SOCIAL MEDIA FOR SOCIAL CHANGE: DEVELOPING SOCIAL MEDIA STRATEGIES
TO INFLUENCE NEGATIVE CULTURAL ASSUMPTIONS

by

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Abstract

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This research explores how social media can effectively be used by community activists to influence negative cultural assumptions. This study focused on challenging stereotypical attitudes towards Muslim women who wear hijab. Ten participants responded to a pre-campaign survey, which gathered their attitudes towards head coverings, specifically people in baseball caps (non-religious headgear) and hijabs (Muslim headscarf). Participants then followed a two-week social media campaign, developed with the Canadian Council of Muslim Women (Toronto chapter), that addressed common assumptions about women in hijab, and answered a post-campaign survey to assess the campaign's impact. Seven participants said the campaign successfully challenged negative stereotypes about women who wear hijab, and five said the campaign positively influenced their ideas about this cultural group. Participants said the profiles of successful women who wear hijab were most effective, which seems to indicate that positive stories may have more impact in creating social change.

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Chapter 1: Social Media for Social Change

1.1. Why Social Media?

Social media is a powerful and ubiquitous tool in our digitally connected world. There are billions of people on social platforms, such as Facebook. As of July 2016, there were over 1.71 billion users worldwide, with 1.57 billion of those users accessing Facebook on mobile devices ("The Top 20," 2016). These numbers do not represent people who have simply signed up for an account. These are the numbers of monthly active users (MAU) on Facebook, which is defined as people who interacted with the platform at least once during a 30-day reporting period. As stated in the Zephoria Digital Marketing report that gathers these statistics, "in case you had any lingering doubts, statistically, Facebook is too big to ignore" ("The Top 20," 2016).

Facebook is not the only significant social media platform. The micro-blogging platform Twitter (for messages or 'tweets' of 140 or fewer characters), launched in 2006. As of March, 2016, it reported 320 million MAU ("Here's How," 2016). The photo-sharing platform Instagram, which launched in 2010, has surpassed Twitter, reporting half a million MAU (Smith, 2016). In 2013, The Huffington Post reported the video-sharing platform YouTube (owned by Google Inc.) had one billion unique users. A spokesperson for the platform was quoted as saying, "If YouTube were a country, we'd be the third largest in the world after China and India" ("YouTube Stats," 2013). As of 2015, 3.2 billion people, or close to half the earth's population, were on the Internet (Davidson, 2015). Even with the overlap factor (many users are on more than one social media platform), it is clear that the majority of people who use the Internet are also on social media platforms. Even if you consider the number of people on Facebook alone, it would represent more than half the people on the Internet. So what does all this connectivity mean? What are the majority of people actually doing on social media platforms?

The main goal of social platforms is to encourage sharing by establishing connections with other people. Facebook users create networks of people called "friends". In some cases, these may be actual friends they spend time with offline, in the real world. Facebook friends are often also family members, friends of friends, work colleagues, and people you haven't seen since high school. Through posts and tweets that feature photos, links to articles and videos, and other media, we share aspects of our lives with our social networks. We may share news of a promotion, opinions on an upcoming election, photos from our last vacation, or a cute cat video. As of 2015, there were over two million cat videos on YouTube, and one hour of new cat video was being uploaded every second (Pai, 2016). As of July 2016, Nala the cat had three million Instagram followers (https://www.instagram.com/nala_cat/?hl=en).

Sharing what we do, and what we like is certainly social. But are we missing opportunities to encourage more meaningful interactions? Can we more effectively use social media for social good? Social media has certainly been used to raise awareness about social and political events. A well known example is the role social media played in the Arab Spring uprisings in 2011. "It's reasonable to believe that the repressive regimes that were toppled in Tunisia and Egypt (among other places) in recent years would not have been challenged so violently and so quickly if not for the power that digital technology and social media offer citizens and groups" (Reich & Case, 2011, p. 175). Social media did not solve the problems on the ground, but it did provide the means for activists to mobilize support. Social media expert Rafat Ali said in a Wired Magazine interview, "Facebook and Twitter played different roles in the uprising. Facebook helped to organize the activists inside the country…while Twitter functioned to help get the message out to the broader world" (Gustin, 2011). Awareness was raised, and people around the globe voiced their support for the pro-democracy campaigns on

social media. But did this raised awareness lead to substantive social change? Five years later, has life improved for people in the Arab states? And is there still an active support network online?

Online activism is sometimes referred to as "slacktivism", and it is one of the main challenges in trying to educate and motivate people around issues through social platforms. Wikipedia describes slacktivism as "a pejorative term that describes 'feel-good' measures, in support of an issue or social cause, that have little physical or practical effect, other than to make the person doing it feel satisfied that they have contributed" ("Slacktivism," 2016). Social media platforms make it easy to superficially perform activism with minimal effort, often with a single mouse click or touch screen tap. On Facebook, you can respond to shared media with one of six reactions (like, love, haha, wow, sad, angry). On Twitter and Instagram you can "heart" content in your feed. Because these options are limited, context is often missing. As the late David Carr of *The New York Times* wrote, "it gets more complicated when the subjects are more complicated. Hitting the favorite button on the first episode of 'Mad Men' is a remarkably different gesture than expressing digital solidarity with kidnapped children in Africa, but it all sort of looks the same at the keyboard" (Carr, 2012).

How do we translate that casual support of causes on social media into real social change? Can social media campaigns tackle difficult, uncomfortable, systemic, and entrenched issues like racism, and hope to achieve measurable and sustainable change? This research study focuses on how community activists can effectively use social media to create visible impact in a way that is meaningful to the goals of the cause. Community activists are the target audience because they tackle big social issues with small, even non-existent, budgets. Social media is

ubiquitous and, for the most part, free. There are certainly premium subscription models and the ability to pay for ads and "boost posts" on social media. But community activists rarely have the resources to pay for promotion. Their work is done through mobilizing support, educating the public on the issues, and encouraging action. This work can be done on social media platforms, and audience engagement can be measured in the form of likes, comments and shares. What is difficult to discern is how interaction with social media content impacts the user's thinking and actions in the real world, and in the long-term.

This study explores the effects of a social media campaign on participant attitudes towards a visible and marginalized cultural community that has experienced many incidents of racism in Canada - Muslim women who wear hijab (religious head covering). By employing a social media strategy that challenges stereotypical assumptions about Muslim women who wear hijab with new and celebratory stories from the community, this research will demonstrate that social media can have a positive effect on negative cultural assumptions.

1.2. Why Muslim Women in Hijab?

Women who wear hijab are visible members of the Muslim community, and therefore, easily identified and targeted. Though Canada is described as a "cultural mosaic" where, theoretically, citizens are free to demonstrate a diversity of beliefs and customs, in practice acceptance and tolerance depends on the cultural attitudes of the people upholding these freedoms. The Press Progress, a Broadbent Institute media project that focuses on social issues, looked at perceptions of multiculturalism over a 12-year period, and found that pride decreased as the number of visible minority immigrants increased. In 2003, 85 percent of Canadians said that multiculturalism was "a source of pride and a significant aspect of the Canadian identity" ("Press Project," 2015). In 2015, 46 percent of Canadians polled said "we admit too many visible minorities into our country" ("Press Project," 2015).

Visible difference is a key factor. A 2012 study showed a rise in Islamophobia in Canada since the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001, stating that Muslims "have experienced increased scrutiny, negative stereotyping and discrimination as a result of pre-existing perceptions of Muslims as "different" from the rest of Canadian society, along with negative associations of their communities with violence and terrorism" (Jamil, 2012). The negativity exhibited towards those that are perceived as "different" was "experienced more concretely by Muslim women who wore the hijab" (Jamil, 2012).

Discrimination towards Muslim women who wear head coverings was politicized and legitimized when Prime Minister Stephen Harper attempted to ban the wearing of the niqab (a veil that covers the head and face, leaving only the eyes visible) at Canadian citizenship

swearing-in ceremonies. Making this part of his campaign platform in the last federal election (2015) was perplexing, as it was basically a non-issue. Only two women had ever requested to wear the niqab during the citizenship ceremony, and both had lifted the veil prior to the ceremony for identity confirmation. But Harper's reference to niqab as a "barbaric cultural practice", and his comment that he would "never tell my young daughter that a woman should cover her face because she is a woman" (Patriquin, 2015) emboldened Canadians who held similar views to express them.

The political focus on Muslim women did not end at Canada's borders. Former British Prime Minister David Cameron (resigned July 2016, after the Brexit vote) proposed a national program to teach Muslim women in the UK how to speak English. He said that a lack of knowledge of the English language, coupled with the "traditionally submissive" nature of Muslim women prevented them from "speaking out against the influence of the radical Imams" on their children, who then turned to extremism (Hughes, 2016). Cameron's proposal was met with a massive backlash on Twitter, aggregated under the hashtag #traditionallysubmissive, an anti-racism campaign that will be explored further. Suffice it to say, the political targeting of Muslim women was international in scope.

