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The Effect of Religious Dress on Perceived Attractiveness and Trustworthiness

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THE EFFECT OF RELIGIOUS DRESS ON PERCEIVED ATTRACTIVENESS AND
TRUSTWORTHINESS

by

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(Under the Direction of Michael Nielsen)

ABSTRACT

The hijab, a symbol of modesty and privacy in the Islamic faith, negatively affects ratings of perceived attractiveness. Although postcolonial feminism strives to portray women as not one universal group, but as an incorporation of different races, ethnicities, social classes, and other cultures, the Western world may not be where it endeavors to be. In this study the impact of the hijab on people's perceptions of attractiveness was examined. Participants rated four target photos of the same woman with and without a hijab, and with or without cosmetics. Attractiveness and trustworthiness was then assessed in each condition, between genders, in relation to personal feminism ratings, and in relation to religious schema beliefs. Based on the Halo Effect, I hypothesized that lower ratings of attractiveness would lead to lower ratings of trustworthiness. The data, however, did not conform to this effect. Participants who rated themselves as higher in Religious Schema, therefore identifying as less open-minded in religious belief, gave lower ratings of attractiveness for the women when she wore the hijab. Participants who endorsed feminism, however, showed with higher ratings in attractiveness for all conditions. Results are discussed in light of research on feminism and religious belief.

INDEX WORDS: Hijab, Postcolonial feminism, Halo effect, Implicit bias

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to analyze the perceived attractiveness of women who wear the hijab, a traditional female Muslim head-covering. Although studies have been conducted on perceived attractiveness of Muslims who dress more conservatively versus a more liberal style of Muslim dress (e.g., Pazhoohi & Hosseinchari, 2014; Pazhoohi, Macedo, & Arantes, 2017), little is known specifically about the degree to which wearing the hijab impacts women's perceived attractiveness. This is a potentially important gap in the literature, as the hijab uniquely identifies Muslim women, and provides non-Muslims with a ready way to classify Muslims as outgroup members. As the population of Muslims grows and people encounter Muslim women in traditional dress, understanding the role of the hijab on people's perceptions remains under-studied.

Research indicates the Muslim population in the United States is a small, yet growing community estimated between about 3 million to 7 million, roughly one to two percent of the population (CAIR, 2009-2011; PEW Research Center, 2017). Their minority status is revealed in a study of 1,000 Muslims living in the United States today, which found that 75% affirmed that "there was a lot of discrimination against Muslim in the U.S.," and 62% believe "American people do not see Islam as a part of the mainstream society" (PEW Research Center, 2017).

Many processes are involved when dealing with perceptions of religious dress, feminine attractiveness, trustworthiness, and culture, such as implicit biases, social and cognitive processes, and emotion. This study aims to examine the interaction between perceived attractiveness, trustworthiness, and religious open mindedness, in the context of the female Muslim outward indicator of the hijab. In doing so, I consider feminism in the frame of Western culture, and how perceived female attractiveness varies based on cosmetic application and clothing. Specifically, perceptions of Muslims in the United States, post September 11, 2001 has implied a symbolic threat to American national values. The perceived

attractiveness associated with a woman's use of cosmetics, common in Western culture, may be impacted if she wears the hijab, an outward sign of the Islamic faith not associated with Western culture. This effect can be accounted for by the Halo Effect, and its influence on perceived trustworthiness.

Postcolonial Feminism and Western Culture

People who uphold the broad idea of feminism seek to facilitate the equal treatment of all persons; males and females should be equal in social, economic, and political rights. If basic feminism is attained in U.S. culture, it would appear women, no matter the occupation, religious preference, race, or socioeconomic status, would not be viewed as lesser than other women due to personal choices. From the perspective of postcolonial feminists, women who make choices that express personal religious belief are thwarting the goal of improving women's standing in society. In the late nineteenth century, the first wave of feminism arose in the global northwest, specifically among white, middle class women. These women had the privilege of access to education and resources, and therefore looked to overcome issues pertaining to their circumstance. Most recognizably, this first wave of feminists fought for the right of women to vote, and looked to break the barriers to gender equality (Ali, 2007).

The early 1960s welcomed a second wave of feminism which incorporated sexist issues within women's own personal lives, such as the family, the workplace, reproductive rights, and sexuality. Much like the first wave, the second wave of feminism did not incorporate the differences between women, specifically in terms of class and race. Intersectionality, the interlocking structures of power which tend to burden those who are the most marginalized in society, i.e. race, disability, age, nationality, etc., was long overlooked in both the feminist movement and theories through this point.

A third wave of feminism arose in the 1980s, along with other movements which sought to reflect the diversity of each woman's life (Ali, 2007). Within this third wave emerged postcolonial feminism. Postcolonial theorists assess how different imperial and colonial relations throughout the 1800s influence how particular cultures view themselves. In turn, postcolonial feminists sought to change the focus from

solely Western women and their culture, and instead investigate how racism and its widespread effects impact non-white, non-Western women. This theory has argued the misrepresentation of women from non-Western countries within the mainstream feminist views.

Ultimately, a postcolonial feminist would argue against using the term "woman" as one universal group. Instead of only perceiving a gender difference, postcolonial feminists seek to incorporate the differences of race, ethnicity, social class, and sexual preferences (Mohanty, 1988). Goals for this theory of postcolonial feminism seek to incorporate Third World feminists, and those of other indigenous women, into the mainstream of Western feminism.

Although the third wave of feminism began in the 1980s, veil-wearing Muslim women are still viewed as the "other" in Western countries. For example, a study of Canadian print and digital media evaluated how veiled Muslim women were described, specifically before, during, and after the passing of Bill 94 in early 2010 in Quebec. This bill sought to ban civil servants from wearing religious symbols of any kind, but was widely perceived as targeting Muslim women wearing hijabs or veils. Findings from the media assessment found trends in how Western society framed Muslim women and the veil. A distinct feeling of "other" was presented, with Western women identified as modern, independent, and liberated, whereas Muslim women were portrayed as backward, behind modern society, and oppressed. The veil was framed as primitive, misogynist, and its wearers as victims dominated by a male husband or father. Overall, those who wore the veil were considered unable to truly participate in Western ways (Golnaraghi & Dye, 2016).

<p style="text-align:center">Perceived Female Attractiveness</p>

Studies of factors that influence how attractive a woman is judged to be have examined such factors as the presence or absence of facial cosmetics, as well as types of clothing worn. Several studies have examined Western women's use of facial cosmetics in order to modify or improve their appearance. One recent paper reports two studies conducted by Jones and Kramer (2016), who found

that models whose cosmetics were professionally-applied were rated significantly more attractive. In study one, 90 North American university students (41 Men, and 49 Women, *M* age = 18.5 years) rated the attractiveness of 33 British white female YouTube models, in 3 categories – a natural, everyday look, a 'going out' look, and a professional look of vintage or editorial look. Models were rated on a scale of 1 (very unattractive) to 7 (very attractive). The models in Study 1 were rated significantly more attractive when wearing cosmetics than without (Jones & Kramer, 2016). In a replication designed to reduce the variation in attractiveness between the target models, Jones and Kramer's (2016) second study used supermodels. One hundred new participants (46 Men, 54 Women, *M* age = 19.28) from Scottish and North American universities compared images of 45 supermodels absent of cosmetics and wearing cosmetics from a professional photo shoot. As with the first study, models were rated as being more attractive while wearing cosmetics than without (Jones & Kramer, 2016).

Women recognize the role cosmetics play in their desire to appear more attractive, specifically as ovulation approaches in the menstrual cycle, even if the act of trying to appear more attractive as fertility approaches is unconscious. Guéguen (2012) surveyed 64 heterosexual women ranging in age from 18-21 years old, who were not pregnant or in a relationship, had not used oral contraceptives in in a previous 3 month cycle, and had a cycle length of 26-32 days, on their cosmetic choices. Participants were instructed to evaluate the time spent putting on cosmetics the morning prior to arriving at the lab, in minutes, and were then photographed. Two professional makeup artists rated all of the participant photographs for the level of cosmetics used, as well as the level of attractiveness in application. Results showed women who are approaching ovulation take more time in applying cosmetics than did those not in their fertile phase. Furthermore, professional makeup artists evaluated participants near ovulation as having a higher level and quality of use of cosmetics (Guéguen, 2012).

The message of cosmetics and their importance towards successful female appearance is evident from an early age. This is demonstrated in a study by Thyne, Robertson, Thomas, and Ingram (2016) who examined the perceptions of 111 "tween" girls, age 6-12 years old, living in New Zealand. The girls were

asked to draw two pictures, one with a child who owns a lot of makeup, and another without any makeup. Participants were also instructed to write three to five words to describe each of the two pictures. This yielded 222 drawings and their accompanying descriptions, which underwent content analysis by two coders. Nine main categories were identified, "Attractive," "Positive social behavior," "Less attractive," "Relational aggression," "Popularity," "Emotion," "Attire," "Materialism," and "Environment." Analysis revealed drawings depicting girls wearing cosmetics were described as attractive, popular, happy, wearing feminine clothing, materialistic, and relationally aggressive. Makeup was perceived by the tweens as an essential component of beauty, and ownership of makeup was a central component of femininity. While owning makeup was viewed as elevating one's popularity and happiness, it did not necessarily equate to a girl being considered a nice person (Thyne, Robertson, Thomas, & Ingram, 2016).

