).
b. We predicted temporal consistency estimates (i.e., test-retest reliability coefficients; Study 3 only) to be above .70 (Cronbach, 1990).

H3 – *Validity Predictions*: Study 2

a. Criterion validity: Each of the PATMS subscales should be related to a relevant existing measure. Specifically, we predict that the attitudes subscale would correlate strongly with prejudice against Muslims (Attitudes Toward Muslim Australians scale; Griffiths & Pedersen, 2009), and that the tolerance subscale would correlate strongly with an existing set of items previously used to measure tolerance (items typically used in Dutch research; Verkuyten, 2007a; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2010). Moreover, based on the conceptualisation of these constructs, we anticipate both subscales to be related to each of these criterion validity scales. However, to support the theoretical distinction between positive attitudes and tolerance, we predicted that the correlation [and semi-partial correlations] will be stronger with the relevant criterion scale than with the other.
b. Construct validity: We predicted that both PATMS subscales would correlate with an ideological variable known to predict negative perceptions of Muslims (i.e., religious fundamentalism; Rowatt et al., 2005). Specifically, we predicted a negative relationship between our subscales and religious fundamentalism (i.e., increases in religious fundamentalism would be related to decreases in positive attitudes and tolerance).
c. Known-groups validity: We predicted demographic differences in average scores of both the positive attitudes and tolerance subscales. Based on previous research findings that political conservatism, gender, and age are related to prejudice toward Muslims (Wesley et al., 2011), we predicted a negative relationship between our subscales and political conservatism (i.e., increases in political conservatism would be related to decreases in positive attitudes and tolerance). Further, that there would be gender and age differences in attitudes, with males reporting less positive attitudes and tolerance than women, and increases in age being related to less positive attitudes and tolerance

(Strabac & Listhaug, 2008). We also predicted that religious individuals would report less positive attitudes towards Muslims and less tolerance towards Islamic practices compared to non-religious individuals based on previous studies on inter-religious prejudice (Rowatt et al., 2005).

Study 1

We used EFA techniques to test for the predicted dual underlying structures of the PATMS (see Appendix A for items of the PATMS). For Study 1, the 12 items were reported on a scale which ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*).

Method

Participants

Psychology undergraduate students participated as part of a class exercise ($n = 104$), and student research assistants recruited volunteers for their social networks ($n = 211$). We decided to exclude 10 participants who were Muslim in order to avoid in-group based bias issues. The final sample were 315 non-Muslim, Australians (age range: 18-81 years; $M = 30.83$, $SD = 14.63$, 195 female). The sample were relatively well educated – 77 had completed a university degree, 77 had non-university post-school qualifications (i.e., trade qualifications), 149 had finished high school, and the final 12 had not completed high school. On a scale which ranged from 1 '*completely conservative*' to 7 '*completely progressive*', the sample reported neutral-progressive social political orientations ($M = 4.71$, $SD = 1.30$) and neutral economic political orientations ($M = 4.41$, $SD = 1.24$).

Procedure

After reading an online information letter and providing consent (See Appendix B and Appendix C for relevant ethics approvals, information letters, and consent process), participants were redirected to the survey. Participants first provided the demographic information above, followed by the 12 items about Muslims, first the six attitude items followed by the six tolerance items (presented in a randomized order within each subscale). Participants were then thanked for their time.

Results and Discussion

We used an EFA in order to test for the predicted dual underlying structures of the PATMS. The analysis revealed the predicted dual factors which, in combination, accounted for 60.72% of the variance (EFA loadings are shown in Table 1). We decided to use the principal axis factoring method (also to compensate for the non-normal distribution of the raw data; Costello & Osborne, 2005). We decided to use promax rotation for the data, in order to allow the correlation of the extracted factors (Fabrigar et al., 1999). The Eigenvalues of 6.20 and 1.09 were ratified as statistically significant based on 95th percentile benchmark criterion eigenvalues, which were calculated from Eigenvalue Monte Carlo simulations. Inspection of the scree plot for the analysis shows two factors, with the eigenvalues plateauing into a straight line after the second factor (i.e., rather than the first factor). Reliability estimates for both factors were above .80, indicating good internal consistency. Descriptive statistics for each item, and zero-order correlations are shown in Table 2. Descriptive statistics for the overall subscales are presented in Table 3.

Study 1 provides data that support both the factor structure and internal reliability hypotheses (H1 & H2a). Specifically, we have demonstrated the internal validity and the factor

structure of the PATMS, as well as the estimated internal consistency of the subscales. Despite this initial evidence that the subscales are statistically unique, we are aware of the strong correlation between the two subscales, $r(329) = .72$, $p < .001$, and thus aim to provide corroborating evidence of for the factor structure in Study 2, along with evidence for the measure's validity.

Table 1

EFA loadings (Pattern Matrix) and CFA loadings (Standardised Item Loadings) for Attitudes and Tolerance Items.

	EFA (Study 1)		CFA (Study 2)
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Standardised item loadings
Attitudes			(CR = .91)
Muslim people are as considerate as everyone else.	*-.064*	**.710**	.747
People who are Muslim do not respect women. ®	*.115*	**-.551**	-.716
People who practice Islam are more aggressive than people who do not. ®	*.272*	**-.483**	-.815
Muslims do not always behave appropriately in public. ®	*.166*	**-.509**	-.782
Muslims are peaceful people.	*.048*	**.849**	.846
Muslims are respectful of other people's beliefs.	*.058*	**.854**	.812
Tolerance			(CR = .88)
Islamic women should be allowed to wear head coverings	**-.509**	*.238*	.734
Muslim people have the right to build Mosques in the community where they live.	**-.901**	*-.098*	.816
Muslim people should be allowed time off work to observe their religious holidays.	**-.650**	*.028*	.638
Muslims should only practice their religion in private. ®	**.565**	*-.118*	-.794
I would prefer not to have Mosques in my neighbourhood. ®	**.828**	*-.028*	-.844
Halal certified food should not be readily available in restaurants. ®	**.565**	*-.122*	-.563

Notes. EFA = exploratory factor analysis; CFA = confirmatory factor analysis. CR = construct reliability. For Study 1, factor loadings of the dominant factor are presented in bold, and those of the non-dominant factor are presented in italics. Analyses were conducted on raw data (i.e., non-reverse scored). Scoring is reversed for '®' items.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics and Zero-Order Correlations for Items in Study 1 (n = 315) and Study 2 (n = 338).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Item 1	-	-.44	-.49	-.47	.62	.65	.52	.48	.38	-.41	-.45	-.43
Item 2	-.52	-	.46	.45	-.50	-.52	-.41	-.38	-.37	.35	.48	.34
Item 3	-.55	.73	-	.53	-.46	-.50	-.45	-.53	-.34	.44	.53	.47
Item 4	-.54	.62	.74	-	-.46	-.47	-.42	-.39	-.34	.38	.48	.37
Item 5	.73	-.56	-.64	-.58	-	.67	.48	.43	.41	-.43	-.40	-.41
Item 6	.66	-.58	-.53	-.53	.80	-	.46	.42	.43	-.42	-.50	-.39
Item 7	.57	-.43	-.41	-.40	.57	.53	-	.57	.49	-.44	-.57	-.46
Item 8	.64	-.43	-.47	-.47	.61	.58	.73	-	.59	-.49	-.71	-.52
Item 9	.49	-.38	-.37	-.33	.53	.56	.62	.60	-	-.43	-.58	-.44
Item 10	-.53	.49	.59	.60	-.56	-.46	-.53	-.58	-.43	-	.59	.51
Item 11	-.51	.55	.64	.64	-.54	-.54	-.53	-.63	-.43	.72	-	.51
Item 12	-.41	.45	.46	.48	-.34	-.27	-.37	-.40	-.31	.51	.54	-
Study 1												
M	3.78	3.12	3.79	3.53	3.66	3.26	3.75	3.74	3.45	3.45	3.59	3.17
SD	1.04	1.22	1.17	1.19	1.08	1.13	1.28	1.20	1.31	1.31	1.19	1.39
Study 2												
M	5.51	4.85	5.01	4.86	5.11	4.74	5.15	5.03	4.92	4.88	4.54	5.13
SD	1.60	1.78	1.82	1.81	1.60	1.78	1.86	1.83	1.88	1.90	2.12	1.92

Notes. All correlation coefficients are significant at the level of $p < .001$. Statistics which are presented above the diagonal line are zero-correlation coefficients for Study 1, and statistics which are presented below the diagonal line are zero-order correlation coefficients for Study 2. Study 1 responses were measured on a 5-point scale, Study 2 responses were measured on a 7-point scale. Correlations are reported based on raw data (i.e., non-reverse scored); descriptive statistics based on treated data (i.e., reverse scored).

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics and Cronbach's Alpha Reliability Coefficients for the Subscales of the Positive Attitudes and Tolerance towards Muslims Scale (PATMS), in Studies 1, 2, and 3 (N_{total} = 733).

	Attitudes			Tolerance		
	M	*SD*	α	*M*	*SD*	α
Study 1 (*n* = 315)	3.52	0.88	.87	3.59	0.99	.87
Study 2 (*n* = 338)	5.01	1.43	.91	4.94	1.50	.87
Study 3, time 1 (*n* = 40)	3.73	0.96	.92	3.96	0.95	.90
Study 3, time 2 (*n* = 40)	3.85	0.99	.93	3.81	1.05	.91

Study 2

Our second study has four major aims: (a) to confirm the factor structure identified in Study 1, (b) to provide additional reliability estimates for the PATMS, (c) to generate evidence to support the validity hypotheses, and (d) to further establish the independence of our subscales.

Method

Participants

Students recruited a convenience sample of volunteers through their personal networks (n = 370). Of these participants, (n = 27) were excluded for dropping out of the survey prior to completing all the dependent variable measures, and a further five were excluded because they indicated a Muslim religious affiliation. The final sample comprised 338 participants (age range: 18-61 years, M = 27.31, SD = 11.89, 222 female). Participants were generally well educated: 2 participants had completed doctorate degrees, 10 had completed a master's degree, 44 had completed a bachelor's degree, 14 had completed a diploma, 193 had completed high-school, 12 had not completed high-school, 52 had completed a course at TAFE, and 11 did not respond. On a scale which ranged from 1 '*completely conservative*' to 7 '*completely progressive*', the sample reported neutral-progressive social political orientations (M = 3.29, SD = 0.87), and neutral-progressive economic political orientations (M = 3.43, SD = 0.90).

Measures

All scales used to provide validity evidence in this study required participants to respond to statements on a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). These scales demonstrated acceptable levels of scale score reliability (reliability estimates for the scales used are shown in Table 4). See Appendix A for full scale items.

The *Attitudes towards Muslim Australians* scale (ATMA; Griffiths & Pedersen, 2009) consists of 16 items in which participants endorse items relating to Muslims and Islam (e.g., "Muslims do not respect freedom of speech" and "Islam is a dangerous religious and should be banned in Australia"). After reverse scoring appropriate items, an average score is created. Higher scores on this scale indicate greater prejudice towards Muslims.

National Tolerance of Islamic practices was measured using 5 items previously used in tolerance research (i.e., also known as *Muslim Expressive Rights*; Verkuyten, 2007a; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2010), which have been adapted for use within Australia. These items measure individual's acceptance and support of Muslim religious rights and practices (e.g., "The right to establish own Islamic schools should always exist in [Australia]"). For this measure, an average score is created in which higher scores indicate greater tolerance of Islamic practices.

The revised *Religious Fundamentalism Scale* (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 2004) consists of 12 items measuring participants belief that there is a fundamental set of religious teachings which must be followed (e.g., "There is a religion on this earth that teaches, without error, God's truth). After reverse scoring appropriate items, an average score is created. Higher scores on this scale indicate greater religious fundamentalism.

Procedure

Participants first read an online information letter and provided consent to complete the study. Next, participants responded to demographics, the ATMA, national tolerance of Islamic practices, and religious fundamentalism validation scales. Finally, participants completed the PATMS (again, randomized attitude items followed by randomized tolerance items). Participants were then thanked for their time and debriefed.

Results

Factor Structure Replication and Scale Reliability

Table 1 presents the correlations, mean, and standard deviations for each item. We conducted a Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA), using MPLUS version 6 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2010). In order to assess the model fit, we decided to use various ranges of fit guidelines: Specifically, we used Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI); Comparative Fit Index (CFI); Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR), as well as Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA). We controlled for acquiescence bias (i.e., due to the scale consisting of positively and negatively worded items) by modelling an uncorrelated common method variance factor which loaded onto every item fixed at 1 (Welkenhuysen-Gybels et al., 2003).

Using the guidelines, TLI values above .90 are deemed as acceptable (Forza & Filippini, 1998). CFI values above .90 are deemed as acceptable (Kline, 1999). SRMR values of below .06 are deemed as acceptable, and values of RMSEA below .08 are deemed as acceptable (Hu & Bentler, 1999). Our model appeared to be a good fit to the data on all indexes of fit, $X^2(52) = 151.175$, $p < .001$; TLI = 0.96; CFI = 0.97; RMSEA = 0.08 (90% CI, 0.06 to 0.09); SRMR = 0.04. All of the indicators were shown to significantly load onto their respective factors, ($|\beta s| \geq .58$, $p < .001$). Table 1 presents the items with standardized factor loadings (along with composite reliability scores). However, as in Study 1, the latent factors correlated with each other very strongly ($\psi = .82$). This may indicate that a single-factor structure might fit the data better than a two-factor structure. Therefore, we reran the analysis by modelling all items onto one single factor. Although all the items significantly loaded onto this factor ($|\beta s| \geq .55$, $p < .001$); the model fit was not acceptable: $X^2(53) = 377.018$, $p < .001$; TLI = 0.86; CFI = 0.89;

RMSEA = 0.14 (90% CI, 0.12 to 0.15); SRMR = 0.05. This provides evidence that a two-factor structure is a better solution.

We also calculated the composite reliability of each latent factor based on the formula suggested by Raykov (1997). We calculated the composite reliability to be .91 and .88 respectively, larger than the value of .70 recommended by Hair et al. (2014).

To ensure convergent validity, we also computed the average variance explained (AVE) by using the standardised item loadings from the CFA model. The AVE was .60 larger than recommended minimum value of .50 (Fornell & Larcker, 1981). This indicates that the scale explains 60% of the variance, which is larger than the error.

Validity Hypothesis Testing

The descriptive statistics and estimates of internal consistency for the PATMS and validity scales are presented in Table 4. Scores on the PATMS attitudes subscale were negatively skewed, and ATMA, RF, and age scores were positively skewed. Consequently, logarithmic transformations were applied, correcting violations to normality in the PATMS attitudes, ATMA, and RF variables. Scores on the age variable were still positively skewed after transformation, so correlations between the key variables and age should be interpreted with caution.

Criterion Validity. In support of Hypothesis H3a, bivariate correlation analyses revealed a significant, strong negative correlation between our attitudes subscale and ATMAs. There was also a significant, strong positive correlation between our tolerance subscale and national tolerance (see Table 4). As predicted, both of our subscales correlated with the criterion validity scales. Supporting the distinction between each subscale of the PATMS, our attitudes subscale correlated more strongly with the ATMA scale (i.e., albeit to a small extent) Showing a more distinct difference, our tolerance subscale more strongly with national tolerance.

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics and Cronbach's Alpha Reliability Coefficients for the Positive Attitudes and Tolerance towards Muslims Scale (PATMS), Validity Scales, and Known Groups Variables in Study 2 (n = 338).

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	*M*	*SD*	*r*-to-*Z*	α
1. Attitudes	-									5.01	1.43	-	.91
2. Tolerance	**.74****	-								4.94	1.50	-	.87
Criterion validity													
3. ATMA	**-.85****	**-.82****	-							2.82	1.31	**-1.66***	.95
4. National Tolerance	**.61****	**.78****	**-.70****	-						4.44	1.42	**-6.55****	.85
Construct validity													
5. RF	**-.33****	**-.40****	**.44****	**-.30****	-					2.83	1.44	**1.93***	.93
Known groups validity													
6. Age	**-.14***	-.10	.10	**-.15***	-.10	-				27.31	11.89	-1.02	-
7. Political Orientation	**.39****	**.44****	**-.43****	**.43****	**-.45****	-.04	-			3.36	0.83	-0.28	.74
8. Gender	.06	.07	-.04	**.11***	.01	**-.22****	.08	-		-	-	-0.25	-
9. Religion	**.15***	**.20****	**-.22****	**.16***	**-.56****	.06	**.36****	**-.15***	-	-	-	-1.29	-

Notes. *$p < .01$, **$p < .001$, significant correlations are presented in bold. Analyses were conducted using transformed variables. However, raw means and standard deviations have been reported (for ease of interpretation). Fisher's r-to-Z score tests for significant differences between each validity variable and the evaluations and tolerance subscale (i.e., based on calculations according to Eid et al., 2011, the correlations for ATMA, National Tolerance, and RF in column 1 are significantly different to their counterpart in column 2). Positive correlations with the Gender variable indicate a point-biserial correlation with being male, and positive correlations with the Religion variable indicates a point-biserial correlation with a religious affiliation.