Muslim women have also been the victims of hate-based crimes. According to Toronto police statistics, hate crimes in general are decreasing, but attacks against Muslims are increasing. In 2015, there were 26 hate crimes against Muslims, and that number is considered low as the majority of race-based attacks are never reported (Da Silva, 2016). In November, 2015, a Toronto woman wearing hijab was viciously beaten by two men while picking up her children from school. They tore off her hijab, robbed her, and called her a terrorist who didn't

belong in Canada (Ross, 2015). In June, 2016, a London, Ontario woman was spit on, punched several times, and had her hair pulled as an attacker tried to pull off her hijab. This was while she was grocery shopping with her baby (Da Silva, 2016). A recent Environics poll of 600 Muslims across Canada showed that 42 percent of Muslim women experienced discrimination in the last five years, compared with 27 percent of Muslim men. Nearly two-thirds of the women said they were "identifiably Muslim", and most of them, like the women in the two examples above, experienced discrimination in everyday public places, like stores, banks and on public transit (Khan, 2016).

When the discrimination is a hate crime or other action that violates the laws of Canada, victims can access the justice system. And when the racism is systemic, people can file a human rights claim. But these systems are backlogged, and it often takes months, even years, to resolve issues. More significantly, these systems are not equipped to deal with the more common and persistent forms of racism that Muslim women and other cultural groups face, often described as microaggressions. The many misassumptions about why women wear hijab, and how these women are viewed and treated as a result, may not contravene Canadian laws, but they have real, negative impacts on the lives of these women. The assumptions range from stereotypical notions that many of these women are oppressed and coerced into wearing hijab, to more troubling accusations that hijab represents support of an extreme form of Islam championed by terrorists. Educating the public about these entrenched social prejudices is work taken on by community activists and members of grassroots organizations. Increasingly, social media is playing a greater role in these social change movements. The next section explores the challenges and limitations of online social change campaigns.

1.3. Social Media and Social Change Campaigns

There has been no shortage of attempts to raise awareness and gain support for various causes on social media. In the book *Shift and Reset: Strategies for Addressing Serious Issues in a Connected Society*, Malcolm Gladwell was quoted as saying, "the new tools of social media have reinvented social activism. With Facebook and Twitter and the like, the traditional relationship between the political authority and popular will has been upended, making it easier for the powerless to collaborate, coordinate, and give voice to their concerns" (Reich & Case, 2011, p. 208). Gladwell's statement certainly seems applicable to the Arab Spring revolution of 2011. As mentioned earlier, demonstrators coordinated local events on Twitter, and shared photos and stories with the world on Facebook, resulting in the overthrow of Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali. "The extent to which social media caused the overthrow of Ben Ali is up for debate, but the ubiquity of new media in galvanizing opposition forces is not" (Reich & Case, 2011, p. 208).

Social media has also been used effectively to raise money and awareness for various health causes, from breast cancer to amyotrophic lateral sclerosis or ALS (also known as Lou Gehrig's Disease). Every October, the Internet is "pink" with support for breast cancer awareness. The pinnacle event for breast cancer awareness is the Susan G. Komen Foundation's "Race for the Cure", in which a million people participate annually (Reich & Case, 2011, p. 35). The Foundation's annual report for 2015 states "The Race for the Cure® series raised $86.4 million with 154 Races around the globe" ("Susan G. Komen Foundation," 2015). In *Shift and Reset,* the authors write that the "pinkification" of breast cancer is both good and bad. From a branding perspective, it's excellent. Everyone knows what the pink ribbon stands for. The

problem, the authors say, is that you don't want people to "treat your issue the same way they'd treat a can of soda" (Reich & Case, 2011, p. 117). Social causes do not work as commodities that can be engaged with temporarily and tossed in the recycling bin. They require complete buy-in to the values and goals of the cause, and a long-term commitment that extends beyond a like, retweet, or one-time donation. Reich and Case argue that there's far too much focus on events in social cause campaigns, and not enough on actions that make a difference (Reich & Case, 2011, p. 34). They ask us to consider what happens after the month of "pink" is over? Does the interest in breast cancer last? Have we seen increased awareness translate into real-world actions, such as more self-breast exams, or earlier and more frequent detection of cancers? Most importantly, "is all this activity actually moving us closer to finding a cure?" (Reich & Case, 2011, p. 35).

A recent campaign that successfully used social media to raise awareness and money for research was the ALS Ice Bucket Challenge. The call to action was, and is simple. People nominate their friends in their social networks to accept a challenge: either dump a bucket of ice water on their heads, film it, and upload the video online, or donate $100 to ALS research. Since the campaign launched in August 2014, "more than 17 million people uploaded their challenge videos to Facebook; these videos were watched by 440 million people a total of 10 billion times" ("ALS Ice," 2016). In terms of donations, $115 million has been raised for ALS research so far, and the extra funds may have hastened the breakthrough discovery of a new gene tied to ALS (Rogers, 2016). Organizers say they will launch the Ice Bucket Challenge every August until a cure for ALS is found.

But what happens when causes are not as clearly defined and uncontroversial as raising awareness and funds to support breast cancer or ALS research? What if the social cause is more

complex, uncomfortable and potentially divisive? How do we talk about systemic social issues like racism in Canada, and how do we know if social media outreach is making, or can make, a difference? The next section explores three race-based campaigns, including two global hashtag campaigns - #BlackLivesMatter and #traditionallysubmissive - and a Toronto-based anti-Islamophobia campaign.

1.4. Social Media and Anti-Racism Campaigns

Anti-racism campaigns are difficult, because nobody wants to talk about, or reflect on, their personal connection to racism. Here in Canada, many uphold the belief that we are a tolerant nation, and though there is acknowledgment that things may not be perfect here, it is widely maintained that we do not subscribe to the ugly kinds of racism we hear about in America. "There are no Fergusons here" many Canadians say with pride, referring to the shooting death of Michael Brown, a black teenager who was shot by a white police officer while running away from him, allegedly with his hands up. The event happened in Ferguson, Missouri and spurred massive protests in the community, and around the world.

In the U.S., black people are three times more likely to be killed by police than white people, even though black people only represent about 13 percent of the U.S. population, whereas white people represent 62 percent ("Mapping," 2016). Police forces in Canada do not collect race-based statistics, so it is difficult to know what the numbers are. Certainly, there have been high profile incidents in the last couple of years, from the shooting death of Jermaine Carby, a black man, by a white Peel region police officer in 2014, to the shooting death of Andrew Loku, a 45-year-old father and former child soldier from South Sudan, who was shot and killed in his apartment by a Toronto police officer in 2016 (Battersby, 2016). So perhaps it's not that there are no Fergusons here, as clearly black men are shot and killed by white police in Canada. It's just more difficult to find out who did what here. In the Carby case, it took two years for his family to learn the name of the officer who shot him.

In an article comparing racism in Canada with that in the United States, author Scott Gilmore argues "our Fergusons are hidden deep in the bush, accessible only by chartered float plane: 49 percent of First Nations members live on remote reserves. Those who do live in urban

centres are mostly confined to a few cities in the Prairies. Fewer than 40,000 live in Toronto, not even one per cent of the total population of the Greater Toronto Area. Our racial problems are literally over the horizon, out of sight and out of mind" (Gilmore, 2015). Canada's treatment of First Nations people has been atrocious, from the legacy of residential schools, to the lack of investigation into more than 1200 murdered and missing Indigenous women and girls. In 2015, The Truth and Reconciliation Commission made 94 recommendations for all levels of government to work together on policies and programs to repair harm and reconcile relationships with the Indigenous people of Canada ("Truth," 2015).

Like the discriminatory treatment of First Nations people, though, discrimination towards black and Muslim people is also somewhat "out of sight, out of mind", not necessarily in a geographic sense, but in an experiential manner. An article in The Atlantic on race and social media reported a study that showed that white participants tended to post about personal events and entertainment news (60 percent), whereas black participants posted most often about schools and education (67 percent), and Hispanic participants posted most often about crime and public safety (Zhou, 2015). As Zhou explains, research shows "persistent racial inequities in both education and the criminal justice system, which may help explain why such topics are discussed more heavily by these groups on social media" (Zhou, 2015). In other words, if you haven't experienced systemic racism or discrimination personally, you are unlikely to talk about it, understand it, or even realize the problem exists. Out of sight, out of mind.

1.4.1. #BlackLivesMatter

Black Lives Matter is an activist movement that speaks out against violence and discriminatory practices against black people, and it began in 2013, on Twitter. The hashtag #BlackLivesMatter first appeared after George Zimmerman was acquitted in the shooting death of Trayvon Martin, a black teenager who was armed only with a can of iced tea and a bag of Skittles. Alicia Garza, one of the co-founders of Black Lives Matter, poured her outrage over the verdict onto social media. It started on Facebook, where she wrote what she calls a "love note" to Black America. She said, "Black People. I love you. I love us. Our lives matter" (Day, 2015). Her friend and fellow activist Patrisse Cullors started using the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter and an online social movement was born.