Although cosmetics can result in ratings of greater attractiveness, this pattern does not always hold. Research conducted using thirty-eight US female college students, age 18 to 27 years old ($M = 19.6$), photographed wearing typical facial cosmetics, and absent of cosmetics, were judged by sixteen peers (8 male, 8 female). Results showed that male judges rated cosmetics-free women less favorably, while female judges' ratings were not affected by the presence or absence of cosmetics (Cash, Dawson, Davis, Bowen, & Galumbeck, 1988). The fact that these studies have used different methodologies (e.g., professionally applied cosmetics vs. cosmetics applied by oneself) make it difficult to make comparisons in the results, the authors did however discuss the possibility that since the physical changes were more subtle and women tend to be more experienced in the use of cosmetics, they may have had a greater ability to distinguish the changes made using makeup. Nevertheless, the Cash et al (1988) study does suggest that the use of cosmetics may not always result in increased perceptions of attractiveness.

Women also have been found to be judged in terms of the clothing they wear. To evaluate this phenomenon, 144 female participants from the United Kingdom, 90 of which were employed, age 18-59 ($M = 26.48$), and 54 students, age 18-29 ($M = 19.78$) were presented with 12 images, 8 of which were distractors. Two females were presented in the photos, with small changes made to manipulate how

provocatively they were portrayed, as well as levels of attire (high status – senior manager, low status – receptionist). The four target images included: more provocative clothing, primed with low status; more provocative clothing, primed with higher status; less provocative clothing, primed with low status; and less provocative clothing, primed with high status. Target clothing was exactly similar except for two small changes, the provocative clothing condition was defined with a shorter skirt worn just above the knee and a lower buttoned blouse, with two buttons undone, where the less provocative condition showed a skirt just below the knee and only one button undone on the blouse. Status was described by a statement presented prior to the target presentation, on a blank screen, stating "The person in the following image is a senior manager" or "The person in the following image is a receptionist." Even when very subtle differences in dress were presented, female evaluators rated more "provocative" clothing in a working environment overall as more negative (Howlett, Pine, Cahill, Orakcioglu, & Fletcher, 2015). These cues from clothing can influence how the professional perceptions of target women assume intelligence, authority, confidence, and trustworthiness. Unfortunately, this study did not include male participants, leaving open the question of whether men and women respond similarly in such evaluations, but the results of the Cash et al (1988) suggest reason to expect differences between men and women's ratings.

Fleischmann et al. (2016) sought to further examine the common gender stereotype in which women are perceived to have lower computer skills than men, hypothesizing that the attire of a woman may elicit such a stereotype. Participants (105 women, 57 men) ranging in age from 19-55 years old ($M =$ 26.70), a majority of whom were students (84%), randomly rated two out of four stimulus persons. The between-subjects design utilized a 2 (stimulus person's outfit: feminine vs. neutral) by 2 (participant's sex: female vs. male) design. Dependent variables for the study included computer skills, self-evaluation, attribution of success/failure, and a general impression. Results found that when the target wore more feminine attire (a floral dress, heels, and cosmetics as feminine as contrasted with jeans, a sweater, flat shoes, and no makeup as neutral), participants rated women wearing dresses as having lower computer skills. In addition, they were rated as being less competent and less intelligent, compared to women

wearing the neutral attire. Furthermore, when solving a computer problem, women wearing feminine outfits were viewed as having obtained success more due to luck or an external factor, where failing to solve a problem was attributed to a lack of skills (Fleischmann et al., 2016).

Taken as a whole, these studies reveal a pattern of women being judged differently based on their appearance. Cosmetics tend to increase ratings of attractiveness, but feminine attire is associated with lower levels of intelligence and competence.

Muslim Relations in the United States

Although the literature regarding women's dress bears on the question of how perceptions of attractiveness and trustworthiness may be affected by religious dress, the traditional Muslim covering known as the hijab has received scant attention in research literature. This is an important issue, as the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) have found there are approximately 6-7 million Muslims in the United States. CAIR reports a rise in bias toward Muslims post-September 11th, 2001, as well as a rise in hate crimes (CAIR, 2009-2011). Furthermore, incidents of prejudice or bias are more commonly directed towards Muslim women, who wear a hijab, than men who practice Islam, whose dress is less readily identifiable as Muslim (CAIR, 2009-2011).

In a recent survey of 1,001 Muslims living in the United States, conducted by the Pew Research Center, 75% believe there is a lot of discrimination against Muslims in the U.S., and 62% do not believe Americans see Islam as part of the mainstream society (PEW Research Center, 2017). Almost half, 48% have experienced at least one instance of religious discrimination in the past year, such as being called an offensive name, treated with suspicion, or being physically threatened or attacked. Within the pool of respondents, 38% claim to have clothing or an appearance which identify them as Muslim, and among the 38%, nearly two-thirds (64%) say they have experienced at least one type of discriminatory treatment (PEW Research Center, 2017). That is, rates of discrimination appear to be associated with clothing that identifies one's religious minority status.

Significant media coverage has discussed the relationship between the current U.S. President, Donald J. Trump, and Muslim Americans. In the same PEW study, 74% of Muslims believe the current president is "unfriendly" toward their population, as opposed to the 64% "friendly" rating given to former President Barack Obama in a 2011 poll (PEW Research Center, 2017). Beyond the media coverage of the president, most Muslims (60%) view U.S. media coverage of Islam and the Muslim community as "unfair." Virtually the same percentage of Muslims (62%) do not believe fellow Americans see Islam as a part of the mainstream society (PEW Research Center, 2017).

Overall, the PEW Research Center found that Muslim women were more likely than their male counterparts to say Muslims face a variety of challenges. Women were more likely to see the U.S. media coverage of Muslims as unfair (68%, 16 points higher than males); they were more likely to believe that it has become more difficult to be a Muslim in the U.S. in recent years (57%, 14 points higher than males); and they were less likely to believe they have a lot in common with most Americans (52%, 16 points lower than males). Muslim women report a higher level of overall concern (PEW Research Center, 2017). This is noteworthy, inasmuch that when Muslims have been involved in high-profile anti-US actions such as 9/11, men have drastically outnumbered women. The fact that women are more readily identifiable as Muslim, by virtue of their dress, may help account for this pattern.

The Halo Effect: Perceived Attractiveness and Trustworthiness

Relevant to understanding this phenomenon is the "halo effect," a cognitive bias in which an observer's general impression of another person influences the observer's feelings and thoughts about specific aspects of the target person's character or abilities. In the halo effect, people appoint positive traits to another person based on their initial impressions of the other's characteristics, such as physical attractiveness (Pasha-Zaidi, 2015). One example of the halo effect is found in research by Zhao, Zhou, Shi and Zhang (2015). During an examination of explicit bias, using 90 undergraduate students from several universities in Beijing, a Trust Game was administered to measure trust behavior using an

"investor" role for participants. Evidence showed that facial attractiveness does establish a significant level of trust, as well as show a significant effect in evoking trusting behavior, shown through investing money (Zhao, Zhou, Shi, & Zhang, 2015). While perceived attractiveness impacts the residual treatment of others, societal beliefs play into what is perceived as attractive to begin with, and can be impacted by cultural norms.

The idea of immigrants as an "out-group" in the United States is not new. As waves of different immigrant populations have sought a better life in a new country, the established population has questioned the new arrivals. Due to the horrific incidents of September 11th, 2001, and subsequent acts of terrorism and violence presented by the media, it is to be expected that a rise in fear could occur. Fear, anger, and the threat of violence or even change can have an impact on stereotyping and prejudice. Hitlan et al. (2007) examined how the September 11th attacks impacted the attitudes of Americans towards various immigrant groups, in terms of five dimensions: perceived realistic threat, symbolic threat, prejudice, participant American identity, and participant political orientation (Hitlan et al., 2007). The researchers predicted that U.S. citizens would perceive Arab immigrants as a greater symbolic threat (i.e., that the beliefs and values of the host country/culture would be negatively influenced from the influx of "foreign" country immigrants), than a realistic threat (i.e., that citizens of the host country compete with immigrant groups for general welfare and scarce economic resources).

Two separate samples were collected after the events of September 11th. The first sample participated one month after the terrorist attacks and included 140 participants, 40 males and 100 females, age range from 18-64 ($M = 19.65$), with a majority of participants identifying as Latino (n=67). Caucasian non-Hispanic (n=31), Native American (n=12), Arabic/Islamic (n=6), Latino/Euro-American (n=6), and others (n=18) also were represented among the participants. All participants were undergraduate students from the University of Texas at El Paso, a mid-sized university which boarders the city of Juarez, Mexico, and all participants reported being U.S. citizens. The second sample participated one year after the attacks and included 180 participants, 65 male and 115 female, ranging in age from 18-41 years old ($M = 20.26$),

with demographics similar to the first sample. Materials for both samples included self-report questionnaires measuring the participant's demographics, realistic and symbolic threat, prejudicial attitudes towards Arab immigrants, as well as Mexican immigrants and immigration, measures of American identity, and political party affiliation (Hitlan et al., 2007).

Results of combined analysis found that the perception of Arab immigrants induced higher levels of symbolic threat and prejudice among the participants than perceptions of Mexican immigrants and immigration. These effects were greater among participants who more strongly identified with being an American citizen (Hitlan et al., 2007). This study indicates that the September 11th attacks impacted attitudes towards different immigrant groups in distinct ways. The attacks were directed at symbolic pieces of American culture (the World Trade Centers and the Pentagon), and represented an "Attack on America;" therefore, a greater symbolic threat was assigned to Arab immigrants (Hitlan et al., 2007).