To further establish the predictive power of our subscales, we conducted separate multiple regressions, with both subscales as predictors, and ATMA and National Tolerance score as outcome measures. The first regression predicting ATMA was significant, $F(2,333) = 688.93$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .81$, Cohen's $f^2 = 4.26$. Both subscales significantly predicted ATMA scores. Importantly, our attitudes subscale was a stronger predictor, confirming that this subscale can predict attitudes towards Muslims.

The second regression predicting national tolerance was also significant, $F(2,333) = 256.04$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .61$, Cohen's $f^2 = 1.56$. Our attitudes subscale was a non-significant predictor. Importantly, our tolerance subscale was a significant, strong predictor of national tolerance, confirming that this subscale can predict tolerance of Islamic practices. See Table 5 for regression coefficients for both analyses.

Construct Validity. In support of Hypothesis H3b, bivariate correlation analyses revealed a significant, negative correlation between religious fundamentalism and both our attitudes and tolerance subscales (i.e., increases in religious fundamentalism were found to result in decreases in positive attitudes and tolerance).

Known-groups Validity. For Hypothesis H3c, bivariate correlation analyses revealed a significant, negative correlation between age and our attitudes subscale (i.e., increases in age were found to result in decreases in positive attitudes). A negative bivariate correlation was found between age and our tolerance subscale (i.e., increases in age were found to result in decreases in tolerance), however this correlation was not significant. A significant, positive correlation was found between political orientation and the attitude and tolerance subscales (i.e., increases in political progressivism were related to increases in both positive attitudes and tolerance).

Table 5

Unstandardised Coefficients (B and SE B), Standardised Coefficients (β), and Squared Semi-Partial Correlations for the Positive Attitudes and Tolerance towards Muslims Scale (PATMS) Subscales Predicting Criterion Validity Scales.

	B [95% CI]	*SE B*	*β*	*p*	sr^2
Predicting ATMA					
Constant	4.57 [4.10, 5.04]	0.24			
Attitudes	**-0.51 [-0.58, -0.44]**	**0.03**	**-0.54**	**<.001**	**.13**
Tolerance	**-0.06 [-0.07, -0.05]**	**0.01**	**-0.43**	**<.001**	**.08**
Predicting National Tolerance					
Constant	-2.43 [-6.74, 1.88]	2.19			
Attitudes	0.47 [-0.15, 1.08]	0.31	0.08	.136	<.01
Tolerance	**0.68 [0.58, 0.77]**	**0.05**	**0.72**	**<.001**	**.24**

Notes. CI = Confidence Interval; ATMA = Attitudes Towards Muslim Australians. Significant statistics are presented in boldface.

Independent samples *t*-tests were conducted to explore differences in scores as a function of gender. Against predictions, there were no significant gender differences on the attitudes subscale, $t(319) = -0.70$, $p = .490$, Cohens' $d = 0.12$ ($M_{male} = 4.91$, $SD = 1.51$; $M_{female} = 5.09$, $SD = 1.38$) or the tolerance subscale, $t(319) = -1.33$, $p = .184$, Cohens' $d = 0.16$ ($M_{male} = 4.81$, $SD = 1.51$; $M_{female} = 5.05$, $SD = 1.46$).

Independent samples *t*-tests were conducted to explore differences in scores as a function of religious affiliation. There were significant differences on the attitudes subscale with religious participants reporting less positive attitudes, $t(333) = 3.42$, $p = .001$, Cohens' $d = 0.35$ ($M_{religious} =$

4.83, SD = 1.43; $M_{\text{non-religious}}$ = 5.33, SD = 1.40). Similarly, there were significant differences on the tolerance subscale, with religious participants reporting less tolerance of Islamic practices $t(333) = 4.15$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 0.48$ ($M_{\text{religious}}$ = 4.69, SD = 1.49; $M_{\text{non-religious}}$ = 5.38, SD = 1.40).

Auxiliary Analyses

As mentioned in Study 1, there is a high correlation between the two subscales. In order to further establish their independence, we conducted two partial correlations with the subscales, and religious fundamentalism (i.e., as a variable which we have found to be a strong correlate of both our outcomes). The first correlation between tolerance and religious fundamentalism, partialling out variance shared with attitudes, was significant $r(331) = -.24$, $p < .001$. In contrast, the second correlation between attitudes and religious fundamentalism, partialling out variance shared with tolerance, was not significant $r(331) = -.06$, $p = .269$. This provides further evidence for the independence of our subscales.

Discussion

Using a CFA, Study 2 has provided further evidence for the factor structure of the PATMS, ratifying the separate nature of the two subscales, supporting H1. Further evidence has also been provided for the reliability of the scale, supporting H2a. Providing criterion validity for the scale, and confirming H3a, analyses revealed that although both of our subscales significantly correlated with the outcome measures, the attitudes subscale is a stronger predictor of earlier measures of Muslim attitudes (ATMA), and the tolerance subscale is a stronger predictor of earlier measures of tolerance (national tolerance), with our attitudes subscale not predicting this outcome. Providing construct validity and supporting hypothesis H3b, analyses revealed that religious fundamentalism correlated with our subscales in the expected direction.

Providing known groups validity and supporting H3c, analyses revealed that age and political orientation correlated with the PATMS subscales in the expected direction. Differences in subscale scores were also found depending on religious affiliation. Interestingly (and contrary to our hypotheses), there were no differences in scores on the scale relating to gender. Taken together, Study 2 has further demonstrated the utility of PATMS as a measure which captures two related, yet distinct constructs. However, our test-retest reliability hypotheses (H2b) is yet to be tested.

Study 3

In Study 3, we aimed to assess the test–retest reliability of the PATMS by re-administering the scale to part of the student sample from Study 1.

Method and Procedure

Forty university students who had previously completed Study 1 volunteered to re-complete the PATMS (age range: 20-46 years; $M = 22.93$, $SD = 6.25$, 36 female). Participants accessed the online study exactly 14 days after their initial completion of Study 1. Participants first provided demographics, and then responded to the items of the PATMS (again, randomized attitude items followed by randomized tolerance items).

Results and Discussion

One case on the tolerance subscale (at Time 1: $Z = -3.13$) was treated as an outlier by replacing it with $M + 3SD$, in accord with suggestions by Tabachnick and Fidell (2007). In addition, both subscales at both time points were negatively skewed, and we corrected these normality issues by applying logarithmic transformations. Although we conducted all our analyses using the transformed variables, we have reported raw scores for ease of interpretation in Table 3, along with reliability diagnostics, and test-retest statistics.

The test-retest coefficients between time points for each scale were strong (attitudes: r[38] = .72, p <.001; tolerance r[38] = .83, p <.001), and average scores for each participant did not differ between time points (paired-sample t-tests – attitudes: t(39) = -1.20, p = .239; tolerance: t(39) = 1.32, p = .196). These findings provide further evidence for the internal and temporal stability of the PATMS, and together with the findings of Studies 1 and 2 confirm our test-retest reliability hypothesis (H2b).

General Discussion

Social psychologists are becoming increasingly interested in understanding the conceptual differences between attitudes toward Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. We sought to create a scale which can measure these two related, yet distinct constructs, known as the PATMS. Across three studies, we have presented preliminary psychometric evidence for the utility of the scale in measuring these outcomes (discussed below).

Psychometric Evidence

We predicted that the 12 item PATMS would consist of two distinct (albeit overlapping) constructs (H1). EFA and CFA analyses tested and then confirmed the two-factor structure of the scale, with subscales measuring attitudes towards Muslims and Tolerance of Islamic practices. Confirming our reliability predictions (H2), the scale also provided high levels of internal consistency, and test-retest reliability. Confirming our validity predictions (H3), our scale demonstrated strong criterion validity (i.e., with each subscale strongly correlating with existing measures of their respective outcomes), construct validity, (i.e., with each subscale correlating with an ideological variable known to predict attitudes and tolerance) and known groups validity (i.e., with each subscale correlating with demographic outcomes known to predict attitudes and tolerance).

It is worth noting that both of our subscales correlated strongly with the each of the criterion validity measures (i.e., ATMS and national tolerance), and both of our subscales are strongly correlated with each other. We have three pieces of evidence which demonstrates the independence of our subscales. First, our attitudes subscale was found to more strongly predict attitudes toward Muslims, and our tolerance subscale was found to be the only predictor of national tolerance. This suggests that each subscale is valid in predicting their respective outcomes. Second, the *r*-to-*Z* correlations between our subscales were significant for all criterion validity measures. Third, the partial correlations between our subscales and religious fundamentalism showed a diverging pattern of results. Specifically, the relationship between tolerance and religious fundamentalism remained significant after partialling out attitudes. However, the reverse was not true for the relationship between attitudes and religious fundamentalism. As this is the first validated scale to simultaneously measure attitudes and tolerance (i.e., as two separate subscales), providing these pieces of initial evidence is essential in understanding the independence of these two constructs. However, future research is needed in order to continue to set these two constructs apart, and establish the utility of two separate subscales.

Limitations

Firstly, although we made a substantive effort to recruit a wide range of participants (i.e., by recruiting student and external participants), a potential limitation is the sample used across our three studies. Specifically, participants across our studies were relatively well educated, which suggests they may be less prejudiced or more tolerant, and thus some findings presented in this paper may not generalise to the broader population. However, this limitation does not impact the evidence presented for the factor structure of the scale, or the internal consistency of the

subscales. Secondly, when interpreting the findings of the test-retest analysis (i.e., Study 3), it is important to consider potential self-selection bias within the sample. Specifically, $n = 40$ students volunteered their time to complete the scale once again. It is possible that those who volunteered their time had higher tolerance and attitudes in comparison to those who did not volunteer.

Finally, our initial EFA was conducted using the 12 items which we believed best reflect the constructs being measured. Not including a larger number of items in the initial EFA may have obscured assessment of the complete structure of the construct. However, further evidence for the utility of the scale has been provided throughout this thesis. Lastly, the wording of one of the items in the tolerance subscale (i.e., 'I would prefer not to have mosques in my neighbourhood') could be open to interpretation. The intention for the item is to measure tolerance towards the building of Mosques in the community. However, the term 'prefer' may suggest to some that this item is not specifically about tolerance of Mosques in the community, but rather an opinion about the potential for Mosques to be built. Future revisions of this scale can change this item to read 'I would accept it if Mosques were built in my community' to determine if there is a change in responses.

Conclusions and Future Directions

With negative attitudes toward Muslims in western society becoming more prevalent, it is imperative that we continue to investigate the underlying mechanisms which predict these perceptions. In order to continue research in this growing field, psychometrically sound measures are essential. The current paper has provided evidence for the PATMS; a new short scale which is able to capture not only attitudes towards Muslims, but also tolerance of the groups religious views and practices. Across three studies, we have provided evidence for the utility of the PATMS as a valid, reliable scale, which is able to be used in its entirety, or as separate subscales.

Future studies can further determine the unique predictors of attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. More research into not only attitudes towards Muslims, but also tolerance of the groups religious views and practices (as well as research into factors which can predict tolerance) would be beneficial to the understanding of negative outcomes, and the development of interventions aimed at reducing these outcomes.

Chapter 7: Interim Discussion and Outline of Final Studies

The first major aim of my thesis was to develop and evaluate the *Positive Attitudes and Tolerance towards Muslims Scale* (i.e., PATMS). This major aim was addressed in the first three studies presented in Chapter 6. The PATMS consists of 12 items, with six items measuring attitudes towards Muslims, and six items measuring tolerance of Islamic practices. In Study 1, I conducted an EFA which provided initial evidence of the two-factor structure of the PATMS (i.e., with one factor measuring attitudes towards Muslims, and one factor measuring tolerance of Islamic practices). In Study 2, I conducted a CFA which further ratified the two-factor structure of the PATMS, as well as initial validity analyses (i.e., construct, criterion, and known groups validity) which provided evidence for the validity of the PATMS. In Study 3, I conducted a test-retest analysis using the PATMS, which provided evidence for the temporal stability of the scale.

Although EFA and CFA of the PATMS supported a two-factor structure (i.e., providing evidence for the PATMS measuring two separate constructs), there was a strong positive correlation between the attitudes and tolerance subscales in Study 1 and 2 (*r*s = .72 & .74, respectively), which could raise some concerns that this collinearity of the subscales might actually reflect a singular underlying dimension. Therefore, further analyses were conducted on the independence of the subscales using a previously identified predictor of outcomes towards Muslims (i.e., religious fundamentalism) in order to secure more evidence of the two-factor structure of the measure. I found that tolerance was independently related to religious fundamentalism, after controlling for attitudes, but not vice-versa. This provides further initial evidence that the PATMS subscales measure different constructs which can be used to independently predict outcomes. Although the initial evidence from these studies for the independence of attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices is promising,

further research needs to continue to disentangle these two constructs. Therefore, the second major aim of the current thesis is to further investigate the independence of the PATMS attitudes and tolerance subscales.

The role of ideological predictors of prejudice on attitudes towards Muslims is commonly investigated in the literature. However, the role of ideological predictors on tolerance of Islamic practices is limited. In Study 2 of my thesis, religious fundamentalism (i.e., as a previously identified predictor of prejudice towards Muslims) was differentially predicted by the PATMS subscales. This suggests that religious beliefs are a complex predictor of outcomes towards the group. In Studies 4 and 5, I will further evaluate the role of religious beliefs on both attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. Specifically, I will investigate the relationship between Christian individuals' beliefs about the representation of God on attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices.

Christian religious affiliation and levels of religiosity (i.e., endorsement of Religious Fundamentalism) have been associated with negative attitudes towards Muslims in both self-report and implicit measures of prejudice (M. K. Johnson et al., 2012; Rowatt et al., 2005). Although these negative attitudes have been found when using these standard measures of religious belief (i.e., measures which determine general religious adherence), recent research has found that beliefs in the specific representation of the Christian God can have a differential impact on attitudes (K. A. Johnson et al., 2013; K. A. Johnson et al., 2015). Study 4 investigates whether two specific anthropomorphic representations of the Christian God (i.e., authoritarian and benevolent representations) can predict attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. Study 5 replicates and extends the previous study to investigate whether non-anthropomorphic representations of God (i.e., limitless, mystical, ineffable representations) can

predict these same outcomes. These two studies are presented in a single paper which has been prepared for publication at a peer-reviewed journal.

Another commonly researched theoretical framework in the prejudice literature is the *Dual Process Model* (DPM; Duckitt & Sibley, 2010a), which includes Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) and Social Dominance Orientation (SDO). These two factors are commonly linked to negative outcomes for minority groups, but for different reasons (Duckitt & Sibley, 2010a). Ideologically, RWA is associated with traditional value systems and a need for security (Altemeyer, 1981, 1998). On the other hand, SDO is associated with a desire to maintain social hierarchies in order to maintain superiority relative to other social groups (Pratto et al., 1994). Research into the specific case of prejudice towards Muslims has found that both RWA and SDO predict negative attitudes towards the group (Ernst & Bornstein, 2012). Other studies have suggested that the two factors are associated with negative attitudes towards Muslims via different pathways. One such study investigated the relationship between the factors of the DPM and perceptions of threat from Muslims, and found that RWA and SDO are associated with different types of threat (Matthews & Levin, 2012). Specifically, these researchers found that RWA was associated with greater levels of value threat (i.e., threats to current ways of life in society), whereas SDO was associated with greater levels of economic threat (i.e., threat to the status quo's access to economic opportunities). These different types of threat were then related to feelings of anger and disgust towards Muslims.