The hashtag #BlackLivesMatter was not only a forum for people to share their sadness, anger and outrage. It was also a tool for mobilization. When Michael Brown was shot to death in Ferguson, the hashtag was used to encourage people to participate in a "freedom ride" to Ferguson. More than 500 people signed up in 18 different cities across America. When the group arrived in Ferguson, many of the protesters were carrying signs that read "Black Lives Matter" (Day, 2015). After Ferguson, there were two takeaways for Black Lives Matter activists. One was that social media "could summon people to the streets and coordinate their movements in real time. And it could swiftly push back against spurious media narratives with the force of a few thousand retweets" (Stephen, 2015). Using the power of social media to mobilize people on the ground and get key messages out mirrored the actions of Arab Spring activists only a few years before. The other key takeaway was that powerful protest did not require hierarchical

leadership in the form of a charismatic leader like a Martin Luther King or a Malcolm X. As Garza told The Guardian newspaper, "If you're only looking for the straight black man who is a preacher, you're not going to find it" (Day, 2015). Black Lives Matter "combines localised power structures with an inclusive ethos that consciously incorporates women, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer activists. DeRay Mckesson, one of the most high-profile activists with a Twitter following of 176,000, is a gay man. Garza identifies as queer (her husband is transgender)" (Day, 2015).

Research shows that social media is also the right communication tool to reach young black people. The vast majority of black people (18-29 years) who use the Internet - 96 percent - are on at least one social media platform. Forty percent of those users are on Twitter, 12 percent higher than white people in the same age group (Day, 2015).

Since Michael Brown was shot to death in Ferguson in 2014, there have been many other young black men killed in America by police. Tamir Rice was only twelve when he was shot and killed by police in a public park in Cleveland, Ohio while reaching for a toy gun. Freddie Gray died while in police custody in Baltimore, Maryland. The cause of death was spinal cord injury, but there has been no explanation as to how the 25-year-old man sustained these injuries (Day, 2015). Alton Sterling was a 37-year-old black man who was shot several times at close range by white police officers as he was being held down on the ground in Baton Rouge, Louisiana (Lopez, 2016). Philando Castile was a 32-year-old black man who was shot by a police officer through a car window. His girlfriend, Lavish Reynolds, used her cell phone to stream the event live on Facebook, narrating what was happening every minute while Castile bled to death, and her four-year-old daughter cried in the back seat (McBride, 2016).

If black men are still dying at the hands of police, is Black Lives Matter working? Since hashtag #BlackLivesMatter began three years ago, the movement has consistently focused on issues of police brutality, racial profiling and racial inequalities in the justice system. The online movement has spawned 30 local chapters around the world, including an active, and sometimes controversial chapter, in Toronto. Black Lives Matter Toronto (BLMTO) led protests that succeeded in winning public inquests into the deaths of Jermaine Carby and Andrew Loku (Battersby, 2016). In July, 2016, BLMTO staged a sit-in at the Pride Parade in Toronto and refused to move until Pride organizers signed an agreement to increase racial representation at future Pride events, and ban police floats from the parade (Mehta, 2016). BLMTO received hate mail over its tactics, but co-founder Janaya Khan offered no apologies in an article she wrote for Now Magazine. "Our action was in the tradition of resistance that is Pride. We didn't halt progress; we made progress" (Khan, 2016).

In the U.S., Black Lives Matter protests were instrumental in pressuring governments to investigate police practices in Ferguson and Baltimore. Six police officers were charged in connection with Freddie Gray's death, including charges of false imprisonment, manslaughter and "second-degree depraved heart murder", but no one was found guilty of any of the charges. The organization also helped secure the removal of the Confederate flag from the South Carolina capitol, challenged Democratic presidential contenders to present their ideas and solutions on issues that affect black people, and launched Campaign Zero, a project that recommends 10 proposals to reduce police violence (Stephen, 2015).

The phrase "Black Lives Matter" is now commonly used in public. Democratic Presidential candidate Hillary Clinton referred to the movement in a speech. Black Lives Matter

has been referenced on popular television shows like "Law and Order" and "Empire", and in 2015, the American Dialect Society declared it the "word" of the year (Day, 2015).

Considering the fact that Black Lives Matter has only existed for three years, the organization has accomplished a lot. Through the creation of the hashtag#BlackLivesMatter, it has provided a digital space where people around the world can voice their outrage, share stories, raise awareness about discriminatory practices towards black people, and advocate for possible solutions. The creation of 30 local chapters has allowed BLM activists to do work on the ground, mobilizing local supporters and staging protests to meet explicit goals. A two-week sit-in orchestrated by BLMTO outside of Toronto police headquarters was peaceful but unwavering in its demand for a public inquest into the shooting death of Andrew Loku by police. And it succeeded. Coroner Dr. Jim Edwards called for an inquest in April 2016, saying he was influenced by pressure exerted by Black Lives Matter and other activists. The sit-in staged by BLMTO during the Pride Parade was more problematic. Demanding a ban on police floats does not have the same resonance as demanding an inquiry into the killing of a black man, and blockading an event that celebrates the LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer/questioning) community, a group that has also faced discrimination, seemed inappropriate. Though BLMTO technically succeeded in getting a sign-off on its demands, its hostile tactics during what should have been a festive and non-political event angered many, and may have lost the movement some local supporters. The lack of hierarchy in the BLM movement may also be a problem. If it continues to expand, the organization may have to consider a leadership structure, to ensure consistency in focus and approach with respect to future goals that need to be accomplished.

1.4.2. #TraditionallySubmissive

The hashtag #traditionallysubmissive launched in 2015, after comments made by David Cameron, who was Britain's Prime Minister at the time. He proposed spending 20 million pounds to provide English lessons for Muslim women in the UK. His stated goal was to tackle the "traditional submissiveness of Muslim women", and encourage them to challenge imams who were trying to radicalize their children (Kassam, 2016). The response was massive and swift. Muslim women around the world posted photos and comments on Twitter under the hashtag #traditionallysubmissive. It was created by Shelina Janmohamed, author of *Love in a Headscarf*. In an interview with the BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation), Janmohamed said she was offended by Cameron's comments. "That's just one stereotype about Muslim women, it's not how we all are. We are vibrant, diverse, we're talented and we have opinions. The prime minister is always saying we need to take up British values, so I responded in the most British way I could - with sarcasm" ("Traditionally," 2016). Within hours of activating the hashtag, there were more than 33,000 tweets posted ("Traditionally," 2016). Here are a few examples:

- Columbia grad, BBC journo, Pilates instructor, sport enthusiast and mummy. Yes, Cameron #TraditionallySubmissive

- @David_Cameron I speak 4 languages, how many do you speak? #TraditionallySubmissive

- @David_Cameron #Muslim women have a voice in the UK, just ask us and we'll answer #TraditionallySubmissive

- @David_Cameron If only I couldn't speak English I'd be spared your patronising propaganda!#TraditionallySubmissive

The social media campaign was supported by Muslim and non-Muslim women, including celebrities like JK Rowling, author of the *Harry Potter* series. She retweeted many of the pictures to her millions of followers, which means that millions of people were exposed to the campaign. However, once the story had played out in the media, the tweets began to dwindle, and updates are infrequent now. In the month of July, 2016, there were nine new tweets posted. The hashtag campaign #traditionallysubmissive did capture media attention and raise public awareness. But the focus was short-lived, as most news events are, and when the news cycle had ended, what had really changed? The hashtag provided a space where Muslim women could rebel against David Cameron's perceptions of them, but was anyone influenced by the campaign? Is it likely that people who concurred with Mr. Cameron about the nature of Muslim women spent anytime scrolling through the tweets on #traditionallysubmissive? And if any of them did, is there any evidence that the hashtag campaign changed anyone's ideas?

1.4.2. OCASI/City of Toronto Anti-Islamophobia Campaign

Coincidentally, the day after we launched our social media campaign to challenge assumptions about Muslim women who wear hijab, the City of Toronto, in partnership with OCASI (Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants) launched a media campaign addressing Islamophobia and xenophobia. The campaign involved placing posters in bus shelters across the city. One poster depicted a white man telling a Muslim woman in hijab, "Go back to where you came from," to which she responds, "Where, North York?" Below this exchange ran the campaign slogan: "Muslims are part of Toronto" (Da Silva, 2016). The campaign was not well-received. It enjoyed a day of media attention that focused on the "controversial nature" of the campaign, and then news of the campaign disappeared. It's perplexing why organizers chose to use bus shelter posters, a dated and static form of mass communication. If the campaign organizers had hoped to start a conversation, they would have been wiser to launch the campaign on social media, where people may have been more likely to comment on this controversial topic, rather than face to face with strangers at a bus stop. Using social networks would have also expanded the potential reach of the campaign, and allowed campaign organizers to address criticisms and adjust campaign content quickly and easily. It's a more complicated matter to redesign, reprint, and replace paper posters.

A key criticism was the literal "black and white" approach to the issue. The photography was black and white, and the people in the photo were black and white. People thought the campaign implied that only white men are racists. Debbie Douglas, executive director of OCASI, had this to say: "The whole idea that this ad is somehow demonizing white men is kind of surprising...This ad really isn't about the issues of white people. It's really about the experiences

of racialized immigrants and refugees, in particular Muslim women. Is it only white men who are Islamophobic? Absolutely not, but we use the image of a white man as a way to also talk about power relations" (Da Silva, 2016). According to Douglas, the campaign was pitched prior to the arrival of Syrian refugees in Canada, and was meant to focus on the experiences of "racialized immigrants and refugees". But this focus is not clear in the poster. There is a photo of a woman in hijab, but many Canadian-born Muslims wear hijab too. How can anyone tell whether she is an immigrant or natural born citizen just by looking at her? It seems a better focus may have been to highlight the many intrusions experienced by all people who appear "different" from what some consider a bona fide Canadian. "The belief that Canadians are white is still the prevailing notion, and people with different hair and skin tones must have come from somewhere else" (Da Silva, 2016). Even if their families have been in Canada for generations, most people of colour will be asked the question "where are you from?" The unspoken assertion is "you are not from here". People will defend this practice, insisting they are not racist, just genuinely curious. But one wonders why these same people are not curious about where their white friends are from?