Perceived threats to national values and the negative stereotypes people hold regarding Muslims heighten the sense that Muslims are foreigners, members of an out-group, and that they are not assimilated into the culture. This generates distrust of Muslims. Brown and colleagues (2013) assumed some of the factors which make up prejudice toward the Muslim community included cues of foreignness, and examined this using a 2 (Complexion: light vs. dark) x 2 (Dress: Western vs. Middle Eastern) x 2 (Name: Mohammed vs. Allen) between-subjects design. Two-hundred twenty-four students (131 female, 93 males) participated from a large, public, Midwestern university. Participants were predominantly European-American (84%), middle to upper-middle class (85%), and Christian (78%). A questionnaire was presented with 33 items about the target portrait, including aesthetic qualities, impressions of the overall quality of the portrait, and traits the subject in the portrait was assumed to possess. Participants were randomly assigned to one of 8 conditions in the 2x2x2 between-subjects design. The portraits were all identical with the exception of the manipulated characteristics: name, complexion, and style of dress.

Results from the study generally confirmed the authors' hypothesis that perceptions of Muslims are associated with cues, specifically name and style of dress, which suggest status as a foreigner or

outgroup member. Overall, the target portrait in Middle Eastern dress was rated less positively than the target portrait in Western dress. It was also rated as more foreign, and was associated with prejudice (Brown et al., 2013). Cues of foreignness, therefore, are found to correlate with prejudice and less positive perception, showing an underlying halo effect.

Perceptions of the Hijab

The hijab is a type of veil which is traditionally worn by women of Islamic faith, specifically when in the presence of adult males who are outside of the immediate family. The covering typically covers the head, chest, and neck, although there are variations to the degree of modesty with which they are worn. In the Quran, the hijab does not specifically pertain to a piece of women's clothing, rather a space or curtain in the metaphorical sense (El Guindi & Zahur, 2009). The verses commonly referenced to justify the wearing of the hijab in the Qur'an are Chapter 24 an-Nur, verse 30 which instructs both sexes to cast down their glances, thought of as the "hijab of the eyes," and Chapter 33 al-Ahzab, verse 59 where Allah instructs Muhammed to women to let down upon themselves their jalabib (known as a loose outer garment with various interpretations) (Razvi, S.M., 1997). Typically, a hijab is worn by a Muslim woman as a symbol of privacy and modesty, as the Quran does instruct both men and women to dress modestly. Interpretations of modesty and veiling ranges amongst countries and cultures, giving a variety of cover.

Hoodfar (2009) described the phenomenon of how the veiled woman is perceived to be someone who must be freed from her "oppression," from the male authoritarian family members, and from the Muslim community. How Westerners react to the female covering may have originated in an underlying history of aversion to religious domination, and due to the fight for women's rights. Due to these prevalent views, Muslim women tend to be perceived as having lower education, and being ignorant and oppressed.

Although a few studies have used qualitative methods to determine the feelings of the hijab-wearer (Al Wazni, 2015; Rahmath, Chambers, & Wakewich, 2016), there is a dearth of research

documenting the effect of the hijab on observers. How is the hijab viewed in North America? Does it function to demarcate outgroup member status, and instill distrust? Research on the hijab in North America is limited. A qualitative study of 12 Muslim women residing in North Carolina evaluated voluntary wearing of the hijab, female empowerment, feminist identity and belief, and body image. The feelings of female empowerment were shared by all 12 participants, and were directly related to voluntarily wearing the hijab, which is a significant contradiction to the stigmatized idea of oppressed Muslim women. Although the participants identified as feminists, contemporary feminism was questioned as it can be seen as contributing to stereotypes portrayed in the media (Al Wazni, 2015).

In a similar qualitative study, 26 female hijab wearers (age 18- 40s) were interviewed regarding their experiences wearing the hijab in Thunder Bay, Calgary, and Toronto, Canada. Three central themes were revealed: religiosity, internal struggle, and prejudice from society. While younger participants held a religious understanding of Islam and decidedly wore the hijab in an attempt to erase stereotypes, older participants held both a religious and cultural understanding of the veil, and advocated for it to be worn willingly. While societal struggles were recognized by the participants, most still viewed the veil as rewarding and positive in experience (Rahmath, Chambers, & Wakewich, 2016).

Recently, quantitative research has been conducted on the effects of religious veiling, based on Islamic standards, in respect to fuller covering beyond just the hijab. Results were taken from 80 Muslim male undergraduate students in Iran, with a mean age of 20.8 years, and all reported being unmarried. Ratings of three conditions of a photographed 23 year old woman were conducted: wearing a black hijab headscarf covering the shoulders, neck, and hair with black tight clothing revealing bodily curves (form fitting), wearing a black hijab headscarf and black loose fitting clothing which concealed bodily curves (noted as "official clothing"), and wearing a black chador which covers the whole body as a cloak, except for the face (noted as "traditional clothing"). Notably, Muslim men's perceptions of attractiveness increased as bodily curves were shown in comparison to the chador (Pazhoohi & Hosseinchari, 2014).

A field study expanded the results found by Pazhoohi and Hosseinchari. In Iran, the study sought to discover if help would be offered to a female confederate standing beside the road, yet not actively seeking assistance, if she was dressed in a more liberal outfit (a hijab with close-fitting garments), compared to a more conservative dress (a full body veil, chador). Participants included 2,000 anonymous motorists, all male. Only 253 (12.65%) of the passing motorists stopped to offer the female confederate a ride. Results showed motorists were more likely to offer a ride to the female confederate wearing the more liberal dress (21.4%) compared to the conservative dress (3.9%). Male helping behavior increased with perceived female attractiveness, even in a country with stricter social norms and laws than the West (Pazhoohi & Burriss, 2015).

Religious clothing has been further examined through eye-tracking. Conservative clothing, which hides female body curves is hypothesized to restrict visual access and therefore decrease the perceived female attractiveness. Using eye-tracking, 44 heterosexual undergraduate and graduate students (24 female, 20 male, age 19-31, $M = 23.1$) were recruited from the University of Minho in Portugal to assess black-and-white photographs of a woman in three types of religious clothing, ranging from liberal to conservative. Results showed conservative religious clothing did decrease visual access to body curves, and then focused the gaze towards the facial region. In subsequent Likert scale ratings of attractiveness, ratings for more liberal dress were rated higher in attractiveness versus conservative dress (a chador) (Pazhoohi, Macedo, & Arantes, 2017).

An interesting question arises regarding how judgements of attractiveness are formed when viewing the hijab in Western culture, because of the complex relationship that exists in the West between the hijab, female covering, and religiosity. One online exploratory study compared the perceived attractiveness of Muslim women living in the United Arab Emirates or the United States. A total of 341 Muslim women, including 143 UAE residents and 198 US residents, rated the apparent religiosity and attractiveness of those who wear the Islamic headscarf. While Muslims in both countries rated the hijab as

a symbol of religious devotion, Muslim women in the United States tended to see the hijab as a symbol of repression (Pasha-Zaidi, 2015).

The Present Study

As this literature review indicates, research on how the hijab is perceived by North Americans is limited in quantity and scope. Nevertheless, with a growing population of Muslims in the U.S., and with Muslim women reporting a higher rate of discrimination than do men, the hijab in Western culture is a necessary category of study. The purpose of this study is to test observers' perceptions of the hijab in terms of its impact on attractiveness and trustworthiness, and to learn whether the presence or absence of cosmetics affects rated attractiveness and trustworthiness. Although many reports suggest that the head-covering causes less trustworthiness, few studies have investigated the hijab's impact on perceived attractiveness. I expect that ratings of trust will positively correlate with perceived levels of attractiveness, and that the presence of the hijab will reduce ratings of both attractiveness and trustworthiness.

In addition to examining the role of the hijab and cosmetics on these ratings, the study assesses the role that religious schemas and self-identified feminism have on these ratings. Using the Religious Schema Scale (Streib, Hood, & Klein, 2010) and a Feminism Scale (Gianettoni & Roux, 2010), we will learn to what extent religious schemas and how one identifies on a scale of feminism are associated with increases or decreases in bias toward religious outgroup members who openly reveal their religious affiliation through by wearing a hijab.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL METHOD

Overview and Hypothesis

Questions addressed in this study included whether using a hijab, which is known to be a traditionally Muslim identifier, would lead to lower rating of attractiveness and trustworthiness. Further, using the Religious Schema Scale and the Feminism Scale, we will learn to what extent one can note a decrease in bias when one is shown to possess a more open mind in regards to religion.

The hypotheses include:

- Ratings of trust will positively correlate with perceived levels of attractiveness.

- Conditions where a hijab is present will yield lower attractiveness and trustworthiness scores than conditions where it is absent.

- Conditions where cosmetics are present will yield slightly higher scores in attractiveness and trustworthiness than in the absence of cosmetics.

- Scores will show less variation amongst those who associate with a more open mind towards religion on the Religious Schema Scale and rating higher in self-identified feminism using the Feminism Scale.

Participants

One hundred one participants (55 females and 46 males) were recruited through the Amazon Mechanical Turk's (M Turk) crowdsourcing internet marketplace. Participants' ages ranged between 18 - 36 years old ($M = 24$, $SD = 2.55$), were located in the United States of America. The sample included 65 participants who identified as Caucasian, 13 Hispanic or Latin American, 10 African American, 10 Asian American, 2 Native American, and 1 Middle Eastern. The sample included 56 who identified as Christian, 14 Agnostic, 11 as No Religious Affiliation, 9 Atheist, 3 Muslims, 3 Jewish, 2 Hindus, 2 Buddhists, and 1

"Other" (specified by the participant as "Satanist witchcraft"). Participants were compensated for their completion. Self-identified demographic information is shown in Figures 1-6.