Although the role of the DPM on prejudice towards Muslims has been investigated, there has been no research into the impact of tolerance of Islamic practices on the relationship between these two factors. As mentioned, previous studies have shown that RWA and SDO are related to negative outcomes towards Muslims via different types of threat, including feelings of threat to

the current ways of life in Western society (Matthews & Levin, 2012). For individuals endorsing RWA and SDO beliefs, Islamic practices could be seen as a threat to their current way of life, and play a role in their attitudes towards Muslims. Therefore, it is possible that tolerance plays a mediating role in the relationship between the factors of the DPM and attitudes towards Muslims. In Study 6, I will evaluate the mediating role of tolerance in the relationship between factors of the Dual Process Model (DPM) and attitudes towards Muslims. Specifically, I will investigate the mediating role of tolerance in the relationship between Social Dominance Orientation [SDO], Right Wing Authoritarianism [RWA], and attitudes towards Muslims. This study is presented as a short report paper which has been prepared for publication at a peer-reviewed journal.

Chapter 8: Exploring the Relationship between Christian God Representations and Attitudes towards Muslims and Tolerance of Islamic Practices (Studies 4-5)

Abstract

Attitudes towards Muslims in Western society have become increasingly negative and pervasive. One predictor of these negative attitudes is religious affiliation, with Christians often demonstrating negative attitudes towards Muslims (i.e., inter-religious prejudice). Recently, social psychologists have become interested in not only attitudes toward Muslims, but tolerance of the group's practices. The current studies seek to investigate whether Christians' belief in the representation of God (i.e., as benevolent, authoritarian, limitless, mystical, or ineffable) can predict attitudes toward Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. In Study 4, Christian participants (n = 205) reported their belief in two alternate representations of God (i.e., benevolent or authoritarian), before responding to the PATMS. Belief in a benevolent God significantly predicted positive attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. Interestingly, belief in an authoritarian God did not predict of either outcome. In Study 5, Christian participants (n = 298) endorsed their beliefs in five representations of God (benevolent, authoritarian, limitless, mystical, or ineffable), before responding to the PATMS. Belief in a benevolent God significantly predicted positive attitudes towards Muslims. Also, belief in a benevolent God and a limitless God significantly predicted greater tolerance of Islamic practices. However, belief in authoritarian and mystical God representations significantly predicted less tolerance. These representations were able to predict outcomes above and beyond general religiosity. The findings from these studies highlight the importance of investigating the impact of specific representations of God (i.e., rather than general religious belief) when researching prejudice.

Study 4

Introduction

The relationship between religion and social outcomes has previously been described as paradoxical, with greater endorsement of religious belief often resulting in both prosocial and anti-social outcomes (Allport, 1954). On the one hand, in what has been described by Galen (2012) as the *religious prosociality hypothesis,* individuals who score high on religiosity type measures (i.e., those who consider religion to be an important part of their self-concept; (Whitley, 2009) have been found to self-report and display greater prosocial outcomes in comparison to non-religious individuals. Specifically, religious individuals have been found to display greater co-operation, volunteerism, and altruistic behaviours in comparison to those scoring low on religiosity (Brañas-Garza et al., 2009; Hardy & Carlo, 2005; Norenzayan & Shariff, 2008). On the other hand, religiosity has been linked to anti-social outcomes such as prejudice towards groups considered as 'Value Violators'. For example, religious individuals have demonstrated greater sexual prejudice (Whitley, 2009) and racial prejudice (Hall et al., 2010) in comparison to non-religious individuals. Of specific interest to the current research, is the inter-religious prejudice demonstrated between Christians and Muslims.

Christian Attitudes towards Muslims

Christian individuals have been found to display in-group bias towards members of their own religion in comparison to Muslims, in both explicit and implicit forms of measurement. Specifically, Christian individuals have been found to self-report greater negative attitudes towards Muslims in comparison to Christians (M. K. Johnson et al., 2012; Rowatt et al., 2005), as well as display implicit bias towards Christians in comparison to Muslims in computerised tasks such as the Implicit Association Test (IAT; Rowatt et al., 2005). Research has suggested

that this in-group bias may be a result of Christian individuals feeling threatened by external religious beliefs (i.e., beliefs inconsistent with personal religious values). For example, the belief that Muslim individuals desecrate sacred Christian religious teachings is related to greater negative attitudes towards the group, as well as greater perceived conflict between the opposing religious groups (Raiya et al., 2008). Moreover, research in the Netherlands has found that threats to the continuity of a Christian majority nation predicted greater intolerance of Islamic practices (e.g., the right to express their religious identity in public; Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2013b).

Authoritarian and Benevolent God Representations

Although inter-religious prejudice has been found when using standard measures of religious belief such as religious affiliation and religiosity (e.g., measures which determine general religious adherence rather than specific beliefs about God), research has found that pre-existing beliefs in the specific representation of the Christian God (e.g., as benevolent or authoritarian) may have an impact on their motivations, and in turn their subsequent attitudes (K. A. Johnson et al., 2016). These researchers have found that belief in a benevolent God (i.e., one who is loving and compassionate) is linked to internal motivations to act in a prosocial manner (e.g., driven by a benevolent self-concept and feeling morally obligated to help people in need). Contrastingly, belief in an authoritarian God (i.e., one who is angry and punishing) is not linked to internal motivations, or feelings of moral obligation to help others. To measure the differential impact of Christians belief in either an authoritarian or benevolent God on social attitudes, these researchers have recently developed and validated the Authoritarian/Benevolent God Scale (K. A. Johnson et al., 2015). Individuals endorsing items on the Authoritarian God subscale (i.e., those who believe God is authoritarian) have been found to hold general authoritarian values

such as the feeling of power. Contrastingly, individuals' endorsement of items on the Benevolent God subscale (i.e., those who believe God is benevolent) is positively related to general benevolent values such as being compassionate.

Belief in specific representations of God have also resulted in differential outcomes towards religious outgroups. Specifically, belief in a benevolent God is positively related to helping religious outgroups (i.e., through greater self-reported intention to volunteer to help outgroup religious members after a natural disaster), whereas belief in an authoritarian God was negatively related to willingness to volunteer (K. A. Johnson et al., 2013). However, in this study, religious outgroup members were not explicitly identified (i.e., participants endorsed how likely they were to help disaster victims in Israel). To date, no specific research has been conducted to determine the relationship between authoritarian or benevolent God beliefs on attitudes towards Muslims or tolerance of Islamic practices. With previous research finding differential outcomes based on belief in one representation of God versus the other, it is likely that these beliefs can provide further insight into the prosocial versus antisocial nature of religion, in the context of inter-religious prejudice.

The Current Research

The current study aims to extend the literature surrounding inter-religious prejudice by exploring the relationship between participants cognitive representation of God (i.e., as either an authoritarian or benevolent figure), and their attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. In line with previous research supporting the relationship between benevolent God representations and prosocial outcomes, it is hypothesised that belief in a benevolent God will predict positive outcomes. (i.e., as demonstrated through positive attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices). In line with previous research supporting the relationship

between authoritarian God representations and anti-social outcomes, it is hypothesised that belief in an authoritarian God will predict negative outcomes (i.e., as demonstrated through negative attitudes towards Muslims and intolerance of Islamic practices).

Method

Participants

The initial sample consisted of 470 participants, who were either undergraduate students enrolled at Australian Catholic University (n = 215), or externally recruited by the students for the purposes of the study (n = 255). Of these participants, 265 were excluded for not self-identifying as Christian (e.g., non-religious, Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim, other), being below the age of 18, or not disclosing their age. The final sample consisted of 205 Christians (age range: 18-61 years, M = 26.80, SD = 11.67; 77.1 % female). On a scale which ranged from 1 '*completely conservative*' to 5 '*completely progressive*', participants reported neutral to progressive social (M = 3.12, SD = 0.83) and economic (M = 3.02, SD = 0.80) political orientations.

Measures

Demographics. Participants were asked to provide their age, gender, and religious affiliation. Participants who did not identify as Christian were excluded from the analysis.

The revised *Religious Fundamentalism Scale* (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 2004). This scale consists of 12 items measuring participants religiosity (i.e., the belief that there is one religion which must be followed). Participants were asked to endorse items on a 7-point Likert-type scale which ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Example items include "God has given humanity a complete, unfailing guide to happiness and salvation, which must be

totally followed." After reverse scoring appropriate items, an average score is created, with higher scores indicating greater commitment to religion and its teachings (α = .92).

Authoritarian/Benevolent God Scale (A/B God Scale; K. A. Johnson et al., 2015). This scale consists of two subscales measuring belief in the representation of God. The Benevolent God subscale consists of 9 words describing a benevolent God. Example words include *accepting, caring,* and *compassionate.* The Authoritarian God subscale consists of 9 words describing an authoritarian God. Example words include *stern, commanding,* and *angry* (α = .93). Participants were asked to endorse on a 7-point Likert-type scale which ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 *(strongly agree*) the extent to which they agree each word describes God. Items in each subscale are averaged, with high scores in the Benevolent God subscale indicating strong belief in God as benevolent (α = .97), and high scores in the Authoritarian God subscale indicating strong belief in God as authoritarian (α = .93).

Positive Attitudes and Tolerance towards Muslims Scale (PATMS). This scale consists of two subscales measuring attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. The evaluations subscale consists of 6 items and measures general beliefs about Muslims (e.g., Muslims are peaceful people). After reverse scoring appropriate items, an average score is created, with higher scores indicating greater positive attitudes towards Muslims (α = .91). The tolerance subscale consists of 6 items and measures the acceptance and understanding of Islamic religious beliefs and practices (e.g., “Muslim people have the right to build Mosques in the community where they live). After reverse scoring appropriate items, an average score is created, with higher scores indicating greater tolerance towards Islamic practices (α = .86). On both subscales, participants are asked to endorse items on a 7-point Likert scale which ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

Procedure

Student participants completed the study in class as part of their regular tutorials, and externally recruited participants completed the study in their own time (these participants were provided an external link to the study by the students). All participants accessed the study online via an online data collection platform (INQUISIT; https://millisecond.com). Participants first provided demographic information, and then completed the RF scale, A/B God Scale, and PATMS in a counter-balanced order. Participants were then debriefed and thanked for their time.

Results

Normality Testing

Scores for the B God variable were significantly negatively skewed (Z_{skew} = - 7.29) past the 3.29 criterion outlined by Tabachnick and Fidell (2013). Scores on this variable were transformed using the logarithmic method, correcting issues with normality (Z_{skew} = -2.52). Untransformed data for this variable is reported for ease of interpretation.

Descriptive Statistics

On average, participants reported a higher belief in a Benevolent God, in comparison to an Authoritarian God. This difference was significant, $t(203) = 18.99$, $p < .001$, Cohen's d = 2.08.[3] Participants attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices were generally positive. The means, standard deviations, and correlations for predictor and outcome variables can be seen in Table 6.

[3] The reported analysis was conducted using untransformed variables (i.e., due to Authoritarian God scores not violating normality). An analysis was also conducted using transformations for both variables, this analysis was also significant.

Table 6

Descriptive Statistics and Correlation Matrix of Religious Predictors and Outcome Variables (n = 204)

Variable	*M* (*SD)*	1	2	3	4	5
1. RF	3.57 (1.39)	-				
2. Benevolent God	5.83 (1.33)	.49*	-			
3. Authoritarian God	2.94 (1.45)	.03	-.28*	-		
4. Muslim Attitudes	4.75 (1.47)	-.36*	.02	-.11	-	
5. Tolerance of Practices	4.69 (1.53)	-.38*	-.01	-.05	.77*	-

Notes. RF = Religious Fundamentalism, **p* < .001.

Hypothesis Testing

To determine whether A/B God belief scores predict attitudes towards Muslims, a hierarchical regression was conducted. Religious Fundamentalism was entered into Step 1 to control for participants levels of religious fundamentalism, and A/B God scores were entered into Step 2. Step 1 of the model was significant, $F(1, 202) = 29.48$, $p < .001$, with Religious Fundamentalism accounting for 12.7% of the variation in attitudes towards Muslims. The addition of A/B God scores in Step 2 resulted in a significant change from the previous model $\Delta F(2,200) = 6.21$, $p = .002$, accounting for an additional 5% of variation in attitudes towards Muslims.

Benevolent God belief was a significant positive predictor of attitudes towards Muslims. Authoritarian God belief was not a significant predictor. Table 7 presents the coefficients and semi-partial correlations for the regression model.

Table 7

Unstandardized Coefficients (B and SE B), Standardized Coefficients (β), and Squared Semi-Partial Correlations (sr^2) for Variables Predicting Attitudes towards Muslims

Variable	*B* [95% CI]	*SE B*	*β*	sr^2	*t*	*p*
Step 1						
Constant	6.12 [5.58, 6.63]	0.27				
RF	**-0.38 [-0.52, -0.24]**	**0.07**	**-.36**	**.13**	**-5.43**	**<.001**
Step 2						
Constant	5.55 [4.72, 6.37]	0.42				
RF	**-0.51 [-0.67, -0.35]**	**0.08**	**-.48**	**.17**	**-6.37**	**<.001**
B God	**1.50 [0.56, 2.43]**	**0.47**	**.25**	**.04**	**3.16**	**.002**
A God	-0.03 [-0.16, 0.11]	0.07	-.03	<.01	-0.38	.704

Notes. CI = Confidence Interval. RF = Religious Fundamentalism; B God = Benevolent God; A God = Authoritarian God. Significant coefficients are presented in boldface.

To determine whether A/B God belief scores predict tolerance of Islamic practices, a hierarchical regression was conducted. Religious Fundamentalism was entered into Step 1 to control for participants levels of religious fundamentalism, and A/B God scores were entered into Step 2. Step 1 of the model was significant, $F(1,202) = 34.44$, $p < .001$, with Religious Fundamentalism accounting for 14.6% of the variation in tolerance of Islamic practices. Adding A/B scores in Step 2 resulted in a significant change from the previous model, $\Delta F(2,200) = 5.27$, $p = .006$, accounting for an additional 4.3% of variation.

Benevolent God belief was a significant positive predictor of tolerance of Islamic practices, and Authoritarian God belief was not a significant predictor. Table 8 presents the coefficients and semi-partial correlations for the regression model.

Table 8

Unstandardized Coefficients (B and SE B), Standardized (β) Coefficients, and Squared Semi-Partial Correlations (sr^2) for Variables Predicting Tolerance of Islamic Practices

Variable	*B* [95% CI]	*SE B*	*β*	sr^2	*t*	*p*
Step 1						
Constant	6.19 [5.65, 6.73]	0.28				
RF	**-0.42 [-0.56, -0.28]**	**0.07**	**-.38**	**.15**	**-5.87**	**<.001**
Step 2						
Constant	5.44 [4.59, 6.29]	0.43				
RF	**-0.56 [-0.72, -0.40]**	**0.08**	**-.51**	**.18**	**-6.75**	**<.001**
B God	**1.55 [0.59, 2.52]**	**0.49**	**.25**	**.04**	**3.18**	**.002**
A God	0.03 [-0.11, 0.17]	0.07	.03	<.01	0.46	.645

Notes. CI = Confidence Interval. RF= Religious Fundamentalism; B God = Benevolent God; A God = Authoritarian God. Significant coefficients are presented in boldface.

Discussion

The current study aimed to determine whether Christians' belief in either a benevolent or authoritarian God would differentially predict outcomes towards Muslims (i.e., as measured by attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices), above already known predictors of prejudice (i.e., religiosity through the measurement of religious fundamentalism). Not surprisingly, religious fundamentalism was a predictor of negative outcomes in the current study. Participants who strongly identified with their religion (i.e., Christianity) reported greater negative attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. Measures of religiosity often include items which highlight the endorsement of one, fundamentally true religion (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 2004). Attitudes towards groups who do not follow one's own

religion, such as the evaluation of Muslims amongst Christians, have been known to be negative (Rowatt et al., 2005).