The OCASI campaign ran at the same time as this study's social media campaign. The OCASI campaign was very narrow, focused on a singular form of verbal aggression. Our campaign was broader and more positive in nature, challenging assumptions with success stories of women who wear hijab. Our goal was to show if a social media campaign could positively influence negative cultural assumptions. Apart from raising awareness about a specific racist opinion some may hold, what did the OCASI campaign want to achieve? And what did it want us to do besides, as Douglas was quoted as saying, "spark conversations across all marginalized groups" (Da Silva, 2016).

1.5. Online Hate Groups

In the section on social change campaigns, we saw measurable support for causes like ALS and breast cancer, evidenced by the many millions of dollars raised for research. Groups trying to raise money to combat racism have been less successful. The Online Hate Prevention Institute, based in Sydney, Australia, attempted to raise funds through an Indiegogo campaign (crowdfunding platform) to "protect people from one of the dark sides of the Internet, the dangers of online racism, cyberbullying and all other forms of online hate" (Oboler, 2013). The Institute had successfully lobbied YouTube to remove 1,500 racist videos it had identified, including "growing attacks against the Muslim community" (Oboler, 2013), and now needed funding to keep going. The Institute had hoped to raise a modest $12,000 US. It was only able to raise about half the amount, $6,533 US, through 121 donations, and had to close the campaign (Oboler, 2013). It's not clear if the work continues. The Institute's Twitter page has disappeared, and while its Facebook page still exists, the content focuses on stories like whether "Pokémon Go" has racist or discriminatory elements. There are no updates on the removal of hateful content from the Internet (https://www.facebook.com/onlinehate/).

There are many examples of individuals and groups who use social media to promote hateful and racist ideas. Three years before the Brexit vote, British politician Paul Weston posted a video on YouTube called "I am a Racist". At the end of July, 2016, it had 384,164 views, 5,230 comments and 7,842 likes (691 dislikes). Weston describes himself as an "Islamo-realist" who believes Muslims are a threat to British society and should not be allowed to hold public office in the United Kingdom. As he explains in the video, "If I want to defend what I grew up in, what I was born into - my country, my British culture, my heritage and my history - I

am apparently, according to absolutely everybody today, a racist"

(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t2kKnzW4d8w).

On Facebook, there is a group page called "Ban Islam in Canada". In the "about" section, it says "Isl@m is the world's leading death cult! Please keep in mind we do not insult other religious beliefs here - IF YOU DO YOUR COMMENTS WILL BE DELETED! This page is about the dangers of Islam - so please respect other viewpoints about God" (https://www.facebook.com/BanIslamInCanada/). As of July 31st, 2016, it had nearly 10,000 likes, and there are new posts and comments daily, many of which are disturbing. Here are a few examples:

- "I am a proud Canadian citizen and an Islamophobe, because it is my duty to defend my country, my family and descendants from the abomination of Sharia law."

- "Just saying, Canada needs a hero to save its people. Justin is a fucken [sic] villain with the top hat that is trying to tie you to the railroad tracks while the Islam Jihad Express wants to run you over."

- "It isn't Islamophobia when they really are trying to kill you."

After the Muslim woman in London, Ontario was spit on, punched, and had her hijab pulled off while shopping with her baby in a grocery store, the following comments were posted:

- "Leftists are so happy, they finally found one Muslim woman victim of the bad white people. Meantime, in Syria, Christian women are crucified, raped, burned alive, tortured to death. But the real scandal, a Muslim woman gets spit on and the bad white woman try to take off her hijab."

- "With her four-month old future welfare parasite, you mean?"

As we have seen, social media can be used to raise awareness and funds for social causes, but it can also be used to spread hate against racial and cultural groups. In planning the social media campaign for this study, which focuses on a vulnerable community, we struggled to achieve a balance between presenting media that would illuminate some of the negative and discriminatory assumptions about Muslim women who wear hijab, while minimizing opportunities for people to express hateful ideas and opinions about this community. All social activists will need to make the same considerations with respect to the communities they represent.

1.6. Challenges in Measuring the Impact of Social Media

There are many challenges in trying to measure the efficacy of a social media campaign in creating social change. "The only metric by which a campaign's success should be measured is in how many people were spurred into meaningful action" (Mia, 2014). This study aims to measure "meaningful action" in the form of attitudinal change, but that is a qualitative assessment that can not be determined by the traditional "success metrics" for social media campaigns. The most often gathered statistics are engagement metrics that are numerical in nature. These numbers can be the reach or impressions of a social media post, the number of likes or retweets, or the number of shares and comments. These are all fine, but what do these numbers really tell us? What does it mean when someone shares something? One might assume that means the person likes the content, finds it funny or entertaining, or agrees with the views expressed. But many people also share content they find disturbing and offensive, from news about violent crime, to outrageous comments made by celebrities and politicians.

1.6.1. Social Media Measurement Tools

The tools provided to "weigh in" on social media posts are also not precise. Until this year (2016), the only emoticon you could click on Facebook was a "like" button. Users complained that this seemed like an inappropriate reaction at times, for example in response to the news that a friend's mother had died, so Facebook added five other reaction buttons to express the following emotions: love, haha, wow, sad, and angry. Six months after launch, 93 percent of users were still using the "like" button (Darsana, 2016). This may be explained by force of habit - for twelve years users had no other choice but to "like" a post. Love and haha are the second and third most popular reactions (Darsana, 2016), which may shed light on the kinds of content posted on social media networks, or at least the kinds of content we most like to react to. According to an article in Wired Magazine, Facebook's famous algorithms also play a part. "Under every post, the three most commonly selected reactions will appear beside the reactions of your algorithmically determined best friends" (Stinson, 2016). Users also have the option to comment, which potentially would allow users to say what they really mean. Moira Burke, a data scientist with Facebook, studied 1,200 Facebook users and found that comments, or what she calls "composed communications" had more positive impact on users than one-click communications. "People who received composed communication became less lonely, while people who received one-click communication experienced no change in loneliness" (Seiter, 2015). With so many users accessing the platform on mobile devices, however, it is often easier to click an icon than to key in a comment. Even when we do comment, are we offering information that is necessarily more thoughtful? Or do we tend to echo the sentiments already expressed by others in our networks?

1.6.2. The Filter Bubble

There is a built-in bias in most social networks, called a "filter bubble", which refers to algorithms that predict what we would like to see in our feeds, based on our past behaviours online, including what we have clicked on and what we have searched for, and eventually we are no longer served up information that we may disagree with, or that does not conform to what the social platform assumes to be our ideological and cultural values. This is compounded by the fact that our social networks tend to be made up of people who are like us. The sociological term for this is "homophily", a tendency to associate with others who think, look and act like us. For people on Facebook and other social media platforms, homophily "has powerful implications for the information they receive, the attitudes they form, and the interactions they experience" (McPherson, Smith-Lovin & Cook, 2001). An article in Slate Magazine explained how these principles could be used to predict user intelligence based on their attitudes towards curly fries. "Imagine one of the first people to like the [curly fries] page happened to be smart. Once she liked it, her friends saw it. A social science concept called homophily tells us that people tend to be friends with people like themselves. Smart people tend to be friends with smart people. Liberals are friends with other liberals. Rich people hang out with other rich people … After a while, liking the curly fries page happens to become a thing that smart people do. When you like it, the algorithm guesses that you must also be smart" (Golbeck, 2014). This is a difficult barrier to overcome for social activists who strive not only to mobilize supporters, but also to educate the public. How can you broaden perceptions, and potentially influence thinking, if you can't introduce new ideas into users' social media feeds? Eli Pariser, the Chief Executive of Upworthy, a website that distributes meaningful viral content, was quoted on the filter bubble

problem in the book *Shift and Reset*: "You don't get to choose the information that you access [therefore] you aren't exposed to points of view that challenge or expand our thinking" (Reich & Case, 2011, p. 33). This is a challenge we attempted to overcome in planning the distribution of our social media campaign.

1.6.3. The Problems of Attraction and Distraction

A third challenge is attracting and keeping a user's attention in the noisy and crowded digital space. The authors of *Shift and Reset* point out that "[w]hen we go online, we enter an environment that promotes cursory reading, hurried and distracted thinking, and superficial learning" (Reich & Case, 2011, p. 67). Nicholas Carr, author of *The Shallows: What the Internet is Doing to our Brains*, argues that the medium does matter, in that a book requires hyper focus, and so we are less inclined to be distracted, whereas a networked computer is "designed to scatter our attention" (Carr, 2011, p. 2).

Every minute on Facebook there are 510 comments posted, 293,000 statuses updated, and 136,000 photos uploaded ("The Top 20," 2016). This means we have millions of pieces of media available at our fingertips, and it's all competing for our attention. How do we navigate through all the noise and distractions to find the information that is most useful and compelling for us? And how do we circumvent the homophily of our networks to expose, and be exposed to, ideas that may be different from ours, and that may have an impact on the way we think and act?