Materials

All measures utilized in this study are described as follows:

Informed Consent. All participants recruited through M Turk agreed to an informed consent form prior to participating in this study (Appendix A). The informed consent listed the risks and benefits of participation, confidentiality protocol, the rights of the participants, and contact information for the Primary Investigator.

Target and Distractor Stimuli. Four target conditions (Appendix B), as well as sixty distractor photographs (Appendix C) were shown, each with a 100 point sliding scale to rate the observer's perceived attractiveness and trustworthiness. Each picture was shown individually, with the instructions "Please rate your opinion of this woman in terms of:," a slider scale anchored with a 0 anchor of "Unattractive" and a 100 anchor of "Very Attractive." A second slider scale will be present underneath the first with a 0 anchor of "Untrustworthy" and a 100 anchor of "Very Trustworthy." Four randomized blocks were shown, each block containing one of the target conditions, amongst 15 distractor photos ranging in race, ethnicity, cosmetic use, hair color and type.

Religious Schema Scale. Fifteen questions were presented on a 5-point Likert scale to assess open-mindedness to religion (Appendix D).

Feminism Scale. Three questions were presented on a 6-point Likert scale to assess to what degree one self-identified as a feminist (Appendix E).

Demographics and Religiosity Questionnaire. Religious affiliation, ethnicity, self-report of religiousness and political affiliation, as well as age and gender were requested once all other data had been acquired (Appendix F).

Debriefing and Compensation. Contact information for the Primary Investigator was again provided, along with step-by-step instructions on how to obtain the earned compensation through

submitting a completion code at the end of the survey. Information was also provided about the intent of the survey (Appendix G).

Procedure

Following approval from the Georgia Southern University Institutional Review Board (under tracking number H18049), the study was activated on Amazon Mechanical Turk. Workers who met requirements (age, location, and gender) were shown the title consistent with other studies: "Answer a survey about your opinions of different female faces." Participants took the entire study online from a location of their choosing. A visual representation of the study procedure is shown as Figure 7.

Analyses and Results

The present study is investigating two primary hypotheses: ratings of trust will positively correlate with perceived levels of attractiveness, and that the presence of the hijab will reduce ratings of both attractiveness and trustworthiness. The first prediction was tested using Correlation; and the second using ANCOVA.

Descriptive statistics for the four ratings of attractiveness, and the four ratings of trustworthiness, are shown in Table 1. The correlations of the individual measures are also in Table 2. The correlations indicate that all ratings are highly correlated, not only of each attractiveness measure with other Attractiveness ratings, and Trustworthiness ratings with other Trustworthiness ratings, but also of Attractiveness with Trustworthiness.

In order to test the second hypothesis, that the presence of the hijab would reduce ratings of attractiveness and trustworthiness, we used ANCOVA. In preparation for this, we formed scales measuring the covariates. The three Feminism Scale items showed good internal consistency, with coefficient alpha = 0.88. The 15 Religiousness Scale items showed acceptable internal consistency, with coefficient alpha = 0.80. Therefore, responses to the three Feminism Scale items were averaged, as were the 15 scale items measuring religiousness. Feminism scores ($M = 3.42$, $SD = 1.53$) and Religiousness scores ($M = 2.73$, $SD = 0.65$) were retained for use as covariates in the primary analysis. The correlational

findings revealed that certain demographics showed significant relationships with the two scales. Gender and Feminism scores (r = .22, p < .05), self-reported religiousness and Religious Schema Scale scores (r = -.32, p < .01), and self-reported political liberalism and the Feminism scores (r = .39, p < .01) were all found to be significant. All other correlational findings were found not significant (see Table 2).

A further investigation of the two scales were examined with gender. A two-tailed, independent samples t-test was used for both scales. Gender did not affect the Religious Schema Scale, t (99) = 1.18, *n.s.* Males did not rate differently (*M* = 2.82, *SEM* = .096) than females (*M* = 2.66, *SEM* = .09). Gender did show a significant effect on Feminism Scale scores, t (99) = -2.25, p < .05. Females rated significantly higher on the Feminism Scale (*M* = 3.73, *SEM* = 0.22) than males (*M* = 3.06, *SEM* = 0.196).

Primary Hypothesis:

A 2 (Makeup) x 2 (Hijab) repeated measures ANOVA was used to test the hypothesis that attractiveness would be affected by the target wearing makeup and a hijab. Feminism and Religiousness scores were entered as covariates. Results indicate that wearing makeup (*M* = 39.72, *SEM* = 2.24) did not impact ratings of attractiveness, compared with not wearing makeup (*M* = 38.06, *SD* = 2.17), $F(1, 98) = 2.20$, *n.s.* Results did show a significant effect of hijab $F(1, 98) = 4.01$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$, such that the target was rated as less attractive while wearing a hijab (*M* = 37.65, *SEM* = 2.30) than when not wearing a hijab (*M* = 40.13, *SEM* = 2.19). Analyses did not show a significant Make-up x Hijab interaction, $F(1, 98) = 0.07$, *n.s.* Ratings of attractiveness also showed a Hijab x Religiousness interaction, hijab $F(1, 98) = 8.96$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .08$. (See Tables 3 & 4)

A 2 (Makeup) x 2 (Hijab) repeated measures ANOVA also was used to test the prediction that trustworthiness would be affected by the target wearing makeup and a hijab. Feminism and Religiousness again were entered as covariates. Results of the ANOVA revealed that wearing makeup (*M* = 50.47, *SEM* = 2.39) was associated with less trustworthiness than was not wearing makeup (*M* = 50.61, *SEM* = 2.32), $F(1, 98) = 7.04$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .067$. Wearing a hijab (*M* = 51.34, *SEM* = 2.46) did not impact

ratings of trustworthiness, relative to not wearing a hijab ($M = 49.70$, *SEM* $= 2.39$), $F(1, 98) = 0.40$, *n.s.,*

controlling for feminism and religiousness scores. Participants' ratings of Trustworthiness also were not

impacted by a Makeup x Hijab interaction, $F(1, 98) = 0.03$, *n.s.* Feminism exerted no effects on ratings of

trustworthiness, but the ANOVA did reveal that religiousness interacted with the wearing of makeup, $F(1,$

$98) = 4.50$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .044$. (See Tables 5 & 6)

CHAPTER 3

DISCUSSION

Summary and Conclusion

Two primary hypotheses were investigated: the correlation of trust with perceived levels of attractiveness; and how perception relates to a specific religious garment (the hijab) and the presence of cosmetics. As hypothesized, correlational findings were significant between attractiveness and trustworthiness, and ratings of attractiveness were significantly negatively impacted where target photos were wearing a hijab, rather than not. Unlike the initial hypothesis, targets wearing cosmetics were not viewed significantly more positively than those where cosmetics were not present.

As predicted, the ratings of attractiveness significantly correlated with ratings of trustworthiness. Previous research showed that perceived attractiveness impacted the treatment of others, establishing significant levels of trust (Zhao, Zhou, Shi, & Zhang, 2015), and people tend to appoint positive traits to another person based on initial impressions other characteristics, such as trusting behavior and physical attractiveness (Pasha-Zaidi, 2015).

Lower ratings of perceived attractiveness when the hijab was present were also hypothesized and shown as statistically significant. Similar to previous research, it had been suggested that those women who wear a veil (such as a hijab) were considered by others in Western society to be unable to participate in their Western ways (Golnaraghi & Dye, 2016). Narrowing studies specifically to perceptions of Muslims in the west, participants self-reported photos of males with darker complexions, a more "Middle Eastern" name, and "Middle Eastern" dress as less positively, more "foreign," and with higher prejudice (Brown et al., 2013). As recently as 2017, a higher attractiveness rating was reported for those female targets wearing a more liberal dress than conservative in contrast of types of traditional Islamic clothing (Pazhoohi, Macedo, & Arantes, 2017).

The finding that cosmetic wear did not yield significantly higher ratings of attractiveness is inconsistent with some previous research, and surprisingly, the presence of cosmetics showed a

significantly lower rating of trustworthiness. Typically, wearing cosmetics has yielded a higher rating of attractiveness than without (Jones & Kramer, 2016). Other research had similar findings as ours specifically that female judges tend to not be affected by the presence of absence of cosmetics (Cash, Dawson, Davis, Bowen, & Galumbeck, 1988). Interestingly, when young tweens reported make-up as an essential component of beauty, popularity, and happiness, they also did not equate cosmetics with being a good person, possibly explaining the lower ratings of trustworthiness (Thyne, Robertson, Thomas, & Ingram, 2016).

There was a difference in findings concerning the impact of the hijab itself, rated lower in attractiveness, but not significantly impacting ratings of trustworthiness. Recent research suggests religious people are actually perceived as more trustworthy, due to differences in behavior which may cue trust and slow life-history traits (i.e., not being impulsive, non-aggressive, sexually restrictive, and invested in the family) (Moon, Krems, & Cohen, 2018). The tendency for trust towards those of religious cues (such as dress), may have overpowered the Halo Effect.

The covariate scales did show a series of correlations and interactions. It was hypothesized that the scores of attractiveness would have less variation amongst those with an open mind towards religion and those identify higher in feminism, using the Religious Schema Scale and Feminism Scale. Significant correlations were found between gender and feminism, self-reported religiousness and the Religious Schema Scale, and self-reported liberalism and feminism. An interaction was also found significant in relation to ratings of the hijab and the Religious Schema Scale. Since 55% of the participants identified as Christian, the hijab may have invoked a religious outgroup.