Our findings showed that both Benevolent and Authoritarian God representations were similarly correlated with our attitudes and tolerance subscales. However, further analysis provided a more distinct pattern. Consistent with our hypotheses, belief that God is benevolent (i.e., displays benevolent traits such as compassion) predicted greater positive attitudes towards Muslims and increased in tolerance of Islamic practices, above and beyond religiosity. This supports and extends upon previous research finding a positive relationship between belief in a benevolent god and increases in religious outgroup helping (K. A. Johnson et al., 2013). Specifically, the current study has shown that believing that God is a benevolent figure can not only result in greater behavioural intentions towards religious outgroups, but can also result in increases in positive attitudes towards such groups. Interestingly, belief in a benevolent God was a predictor of tolerance of Islamic practices, above religiosity (i.e., which was a predictor of negative evaluations and tolerance). As previously mentioned, individuals with high religiosity are often less accepting of other religious beliefs, external to their own. This suggests that the endorsement of specific religious cognitive representations of God as compassionate, can help increase acceptance towards religious outgroups, over general religious adherence.

Interestingly, belief that God is authoritarian (i.e., displays authoritarian traits such as anger) did not predict attitudes towards Muslims or tolerance of Islamic practices. This could potentially be explained by a general lack of belief in God as an authoritarian figure in the current sample, with participants more likely to characterise God as benevolent rather than authoritarian. This could be the result of the differing depictions of God (i.e., and exposure to these specific representations) in the Old Testament versus the New Testament. Specifically, God

is often depicted as authoritarian in the Old Testament (i.e., wrathful), and Benevolent in the New Testament (i.e., loving; Froese & Bader, 2010). It is possible that participants in the current sample had greater knowledge of the New Testament, and therefore were more likely to have been exposed to the benevolent God.

A potential limitation of the current study is that participants belief in only an authoritarian versus benevolent God was measured. This decision was made based upon previous research (K. A. Johnson et al., 2013; K. A. Johnson et al., 2015), and the novelty of study (i.e., being the first to measure Christians specific cognitive representations of God on evaluations and tolerance towards Muslims). However, Christians may believe in a different depiction of God, which was not captured in the current study. For example, God may be thought of as a disengaged being that watches over the world, but is not actively involved in everyday life (Froese & Bader, 2010). God may also be thought of as a mystical and abstract entity rather than an anthropomorphic being (Froese & Bader, 2010; Johnson et al., 2019). Belief in these representations may further capture Christians attitudes towards Muslims. Therefore, future research can determine whether belief in these additional representations of God have a differential effect on inter-religious prejudice. Future research could also use priming methods to experimentally induce representations of God, and determine whether the activation of these specific representations can result in differential outcomes (i.e., positive versus negative).

The current study has demonstrated the positive effect of benevolent God belief on social outcomes. Specifically, Christian's belief in a benevolent God is a predictor of both positive attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. This is an important finding, as the benevolent nature of God may be highlighted within the Christian community to reduce inter-religious prejudice in the future.

Study 5

Introduction

In Study 4, we explored the relationship between Christian representations of God (i.e., as benevolent or authoritarian) and attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. We presented evidence that belief in a benevolent God is associated with positive attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices, above and beyond an already known predictor of attitudes towards Muslims (e.g., religious fundamentalism). This follows on from past research finding positive relationships between benevolent God beliefs and prosocial outcomes (i.e., K. A. Johnson et al., 2016). On the other hand, belief in authoritarian God was unrelated to both attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. In addition, it is worth noting that belief in an authoritarian God was not prevalent in the sample, especially in comparison to belief in a benevolent God, suggesting that the majority of the population are more likely to see God as a compassionate figure, in comparison to a controlling figure. Moreover, both of the representations used in the previous study were anthropomorphic in nature, characterizing God as a human entity (K. A. Johnson et al., 2015).

New research suggests that there are other ways of thinking about the representation of God (e.g., as a spiritual presence rather than an anthropomorphic being), which might have an impact on attitudes and tolerance. K. A. Johnson et al. (2019) have suggested a five-factor model (i.e., known as LAMBI) and developed a measure which captures people's different beliefs in the representation of God, including authoritarian and benevolent representations. As well as the original anthropomorphic representations, they have included abstract, non-anthropomorphic beliefs about God, including limitless, mystical, and ineffable representations. In the model, the *limitless* representations involve seeing God as an entity which is omnipresent (i.e., everywhere)

and omniscient (i.e., all knowing). The *mystical* representation involves seeing God as part of the nature and energy around us. Also included in the model is an *ineffable* representation, which is a lack of certainty in the representation of God. Of note, each of the three new additions to the model represent God as being not of human form (i.e., God is an abstract entity).

Importantly for the current study, limitless and mystical God representations have previously been found to be positively associated with individualistic spirituality (i.e., a factor which includes appreciation for other people's rights to their own religious beliefs) amongst a sample of predominately Christian participants (K. A. Johnson et al., 2019). Although not yet researched, it is possible that belief in limitless and/or mystical representations of God is associated with greater positive outcomes towards other religious groups. Specifically, Christians' belief in a limitless and/or mystical God may be associated with greater positive attitudes towards Muslims (i.e., as a group with different religious beliefs). Further, belief in this representation may be associated with greater tolerance of Islamic beliefs and practices.

The Current Study

The current study seeks to use our recently developed scale to further explore the relationship between Christians' cognitive representations of God, attitudes towards Muslims, and tolerance of Islamic practices. We aim to replicate the previous studies findings (e.g., that belief in a benevolent God predicts positive outcomes above and beyond religious fundamentalism as a measure of general religiosity) and extend the previous study by exploring the three abstract representations of God. In the current study, Christian participants provided their personal belief in the representation of God (i.e., using the LAMBI model) and completed the PATMS.

Replicating the findings of Study 4, it is predicted that belief in God as benevolent will be associated with positive outcomes (i.e., positive attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices). We expect belief in God as authoritarian to be unrelated to outcomes, due to no significant relationship between this representation of God and outcomes in the previous study. The relationship between non-anthropomorphic God representations and outcomes is relatively new to the literature, therefore we aim to explore these outcomes. As belief in limitless and mystical representations of God have previously been associated with increased understanding in the religious diversity of others (K. A. Johnson et al., 2019), we predict that these two representations will also be associated with both positive attitudes towards Muslims as a religious outgroup, and tolerance of Islamic practices. No specific predictions are made about belief in ineffable representations.

Method

Participants

The initial sample consisted of 505 participants, who were either students recruited through a research participation platform at Australian Catholic University for extra credit (n = 381), or participants recruited through an external research platform (Prolific™; https://www.prolific.co) for paid reimbursement (n = 124). Of these participants, 207 were excluded from the final sample for either not self-identifying as Christian, being below the age of 18, or not disclosing their age. The final sample consisted of 298 Christian Australian participants (age range: 18 - 72 years, M = 26.32, SD = 10.82, 223 female). This sample included (n = 182) students, and (n = 116) externally recruited participants. On a scale which ranged from 1 '*completely conservative*' to 5 '*completely progressive*', participants reported neutral to

progressive social (*M* = 3.37, *SD* = 0.97) and economic (*M* = 3.19, *SD* = 0.88) political orientations.

Measures

Revised *Religious Fundamentalism Scale* (RF; Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 2004). This scale consists of 12 items which measure participants commitment to religion, and the belief that there exists one religion which contains the ultimate truth (e.g., "To lead the best, most meaningful life, one must belong to the one, fundamentally true religion"). Participants endorsed items on a 7-point Likert-type scale, which ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). After appropriate items are reverse scored, an average score is calculated. Higher scores on this scale indicate greater belief in the truth of their religion (i.e., Christianity), and greater commitment to religious teachings (α = .91).

Five Factor Measure of God Representations (LAMBI; K. A. Johnson et al., 2019). This scale consists of five subscales which measure participants belief in the representation of God. Specifically, the benevolent God subscale (B God) consists of 5 attributes describing a benevolent God (e.g., *compassionate;* α = .90). The authoritarian God subscale (A God) consists of 5 attributes describing an authoritarian God (e.g., *wrathful;* α = .87). The mystical subscale (M God) consists of 5 attributes describing a mystical God (e.g., *energy;* α = .90). The limitless subscale (L God) consists of 5 attributes describing a limitless God (e.g., *boundless;* α =.92). Finally, the ineffable subscale (I God) consists of 5 attributes describing an unknown God (e.g., *unimaginable;* α = .88). Participants were asked to endorse the extent to which they believe each word describes God on a Likert-type scale which ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Items in each subscale are averaged, with higher scores on each subscale indicating greater endorsement of that representation of God.

Positive Attitudes and Tolerance towards Muslims Scale (PATMS). This scale consists of two subscales measuring attitudes towards and tolerance of Muslims, with items in each subscale endorsed on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The attitudes subscale consists of 6 items which measure general evaluations of Muslims (e.g., "Muslims are peaceful people"). After appropriate items are reverse scored, an average score is calculated, with higher scores indicating greater positive attitudes towards Muslims ($\alpha = .88$). The second subscale consists of 6 items measuring tolerance towards Muslim beliefs and practices (e.g., "Muslim people have the right to build Mosques in the community where they live"). After appropriate items are reverse scored, an average score is calculated, with higher scores on this subscale indicating greater tolerance towards Muslim beliefs and practices ($\alpha = .85$).

Procedure

Participants completed the study online using Qualtrics (https://www.qualtrics.com) after being recruited through either the universities online participation platform for extra credit, or Prolific™ (https://www.prolific.co) for paid reimbursement. Participants first provided demographic information about their age, gender, and religious identification, then completed the measures in a counterbalanced order. Participants were then thanked for their time and reimbursed.

Results

Normality Testing

The Benevolent God subscale (B God) was negatively skewed ($Z_{skew} = -4.51$), significantly past the +/- 3.29 criterion outlined by Tabachnick and Fidell (2013). A logarithmic transformation was applied on this variable, which corrected issues of skewness ($Z_{skew} = -0.03$).

Analyses were conducted on the transformed data; however descriptive statistics are reported on the raw data of this variable for ease of interpretation. There were no other issues with normality across variables.

Descriptive Statistics

The means, standard deviations, and correlations for religious variables and attitudes and tolerance towards Muslims are displayed in Table 9 below. On average, participants had the highest endorsement of Benevolent and Limitless God representations, followed by Mystical and Ineffable representations. Participants had the lowest endorsement of Authoritarian God representations. Participants reported generally positive attitudes towards Muslims, and tolerance of Islamic practices compared to the mid-point of the scale. Religious fundamentalism and Authoritarian God belief were negatively correlated with attitudes and tolerance. There was a positive correlation between Benevolent God representations and attitudes and tolerance, and between Mystical God and attitudes.

Hypothesis Testing

To determine whether participants belief in specific representations of God predicts outcomes toward Muslims, two hierarchical regressions were conducted (i.e., one predicting attitudes towards Muslims and one predicting tolerance of Islamic practices). For both models, religious fundamentalism was entered into Step 1 of the model to control for participant general religiosity levels, and then all religious representation scores were entered into Step 2.

For attitudes towards Muslims, Step 1 of the model was significant, $F(1,263) = 13.83$, $p < .001$. In Step 1, religious fundamentalism was a significant negative predictor and accounted for 5% of the variation in attitudes. The second model which included the God representations was also significant, $F(6,258) = 10.08$, $p < .001$. The addition of God representations to the

model in Step 2 resulted in a significant change from the previous model $\Delta F(5,258) = 8.91$, $p < .001$, accounting for an additional 14% of variation. In Step 2, religious fundamentalism remained a significant negative predictor. Belief in a Benevolent God emerged as a positive predictor of attitudes towards Muslims. No other representations of God were significant. Table 10 presents the model statistics, including standardised beta coefficients and semi partial correlations.

Table 9

Descriptive Statistics and Correlation Matrix of Religious Variables and Outcomes towards Muslims (n = 298)

Variable	*M* (*SD*)	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1. RF	3.47 (*1.21*)	-							
2. L God	5.35 (*1.30*)	.23**	-						
3. A God	3.67 (*1.28*)	.07	.02	-					
4. M God	4.85 (*1.36*)	-.07	.34**	-.22**	-				
5. B God	5.79 (*1.06*)	.28**	.56**	-.27**	.36**	-			
6. I God	4.15 (*1.43*)	-.24**	.04	.14*	.17*	-.08	-		
7. Attitudes	5.16 (*1.26*)	-.22**	.11	-.18*	.12*	.27**	.01	-	
8. Tolerance	5.24 (*1.31*)	-.28**	.15*	-.20**	.09	.28**	-.02	.71**	-

Notes. RF = Religious Fundamentalism; L God = Limitless God, A God = Authoritarian God; M God = Mystical God; B God = Benevolent God; I God = Ineffable God. *$p < .05$, **$p < .001$.

Table 10

Unstandardized Coefficients (B and SE B), Standardized (β) Coefficients, and Squared Semi-Partial Correlations (sr^2) for Religious Variables Predicting Attitudes towards Muslims

Variable	*B* [95% CI]	*SE B*	*β*	sr^2	*t*	*p*
Step 1						
Constant	5.99 [5.53, 6.45]	.23				
RF	**-0.24 [-0.36, -0.11]**	**.06**	**-.22**	**.05**	**-3.72**	**<.001**
Step 2						
Constant	3.95 [2.67, 5.23]	.65				
RF	**-0.36 [-0.49, -0.23]**	**.07**	**-.34**	**.09**	**-5.42**	**<.001**
L God	0.05 [-0.09, 0.19]	.07	.05	<.01	0.74	.458
A God	-0.09 [-0.21, 0.03]	.06	-.09	<.01	-1.42	.156
M God	-0.05 [-0.17, 0.06]	.06	-.06	<.01	-0.88	.379
B God	**2.03 [1.15, 2.91]**	**.45**	**.34**	**.07**	**4.55**	**<.001**
I God	-0.04 [-0.14, 0.07]	.05	-.04	<.01	-0.69	.491

Notes. CI = Confidence Interval; RF = Religious Fundamentalism; L God = Limitless God, A God = Authoritarian God; M God = Mystical God; B God = Benevolent God; I God = Ineffable God. Significant coefficients are presented in boldface

For tolerance of Islamic practices, Step 1 of the model was significant $F(1,263) = 28.42$, $p < .001$. In Step 1, religious fundamentalism was a significant negative predictor and accounted for 9.8% of the variance in tolerance. The second model which included the God representations was also significant, $F(6,258) = 17.48$, $p < .001$. The addition of God representations to the model in Step 2 resulted in a significant change from the previous model $\Delta F(5,258) = 13.90$, $p < .001$, accounting for an additional 19.2% of the variation. In Step 2, religious fundamentalism remained a significant negative predictor. Belief in Authoritarian and Mystical God

representations also emerged as significant negative predictors. Belief in Benevolent and Limitless God representations emerged as significant positive predictors of tolerance of Islamic practices. Table 11 presents the model statistics, including beta coefficients and semi partial correlations.

Table 11

Unstandardized Coefficients (B and SE B), Standardized (β) Coefficients, and Squared Semi-Partial Correlations (sr^2) for Religious Variables Predicting Tolerance of Islamic Practices

Variable	*B* [95% CI]	*SE B*	*β*	sr^2	*t*	*p*
Step 1						
Constant	6.42 [5.96, 6.88]	.23				
RF	**-0.34 [-0.46, -0.21]**	**.06**	**-.31**	**.10**	**-5.33**	**<.001**
Step 2						
Constant	4.67 [3.44,5.89]	.62				
RF	**-0.51 [-0.63, -0.38]**	**.06**	**-.47**	**.18**	**-8.05**	**<.001**
L God	**0.15 [0.22, 0.29]**	**.07**	**.15**	**.01**	**2.30**	**.022**
A God	**-0.12 [-0.23, -0.00]**	**.06**	**-.12**	**.01**	**-2.03**	**.044**
M God	**-0.13[-0.24, -0.02]**	**.06**	**-.14**	**.02**	**-2.37**	**.018**
B God	**2.08[1.23, 2.91]**	**.43**	**.34**	**.07**	**4.85**	**<.001**
I God	-0.09[-0.19, 0.12]	.05	-.10	<.01	-1.74	.083

Notes. CI = Confidence Interval; RF = Religious Fundamentalism; L God = Limitless God, A God = Authoritarian God; M God = Mystical God; B God = Benevolent God; I God = Ineffable God. Significant coefficients are presented in boldface.

Discussion

The current study aimed to replicate the findings from Study 4 (i.e., that belief in God as a benevolent figure predicts positive attitudes towards Muslims, and increases in tolerance of

Islamic practices). The study also aimed to extend the finding that God representations can predict outcomes by exploring the relationship between three new non-anthropomorphic God representations (i.e., mystical, ineffable, and limitless) and outcomes towards Muslims. In this study, Christian participants reported their fundamental beliefs about religion (i.e., religious fundamentalism), their belief in the representation of God, as well as their attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices using our recently developed scale.