Chapter 2: Research Study Design and Methodology

2.1. A Study That Assesses Changes in Participant Attitudes

As discussed in the last chapter, this research study's goal was to assess the impact of a social media campaign on participant attitudes. The data was collected in the form of pre- and post-social media campaign surveys. The design of this research study was inspired by an Australian study that assessed the impact of an urban renewal campaign on the health and well-being of people living in a socially disadvantaged neighbourhood in Sydney, Australia. The study was published by BioMedCentral Public Health in Australia (study brief is provided in Appendix A). Researchers administered a survey before and after the urban renewal program, to assess any changes in the attitudes of people living in that neighbourhood. The program ran for 16 months, and included internal upgrades (painting, replacement of kitchens, bathrooms, carpets) and external upgrades (painting, new fencing, carports, driveways). There were also social interventions, in the form of community activities, employment initiatives, and the development of a community meeting place. The survey asked participants about demographic characteristics, physical activities and health (self-reported), psychological distress, and perceptions of safety and walkability in the neighbourhood. The research results showed no significant change in perceptions of aesthetics, safety and walkability, and physical or psychological health, but there were improvements in feelings of pride and belonging. Many participants said their homes and buildings were attractive after the renewal (64 percent, up from 18 percent), and 70 percent that they felt they "belonged" to the neighbourhood (up from 48% percent) (Jalaludin et al., 2012). The design of this study allowed researchers to gather participant attitudes before and after an event (urban renewal project) and assess the differences

in responses. This research study also gathered participant attitudes before and after an event, and assessed the impact on previously-held attitudes.

2.2. Design of This Research Study

The goal of this research study was to assess how a social media campaign that challenges assumptions about a specific cultural group might influence participant attitudes towards this community, particularly when previously held attitudes were negative or stereotypical. This study gathered participant attitudes by asking them to share what they thought about various head coverings. Why head coverings? People's attitudes are influenced by many factors, including their past experiences, what they are exposed to in the media, and a person's appearance. What people choose to wear can influence what others think about them. This study specifically focused on two head coverings: baseball caps and hijabs. Though the primary focus of this study was on the assumptions made about Muslim women who wear hijab, baseball caps were included in the survey to function as a sort of control, in that it is a head covering that is familiar to the Toronto general public, and unlikely to be associated with a specific racial or religious group. If participants did have specific assumptions about people who wear baseball caps, it would be interesting to discover what they were, and how those assumptions compared with assumptions about women who wear hijab, a religious head covering. Participants were recruited in person and online, from the general population, with the only stipulations being they had to be 18 years of age or older, have access to a computer and the Internet, and be willing to follow a social media campaign and answer two surveys, one before, and one after the campaign. Because this study involved the participation of humans, it was reviewed and approved by Ryerson University's Research Ethics Board. Specific details about the consent form, the surveys, participant recruitment, and steps taken to ensure participant privacy, confidentiality, and data security are listed below.

2.2.1 Consent

The consent form (provided in Appendix B) consisted of the following information:

- Explanation of the study

- Participant criteria and involvement in the study

- Participant rights: participation is voluntary and ongoing and participants may skip question(s) in either or both of the surveys, take a break from the study, or withdraw from the study at anytime, without any questions or repercussions

- Privacy, confidentiality and data security

- Confirmation of Research Ethics Board (REB) approval

- Logos of Ryerson University and Canadian Council of Muslim Women (community partner)

- Contact information for the student researcher, the academic supervisor, and Ryerson's REB

Participants who were recruited in person read and signed a paper copy of the consent form. Participants who were recruited online read the consent form online, and had to "sign" it by clicking a "yes" checkbox that confirmed they had read, understood, and agreed to the consent form terms.

2.2.2. Surveys

Survey 1 (full survey provided in Appendix C): The pre-campaign survey on head coverings consisted of six questions. Most were open-ended questions, allowing participants to answer the questions however they wished. One question was multiple choice. Participants were asked what they could tell about a person in a head covering, then specifically what they could tell about a person in a baseball cap, a person in a hijab, and what informed their thinking about these head coverings. They were also asked how often they used social media (multiple choice), and if they thought a social media campaign could influence their thinking.

Survey 2 (full survey provided in Appendix D): The post-campaign survey consisted of nine questions. Most of the questions were multiple choice, where participants either had to answer yes or no, or pick responses from a list of options. This was a deliberate switch in design strategy, after having had the opportunity to observe participants in person during the first survey. Several of the participants struggled to answer the questions in the first survey and though they did not say why, it was clear some were uncomfortable with the subject matter, and feared saying the wrong thing, particularly with respect to questions concerning women who wear hijab. Also, it's likely that most participants had never considered the topic of head coverings before. As a result of this observation, it was decided to design the second survey primarily as a series of multiple choice questions, offering possible response options, as well as an "other" text box for answers not provided in the list, to make answering the survey questions easier and more comfortable.

The post-campaign survey asked participants if the social media campaign had any effect on their perceptions of women who wear head coverings. If they responded yes, they were asked

to describe the effect by selecting one or more options from a list which included "broadened my perceptions" and "helped me identify some of the assumptions informing my perceptions". There was also an "other" text box, where participants could type in their own answers. Participants were also asked to identify the most effective social media campaign content from a list which included the following: profiles of successful women in hijab, stories that challenged assumptions about women in hijab, and funny and/or irreverent content. Again, participants could type in their own answers in an "other" box. They were also asked to share the specific post they thought was most effective, as well as the post that was least effective. Participants were asked again (as in the first survey) what they could tell about people in head coverings, and specifically baseball caps and hijabs. Finally, participants were asked if they thought the social media campaign had been effective in challenging negative assumptions about women who wear hijab.

2.2.3. Recruitment

Research participants were recruited both in person, and online through social media platforms (specifically Facebook and Twitter). In person recruitment took place on Friday June 10th, 2016, between 5 and 7pm, on public streets around the Rogers Centre, which was packed with people on their way to the Blue Jays game that evening, improving the odds of participant recruitment. The target audience for the social media campaign was the general public, and it was thought that people attending a major professional sporting event would offer a representative sample of the general public, so participants were recruited from this pool. As well, it was assumed that a significant number of attendees would be wearing baseball caps. Prospective participants were given a consent form explaining the study, and the terms for participation. The information was delivered verbally, and participants were given time to read the document as well, if desired. If they agreed to the terms, they signed the consent form, and participated in the first survey immediately, which had six questions, and was administered verbally. Participants were also given the option to take the survey later, online. Information about the study with the survey link was handed out to all participants in the form of a postcard (See Appendix E). The questions and participant responses were audio-recorded for optimum speed and accuracy. Twelve participants were recruited that evening, all of whom provided an email address so that links to the social media campaign and the post-campaign survey could be sent later.

Online participants were recruited on social media platforms, on Facebook group pages and through the following hashtags on Twitter: #baseball, #headcoverings, #hijab, #research and #survey. Participants were also recruited through the researcher's personal Facebook and Twitter

accounts. The online survey contained a consent form explaining the study, and the terms for

participation. Online participants had to click a checkbox verifying that they had read,

understood, and agreed with the terms set out in the consent form before they could continue on

to the survey. Participants were recruited over a one-week period, from June 5th to June 12th,

2016. Though 34 people took the survey online, seven could not be used because the survey was

mostly incomplete, or the participant had failed to provide an email address to receive the

campaign and post-survey links. The social media campaign launched on Monday June 13th,

2016 and ran for two weeks, ending on Sunday June 26th.

The requirements for participation:

- Adults (18+)

- Access to computer and Internet

- Willingness to follow a two-week social media campaign

- Willingness to participate in pre- and post- campaign surveys

- Willingness to provide email

Participants were eligible, as long as they met the above criteria. The plan was to recruit a

minimum of 20 participants. There was no maximum set, to encourage as many participants as

possible, in the short recruitment period (one week). Since the "ask" for this study was large -

requiring participants to follow a social media campaign for two weeks, and answer two surveys,

it was anticipated that some participants would drop out due to time constraints and other factors.

2.2.4. Privacy, Confidentiality, and Data Security

Participants did not share any personal information apart from a first name and an email address. The email was necessary to send participants the links to the social media campaign and the second post-campaign survey. When emails were sent, they were blind carbon copied (bcc'd), so that none of the participants could see each other's emails. The emails are in the researcher's possession, on an encrypted hard drive that is password protected (password known only to the researcher), and stored in a secure place in her home. This data will be erased one year from the completion of the study, in August 2017. The emails were also used to correlate each participant's responses from survey one with with their responses in survey two, so that the data could be properly analyzed to assess if there had been any change in perceptions. Participants were also asked to confirm that they were at least 18 years of age. Participants were assured that no identifying information would be included in the study, and that they would only be referred to as "participants".

All other documents, including participant consent forms and the survey responses (digital documents and audio recordings) are being stored on a portable hard drive that is encrypted and password protected, and being kept in a secure space in the researcher's home. All of this data will be kept for one year after the research project is completed, and then erased or destroyed (August. 2017).

2.2.5. Risk Management

There are always potential risks in any research study, but in this case the risks were minimal. Participants were selected randomly from a general population, and personal, identifying data was not collected or reported. Participants were assured in writing and verbally that their consent was voluntary, informed, and ongoing and that they had the right to cease participation at any time, with no questions asked. It was explained how their data would be stored, and when it would be destroyed.