Ratings for the Feminism scale did not show a significant correlational effect for trustworthiness. These findings for feminism correlations may show a society more in line with what postcolonial feminism was supposed to be. True feminism sought to think of women not as one universal group, but sought to incorporate different ethnicities, races, sexual preferences, social classes, third-world feminism, and incorporate other indigenous women (Mohanty, 1988). These research findings showed an alliance

between the goals of postcolonial feminism and a lack of variance in ratings for the same target female, regardless of facial cosmetics and religious indicator.

Future Direction

The focus of the future for this study would include more nuance for the current questions. The question of wearing a hijab should be posed more deeply, especially as it pertains to feminism. Those identifying as feminists should be asked what this particular garment means to them, and the feelings participants have when being presented with the hijab.

Another scale, the Religious Schema Scale, predicted a lower rating for hijab-present targets when the participant rated higher on the scale, as well as when make-up was present. Moving forward, it would be important to define if those perceptions were due to a great majority of participants identifying as Christian, while the next largest groups identified as Agnostic or Atheist. Alternatively, did the hijab appropriately accomplish the intent of diverting an attractive desire? Also, what specific feelings were expressed when the hijab was present, as well as cosmetics.

The target model was an attractive female who was more ambiguous in race and nationality. It would be interesting to investigate if more obvious racial differences in the same hijab would change attractiveness scores.

Finally, the hijab itself it a source of question. For this experiment, a basic hijab was used, and worn more casually (still exposing the neck and some hair). It would be beneficial to show the same target in different hijabs to examine if other patterns emerge. Do patterns, sparkles, designer logos, or bright colors change the ratings and evoke more of a "Western" look? If the hijab is worn more tightly (i.e., hair not exposed, neck tightly covered), does that change the perspective?

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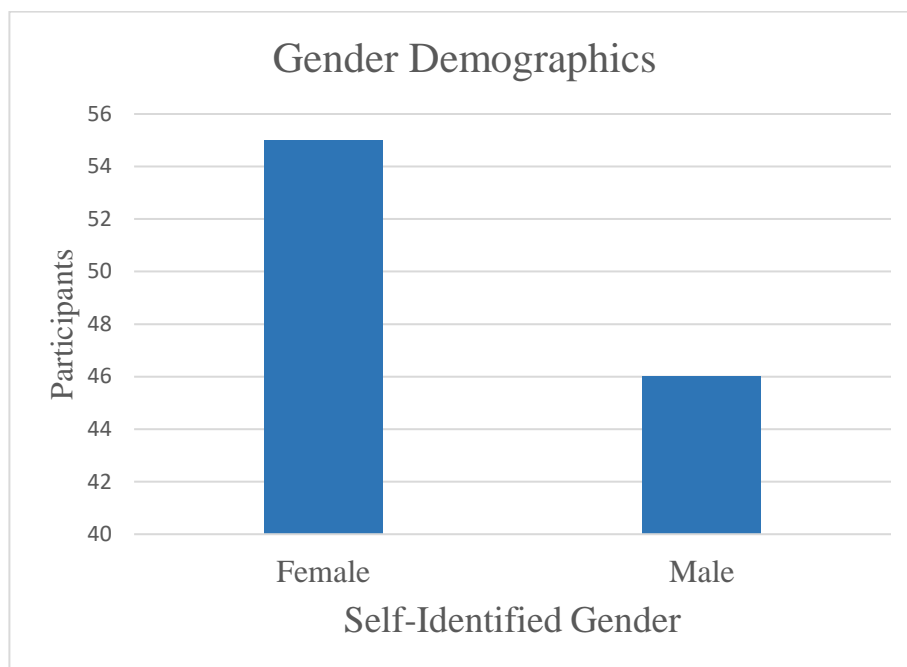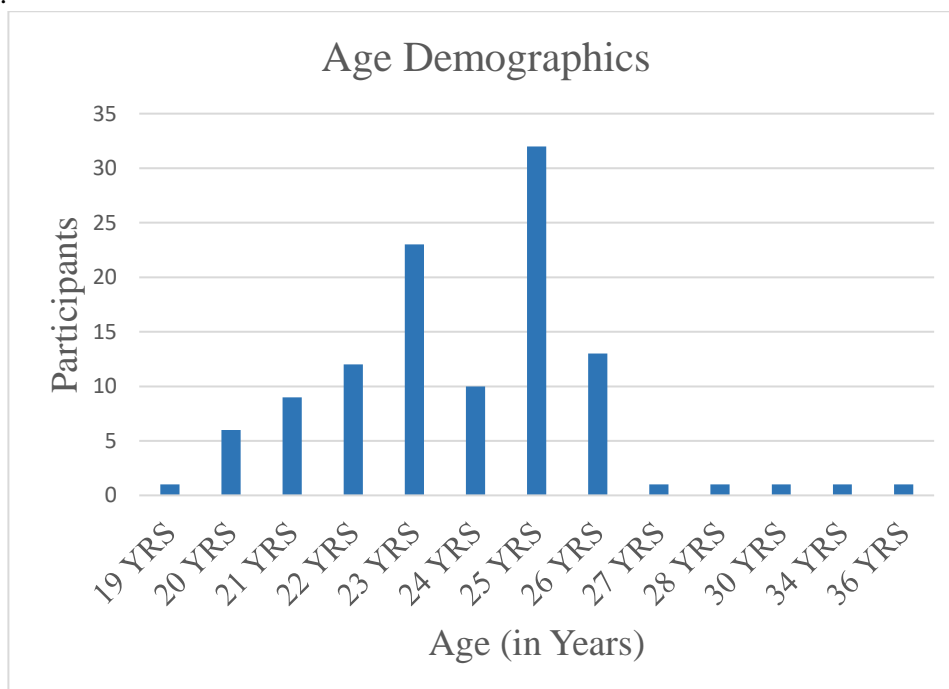
FIGURES

Figure 1:

Gender Demographics

Figure 2:

Age Demographics

Figure 3:

Figure 4:

Figure 5:

Where did you grow up?

Figure 6:

Education Level

Figure 7:

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
│        Participant Pool (N=101)          │
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│           Informed Consent               │
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│ Instructions on choosing slider on 100 pt. scale │
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│      Rate Target 1 and 15 Distractors    │
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│      Rate Target 2 and 15 Distractors    │
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┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐           Counterbalance
│      Rate Target 3 and 15 Distractors    │
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┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
│      Rate Target 4 and 15 Distractors    │
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│  Religious Schema Scale & Feminism Scale │
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│   Demographics & Religiosity Questions   │
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│ Debrief & Instructions to Obtain Compensation  │
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TABLES

Table 1:

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations for the 4 Targets on Attractiveness and Trustworthiness Ratings