Religious fundamentalism predicted less positive attitudes towards Muslims, and less tolerance of Islamic practices in our sample. This finding is not surprising, as high religiosity has consistently been found to be a predictor of negative attitudes towards outgroups, including racial and sexual prejudice (Hall et al., 2010; Whitley, 2009). Identification with Christianity has also resulted in greater prejudice towards religious outgroups, including Muslims (Rowatt et al., 2005).

Replicating the results of Study 4, participants belief in a benevolent, loving God predicted positive attitudes towards Muslims, and greater tolerance of Islamic practices. This supports previous research findings that belief in a Benevolent God predicts positive outcomes, such as increased volunteerism and intention to help religious outgroups (K. A. Johnson et al., 2016; K. A. Johnson et al., 2013). Belief in an authoritarian God again did not predict attitudes in the sample. Unlike in Study 4, belief in an authoritarian God predicted less tolerance of Islamic practices. This supports previous research finding that greater endorsement of this representation of God predicts greater negative outcomes, such as greater endorsement of authoritarian values, increases in aggression, and less intention to volunteer to help religious outgroups (Froese & Bader, 2010; K. A. Johnson et al., 2013). It is important to note that similar to the previous study, belief in an authoritarian God had the lowest endorsement in the sample in comparison to other

representations. This finding suggests that Christian individuals are less likely to believe in a punishing, controlling God.

An important factor in the current study was to extend previous research focusing on anthropomorphic representations of God (i.e., benevolent and authoritarian) and investigate the role of non-anthropomorphic representations (i.e., limitless, mystical, and ineffable). Our study found that although these representations did not predict attitudes towards Muslims, they did predict tolerance. Specifically, belief in God as a limitless entity predicted more tolerance of Islamic practices. This supports previous research finding that endorsement of a limitless God is positively related to an appreciation of religious diversity (K. A. Johnson et al., 2019), as individuals with high endorsement of this factor were more accepting of religious out-group practices (i.e., Islamic) in the current sample. Endorsement of the limitless representation is grounded in the belief that God is omnipresent and appearing everywhere. This may be related to the *supernatural monitoring hypothesis,* which posits that religious individuals are more prosocial towards others due to the belief that God is everywhere and watching over them (Norenzayan & Shariff, 2008). The limitless God representation was also positively correlated with benevolent God representations (i.e., which also predicted greater tolerance) in the current sample, suggesting an overlap between the two factors.

Surprisingly, belief in a mystical God predicted less tolerance of Islamic practices. This finding contrasts previous research which found that mystical representations are also related to individualistic spirituality (K. A. Johnson et al., 2019). Endorsement of the mystical God representation is grounded in the belief that God is a part of the energy and nature around us and is arguably the most spiritual God representation in the model. It is important to note that the findings of K. A. Johnson et al. (2019) were amongst a sample of predominately Christian

participants, however; also included other belief systems. The finding that this factor did not predict general attitudes towards Muslims, but negatively predicts tolerance of Islamic practices suggests that there is a relationship between Christian religious spirituality and a lack of tolerance of Islam as a religion. This may be due to a difference in belief between Christians specifically and Muslims.

These findings present first evidence of the relationship between our subscales and the five-factor representation of God. However, it is worth nothing that there may be a potential suppression effect occurring for some factors in our model. For example, our attitudes subscale had a significant relationship with the Mystical God representation at zero-order level, but the Mystical God factor was not a significant predictor of the attitudes subscale in our regression model. It is possible that scores on other factors (i.e., Benevolent God) are suppressing this factors impact. Future analyses can continue to determine the independent predictor value of these factors and how they relate to our subscales.

Although the aim of the current study was to investigate the attitudes of Christians, limiting the sample to entirely Christians may only provide a snapshot of the underlying mechanisms of inter-religious prejudice. However, as this study aimed to replicate the findings of Study 4 (which focused on Christian attitudes), and this is the first study to investigate the relationship between Australians' belief in five factor God representations and outcomes towards Muslims, limiting the sample to entirely Christians provides a sound starting block. Another potential limitation to the current study was that the sample was relatively progressive, and generally reported positive outcomes (both attitudes and tolerance) towards Muslims. Although we made an effort to recruit a wide range of participants (i.e., via student and external platforms), this may have impacted outcomes.

The current study has replicated the finding that belief in a benevolent God is related to greater positive outcomes towards Muslims (i.e., through both attitudes and tolerance). We have also extended this finding to show that belief in a limitless God is also able to positively predict tolerance, whereas belief in an authoritarian and mystical God negatively predict tolerance. It is important to note that these representations (i.e., both anthropomorphic and non-anthropomorphic) were able to predict outcomes above and beyond general religiosity, suggesting that investigating people's belief in the representation of God (i.e., rather than general belief) is a key factor in understanding the paradoxical relationship between religious belief and prosocial/antisocial outcomes. This study also provides further validity for our PATMS scale as a tool which can be used to measure attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. Future research can extend the current findings of God representations on attitudes, to the relationship between these representations and behavioural intentions and practices towards Muslims.

Chapter 9: The Mediating Role of Tolerance of Islamic Practices in the Relationship between the Dual Process Model and Attitudes towards Muslims

Abstract

The Dual Process Model of Prejudice (DPM: which includes the ideological individual differences factors of Right-Wing Authoritarianism [RWA] and Social Dominance Orientation [SDO]) is a framework which has commonly been used to understand prejudicial attitudes towards outgroups. Recent research has highlighted the importance of intergroup tolerance in explaining attitudes. The current study seeks to investigate the role of tolerance of Islamic practices in explaining ideology-based attitudes towards Muslims, using the DPM framework. Participants (n = 327) completed a measure of attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices, as well as measures of RWA and SDO. The relationship between RWA and attitudes was fully mediated by tolerance, and the relationship between SDO and attitudes was partially mediated by tolerance. These findings suggest that tolerance of Islamic practices plays an important role in the relationship between the ideological factors of the DPM and attitudes towards Muslims.

Introduction

Attitudes towards Muslims in Western cultures are often negative, with previous studies finding that attitudes towards Muslims are more negative in comparison to attitudes towards other minority groups (Strabac & Listhaug, 2008). Recent surveys of Muslim individuals found that approximately half of the Muslim population in the United States believe they experience discrimination based on their beliefs, and that being a Muslim in the Unites States has led to greater difficulties in recent years (Pew Research Center, 2017b). Muslims are also the victims of hate crimes, with the number of Anti-Muslim assaults recently surpassing the levels recorded

after 9/11 in 2001 (Pew Research Center, 2017a). Muslims in Australia (i.e., the country where our data was collected) have also experienced a high number of hate crimes based on their group membership, including verbal and physical assaults (Iner, 2019). With experiences of these individuals often being negative, it is imperative that we continue to document and explore predictors of prejudice and discrimination towards Muslims, in order to better understand outcomes towards the group.

The *Dual Process Model* (DPM; Duckitt & Sibley, 2010a), which includes Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) and Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), is a theoretical framework which commonly predicts prejudice towards minority groups. The DPM has previously been used to predict negative explicit attitudes towards minority groups such as gay individuals, asylum seekers, immigrants, and ethnic minorities (Anderson, 2018; Duckitt & Sibley, 2007, 2010b; Moor et al., 2019). This framework posits that these two ideological belief systems independently predict outcomes towards outgroups for different reasons, despite their typically strong relationship with each other (Duckitt & Sibley, 2010b).

Individuals who score high on RWA have a need for security, endorse traditional values, and are obedient towards those in authority. These needs and values are based on the belief that the world is an inherently untrustworthy, threatening place (Altemeyer, 1998). Individuals who have high levels of RWA are more likely to have a need for the social world around them to be predictable, with threats to the predictability of the world resulting in negative outcomes such as prejudice towards the group that is threatening (Duckitt, 2006). On the other hand, those who score high on SDO have a need for social hierarchy and structure in order to maintain superiority relative to other social groups. This is based on the belief that the world is competitive and resources are limited (Pratto et al., 1994). As to be expected, these two constructs are typically

correlated, however, previous research has confirmed the independence of the factors of the DPM in predicting prejudice.

Duckitt and Sibley (2007) investigated the effect of the DPM on the three dimensions of generalised prejudice (i.e., prejudice towards *'dangerous*', '*dissident*', and '*derogated*' groups). These researchers firstly conducted a factor analysis on attitudes towards 24 different outgroups to identify the three dimensions. The *'dangerous*' dimension included groups who were seen as a danger to the health, security, and values of society (e.g., violent criminals). The '*derogated*' dimension included groups who were seen as lower in social status (e.g., unattractive people). The '*dissident'* dimension included groups who were seen as challenging the norms and values of mainstream society, as well as social status (e.g., protestors). It was found that RWA was a significant predictor of negative attitudes towards *dangerous* outgroups, highlighting the relationship between RWA and a threatening worldview. SDO was not significantly related to the dangerous dimension. Rather, SDO was a significant predictor of negative attitudes towards *derogated* outgroups, highlighting the relationship between SDO and a competitive worldview. RWA was not significantly related to the derogated dimension. Both RWA and SDO significantly predicted negative attitudes towards dissident outgroups (i.e., as group members that are seen as dangerous and lower in social status), with RWA emerging as the stronger predictor. This pattern of results has been replicated in further longitudinal studies (Asbrock et al., 2010).

Of specific interest to the current study, RWA and SDO have previously predicted negative attitudes towards Muslims in Western samples (Ernst & Bornstein, 2012). Some studies have explored the independent pathways of the ideologies in predicting outcomes towards the group. One such study focused on the relationship between the factors of the DPM and perceptions of threat from Muslims (Matthews & Levin, 2012). These researchers found that

RWA significantly predicted greater levels of value threat perceptions (i.e., threats to current ways of life in society), whereas SDO significantly predicted greater levels of economic threat (i.e., threat to the status quo's access to economic opportunities). Each of these value threats also predicted greater anger and disgust towards Muslims in the study, indicating that both RWA and SDO are associated with negative outcomes towards Muslims, but via different processes. Research has previously explored whether the DPM can be used to predict general prejudice towards Muslims. In this paper, we explore the role that tolerance of Islamic practices has on the relationship between RWA and SDO and attitudes towards Muslims.

Intergroup tolerance has recently emerged as an important and under researched factor in explaining outcomes towards minority groups, including Muslims. Tolerance has been defined and measured in a number of ways, including as an absence of prejudice and as the opposite of prejudice (i.e., for a summary of definitions of tolerance, see; Robinson et al., 2001). More recent conceptualizations have described prejudice and tolerance as related, yet distinct constructs (Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017). In the current study, prejudice refers to negative attitudes towards outgroups (i.e., Muslims), and tolerance refers to the acceptance of the beliefs and practices which are different to one's own (i.e., Islamic practices).

Previous research has established a consistent link between the components of the DPM (i.e., RWA and SDO) and prejudice towards Muslims. However, what has not been established is the underlying factors associated with this link. In the context of prejudice towards Muslims, the role of tolerance of Islamic practices could mediate the relationship between these factors and prejudice. Specifically, one of the main factors in the link between RWA and prejudice towards Muslims is the feeling of a threatened value system. These value systems include societal cohesion and a maintenance of group norms (Matthews & Levin, 2012). Beliefs and practices of

Muslim individuals arguably provide a deviation from societal cohesion in western society. Therefore, those high in RWA would arguably be less tolerant of Islamic practices. For example, the building of Mosques in the community may lead to those scoring high in RWA to feel that their values are being threatened (i.e., an outgroup religion increasing in prominence in the community). This may also be the case for other Islamic accommodations such as Halal food being served in restaurants, and time off work for Islamic holidays. These practices may be seen as those valuing RWA to feel that social cohesion is being threatened, and value systems are being challenged. This would therefore lead to less tolerance of these practices. As a result of less tolerance for Islamic practices, these individuals may also have less positive attitudes towards Muslims. Specifically, those scoring high in RWA would have less positive attitudes towards Muslims due to being less tolerant towards Islamic practices (i.e., tolerance mediates the relationship between RWA and attitudes). This same mediating relationship could be found in the relationship between SDO and attitudes towards Muslims.

As SDO has previously been found to be related to prejudice towards Muslims via economic threat, the relationship between SDO and tolerance towards Islamic practices is less clear. However, SDO is associated with the maintenance of ideologies which are associated with the dominant group in order to maintain superiority (Pratto et al., 1994). Islamic practices (i.e., as outgroup religious practices) may appear to go against the dominant groups' beliefs and values, leading to less tolerance towards them. Islamic practices such as Islamic holidays, Halal foods, and increases in Mosques in the community (i.e., increases in the opportunity of religious practices for Muslims) would arguably lead to those who value SDO to believe that their ideologies are being threatened by Muslims. Therefore, a similar pathway might be present for the relationship between SDO and attitudes. Specifically, those high in SDO may be less tolerant

of Islamic practices, and in turn have less positive attitudes towards Muslims. Specifically, those scoring high in SDO would have less positive attitudes towards Muslims due to being less tolerant towards Islamic practices (i.e., tolerance mediates the relationship between SDO and attitudes). In sum, tolerance may be an important missing link in the already established relationship between RWA/SDO and attitudes towards Muslims.

The Current Study

Recently, we developed a two-dimensional scale which measures both attitudes towards Muslims, and tolerance of Islamic beliefs and practices (i.e., *Positive Attitudes and Tolerance towards Muslims Scale* [PATMS]). Although we found a strong positive relationship between our two subscales (i.e., *positive attitudes* and *tolerance*), we found evidence that the subscales operate independently from each other. There has been recent interest in tolerance in intergroup processes targeting Muslims. The role that the ideological factors within the DPM have on attitudes via tolerance of Islamic practices is yet to be determined. In the current study, we aim to test the mediating role of tolerance in the relationship between the DPM factors and attitudes towards Muslims. As RWA is associated with the belief that the world is threatening (i.e., and previous research has suggested that Muslim individuals pose a threat to western values), we expect RWA to predict less positive attitudes towards Muslims, and for this relationship to be mediated by less tolerance of Islamic beliefs and practices (i.e., as the beliefs and practices which are associated with differing values). Similarly, we expect SDO to predict less positive attitudes towards Muslims. However, as the role of tolerance as a mediator of SDO and attitudes is less clear, we aim to explore this pathway, and provide no specific predictions.

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 327 participants who were recruited by students at Australian Catholic University as part of a larger study (age range: 18-61 years, $M = 27.33$, $SD = 11.92$, 219 female). Participants comprised of 166 Christian, 121 non-religious (i.e., Atheist and agnostic), 13 Buddhist, 5 Hindu, 2 Jewish, and 20 'other' religious identifying individuals. Participants self-reported neutral-progressive social political orientations ($M = 3.43$, $SD = 0.91$), and neutral-progressive economic political orientations ($M = 3.30$, $SD = 0.88$), on a scale which ranged from 1 '*completely conservative*' to 5 '*completely progressive*'.

Measures

The *Social Dominance Orientation* scale (SDO; Pratto et al., 1994) includes 16 items which measure belief that society should be hierarchically structured, with certain social groups higher up than others (e.g., "If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems"). Participants endorse items on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). After the appropriate items are reverse scored, an average score is calculated. Higher scores for this scale reflect greater endorsement of social hierarchy ($\alpha = .93$).

The short-version of the *Right-Wing Authoritarianism* scale (RWA; Altemeyer, 1998) includes 14 items which measure belief in authority and obedience, as well as preference for traditional values (e.g., "Obedience and respect for authority are the most important values children should learn"). Participants endorse items on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). After the appropriate items are reverse scored, an average score is calculated. Higher scores for this scale reflect greater endorsement of traditional values and obedience ($\alpha = .88$).

The *Positive Attitudes and Tolerance towards Muslims Scale* (PATMS) consists of 6 items measuring positive attitudes towards Muslims (e.g., "Muslims are peaceful people"), and 6 items measuring tolerance towards Islamic beliefs and practices (e.g., "Muslim people have the right to build Mosques in the community where they live"). Participants endorse items on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). After appropriate items are reverse scored, an average score is calculated for each subscale. Higher scores on the attitudes subscale reflects greater positive attitudes towards Muslims ($\alpha = .91$). Higher scores on the tolerance subscale reflects greater tolerance of Islamic beliefs and practices ($\alpha = .87$).