Because of the focus of the social media campaign, which aimed to challenge negative assumptions about Muslim women in hijab, there was a risk that some negative comments might be posted on Facebook and Twitter. Though this did not specifically put the research participants at risk, they, along with anyone else who visited the campaign pages, would be exposed to any hateful or racist comments posted, and we wanted to have a strategy to deal with them. The researcher and the social media coordinator for the Canadian Council of Women (Toronto chapter) monitored the feeds several times a day. The researcher also set up an alert to be notified whenever a new comment was posted. It was agreed that differences of opinion that were stated respectfully were fine, but that hateful, racist or sexist comments, or any posts laden with profanity, would be deleted immediately, and the poster removed from the social media community.

Chapter 3: Development of the Social Media Campaign

3.1. Community Partnership

The social media campaign was created in partnership with the Toronto chapter of the Canadian Council of Muslim Women (CCMW Toronto). Because the campaign focused on Muslim women who wear hijab, a marginalized group that has experienced racism, it was important to have representation and participation from this community. CCMW Toronto is one of twelve chapters of the national non-profit organization, with a mission to "attain equality, equity and empowerment for all Canadian Muslim women" ("Canadian Council," n.d.). As an established community organization (30 years), with a vested interest in creating social change that enhances the lives of its membership, it seemed appropriate to involve CCMW Toronto in the creation of the social media campaign. The partnership was informed by a "community-based participatory research" model (CBPR), that involves "community members, organizational representatives, and researchers in all aspects of the research process and in which all partners contribute expertise and share decision making and ownership" ("Community," n.d.).

There are three main principles to community-based participatory research. One is that the research takes place locally, and addresses a topic that is relevant to the community. The second principle is that the approach be collaborative, so that researchers and community representatives are both involved in the design and implementation of the project. Finally, the research is "action-oriented", in that the results are useful in effecting positive social change ("A Scan," n.d.).

The issue of Muslim women and head coverings was, and is, a relevant one for the

Canadian Council of Muslim Women. In 2013, it had commissioned a national study called

Women in Niqab Speak: A Study on the Niqab in Canada. Niqab is the full face veil that covers

everything but the eyes. A Muslim scholar from Concordia University, Lynda Clarke,

interviewed 81 women across Canada about why they wore niqab. A common assumption is that

Muslim women are forced to wear niqab by family members. Most of the women interviewed by

Clarke, however, said they chose to wear niqab despite protests from family members, which

included parents, siblings, spouses and children. The study concluded that the decision to wear

niqab was more an act of defiance, rather than one of submission (Clarke, 2013).

The approach in working with CCMW Toronto was certainly collaborative, specifically

with respect to the development and distribution of the public-facing social media campaign.

While executive members of CCMW Toronto were informed and updated about the research

study's design and objectives, their main contributions included sharing knowledge and advising

on campaign themes and content, identifying Muslim women willing to be interviewed about

their experiences wearing hijab, and distributing the social media campaign on the CCMW

Toronto Facebook and Twitter pages. The advice, experience, and insights offered by CCMW

Toronto President Fathima Hussain and Vice-President Sahar Zaidi (also Project Coordinator for

CCMW National) ensured the campaign represented the diverse perspectives and lived

experiences of Toronto Muslim women who wear, or have worn, a hijab, and that it focused on

sharing the stories Muslim women wanted to tell, rather than the dominant and persistent

narratives that are expressed in mainstream media. The goal was to run a positive campaign that

countered old assumptions with new perspectives, and hopefully generate positive outcomes.

3.2. Studies on Muslim Women and Girls Who Wear Hijab

In order to ensure that the campaign truly reflected the experiences of Muslim women who wear hijab, research focusing on Muslim women and girls who wear hijab was reviewed. Most studies on the experiences of Muslim women who wear hijab are American. Since the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center on September 11th, 2001 had major and discernible impacts on the perceptions of Muslims in North America, only research completed after that date was reviewed. A 2014 Master's thesis completed at Iowa State University, *The Dynamics of Wearing Hijab for Muslim American Women in the United States,* explored the "social and familial factors" that influenced Muslim women's decisions to wear the hijab, and also reported family reactions to that decision (Tariq-Munir, 2014). Tariq-Munir interviewed women in Houston, Texas and Des Moines, Iowa, and discovered that most chose to wear hijab for one or more of these reasons: influence from family and friends, as continuation of a long-standing practice established in the countries they lived in before coming to America, and in response to significant events. Influence from family tended to be positive and indirect, rather than obligatory or coercive. For example, if other women in the family wore hijab, some respondents said they simply followed in their footsteps. In what the researcher referred to as "institutional hijab" (Tariq-Munir, 2014, p. 6), some respondents who had immigrated to the U.S. from a country where it was a legal requirement for women to wear a head covering, like Saudi Arabia, continued to wear hijab in America, though no longer bound to by law. Recent converts to Islam, and people experiencing personal crises, such as a serious health issue, said they chose to wear hijab to get "closer to religion" (Tariq-Munir, 2014, p. 6). Finally, some respondents said they were motivated to wear hijab by political events, like 9/11. They wanted to be visibly Muslim so they could demonstrate to the world that there are "good Muslims too" (Tariq-Munir, 2014, p. 6).

A common reaction from family and friends who did not wear hijab was shock. Many respondents mentioned hearing some form of "you don't have to wear it" from those closest to them (Tariq-Munir, 2014, p. 52). The resistance to hijab was often expressed as a fear that their wives or sisters or daughters would experience discrimination, and labour under stereotypical ideas that they were less educated and less "modern and moderate" than women who did not wear hijab (Tariq-Munir, 2014, p. 56).

In a book published in 2010, *Veiled Voices: Muhajabat in Secular Schools*, author Dr. Jawairriya Abdallah-Shahid studied six girls in the U.S. who wore hijab while attending secular (non-religious) schools. The term "Muhajabat" refers to a community of girls and women who wear hijab. Abdallah-Shahid was motivated to write this book because of the negative events she had experienced as a college student. She recalls an incident when she she was standing in line at the college bookstore, and two women behind her kept talking about how "stupid and weird" it must be to cover one's hair all the time The talking did not cease, even when she turned around and looked the women in the eye (Abdallah-Shahid, 2010, p. 12). The girls in Abdallah-Shahid's study also spoke about being "noticeably different," and experiencing feelings of low self-esteem, stigma, and alienation. They also experienced stereotyping and prejudice (Abdallah-Shahid, 2010, p. 16). The author points to portrayals in western media, in which women in hijab are often depicted as "abused and controlled" (Abdallah-Shahid, 2010, p. 13). Abdallah-Shahid quotes another scholar, Jasmine Zine, an expert in Muslim women's studies, to describe the limiting effect of stereotypical portrayals. "Stereotypes deny the agency of Muslims who wear the veil, and reduce the multiple meanings associated with the veil to a single negative referent" (Abdallah-Shahid, 2010, p. 48). Abdallah-Shahid also recounts an incident where a sixth-grade Muslim student was suspended twice from her school in Muskogee, Oklahoma, for wearing her

headscarf. The school said it violated the school dress code banning the wearing of bandanas, hats, and other head coverings (Abdallah-Shahid, 2010, p. 46). While the girls in Abdallah-Shahid's study did not experience anything as severe as suspension for wearing hijab, being one of a few, or maybe the only person wearing hijab increased their feelings of otherness.

3.3. Interviews with Muslim Women Who Wear Hijab

What is missing from both of these studies are discussions of the common public assumptions people make about girls and women who wear hijab. In undertaking preparatory research for the social media campaign, I asked CCMW Toronto to help identify women in Toronto who would be willing to talk about not only why they chose to wear hijab, but what they experienced as a result, what they thought some of the common assumptions about them were, and which ones they would most like to see addressed in a public campaign. Because we wanted to challenge negative assumptions in the social media campaign, and do so by telling the stories that Muslim women wanted told, this seemed like the best way to make sure we accomplished that. Six women in the Toronto area agreed to be interviewed. Five of the women currently wore hijab. One woman had just stopped wearing hijab after ten years. The interview subjects were not asked specifics about age, education, occupation, sexual orientation, family status, or other identifying, personal information. This data was not relevant for the purposes of these interviews. Indeed, most assumptions made about women who wear hijab are made without the benefit of this information. The headscarf is often enough information for people to make determinations about the wearer. The six women were provided with the six interview questions in advance The women were asked why they chose to wear hijab (or stop wearing the hijab), and what they had experienced as a result. They were also asked what they thought people commonly assumed about them because they wore hijab, and which assumptions were top concerns that they would like to see addressed in a social media campaign.

Four of the six women were interviewed on the phone. The other two women submitted their responses via email (full transcript of questions and answers provided in Appendix F). Here are some of the responses to each of the questions:

Why do you/did you choose to wear hijab?

Some women started wearing hijab as children, and others chose to wear it, or returned to wearing it, as adults. The reasons ranged from being inspired by other family members who wore hijab, to exploring their spirituality and being open and deliberate about expressing their faith. One woman stopped wearing hijab as a teenager, but returned to it after she had a child - she wanted to be a role model for her daughter. Another woman recently stopped wearing hijab after more than 10 years, as she felt she had achieved what she wanted.

- "I chose to wear hijab because I fell in love with it at the age of 11. I was inspired to wear it by friends and family who wore it with pride and were truly happy wearing it."