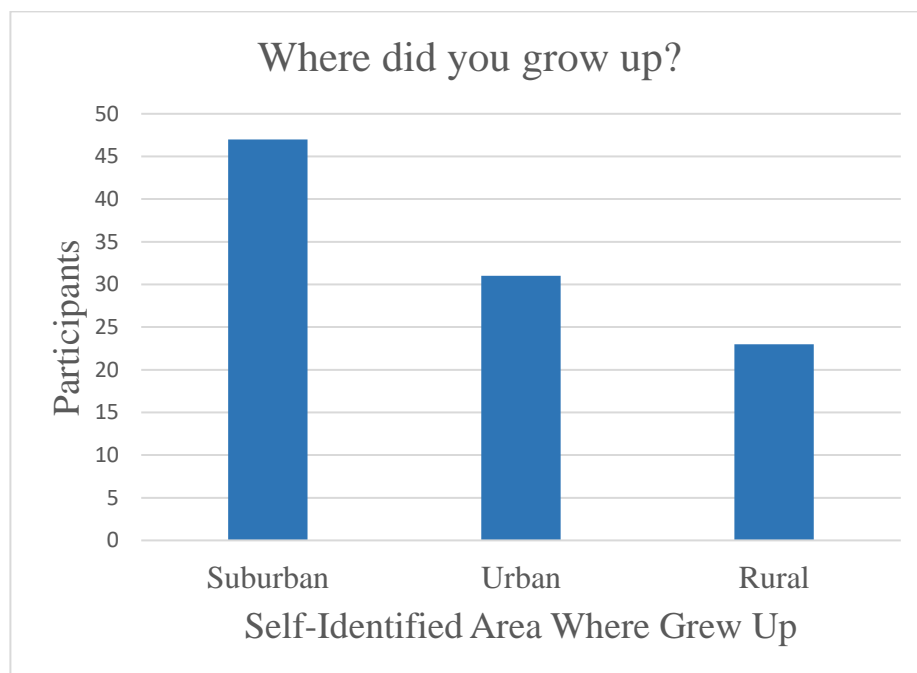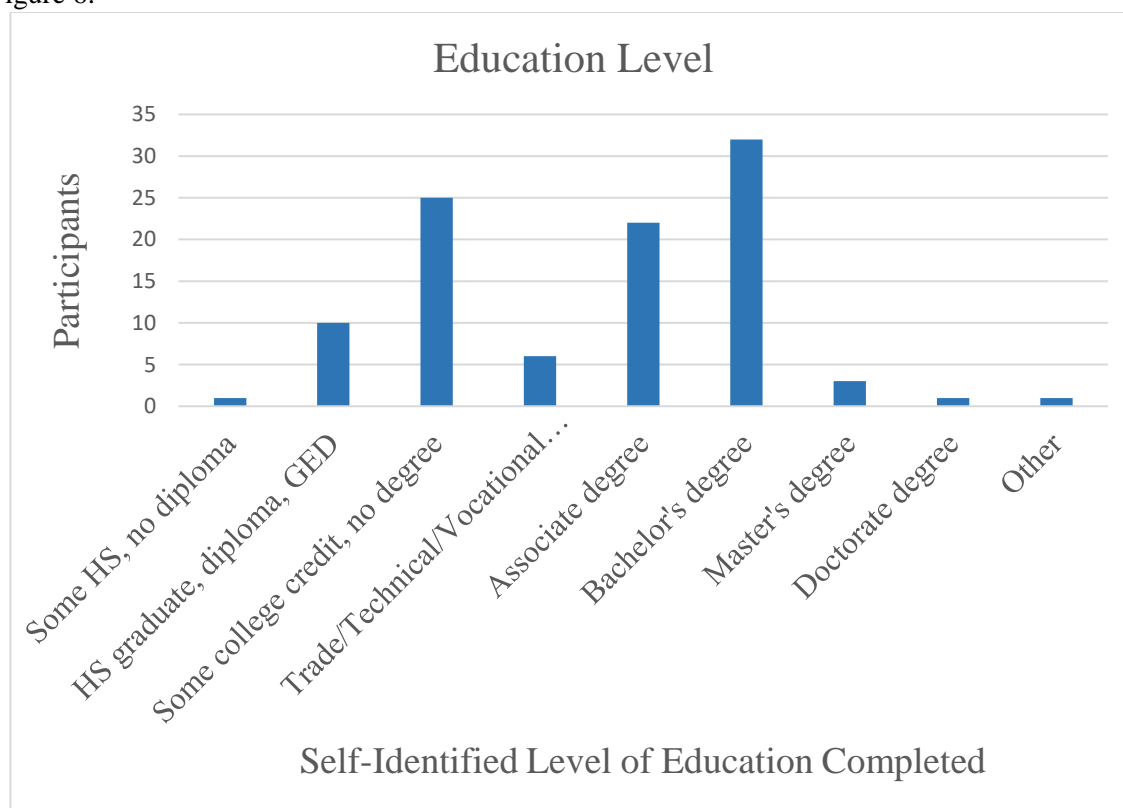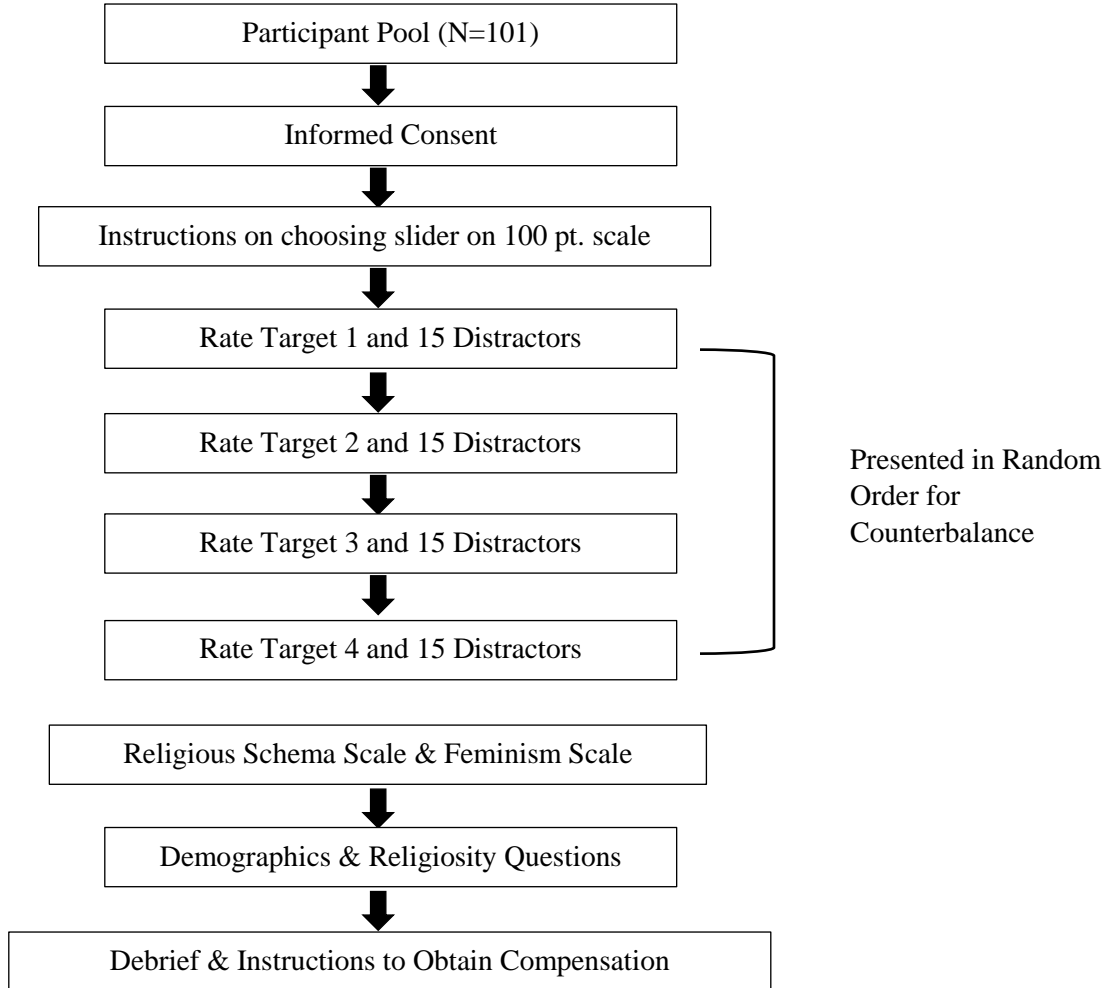| Variable	*M*	*SD*	A1	A2	A3	A4	T1	T2	T3	T4
Attr. 1	38.34	23.89	-							
Attr. 2	41.10	23.80	.78**	-						
Attr. 3	36.96	24.11	.86**	.84**	-					
Attr. 4	39.16	22.32	.77**	.82**	.74**	-				
Trust. 1	51.00	26.88	.56**	.48**	.51**	.48**	-			
Trust. 2	49.85	25.34	.55**	.56**	.52**	.56**	.73**	-		
Trust. 3	51.67	26.44	.50**	.51**	.54**	.42**	.79**	.79**	-	
Trust. 4	49.55	25.22	.47**	.46**	.43**	.59**	.75**	.81**	.66**	

1. Make-up and Hijab present; 2. Make-up present, Hijab absent; 3. Make-up absent, Hijab present; 4. Make-up and Hijab absent

Table 2:

Correlations of Religiousness, Liberalism, and Education with Religiousness and Feminism Scale Scores

	Religiousness Scale	Feminism Scale
Religiousness Scale	-	.093
Feminism Scale	.09	-
Self-Identified Religiousness	-0.32**	-0.11
Self-Identified Liberalism	.09	.39**
Education Completed	.03	-0.07

** - Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Table 3:

ANCOVA Summary Table of Attractiveness Ratings

Source	Sum Squares	Df	Mean Squared	F	Sig.	Partial η^2
Makeup	145.36	1	145.36	2.20	.141	.022
Makeup x Fem. Scale	25.54	1	25.54	0.39	.535	.004
Makeup x Rel. Scale	148.82	1	148.82	2.26	.136	.023
Error (Makeup)	6463.67	98	65.96	-	-	-
Hijab	558.84	1	558.84	4.01	.048	.039
Hijab x Fem. Scale	32.82	1	32.82	0.24	.629	.002
Hijab x Rel. Scale	1247.61	1	1247.61	8.96	.004**	.084
Error (Hijab)	13652.85	98	139.32	-	-	-
Makeup x Hijab	21.57	1	21.57	0.18	.67	.002
Makeup x Hijab x Fem	47.86	1	47.86	0.41	.526	.004
Makeup x Hijab x Rel.	4.61	1	4.61	0.04	.844	.000
Error (Makeup x Hijab)	11552.99	98	117.89	-	-	-

**$p < .01$

Table 4:

Attractiveness Rating Cell Means and Standard Errors

Makeup			
Hijab	With	Without	Main Effect
With	38.34	36.96	37.65
	(2.21)	(2.27)	(2.14)
Without	41.10	39.16	40.13
	(2.28)	(2.16)	(2.11)
Main Effect	39.72	38.06	
	(2.11)	(2.06)	

(Standard Errors are in parentheses)

Table 5:

ANCOVA Summary Table of Trustworthiness Ratings

Source	Sum Squares	Df	Mean Squared	F	Sig.	Partial η^2
Makeup	559.91	1	559.91	7.04	.009	.067
Makeup x Fem. Scale	217.95	1	217.95	2.74	.101	.027
Makeup x Rel. Scale	358.18	1	358.18	4.50	.036*	.044
Error (Makeup)	7798.26	98	79.57	-	-	-
Hijab	8.92	1	8.92	0.04	.842	.000
Hijab x Fem. Scale	611.31	1	611.31	2.75	.101	.027
Hijab x Rel. Scale	160.64	1	160.64	0.72	.397	.007
Error (Hijab)	21797.12	98	222.42	-	-	-
Makeup x Hijab	5.57	1	5.57	0.03	.865	.000
Makeup x Hijab x Fem	2.29	1	2.29	0.01	.914	.000
Makeup x Hijab x Rel.	0.45	1	0.45	0.002	.962	.000
Error (Makeup x Hijab)	18912.78	98	192.99	-	-	-

*$p < .05$

Table 6:

Trustworthiness Rating Cell Means and Standard Errors

	Makeup		
Hijab	With	Without	Main Effect
With	51.00	51.67	51.34
	(2.63)	(2.59)	(2.46)
Without	49.85	49.55	49.70
	(2.51)	(2.51)	(2.39)
Main Effect	50.43	50.61	
	(2.39)	(2.32)	

(Standard Errors are in parentheses)

APPENDIX

Appendix A: Informed Consent

My name is Courtney Swank and I am a Master's Student in the Experimental Psychology program at Georgia Southern University. I am conducting this research under the direction of Michael Nielsen, Chair of the Psychology Department at Georgia Southern University. We invite you to participate in this survey, in which we seek to better understand perceptions about different people.