Procedure

Participants accessed the study online, and completed the relevant measures as part of a larger survey. Participants completed the RWA and SDO scales, as well at the PATMS, in a counterbalanced order. Participants were then debriefed and thanked for their time.

Results

Normality Testing

Scores on the attitudes subscale were negatively skewed ($Z_{skew} = -3.37$), past the criterion suggested by Tabachnick and Fidell (2007). Scores on this variable were transformed using the logarithmic method, which corrected for issues with normality ($Z_{skew} = 2.60$). For ease of interpretation, raw descriptive statistics for this variable have been reported, although the mediation analyses were conducted on the transformed variable. There were no other issues with normality for other variables.

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics for RWA, SDO, and outcome variables are displayed in Table 12. There was a strong, negative correlation between SDO and both the positive attitude and

tolerance subscales, indicating that as SDO increases, individuals' attitudes towards Muslims are less positive, and tolerance of Islamic practices decreases. The same pattern of results was found for RWA, although the correlations were smaller. There was a strong, positive correlation between our attitudes and tolerance subscales.

Table 12

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations of the Dual Process Model and Positive Attitudes and Tolerance towards Muslim Scale (PATMS) Outcomes (n = 327)

Variable	M (*SD*)	1.	2.	3.	4.
1. SDO	2.58 (1.08)	-			
2. RWA	3.27 (1.03)	.66**	-		
3. Attitudes	5.02 (1.44)	-.61**	-.48**	-	
4. Tolerance	4.96 (1.50)	-.67**	-.59**	.75**	-

Notes. SDO = Social Dominance Orientation; RWA = Right Wing Authoritarianism, $^{**}p < .001$.

Hypothesis Testing

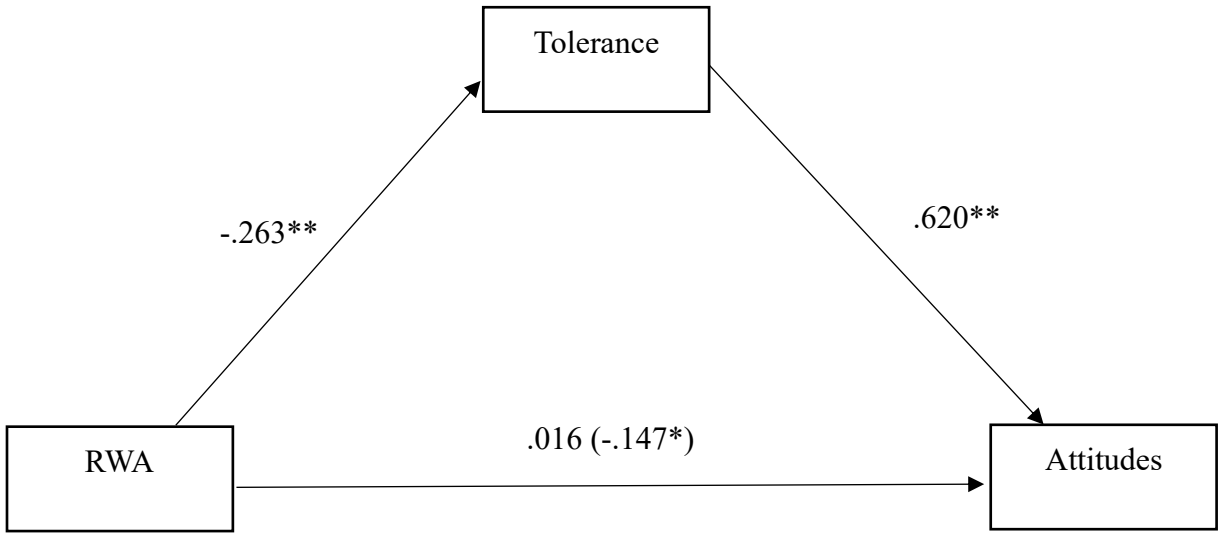
To determine the role of tolerance in the relationship between RWA or SDO and attitudes, simple mediation analyses were conducted using PROCESS (Hayes, 2017) with 5000 bootstrap samples. For our analyses, significant indirect effects (i.e., mediation effects) are determined by confidence intervals (95% CI) that do not contain zero (Preacher & Hayes, 2008).

The first analysis tested the mediating role of tolerance on the relationship between RWA and positive attitudes towards Muslims. For the model, SDO was entered in as a covariate in order to control for its potential influence. The results indicated that there was no significant direct effect between RWA and attitudes. However, there was a significant, negative indirect

effect of RWA on attitudes via tolerance (indirect effect = -0.16, 95% CI [-0.24, -0.09]). See Figure 1 for standardised regression coefficients and significance values of each pathway.

Figure 1

Standardised coefficients for the relationship between RWA and attitudes, mediated by tolerance

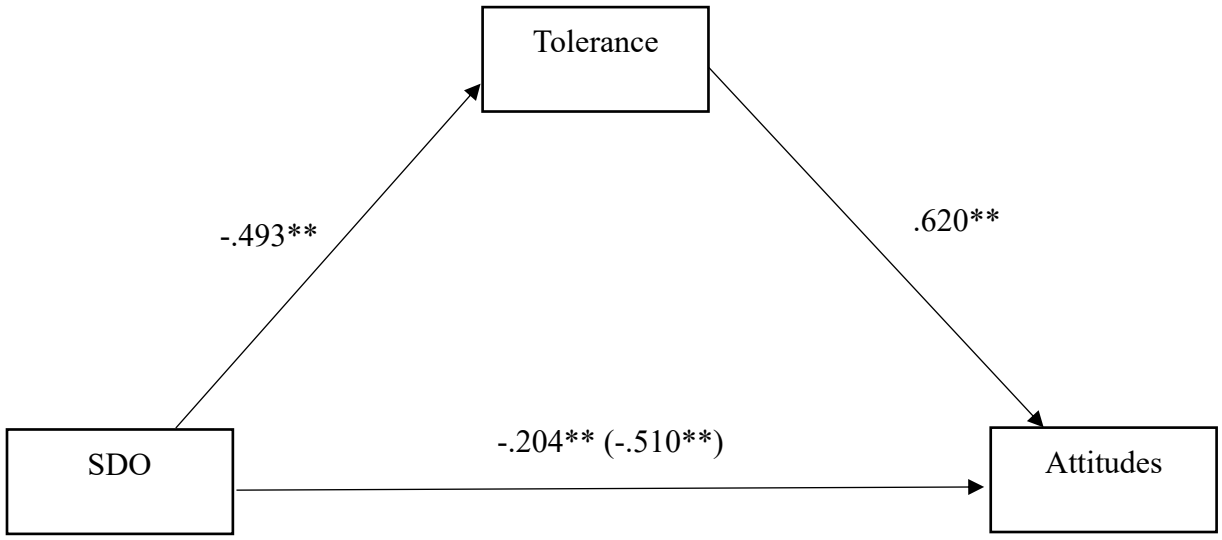


Notes. RWA = Right Wing Authoritarianism. ***p* < .001, **p* < .05. The total effect is presented in parenthesis. For the model, Social Dominance Orientation has been entered as a covariate in order to control for its effects.

The second analysis tested the mediating role of tolerance on the relationship between SDO and positive attitudes towards Muslims. In the model, RWA was entered in as a covariate in order to control for its potential influence. The results showed a significant, negative direct effect between SDO and attitudes towards Muslims. There was also a significant, negative indirect effect of SDO on attitudes via tolerance (indirect effect = -0.31, 95% CI [-0.40, -0.22]). See Figure 2 for standardised regression coefficients and significance values of each pathway.

Figure 2

Standardised coefficients for the relationship between SDO and attitudes, mediated by tolerance.



Notes: SDO = Social Dominance Orientation. **$p < .001$, *$p < .05$. The total effect is presented in parenthesis. For the model, Right Wing Authoritarianism has been added to the model as a covariate in order to control for its effects.

Discussion

The current study aimed to determine the role of tolerance in the relationship between ideological factors within the DPM (i.e., RWA and SDO) and attitudes towards Muslims. Specifically, we aimed to determine whether these previously identified predictors of attitudes towards Muslims are mediated by individual's tolerance of Islamic practices.

Our findings showed that the relationship between RWA and attitudes towards Muslims was fully mediated by tolerance of Islamic practices. Although there was no direct relationship between RWA and attitudes in the mediation model, individuals who endorsed ideals associated with RWA were less tolerant of Islamic practices, which in turn led to less positive attitudes towards Muslims. This finding supports our prediction that RWA beliefs are associated with less positive attitudes as a consequence of being less tolerant of Islamic practices. One reason for this

finding is that RWA may result in non-Muslim individuals perceiving Islamic practices as being a deviation from current social cohesion in the west. The feeling of threat to social cohesion has previously been linked to RWA, and in turn negative attitudes towards Muslims (Matthews & Levin, 2012). Our tolerance scale includes items which measure the extent to which an individual endorses the acceptability of places of Islamic worship in their community, as well as whether Muslims should be able to wear Islamic head coverings (e.g., hijabs). These beliefs and practices may result in a feeling of value threat for those holding RWA beliefs (i.e., due to deviation from western practices), which leads to less tolerance. This finding suggests that for those who endorse RWA beliefs, less positive attitudes towards Muslims is dependent on less tolerance towards this group being able to openly practice their religion.

The relationship between SDO and attitudes towards Muslims was partially mediated by tolerance. Our findings showed a direct relationship between SDO and attitudes in the mediation model, with those who endorse SDO beliefs having less positive attitudes towards Muslims. This is consistent with previous research finding links between SDO and negative attitudes towards Muslims (Ernst & Bornstein, 2012; Matthews & Levin, 2012). SDO was also related to attitudes via tolerance, with those who endorse SDO beliefs being less tolerant of Islamic practices, which in turn also led to less positive attitudes. It is possible that individuals who endorse SDO beliefs (i.e., the belief that it is important to maintain superiority above other groups) view Islam as a religion which threatens the hierarchy in western society. Having multiple religious practices in the one community may be a shift to imagined social structures, which could lead to those high in SDO being less accepting of religions (i.e., and religious practices) that are not the most prominent in the community. As previously mentioned, SDO is related to the defence of the dominant groups' beliefs and values in order to maintain superiority (Pratto et al., 1994). Those

who endorse these beliefs may therefore not feel comfortable with Muslim individuals practicing their religion in public (i.e., as a deviating set of beliefs and values which threatens the dominant groups superiority), and in turn hold negative attitudes towards the group. This finding suggests that for SDO beliefs, tolerance can be a factor in the evaluation of attitudes towards Muslims (i.e., due to its mediating role). However, as SDO can directly predict attitudes, less positive attitudes are not dependent on less tolerance of Islamic practices.

The current study has limitations. As this study specifically focuses on the mediating role of tolerance of Islamic practices in the relationship between ideological factors and attitudes towards Muslims, our findings may only be applicable to Muslim individuals as an outgroup. The generalisability of these findings (i.e., that tolerance towards the religious practices of the group may inform attitudes towards that group) for other religious outgroups are unknown. Also, although we tried to recruit from a wide range of demographics (i.e., both student samples and externally recruited participants), the sample was relatively neutral in ideological belief. This may have limited the variability of responses, and impacted findings. Although this may be a true representation of the beliefs held by the wider community, this factor should be considered when interpreting the results.

It is also important to note that due to the nature of a correlational mediational model, the factors used in our study could be inputted in any order. For the purposes of our hypotheses, the decision was made to explore the relationship between the ideological factors of RWA and SDO and attitudes towards Muslims (i.e., a heavily established relationship in previous research) and the mediational factor of tolerance towards Islamic practices (i.e., a factor that has not been previously considered in research as mediator for this relationship). From our findings, tolerance does indeed play a mediating role in the previously established relationship between RWA, SDO,

and attitudes. This finding can help provide further insight into the underlying structure of attitudes towards Muslims based on these ideological factors.

The current findings add to the limited literature related to the role of the ideological factors of the DPM in predicting attitudes towards Muslims. The finding that RWA is only related to attitudes towards Muslims via tolerance, but SDO is related to attitudes independently, has implications for future research using the DPM. Specifically, the factors of the DPM may have more underlying mechanisms than previously thought which are able to explain differences in attitudes towards Muslims. Future research using the DPM in evaluating attitudes towards this group should consider tolerance of Islamic practices as a key factor in outcomes. The current findings also add to the limited literature on the relationship between attitudes and tolerance. Much of the previous research into attitudes towards the group broadly has focused on general evaluations of Muslims (i.e., as an attitudinal outcome). The finding that tolerance of Islamic practices is an important link in the relationship between RWA and attitudes, and is also related to SDO, suggests that belief in the acceptability of different religious practices to one's own is a key factor when evaluating attitudes towards Muslims. Future research can investigate the role of tolerance for other ideological factors which are known predictors of attitudes towards Muslims, in order to better understand the underlying mechanisms of prejudice towards the group.

Chapter 10: General Discussion

Revisiting the Aims of the Thesis

In the beginning of this thesis, I argued that prejudice towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices are two related, yet distinct constructs. Specifically, I argued that prejudice involves negative attitudes towards Muslims as individuals and as a group, while tolerance of Islamic practices involves the acceptance of Muslims' beliefs and rights to practice those beliefs, regardless of whether they are different to one's own and disapproved of. I argued that these two constructs can be, but do not need to be, related. On the one hand, an individual could hold negative attitudes towards Muslim individuals, but simultaneously be tolerant of their Islamic practices and/or beliefs. On the other hand, an individual could hold positive attitudes towards Muslim individuals, but be intolerant of their Islamic practices and/or beliefs. I then reviewed their relatively independent literatures, which highlighted the need for a new scale which can measure both attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices.

In Chapter 5, I highlighted some problems with existing measures in this field. In particular, the fact that previous scales used to measure prejudice towards Muslims have typically conflated evaluations of the attitude-object, by assessing attitudes towards a number of different socially relevant categories. These have included, for instance, items within unidimensional measures that assess attitudes towards Muslims as a group and attitudes towards Islam as a religion (e.g., Lee et al., 2009). These scales then provide a single score which is interpreted as prejudice towards Muslims. This can be problematic as the conflation of categories makes it difficult to ascertain whether the attitude-holder has a negative attitude towards Muslim individuals specifically, or towards other categories associated with Muslims.

Compared to the measurement of prejudice towards Muslims, the measurement of tolerance of Islamic practices has used less consistent approaches. On the one hand, researchers have measured tolerance of very specific Islamic practices using single item measures (e.g., the wearing of Islamic headscarves; Helbling, 2014). While this form of measurement is useful in that it allows an assessment of tolerance of very specific practices, using single-item measures for complex constructs is psychometrically questionable (Loo, 2002). On the other hand, researchers have measured tolerance towards a variety of Islamic practices (i.e., as a scale) which have varied in the number of items used, as well as the content of items (e.g., Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2013b; Verkuyten, 2007a). While these forms of measurement have the benefit of being multi-item measures, there is inconsistency in which items are used throughout the literature. In addition, there has been little psychometric evidence presented for the factor structure and validity of the scales in measuring tolerance as a construct.

Throughout my literature review of the measurement of prejudice towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices (Chapter 5), I noted the lack of a scale which can measure these two constructs simultaneously. More concretely, I highlighted the lack of a brief, psychometrically sound scale that can measure both attitudes towards Muslims (i.e., as a single target group independent of other associated categories), and tolerance of Islamic practices. I also identified a need to provide further research evidence of the fact that attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices, are separate (i.e., but equally important) constructs. The empirical chapters which I have presented in my thesis were conducted with the following aims:

1. *To develop and validate a scale which can measure both attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices*

2. *To evaluate common predictors of prejudice and tolerance using the newly developed scale, and further disentangle the two constructs*

To address the first aim, I developed and validated a 12-item measure called the *Positive Attitudes and Tolerance towards Muslims Scale* (PATMS). This scale includes two subscales: six items which measure attitudes towards Muslims (i.e., attitudes subscale), and six items which measure tolerance of Islamic practices (i.e., tolerance subscale). Evidence for the development and validation of this scale was presented in Chapter 6 (Studies 1-3). To address the second aim, I used the PATMS to evaluate common predictors of attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices, and further distinguish the two constructs. Evidence for the usefulness of the PATMS in evaluating the relationship between a common ideological predictor (i.e., religious beliefs) and attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices was presented in Chapter 8 (Studies 4-5). Further evidence for the independence of the PATMS subscales (attitudes and tolerance) and how they relate to construct relevant ideologies (i.e., RWA and SDO) was presented in Chapter 9 (Study 6). In this chapter, I will discuss and integrate the findings and evidence from the empirical chapters of my thesis. I will then discuss the limitations of the studies, as well as provide a scope for future research in the area. Finally, I will conclude by providing final remarks on my thesis.