- "I was born and raised in Saudi Arabia where wearing hijab/niqab is the norm. …I wore niqab in Saudi, but here in Canada I only wear hijab."

- "When I was nine...my aunty said you should wear hijab, you'll feel closer to God. Shortly thereafter I started wearing it, and then my mom and sister after me."

- "As an adult, I turned to religion, it's a big part of my journey. I really isolated myself in a healthy way, contemplating, I wanted to do this for myself. My parents and family never pressured me. All three of my sisters, and my mom eventually started wearing it too. I just had a feeling I wanted to do this."

- "I stopped wearing it as a teenager (defiance against parents) I left my homeland as well. But when I matured, and had a child of my own, I felt I had a duty to wear hijab. I wanted to be a role model for my daughters. Wearing hijab is part of my Muslim identity."

- "I stopped because I felt I had achieved what I wanted to. Also, I did not always like the way I was perceived, particularly within the Muslim community - as a "good for you!" symbol of empowerment for other Muslim women. I had ended an abusive marriage, felt more mature. I didn't feel I needed to wear the scarf."

What have you experienced as a result?

All but one of the six women had experienced negative comments and actions, from verbally abusive comments like "go back where you came from", to attempted sexual assault, as "payback" for what Muslims did in 9/11. These women were targeted because they were "visibly Muslim". There was negativity expressed from within the Muslim community as well, but comments were more protective in nature, ranging from fears for their wife or daughter's public safety, to concerns that prospective suitors might think a woman in hijab is "too conservative." Some of the women have chosen to fight back, by blogging about their experiences, joining community groups, and running for political office. One of the interviewees has given up, though. She is moving back to Saudi Arabia due to lack of employment opportunities in Canada. She believes her hijab was a major barrier to employment, as she is highly educated and experienced in her field. The woman who recently stopped wearing hijab did not identify any negative experiences while wearing hijab. In fact, she identified a loss since removing it. Without the visible marker, Muslims in Toronto and around the world no longer automatically recognize her as a fellow Muslim, and she is no longer greeted with "Salaam Sister!".

- "Ugly judgmental stares, racist slurs such as "go back to your country". I also experienced people spitting on me the first month I was in Toronto. It happens every time there is a terrorist attack somewhere in the world."

- (Woman seeking employment in fundraising sector) "I was told off the record 'donors don't like to see a hijab'."

- "First year at University I didn't wear hijab, second year I did, and I noticed a difference. Non-Muslims approached me less. People were still nice, they just weren't as willing to be my friend…. Some people from high school stopped talking to me, stopped responding to messages."

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- "I was on the streetcar with friends and an Eastern European man mumbled under his breath something about ISIS and 'go back to Saudi.' We didn't say anything at first, eventually we said 'can you stop using profanity?' Eventually he got off.''

- "I was the only kid in 500 who wore hijab…'Oh are you being forced to wear it? Did your parents make you? Do you have hair under there?'''

- "Shortly after 9/11, I was attacked, in an apartment building in broad daylight, I was in abaya (long robe that covers the body). A man said 'Muslims are being bad in the world and I'll show you what that means.' He tried to sexually assault me in an elevator. I got away."

- "Hijab can be a barrier. If you don't speak well, don't communicate well, people will put you down…. My kids have felt discrimination. My daughter wears hijab, people have said "go back to Afghanistan.'"

- "The strongest reactions came from family, close friends. My parents were really upset, thought I was under some imam's influence. My parents didn't know I was trying to increase my spirituality... Some relatives thought my marriage prospects would decrease – only really conservative types would be interested."

- (woman who stopped wearing hijab) "When I walked down the street, no matter where I was in the world, people would greet me 'Salaam sister.' They knew I was Muslim. That doesn't happen anymore."

What are the most common assumptions people make about you because you wear a hijab?

The most common assumptions about these women in hijab were that they were oppressed, perhaps being forced to wear the headscarf and in need of "liberation." A few women had strangers approach them and say: "You don't have to wear that here. You're in Canada." They also faced assumptions that they were powerless, voiceless, anti-social, that they did not speak to, or interact with, males, that they couldn't speak English well, and were generally under-educated. Several women referred to an assumption that wearing hijab made you an "extreme" Muslim. People assumed you were conservative, a fundamentalist, subscribing to the kind of extreme Islam that is touted by rebels and terrorists. The more benign interpretation is that women who wear hijab are learned about Islam, practically Muslim scholars, which the women I

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spoke with assured me is generally not the case. One woman also spoke of acts of unintentional exclusion by students and coworkers who were trying to be respectful of what they thought were her beliefs. She was rarely invited to after school or after work events where there would be alcohol served, as people thought she would not approve of, or want to be in that environment. But she missed out on the socializing and the networking and that made her feel really left out. Within the Muslim community, the women spoke of high expectations, and judgment when their behaviours did not meet those high expectations. One interviewee witnessed indignation over a woman in hijab smoking. Though smoking is not banned in the Quran (Muslim holy book), observant Muslims tend to abstain. "How can she smoke shisha and wear hijab"? A shisha is a water pipe used to smoke tobacco, sometimes mixed with molasses and other flavourings.

- "A few common assumptions are that I don't go out much, that I can't talk to the opposite gender, and that I wear the hijab at home."

- We are oppressed and pressured or forced to wear it. Also, I noticed that people think we (hijabis) are not smart or educated!

- "How can she do that?" because she is wearing hijab. You are seen as this obedient, sinless person, you have to be this torch bearer because you are so visible.

- "Externally, I hear things like you are very conservative, you don't know what you're doing. When you are visibly Muslim and religious, there's no room to be a moderate Muslim and wear a hijab. You are a super Muslim, bordering on fundamentalism."

- When I wore hijab I heard "oh, you speak English really well!" Sometimes I felt non-Muslims were being over-courteous to me, which resulted in unintentional exclusion. "Sometimes I was not invited to after school or after work events where there would be wine or beer served because I am Muslim. But this is where everyone networked - I felt left out."

What assumptions would you like to see addressed in a social media campaign?

Many of the women advocated for a campaign that showed women in hijab participating in normal, everyday activities like sports, and having influence in the world in terms of what they

do. They wanted Muslim women and girls to know that they are not restricted by hijab, they can do anything. One interview subject wanted to see some of the microaggressions addressed, like assumptions that women in hijab don't speak English well, or don't understand that they don't have to wear hijab in Canada. One woman thought the campaign should be provocative and tackle uncomfortable assumptions like "Muslims are terrorists". Another interview subject wanted to see hijab addressed as a matter of personal style, and though she suggested not all in the Muslim community would be happy with that interpretation, she thought it would help demonstrate the idea that "how you dress doesn't change your life, your job, your relationships, your problems, your priorities."

- "I would love to see a campaign showing the life of a hijabi in and out of the home…I would also like to see a campaign showing the influential hijabis making a difference in the world."

- "Muslim Women especially hijabis are not celebrated for their accomplishments. I strongly believe that we need a campaign that represents hijabis as well-educated, accomplished women. We also need to empower Muslim girls to see that hijab is never an obstacle to accomplish anything in life."

- "The '[W]here are you from? You speak English really well. You won't understand, you're an immigrant. You're in Canada now, you don't have to wear that.'…We need to shatter stereotypes. Muslim women are average and normal."

- "Provocative stuff – challenge ideas that Muslims are terrorists."

- "Show Muslim women participating in sports, swimming, doing yoga, participating in arts and culture. Show that we lead balanced lives, that we are not restricted."

- "It's like a style, and different women have different styles. People may not like me calling it that. But how you dress doesn't change your life, your job, your relationships, your problems, your priorities."

3.4. Social Media Campaign Content

The social media campaign we created for this study was particularly challenging because of the subject matter. As we have already established, Muslim women who wear hijab are the targets of racist comments and actions, from negative assumptions that they are oppressed and uneducated, to uglier notions that they don't belong here, and should go back to where they came from (regardless of whether they are an immigrant or Canadian-born). We have also established that while social media can raise awareness and do some good, various social platforms have also been used to spread hate. The partnership with CCMW Toronto was formed so that we could combine research, experience, and input from the community affected, to challenge the negative assumptions in an influential and positive way. I worked primarily with two members of CCMW Toronto, President Fathima Hussain, and Vice-President Sahar Zaidi. We agreed to meet in person every two weeks from April to June, to brainstorm on content themes we thought would best challenge the common assumptions many Muslim women who wear hijab face. In our first meeting, we came prepared with markers and post-its, and created a list of common negative assumptions to tackle, based on what we had learned from studies, interviews, and personal and professional experience. Here's a partial list of what we came up with:

- No rights/oppressed
- Quiet, submissive
- Doesn't associate with opposite sex
- Must be an Arab/from the Middle East
- Overly religious, conservative
- Forced to wear hijab/conform to cultural customs

- Immigrant - "not one of us"

- Not a professional (working class)

- Supports terrorism/ties to Al-Qaeda, ISIS/Daesh

- Uneducated or under-educated

- Unapproachable/unfriendly

- Something to hide/mysterious (especially women in niqab)

- Ruled by/subservient to men

- Low expectations of them - "oh, you speak English well!"