We expect the study to take no longer than 30 minutes to complete. While there is little risk with completing this survey, you may experience discomfort while doing a task or answering questions. If at any time you wish to discontinue the survey, you may do so. You are not required to answer any question that makes you uncomfortable.

All data will be confidential. You will not be identified by name in the data set or any reports using information obtained from this study, and your confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure. De-identified or coded data from this study will be archived for at least three years and may be placed in a publically available repository for study validation and further research but your name will not be part of that record. Subsequent uses of records and data will be subject to standard data use policies, which protect the anonymity of individuals and institutions.

By participating in this study you have opportunity to help to advance our understanding of basic questions about psychology. You also will have the opportunity to gain first-hand experiences about how psychological research is done.

Participants have the right to ask questions and have those questions answered. If you have questions about this study, please contact me under courtney_l_swank@georgiasouthern.edu, or contact my faculty advisor Michael Nielsen (mnielsen@georgiasouthern.edu). For questions concerning your rights as a research participant, contact Georgia Southern University Office of Research Services and Sponsored Programs at 912- 478-5465. You will receive compensation through the Amazon Turk program**.**

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and you may end your participation at any time by closing your browser.

You must be 18 years of age or older to consent to participate in this research study. This project has been reviewed and approved by the GSU Institutional Review Board under tracking number H18049.

Do you consent to participate in this survey after reading the above information?