Review of Empirical Chapters

Evidence for the Psychometric Properties of the PATMS

Studies 1-3 addressed the first aim of my thesis, providing evidence for the psychometric properties of the PATMS. In Study 1, an EFA was conducted which provided initial evidence for the dual dimensional structure of the scale. Specifically, a subscale measuring attitudes towards Muslims (i.e., 6 items), and a subscale measuring tolerance of Islamic practices (i.e., 6 items). In

Study 2, a CFA was conducted which confirmed this structure, with the PATMS subscales demonstrating excellent fit indices and strong internal consistency, providing further evidence for the dual dimensionality of the PATMS. In addition, a number of analyses were also conducted in order to establish preliminary evidence for the validity of the PATMS. This included criterion validity (i.e., with the PATMS subscales being related to previous measures of attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices), construct validity (i.e., with the PATMS subscales being related to a common ideological predictor of negative outcomes towards Muslims), and known-groups validity (i.e., with the PATMS subscales being related to common demographic predictors of negative outcomes towards Muslims). Further, reliability estimates for both subscales in Studies 1 and 2 were high, providing evidence for the strong internal consistency of the subscales. In Study 3, a test-retest analysis provided evidence for the temporal stability of the scale, with average responses remaining consistent across time points. Taken together, these findings provide compelling evidence for the psychometrics properties of the PATMS, and thus support the first major aim of the current thesis.

It is important to note that the attitudes and tolerance subscales in the PATMS correlated quite strongly within Study 1 and Study 2 (*r*s = .72 & .74, respectively). However, while these two constructs are both related (both conceptually and statistically, these studies also provide initial evidence that two constructs are in fact distinct. Firstly, the EFA and CFA analyses conducted confirmed the dual dimensionality of the scale, with items loading onto their respective factors. Secondly, criterion validity analyses found that the PATMS attitudes subscale was a stronger predictor of earlier measures of attitudes towards Muslims (i.e., in comparison to the tolerance subscale), and the PATMS tolerance subscale was a stronger predictor of earlier measures of tolerance (i.e., with the PATMS attitudes subscale not predicting this outcome).

Thirdly, partial correlations conducted using a common predictor of outcomes towards Muslims (e.g., religious fundamentalism) found that the relationship between the tolerance subscale and religious fundamentalism remained significant when partialling out the attitudes subscale (i.e., as religious fundamentalism increased, tolerance towards Islamic practices decreased). The opposite was not true for the relationship between attitudes and religious fundamentalism. This suggests that tolerance of Islamic practices has a unique relationship with religious fundamentalism, where general attitudes towards Muslims do not.

As well as providing further evidence for the independence of the PATMS subscales, the unique relationship between the tolerance of Islamic practices subscale and religious fundamentalism (Study 2) presents important insight into the role of religious ideological beliefs and inter-religious outcomes. Religious fundamentalism is grounded in the belief that there exists only one religion which must be followed (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 2004; Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992). There is therefore the belief that other religions do not contain 'true' teachings. Individuals who endorse these beliefs would be more likely to have negative conceptions of the practices of other religions, including Islam. Previous studies have found negative associations between measures of attitudes towards Muslims and religious fundamentalism (Rowatt et al., 2005). However, the findings of this thesis suggest that this relationship is unclear. Specifically, the current findings suggest that it is not so much the group of individuals that those endorsing religious fundamentalism have negative attitudes towards (e.g., Muslims), but the practices associated with the religion (e.g., Islam), which drive previously observed negative attitudes. This highlights the importance of measuring both attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices when examining the role of religious ideological predictors.

Evaluating Common Predictors using the PATMS and Further Evidence for the Independence of the Constructs

Studies 4-6 (Chapters 8 & 9) addressed the second major aim of my thesis by using the PATMS to evaluate predictors of attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices, and further distinguish the two constructs. Studies 4 and 5 further evaluated the role of religious beliefs in predicting attitudes and tolerance. Specifically, the role of Christians' belief in the representation of God. Study 4 explored the role of Christians' belief in anthropomorphic representations of God (e.g., as an authoritarian or benevolent figure) in predicting attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices using the PATMS. Previous research has identified religious belief (i.e., measured by religious affiliation and general religiosity) as a predictor of negative attitudes towards Muslims (M. K. Johnson et al., 2012). Further, individuals who believe that Muslims are a threat to the Christian way of life have been found to show less tolerance of Islamic practices (Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2013b). This same pattern of results was found in Study 2 of the current thesis, with religious affiliation and religious fundamentalism predicting less positive attitudes and less tolerance. However, in Study 4, belief in God as a benevolent figure was found to predict greater positive attitudes towards Muslims, and greater tolerance of Islamic practices. This was found after controlling for previously identified religious predictors of outcomes (i.e., religious fundamentalism). This is in line with previous research which found that belief in the representation of God as a loving, kind figure is associated with positive inter-group outcomes (K. A. Johnson et al., 2016; K. A. Johnson et al., 2013; K. A. Johnson et al., 2015). In Study 4, belief in God as an authoritarian figure was not a significant predictor of attitudes towards Muslims or tolerance of Islamic practices after controlling for religious fundamentalism.

The findings of Study 4 are important for a number of reasons. First, they show that although general religious attitudes (i.e., not focusing on specific characteristics of God, but on endorsement of the practice of religious beliefs) have previously been associated with negative outcomes towards Muslims, more specific beliefs about the representation of God (i.e., as a benevolent figure) predict positive outcomes towards Muslims. This presents initial evidence that Christians' representations of God can predict specific outcomes towards Muslims, such as tolerance towards the practices of a religion different towards one's own. Second, they show that Christians' who believe that God is benevolent are more likely to have positive attitudes towards Muslims and accept that Muslims have the right to also practice their religious beliefs. This provides evidence for positive religious representations (i.e., believing that God is compassionate and loving) extending to inter-religious tolerance, as well as positive attitudes towards Muslims. Third, they show that belief in an authoritarian God (i.e., believing that God is controlling and vengeful) does not predict outcomes towards Muslims. One potential reason for this is that the sample reported relatively low levels of endorsement of an authoritarian God (i.e., floor effect). Study 5 of my thesis sought to replicate the findings of Study 4, and further extend the cognitive representations of God to both anthropomorphic and non-anthropomorphic entities.

Specifically, Study 5 evaluated the role of Christians' beliefs in a number of representations of God on attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. These included anthropomorphic representations (e.g., God as benevolent and authoritarian) and non-anthropomorphic representations (e.g., God as limitless, mystical, and ineffable). Replicating the findings of Study 4 (i.e., after again controlling for religious fundamentalism), Christians' belief in a benevolent God predicted both positive attitudes and greater tolerance. While no other representation predicted attitudes towards Muslims, belief in a limitless God (i.e., belief that God

is omnipresent and omniscient) was a predictor of greater tolerance of Islamic practices. Previous research has associated belief in a limitless God with greater individualistic spirituality, a factor related to acceptance of religious diversity (K. A. Johnson et al., 2019). This is consistent with the findings of the current study, with this representation predicting greater acceptance of other religious practices. On the other hand, belief in an authoritarian or mystical God (i.e., the belief that God is part of the nature and energy around us) predicted less tolerance.

The finding that belief in an authoritarian God is associated with less tolerance was not consistent with the findings of Study 4 (i.e., which did not identify this representation as a significant predictor). However, belief in this representation has previously been associated with negative inter-group outcomes (K. A. Johnson et al., 2013), making this finding consistent with previous research. Previous research using mystical representations of God amongst a sample including various religious groups found that this factor was related to positive value systems such as universalism and benevolence, as well as individualistic spirituality (K. A. Johnson et al., 2019). In the current study exploring exclusively Christian attitudes, there was no association with this representation and positive outcomes. Rather, this representation predicted negative outcomes. The finding that belief in a mystical representation of God predicts less tolerance of Islamic practices suggests that there is something specific about Christian religious spirituality (i.e., a factor closely linked to this representation) which is associated with less tolerance of Islamic religious practices. Similar to Study 4, these relationships were found above and beyond religious fundamentalism. These findings demonstrate that more abstract representations of God are also able to predict tolerance of Islamic practices, and highlight the importance of measuring both attitudes and tolerance.

Study 6 investigated the role of tolerance of Islamic practices in the relationship between common ideological predictors and prejudice using the PATMS. Specifically, I estimated the mediating role of tolerance in the relationship between RWA and SDO, and attitudes towards Muslims. The relationship between SDO and attitudes towards Muslims was partially mediated by tolerance of Islamic practices. Specifically, SDO was related to attitudes towards Muslims both directly and indirectly via tolerance of Islamic practices. As beliefs associated with SDO increased, tolerance of Islamic practices decreased. This in turn led to less positive attitudes towards Muslims. SDO is associated with a defence of social hierarchy and structure as a need to maintain group superiority (Pratto et al., 1994). Therefore, individuals who endorse SDO may feel like the beliefs and practices of Islam are threatening established social structures in the community, leading to less tolerance of them.

Previous research has reported that RWA is associated with negative attitudes towards Muslims (Ernst & Bornstein, 2012; Matthews & Levin, 2012). Interestingly, the findings of Study 6 show that the relationship between RWA and attitudes is fully mediated by tolerance. In the study, as beliefs associated with RWA increased, tolerance towards Islamic practices decreased. In turn, this led to less positive attitudes towards Muslims. Previous research has revealed that the endorsement of RWA has been associated with feelings of threat to social cohesion and current ways of life (Matthews & Levin, 2012). Having differing religious practices to the community's predominant, majority practices (e.g., Islamic practices in western society) can be seen as a threat to this social cohesion. Those who endorse RWA therefore would have less tolerance towards Islamic practices. The finding that tolerance of Islamic practices fully mediates the previously reported relationship between RWA and attitudes towards Muslims presents an important addition to the literature. This highlights that tolerance of Islamic practices

is an important overlooked factor in the relationship between RWA and attitudes towards Muslims. Further, the findings of Study 6 highlight that measuring both attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices is essential in obtaining greater understanding of the driving mechanisms of negative outcomes towards Muslims.

Theoretical and Practical Implications of the Findings

The findings of my thesis have several theoretical implications. First, as highlighted in the reviews of the literature for prejudice towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices, research into these two constructs has previously been presented in independent literatures. For example, studies measuring prejudice towards Muslims almost exclusively overlook tolerance of Islamic practices, and vice versa. However, the findings of my thesis highlight the importance of measuring both constructs simultaneously. As well as the evidence provided in Studies 1-3 for the dual dimensional structure of the PATMS, evidence has been provided in Studies 4-6 for the independence of attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of their practices. When evaluating the impact of ideological predictors, researchers have largely focused on attitudes towards Muslims as the main outcome variable. However, the studies presented in my thesis show that ideological predictors also play an important role in tolerance of Islamic practices. In Study 5 I found that Christians' belief in specific God representations (e.g., authoritarian, limitless, mystical) were independently related to tolerance of Islamic practices, but not to attitudes towards Muslims. In Study 6 I found that the relationship between common ideological predictors (e.g., SDO and RWA) and attitudes towards Muslims were found to be either fully or partially mediated by tolerance of Islamic practices. This suggests that previously identified predictors of attitudes towards Muslims should also be considering tolerance of Islamic practices. When evaluating

outcomes towards Muslims in research, it is important to measure both constructs in order to fully understand the underlying mechanisms of negative inter-group outcomes.

Second, my thesis provides a newly developed and validated measure that is able to measure both attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. This provides researchers with the first tool that can be used to evaluate both constructs simultaneously, which can allow for a new line of research that can continue to test the argument that attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices are related, yet distinct. The findings of the current thesis have demonstrated the importance of considering both constructs when evaluating outcomes towards the group. Therefore, the PATMS is a useful tool which researchers can use to continue to evaluate attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. Importantly, the PATMS can be used in different populations in order to further validate the scale and evaluate outcomes, as the items are not specific to the country in which it was validated (i.e., Australia). Researchers can use the PATMS as intended (i.e., both subscales simultaneously), or they can use a single subscale (i.e., attitudes as a single measure and tolerance as a single measure). This makes the PATMS a useful, versatile, and concise tool for future research into social perceptions of Muslims.

Third, the findings of my thesis highlight the importance of building targeted intervention strategies which are not only aimed at reducing negative attitudes, but also at increasing tolerance. The findings show that individuals do evaluate the group itself (i.e., Muslims) and the beliefs and practices of the group in everyday life. The impact of prejudice towards Muslims and intolerance of Islamic practices on Muslim experiences is clear. Previous research has found that Muslim religious identity and expression is a large predictor of psychological wellbeing, and perceived discrimination has been found to mediate this relationship (Hashemi et al., 2020).

Specifically, greater religious identity and expression (i.e., religious practices) has been associated with greater perceived discrimination, leading to lower psychological wellbeing. Creating interventions which can change individuals' perceptions of Muslims and change how accepting those individuals are of different religious practices in the community will work to improve the experiences and wellbeing of Muslims, as well as inter-group relations.

Prejudice intervention strategies such as providing individuals with corrective and informative information about Islam and Muslims have been found to increase positive attitudes towards the group (Mansouri & Vergani, 2018; Park et al., 2007). These interventions have shown that individuals who possess greater factually correct information about Islam (e.g., such as what the main religious text in Islam is) have greater positive attitudes towards the group (Mansouri & Vergani, 2018). Further, presenting individuals with positive information regarding Muslim culture (e.g., that Muslims have a strong sense of community) has been found to result in greater positive attitudes (Park et al., 2007). Presenting individuals with informative information regarding Islamic practices may have this same effect on tolerance. For example, educating individuals on the cultural and religious significance of Islamic practices may work to increase awareness and knowledge, which in turn may lead to greater tolerance towards the practice. Future interventions should consider education strategies to increase awareness and understanding of Muslim culture and practices. These interventions should be designed and implemented in a wide range of settings including workplaces, schools, and religious communities.

Thesis Limitations and Future Research

Although the research presented in this thesis provides important contributions to the growing literature of prejudice and tolerance, there are limitations to the findings. The first

potential limitation of the empirical studies of my thesis was the sample used to measure outcomes. Across the studies, efforts were made to recruit a wide range of participants within Australia. This included both a student sample and external participants (i.e., recruited via student snowballing techniques and Prolific™). However, in spite of efforts to recruit an ecologically valid sample, the participants across the range of empirical studies generally reported neutral-positive attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. This could be due to the samples being relatively well educated and having neutral-progressive political orientations, or it could be the result of attenuated reporting driven by social desirability concerns. Further, although prejudice and discrimination towards Muslims is prevalent in Australia, other countries in the West (i.e., Western Europe) may have even greater negative attitudes towards Muslims and Islamic practices. It is important to note that this does not impact the psychometric evidence presented for the PATMS in this sample (i.e., including the factor structure and reliability of the subscales), nor the evidence that the PATMS is able to be used to evaluate ideological predictors related to prejudice and intolerance. However, future research should be conducted using different samples that contain a broader range of attitudes to increase generalisability. This could be accomplished by recruiting participants from not only Australia, but other Western countries (i.e., USA, UK), and recruiting participants with a wider range of demographic factors (e.g., political beliefs, education levels).

A second limitation to the findings is that the research conducted was correlational in nature. This means that when interpreting relationships between the PATMS and ideological predictors throughout Studies 1-6, causal relationships cannot be inferred. The research provided in this thesis presents initial insight into the relationship between the PATMS and key ideological variables pertaining to negatives outcomes towards Muslims. These initial studies were

necessary to establish the PATMS as a valid and reliable tool which is able to assess outcomes. The studies of this thesis also provided important insight into the conceptual independence of the two subscales of the PATMS, as well as the relationships between the PATMS and ideological variables. Now that the relationship between the PATMS and ideological variables has been established, future research can further explore these using experimental methods. For example, future research can manipulate factors associated with ideological attitudes (e.g., expose individuals to different cognitive representations of God) and determine whether this has an effect on attitudes and tolerance.

A third potential limitation to the findings is that the empirical studies did not consider socially desirable responding when analysing participants responses to items. In the empirical studies of this thesis, participants may have altered their responses to the explicit scales in order to appear less biased. This could have impacted scoring, potentially attenuating true scores. In order to decrease the potential for socially desirable responding, participation across all studies was anonymous and online. This means that participants were able to provide true responses without concern of identification. Future research can consider whether socially desirable responding has an impact on the reporting of attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices.

Finally, the initial EFA analysis used to validate the PATMS was conducted using the 12 items which we believed best reflect the constructs being measured (i.e., reduced by the researchers from a larger pool of items). It is possible that not including a larger number of items in the initial EFA may have obscured assessment of the complete structure of the construct. However, it is important to note that the current thesis has presented evidence for the overall

utility of the PATMS in measuring both attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance towards Islamic practices.

Concluding Remarks

Prejudice towards Muslims and intolerance of Islamic practices continue to be a pervasive issue in Western society. Previous research into prejudice towards Muslims has often neglected to examine tolerance of Islamic practices. These two constructs are related, yet distinct. Individuals can have negative attitudes towards Muslims but be tolerant of Islamic practices. On the other hand, individuals can have positive attitudes towards Muslims, but be intolerant of Islamic practices. Therefore, both constructs are important to consider when researching negative outcomes. The current thesis aimed to (a) develop and validate a scale to measure both attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices, and (b) use the developed scale to evaluate ideological predictors of attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices, as well as further disentangle the two constructs.

The PATMS which was developed in this thesis presents researchers with a useful 12-item tool which can be used to evaluate attitudes towards Muslims and tolerance of Islamic practices. The scale comprises of six items measuring attitudes towards the group, and six items measuring tolerance of Islamic practices. In the first three studies, I presented initial psychometric evidence for the utility of the PATMS. In the final three studies, I presented further evidence for the utility of the scale in evaluating predictors of prejudice and intolerance. These final studies provided insight into the independence of two subscales and showed that it is essential to measure both outcomes simultaneously.

In multicultural societies, intergroup respect and tolerance is essential. Accepting that other religious groups have the right to practice their religion is a key component of intergroup

harmony. Research needs to continue to examine what best accounts for positive and negative inter-group relations. The PATMS has been established as a short, valid, and reliable scale. Now that there is a tool that researchers can use to evaluate both outcomes towards Muslims, it is important to continue to conduct research into this area. Future research should use the PATMS to continue to understand the underlying mechanisms pertaining to both negative attitudes towards Muslims and intolerance of Islamic practices. This thesis has shown that common predictors of prejudice towards minority groups (i.e., including Muslims) continue to predict negative outcomes relating to the group. Future research can use the PATMS to evaluate other ideological and demographic predictors in order to gain greater insight into why negative outcomes towards this group persist. This will inform effective interventions which are not only aimed at reducing prejudice towards the group, but increasing tolerance of Islamic practices.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Experiment Materials

Appendix A – 1: The Positive Attitudes and Tolerance towards Muslims Scale (PATMS)

1 (*strongly disagree*) - 7 (*strongly agree*)

Attitudes subscale:

1. Muslim people are as considerate as everyone else.
2. People who are Muslim do not respect women. ®
3. People who practice Islam are more aggressive than people who do not. ®
4. Muslims do not always behave appropriately in public. ®
5. Muslims are peaceful people.
6. Muslims are respectful of other people's beliefs.

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Tolerance subscale:

1. Islamic women should be allowed to wear head coverings.
2. Muslim people have the right to build Mosques in the community where they live.
3. Muslim people should be allowed time off work to observe their religious holidays.
4. Muslims should only practice their religion in private. ®
5. I would prefer not to have Mosques in my neighbourhood. ®
6. Halal certified food should not be readily available in restaurants. ®

Note: Randomize the presentation order of the items within each subscale. Scoring is reversed for '®' items.

Appendix A – 2: Explicit Scales (Studies 2,4,5, and 6)

Appendix A -2(i): Attitudes towards Muslim Australians Scale (ATMA; Griffiths & Pedersen, 2009)

1 (*strongly disagree*) - 7 (*strongly agree*)

1. The average Muslim is as reasonable as everyone else ®
2. Islamic schools should not be allowed in this country
3. Muslims do not respect freedom of speech
4. Islam is no threat to Australia's freedom ®
5. All Muslims are potentially terrorists
6. The majority of Muslims are law abiding citizens ®
7. The Muslims are a peace loving community ®
8. Islam is threatening Australia's freedom
9. Muslims are respectful and sensitive toward other religions within Australia ®
10. Muslims have a hatred of western values
11. Islam is a dangerous religion and should be banned in Australia
12. As a multi-cultural nation, Australians should accept that Muslims are entitled to express their religious identity freely. ®
13. Islamic beliefs and customs are not compatible with multicultural Australia
14. I do not want my family mixing with Muslim families
15. Muslims do not want to obey our laws
16. Muslims are just as friendly as other Australians ®

Note: Scoring is reversed for '®' items.

Appendix A -2(ii): National Tolerance (Verkuyten 2007a; Verkuyten & Yidiz, 2010), adapted for use in Australia.

1 (*strongly disagree*) - 7 (*strongly agree*)

1. The right to establish own Islamic schools should always exist in Australia.
2. Muslims have the right to show and express their religion in public life.
3. Australian TV should broadcast more programs by and for Muslims.
4. Some Islamic holy days should become official Australian holidays.
5. In Australia, the wearing of a headscarf should not be forbidden.

Appendix A -2(iii): Religious Fundamentalism Scale (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 2004)

1 (*strongly disagree*) - 7 (*strongly agree*)

1. God has given humanity a complete, unfailing guide to happiness and salvation, which must be totally followed.
2. No single book of religious teachings contains all the intrinsic, fundamental truths about life. ®
3. The basic cause of evil in this world is Satan, who is still constantly and ferociously fighting against God.
4. It is more important to be a good person than to believe in God and the right religion. ®
5. There is a particular set of religious teachings in this world that are so true, you can't go any "deeper" because they are the basic, bedrock message that God has given humanity.
6. When you get right down to it, there are basically only two kinds of people in the world: the Righteous, who will be rewarded by God; and the rest, who will not.
7. Scriptures may contain general truths, but they should NOT be considered completely, literally true from beginning to end. ®
8. To lead the best, most meaningful life, one must belong to the one, fundamentally true religion.
9. "Satan" is just the name people give to their own bad impulses. There really is *no such thing* as a diabolical "Prince of Darkness" who tempts us. ®
10. Whenever science and sacred scripture conflict, *science* is probably right. ®
11. The fundamentals of God's religion should never be tampered with, or compromised with others' beliefs.

12. *All* of the religions in the world have flaws and wrong teachings. There is no perfectly true, right religion. ®

Note: Scoring is reversed for '®' items.

Appendix A -2(iv): Authoritarian/Benevolent God Scale (A/B-God Scale; Kathryn A. Johnson, Okun, & Cohen, 2015)

"There are many ways of thinking about God, but some of God's traits seem more relevant to us than others. Using a wide range of the scale below, please rate to what extent you agree that each word describes God —BASED UPON YOUR OWN, PERSONAL EXPERIENCE"

1 (*strongly disagree*) - 7 (*strongly agree*)

Authoritarian God subscale

1. Controlling
2. Restricting
3. Stern
4. Commanding
5. Strict
6. Angry
7. Judging
8. Punishing
9. Wrathful

Benevolent God subscale

1. Helping
2. Generous
3. Compassionate
4. Gracious
5. Tolerant

6. Caring
7. Accepting
8. Merciful
9. Forgiving

Appendix A -2(v): Five Factor Measure of God Representations (LAMBI; Kathryn A. Johnson, Okun, Cohen, Sharp, & Hook, 2019)

"There are many ways of thinking about God, but some of God's traits seem more relevant to us than others. Using a wide range of the scale below, please rate how well each word describes God, a higher power, or divine life force—BASED UPON YOUR OWN, PERSONAL EXPERIENCE AND BELIEFS (as opposed to what you "should" believe or what is theologically or philosophically correct)."

1 (*strongly disagree*) - 7 (*strongly agree*)

Authoritarian God subscale

1. Punishing
2. Wrathful
3. Strict
4. Stern
5. Commanding

Benevolent God subscale

1. Forgiving
2. Compassionate
3. Gracious
4. Merciful
5. Tolerant

Limitless God subscale

1. Limitless
2. Vast

3. Immense
4. Infinite
5. Boundless

Mystical God subscale

1. Nature
2. Energy
3. Cosmic
4. Consciousness
5. The Universe

Ineffable God subscale

1. Inconceivable
2. Incomprehensible
3. Unimaginable
4. Unknowable
5. Unknown

Appendix A -2(vi): Social Dominance Orientation Scale (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994)

1 (*strongly disagree*) - 7 (*strongly agree*)

1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.
2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.
3. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.
4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.
5. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.
6. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.
7. Inferior groups should stay in their place.
8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.
9. It would be good if groups could be equal. ®
10. Group equality should be our ideal. ®
11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life. ®
12. We should do what we can to equalise conditions for different groups. ®
13. Increased social equality. ®
14. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally. ®
15. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible. ®
16. No one group should dominate in society. ®

Note: Scoring is reversed for '®' items.

Appendix A -2(vii): Short Version of the Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale (Altemeyer, 1998)

1 (*strongly disagree*) - 7 (*strongly agree*)

1. Our country desperately needs a mighty leader who will do what has to be done to destroy the radical new ways and sinfulness that are ruining us.
2. The majority of those who criticize proper authorities in government and religion only create useless doubts in people's mind.
3. The situation in our country is getting so serious, the strongest method would be justified if they eliminated the troublemakers and got us back to our true path.
4. What our country really needs instead of more ''civil rights'' is a good stiff dose of law and order.
5. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important values children should learn.
6. The fact on crime, sexual immorality and the recent public disorders all show we have to crack down harder on deviant groups and troublemakers, if we are going to save our moral standards and preserve law and order.
7. What our country needs most is disciplined citizens, following national leaders in unity.
8. Atheists and others who have rebelled against the established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly. ®
9. A lot of our rules regarding sexual behavior are just customs which are not necessarily any better or holier than those which other people follow. ®
10. There is absolutely nothing wrong with nudist camps. ®
11. Homosexuals and feminists should be praised for being brave enough to defy ''traditional family values''. ®

12. Everyone should have their own lifestyle, religious beliefs, and sexual preferences, even if it makes them different from everyone else. ®
13. People should pay less attention to the Church and the Pope, and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral. ®
14. It is good that nowadays young people have greater freedom ‘‘to make their own rules’’ and to protest against things they don’t like. ®

Note: Scoring is reversed for ‘®’ items.

Appendix B: Human Research Ethics Committee Study Approval

Human Research Ethics Committee
Project Approval Letter

Principal Investigator/Supervisor:	Dr Joel Anderson
Co-Investigator:	Dr Xochitl De la Piedad Garcia
Student Researcher:	Tayla Kapelles
Project title:	The Development of the Classic and Modern Attitudes Towards Muslims Scale
Project approval period:	11/09/2017 – 31/12/2019 (Extension to 31/12/2020)
Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) Register Number:	2017-193H

This is to certify that the above application has been reviewed by the Australian Catholic University Human Research Ethics Committee (ACU HREC). The application has been approved for the period given above.

Researchers are responsible for ensuring that all conditions of approval are adhered to and that approval for modifications to the protocol are approved prior to implementation. In addition, the ACU HREC must be notified of any reportable matters including, but not limited to, incidents, complaints and unexpected issues.

Researchers are also responsible for ensuring that they adhere to the requirements of the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research,* the *Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research* and the University's *Code of Conduct*.

Any queries relating to this application should be directed to the Manager, Research Ethics and Integrity (resethics.manager@acu.edu.au).

Kind regards,

[redacted]

20/02/2019

Kylie Pashley
Senior Research Ethics Officer
On behalf of the ACU HREC Chair, Associate Professor Michael Baker

Research Ethics and Integrity | Office of the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Research)
Australian Catholic University
T: +61 2 9739 2646
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Appendix C: Participant Recruitment and Informed Consent

Note: The time estimated for participants to complete the measures varied across studies, and this detail was changed in the participant information letter to reflect specific completion times.

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION LETTER

PROJECT TITLE:
The Development of the Classic and Modern Attitudes Towards Muslims Scale.

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:
Dr Joel Anderson

STUDENT INVESTIGATOR:
Ms Tayla Kapelles

Dear Participant,

You are invited to participate in the research project described below.

What is the project about?
The major aim of this study is to produce an effective set of questions that can assess attitudes towards Muslims. Before we can develop and implement interventions to reduce prejudice towards social groups, such as Muslims, research that can inform prejudice reduction methods, we first need to establish ways of accurately measuring attitudes in contemporary society. The research project aims to establish and validate a new measure of attitudes towards Muslims in Australia. This will be done so that specific interventions that aim to create harmonious relations between general Australians and Muslim Australians can be implemented and evaluated.

Who is undertaking the project?

This project is being conducted by Dr Joel Anderson and Ms Tayla Kapelles at Australian Catholic University. Ms Kapelles (B.Psych Science [Hons]) and Dr Anderson (B.Comms, B.Psych, P.Grad Dip Psych, PhD) both have strong backgrounds in social psychology and attitude research. Ms Kapelles is undertaking a doctorate in attitudes towards Muslims, and Dr Anderson has professional experience in psychometric development and scale validation.

Are there any risks associated with participating in this project?

There are no foreseeable risks associated with participating in this project.

What will I be asked to do?

You will be asked to provide demographic details, before being asked to respond to a series of questions about your perceptions of Muslims and how they fit into Australia and Australian culture. Please note that there are no right or wrong responses, instead I am interested in your honest answers.

How much time will the project take?

We anticipate participation in the study to take no more than 10 minutes.

What are the benefits of the research project?

Although you may not benefit directly from your involvement, you will be providing a valuable contribution to the scientific knowledge in the field of social psychology. Your participation in this project will help develop a new scale for use in future research that could help inform policy and intervention in this area of psychology.

Can I withdraw from the study?

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You are not under any obligation to participate. If you agree to participate, you can withdraw from the study at any time without adverse consequences. However, as your data is non-identifiable, you cannot withdraw your data after you submit it. If you are a student, your participation will not impact your overall grade. Non-participation or withdrawal will not affect your assessment or unit grades, course progression, or university studies in any way. If you agree to participate, you can withdraw from the study at any time without adverse consequences and you can select not to have your data included in any resulting analyses.

Will anyone else know the results of the project?

The results of the study may be published in research publications. However, any information you provide will be non-identifiable and only aggregated data will be published so that your personal information and individual responses will remain confidential.

Will I be able to find out the results of the project?
If you would like a summary of the results of the project, please contact the principal investigator requesting this information.

Who do I contact if I have questions about the project?
If you have further questions about the study please call Dr Joel Anderson on (03) 9953 3112 or via email: Joel.Anderson@acu.edu.au.

What if I have a complaint or any concerns?
The study has been reviewed by the Human Research Ethics Committee at Australian Catholic University (review number 2017-193H). If you have any complaints or concerns about the conduct of the project, you may write to the Manager of the Human Research Ethics Committee care of the Office of the Deputy Vice Chancellor (Research).

Manager, Ethics
c/o Office of the Deputy Vice Chancellor (Research)
Australian Catholic University
North Sydney Campus
PO Box 968
NORTH SYDNEY, NSW 2059
Ph.: 02 9739 2519
Fax: 02 9739 2870
Email: resethics.manager@acu.edu.au

Any complaint or concern will be treated in confidence and fully investigated. You will be informed of the outcome.

I want to participate! How do I sign up?
I have read and understood the information provided in the Letter to Participants.

I agree to participate in this 10 minute online study, realising I can withdraw my consent at any time (without adverse consequences). I agree that at the end of my participation, I can elect not to have my data included in any analyses for this study. I

also agree that research data collected for the study may be published or may be provided to other researchers in a form that does not identify me in any way".

To respond YES and commence the study please click <HERE>
or to respond NO and cease your participation in the study please click <HERE>

Yours sincerely,

Joel Anderson
Tayla Kapelles