 o Yes   o No

Appendix B: Target Stimuli

Condition: Hijab Present,

Cosmetics Absent

Condition: Hijab Present,

Cosmetics Present
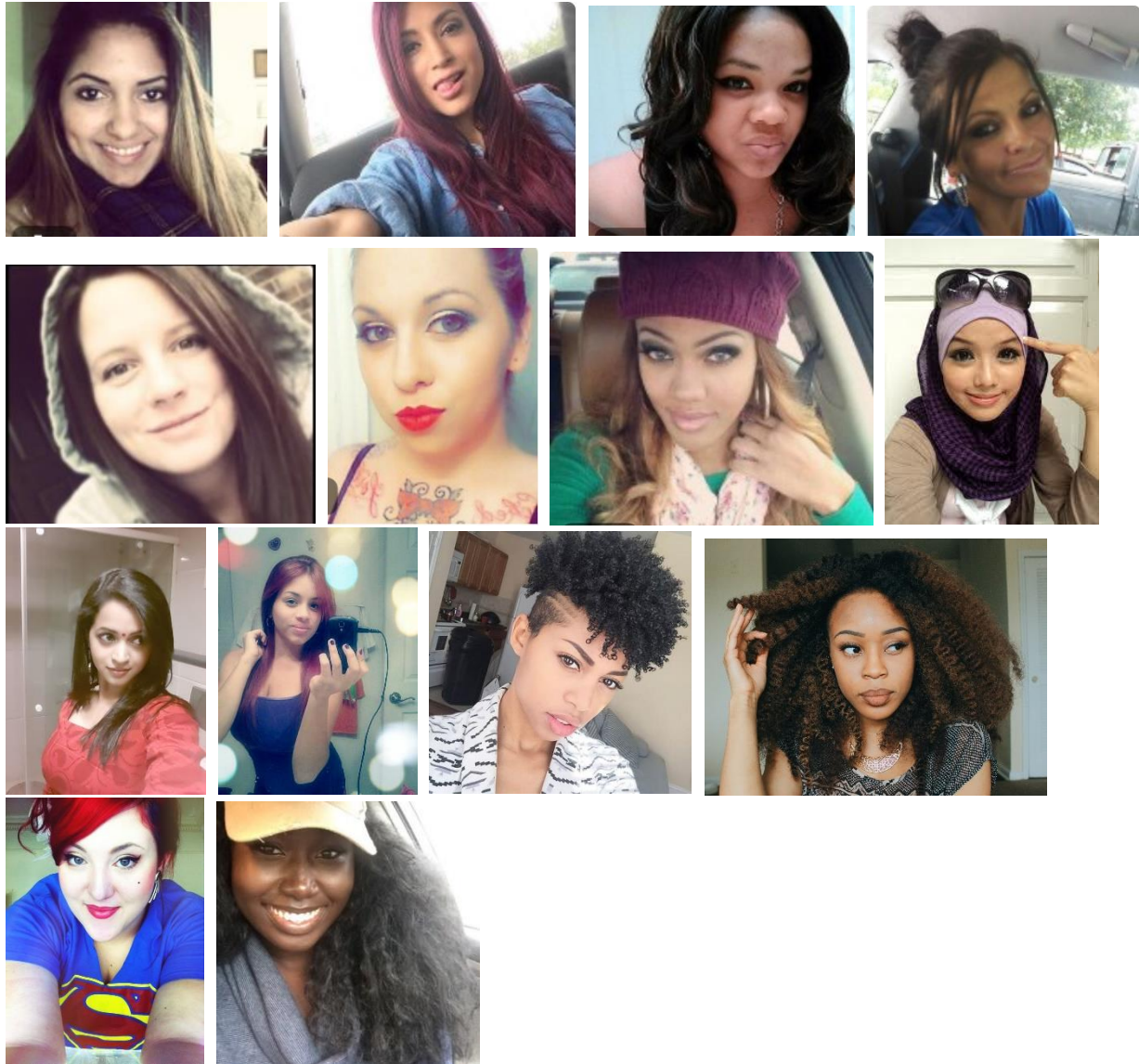

Condition: Hijab Absent,

Cosmetics Absent

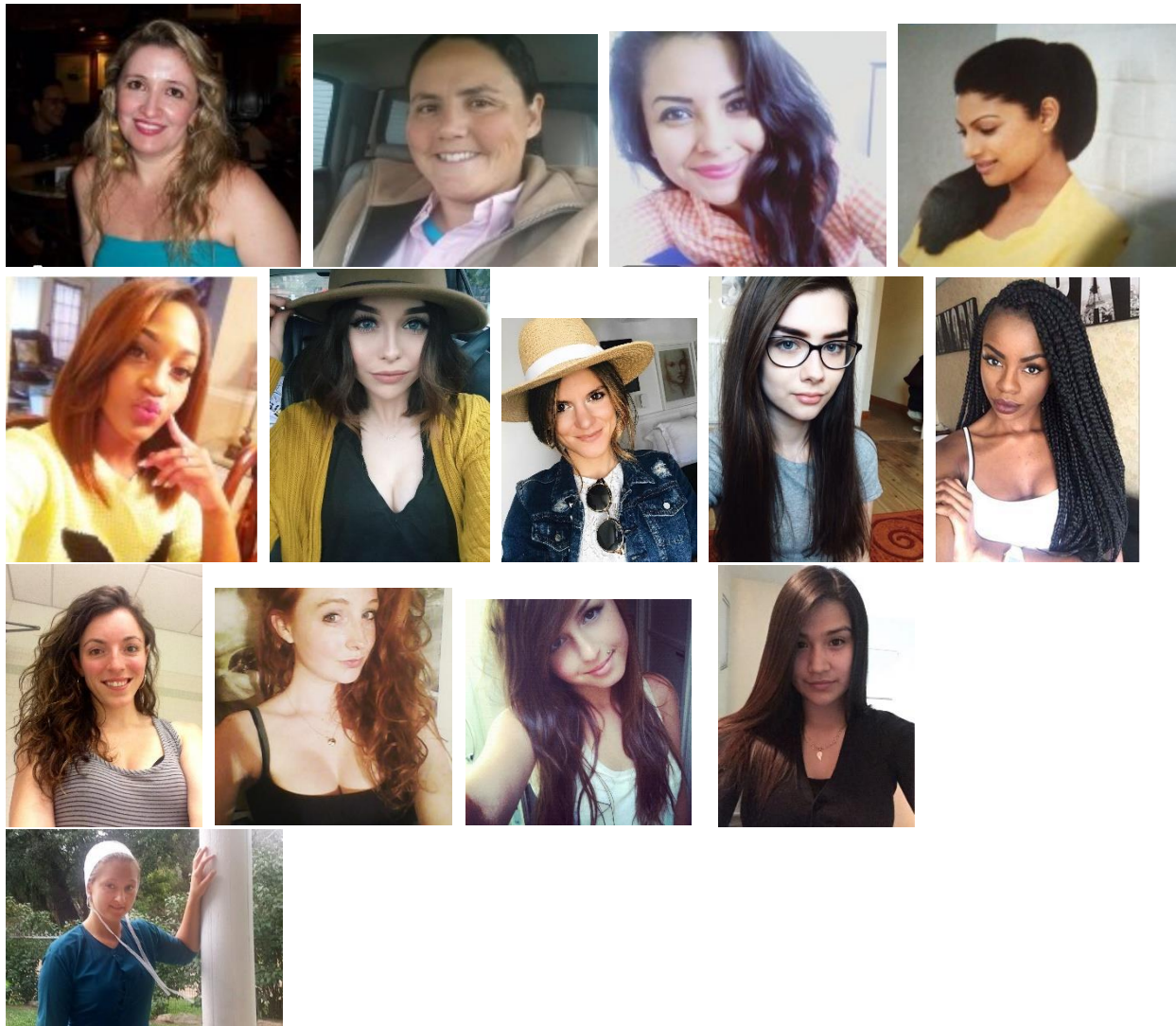Condition: Hijab Absent,

Cosmetics Present
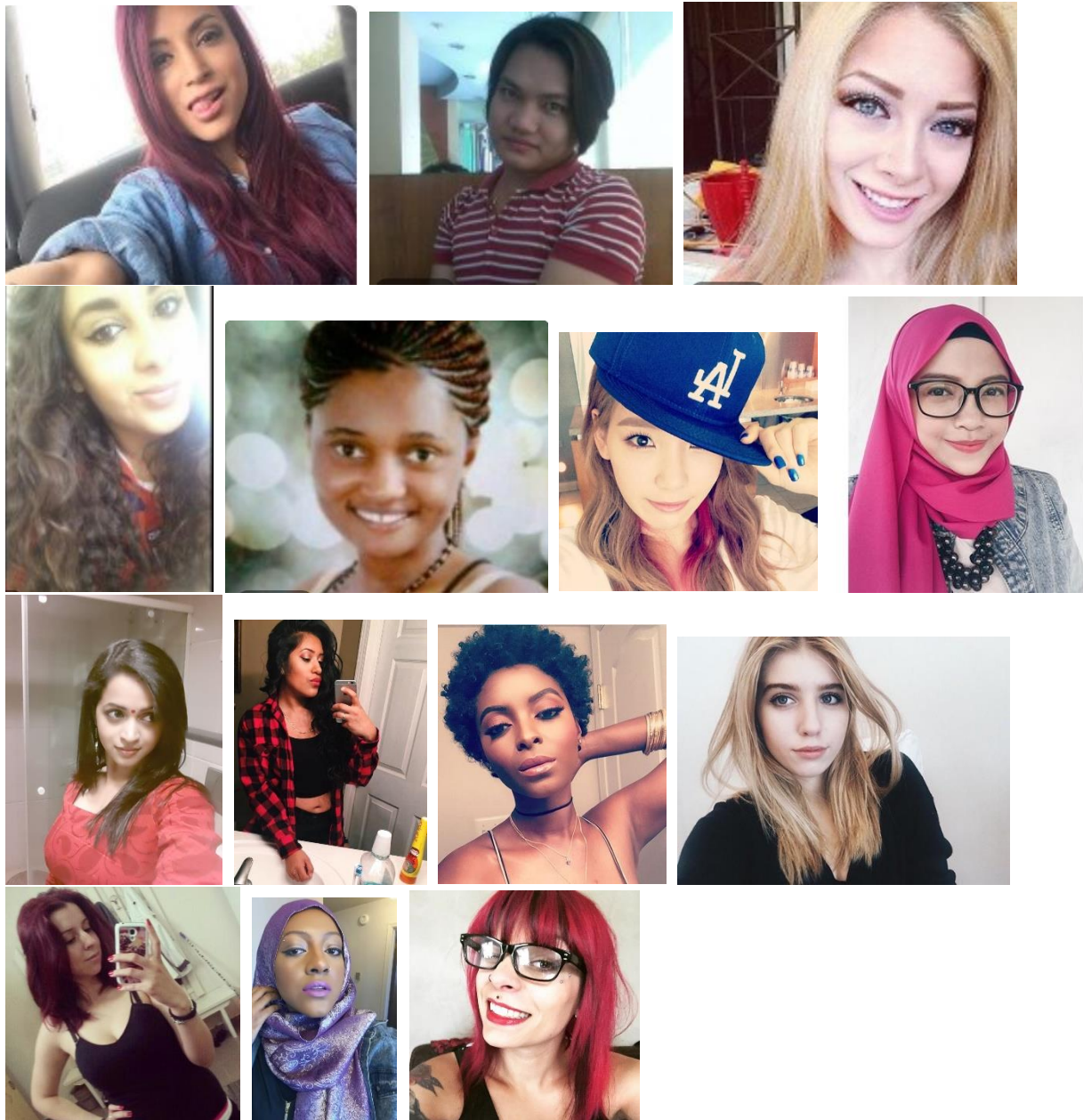
Appendix C: Distractor Photographs/Stimuli
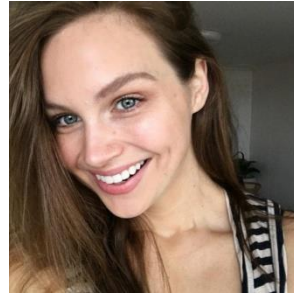
Distractor Group 1:

Distractor Group 2:

Distractor Group 3:

Distractor Group 4:

Appendix D: Religious Schema Scale Questions

All questions will be presented with a 5-point Likert-type scale, such as:

Strongly Agree 1----------------2----------------3----------------4----------------5 Strongly Disagree

(Truth of Texts and Teachings)

1. What the texts and stories of my religion tell me is absolutely true and must not be changed.
2. When people want to know how the world came to be, they need to hear a creation story.
3. When I have to make a decision, I take care that my plans are acceptable by my religious teachings.
4. The stories and teachings of my religion give meaning to the experiences of my life and reveal the unchangeable truth about God or the Divine.
5. The teachings of my religion offer answers to any questions in my life, if I am ready to listen.

(Fairness, Tolerance, Rational Choice)

6. When I make a decision, I look at all sides of the issue and come up with the best decision possible.
7. Although every person deserves respect and fairness, arguments need to be voiced rationally.
8. We should resolve differences in how people appear to each other through fair and just discussion.
9. Regardless of how people appear to each other, we are all human.
10. It is important to understand others through a sympathetic understanding of their culture and religion.

(Xenosophia, Inter-Religious Dialog)

11. We can learn from each other what ultimate truth each religion contains.
12. We need to look beyond the denominational and religious differences to find the ultimately reality.
13. When I make a decision, I am open to contradicting proposals from diverse sources and philosophical standpoints.
14. Religious stories and representations from any religion unite me with the ultimate universe.
15. The trust I see in other world views leads me to re-examine my current views.

Appendix E: Feminism Scale

All questions were presented with a 6-point Likert-type scale, such as:

No, not at all 1----------------2----------------3----------------4----------------5----------------6 Yes, completely

1. In daily life, do you think you fight, in your own way, against inequalities between men and women?
2. Do you consider yourself a person with feminist convictions?
3. Are you ready to engage in feminist causes (for example, in an active group/organization, or as a participant in protests, etc.)?

Appendix F: Demographics and Religiosity Questionnaire

What is your religious affiliation?

Christianity

Islam

Judaism

Hinduism

Buddhism

Unitarian-Universalists

Agnostic

Atheist

No religious affiliation

Other: _____

What is your ethnicity?

Caucasian

African American

Hispanic or Latin American

Native American

Asian American

Pacific Islander

Other: _____

How would you describe yourself:

	Not religious						religious
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	Very conservative						Very liberal
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Demographics

Age: (dropdown)

I am… o male

o female

o other/don't want to answer

I would consider where I grew up as: (dropdown)

o Urban

o Suburban

o Rural

o other/don't want to answer

Education completed: (dropdown)

o Some high school, no diploma

o High school graduate, diploma, or the equivalent (example: GED)

o Some college credit, no degree

o Trade/technical/vocational training

o Associate degree

o Bachelor's degree

o Master's degree

o Professional degree

o Doctorate degree

o other/don't want to answer

Appendix G: Debriefing and How to Obtain Compensation

Thank you for your participation in our survey! If an adverse event occurs as a result of this study, or if you have any questions at all about the study, please contact Michael Nielsen, Ph.D., via email: mnielsen@georgiasouthern.edu, or Courtney Swank, B.A., via email: courtney_l_swank@georgiasouthern.edu.

In the survey, we were interested in perceptions about head coverings with religious connotations. The underlying themes within the study are often analyzed by Psychology researchers, and those themes include: Implicit Bias and the Halo Effect.

Implicit Bias refers to the attitudes or stereotypes which affect our actions, decisions, and understanding in a way that is unconscious. These biases can be favorable or unfavorable assessments, and they are activated involuntarily, without the individual's awareness. These biases are deep in the subconscious and are different from the known biases that individuals may choose to hide for political or social correctness. The implicit associations we have in the subconscious may cause us to have attitudes and feelings about others, based on characteristics such as ethnicity, race, age, or appearance. These associations are developed over our lifetime, starting from a very young age, due to direct or indirect messaging. Along with experiences, our media is often a cited origin of implicit associations.

The Halo Effect refers to the tendency a person has when given a good impression of another, to have the impression positively influence how the observer feels about that person. Simply, if you like someone, you are then more likely to see their actions as positive. This effect has a strong relation to attractiveness, and works not only with people, but brands, products, and companies. The Halo Effect is known as a type of Confirmation Bias, where when positive feelings in one area (attractiveness, for example), can cause other neutral traits (such as trustworthiness) to be viewed more positively. Just like implicit bias, the Halo Effect can work in either positive or negative directions. If an observer does not like one aspect of something/someone (for example, they find someone unattractive), they can generate a negative predisposition toward everything about it/them (they may think negative thoughts about that person in general).

Again, thank you for your time and participation. For any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact us!

TO OBTAIN COMPENSATION FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION, YOUR MTurk COMPLETION CODE WILL BE PROVIDED ON THE NEXT PAGE. Please contact Amazon Turk for questions or information.

To contact the Office of Research Compliance for answers to questions about the rights of research participants or for privacy concerns, please call the Georgia Southern University Office of Research Services and Sponsored Programs at (912) 478-5465. This project has been reviewed and approved by the GSU Institutional Review Board under tracking number H18049.