We decided early on that we wanted to challenge some of these negative assumptions proactively, rather than reactively. This was to address the fact that Muslims spend a lot time in "response mode," reacting to news and events that involve Muslims, especially when there is a suspected terrorist attack. "Yes, I condemn the bombings in Paris." "No, I don't support Isis." Muslim women in particular also spend a lot of time responding to common misassumptions about their appearance and abilities. "Yes, I can speak English." "No, I am not bald under this scarf." "Yes, I am allowed to go to school." Perhaps given the opportunity to be proactive rather than reactive, to tell new stories rather than incessantly trying to refute the old ones, social media can be a tool for social change. This "story-based strategy" was inspired by the book *Re:Imagining Change: How to Use Story-based Strategy to Win Campaigns, Build Movements, and Change the World*. Written by Patrick Reinsborough and Doyle Canning, it advocates a "framework that links movement building with an analysis of narrative power, and places storytelling at the center of social change strategy" (Reinsborough & Canning, 2010, p. 12). The main idea is that we understand our world based on the stories we tell each other. The problem, according to Doyle and Canning, is that most of our prevailing stories come from the most

powerful in society. To effect social change, activists need to come up with new stories that challenge the underlying assumptions in the dominant culture (Reinsborough & Canning, 2010, p. 20). New stories are rarely pursued through news media, which tends to be reactive. Most news stories about women in hijab focus on hate crimes or acts of discrimination in which the women are portrayed as victims. Reporting only these kinds of stories limits perceptions of this population. Where are the positive stories about this community?

We decided our campaign would focus on the positive, and tell stories of accomplished women in politics, sports, and the arts, who happen to wear hijab. We also wanted to challenge the idea of "hijab as oppression." Though some women may feel pressured to wear hijab, and certainly so in countries like Saudi Arabia, where hijab is mandated by law, for most Muslim women in Canada, research shows the decision to wear hijab is a personal choice. We also wanted to challenge public perceptions that Muslim women are uneducated by sharing stories of smart women in school, and we wanted to tackle the more controversial assumption that Muslims are extreme in their beliefs, and may support terrorist organizations. We knew this would be a difficult subject to broach, and when we did, we elected to go with a humorous approach.

We thought positive stories might have a greater effect on participant attitudes (you can catch more flies with honey than vinegar?), and we also thought it was the most respectful approach, as women who wear hijab have experienced enough negativity. We didn't want to expose them to more. We also wanted to make sure we were telling the stories suggested by the women we interviewed. They said they wanted to see stories of women who were powerful,

confident, and accomplished, who participated in political and social activities, and did not let

hijab be a barrier to participation. In the end, we settled on four content themes:

- Profiles of successful women in hijab to show their positive contributions to society

- Stories that challenged dominant and persistent assumptions about women in hijab e.g. they are oppressed, uneducated, do not participate in sports, politics, the arts

- Humour to explore uncomfortable topics e.g. a satirical video for a gum that cures Islamophobia

- Topical issues, e.g. Ramadan, OCASI/City of Toronto anti-Islamophobia campaign

Once we had our themes, we had to identify 14 pieces of content to run over the two-week campaign. We considered using a mix of original and curated content, but once we started exploring content that already existed, we discovered a wealth of excellent material, from inspiring TED Talks, to insightful blog posts. We had no problem finding content to fit our four themes, and to fill the 14 days of the campaign. This may be useful information for activist groups that may not have the time or resources to invest in developing social media campaign content. With so much media available to curate, resources would only have to be dedicated to searching for the best existing content that is most relevant to the campaign.

Here are the 14 pieces of content we shared (on both Facebook and Twitter):

1. TED Talk by Dalia Mogahed, author, researcher and political advisor to U.S. President Obama

2. Profile of American fencer Ibtihaj Muhammad, the first women in hijab to represent the U.S. at the Olympics

3. Profile of Stephanie Kurlow, an Australian teenager who wants to be the world's first ballerina in hijab

4. Satirical public awareness video created by CAIR (Council on American-Islamic Relations) for "Islamophobin" gum that relieves bigotry and intolerance towards Muslims

5. Interview with Sheema Khan, author of the book *Of Hockey and Hijabs,* where she writes about her love for both

6. A debate between three Muslim women on the pros and cons of wearing hijab, niqab, or nothing.

7. Zarqa Nawaz, creator of the sitcom *Little Mosque on the Prairie*, describes Ramadan "as Canadian as pancakes with maple syrup, as long as you eat them after sunset."

8. Controversy over OCASI/City of Toronto anti-Islamophobia ads

9. Muslim blogger on double standards: why is a woman in hijab oppressed, whereas a nun in a veil is devoted?

10. Waterloo, Ontario teen Nooran AbuMazen wins "best brain in Canada" contest

11. Muslim blogger's thoughts on people who tell women in hijab: "You don't have to wear that!" What if they want to?

12. CEO of Haute Hijab on mixing modesty with fashion

13. Muslim blogger on the limits of hijab: "It doesn't make me a spokesperson for Islam."

14. Video of Muslim women sharing what they want us to know about them

3.4.1. Social Media Campaign Execution

All campaign content was prepared by the researcher, which involved writing posts, sizing photos, and sourcing links to articles, videos, and blog posts. Every post was tagged with the hashtag #whatsonyourhead. We liked the "playfulness" of the hashtag, and wanted to be able to aggregate all campaign content in one place. We also tagged people being profiled, and bloggers, and added subject matter hashtags, such as #ballerina and #hockey, to get the posts into other social media feeds, and extend their reach.

In terms of scheduling, we decided to run each post twice daily, at 11am and 4pm. Though there is no consensus on best times to post on social media, we decided to post at 11am, just before the lunch hour, and at 4pm, just before the home commute. CCMW Toronto's Communications Executive, Niketa Bissessar, scheduled all the posts using HootSuite, a social media management tool.

3.4.2. Social Media Campaign Performance

The top performing campaign post on Facebook was about the Waterloo teenager who won the "Best Brain in Canada" contest. According to Facebook Insights, the post reached 1,219 people, generated 45 post clicks, and 42 likes, comments, and shares. Though one can't be sure why this post was most popular, a Muslim girl in hijab taking top prize in a brain contest seems like the kind of story the community would want to brag about, and share, as it celebrates Muslim youth, the power of education, and personal accomplishment. The second top performing campaign post was Zarqa Nawaz's Ramadan quote. It reached 1,120 people, had 26 post clicks, and 21 likes, comments, and shares. Nawaz had posted in support of the Give30 campaign to raise money for Canadian food banks. Her comment that Ramadan was "as Canadian as pancakes with maple syrup, if eaten after sunset", was inclusive and funny. During Ramadan, which falls during the ninth month of the lunar calendar, Muslims are required to fast every day during that month, between the hours of sunrise and sunset. She also shared the post in her feed, which likely gave it a boost. The post with the third highest performance was the TED Talk given by Dalia Mogahed. It reached 1,043 people, had 69 post clicks, and 28 likes, comments, and shares. It ran the first day of the campaign, and was titled "What do you think when you look at me?" Though she is an author, a scholar, and a political adviser to U.S. President Barack Obama, people still make assumptions about her because she wears a hijab (see top two Facebook posts in Appendix G). The lowest performing content on Facebook was the post on the OCASI/City of Toronto anti-Islamophobia campaign. It reached 98 people, had 15 post clicks, and only two likes, comments, and shares. It's interesting that this was the sole "negative" story we ran in the campaign, focusing on Muslim women as the victims of racism. We ran it because it was topical - the anti-Islamophobia campaign launched during our social

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media campaign. It was surprising how little interest there was in this campaign. Even in mainstream media, the launch of this campaign was only news for a day, and then it disappeared.

Though the exact same campaign content ran on Facebook and Twitter, the top and bottom posts on Twitter were completely different. The top performing tweet was a Muslim blogger talking about people saying to women who wear hijab, "you don't have to wear that in Canada." It had 779 impressions (Twitter version of reach), and 34 engagements (retweets, replies, follows, and likes). The second top tweet was another Muslim blogger talking about how tired she was of representing all Muslims just because she wears a hijab. It had 637 impressions and 36 engagements (see top two performing Twitter posts in Appendix H). The lowest performing tweet was the blog post about hijab as oppression, with 216 impressions and only three engagements.

There are a few reasons why the content may have performed differently on Facebook and Twitter. Facebook is a platform that brings people together through personal connections. You send or accept invitations from your "friends", which we already established can be family, friends, acquaintances, and people from your past. Twitter brings people together around topics of interest, so users are often tweeting and retweeting to complete strangers. This is fine when commenting on big issues of the day, but the article on the Muslim teen who won the best brain contest was a more personal story that likely inspired members of the Muslim community to feel pride and share this "local girl does good" post with their family and friends. Facebook also has no character limit, so people can share complete stories, and visual media like photos and videos. On Twitter, you are limited to 140 characters, and any media you share in your tweet uses some of those characters, so the opportunity to share rich media is limited. For example, when we

posted Dalia Mogahed's TED Talk, we were able to explain who she is, and embed the video in the post for easy access. On Twitter, the video had to be accessed through a link, which may explain why the tweet did not perform as well as the Facebook post. When we posted the Ramadan quote by Zarqa Nawaz, we at mentioned (@mentioned) her in our Facebook post (an @mention is when you reference a person by their Facebook or Twitter name, in this case @zarqanawaz). The value of an @mention is that the person you have mentioned sees the post and now has the opportunity to like, share, or comment on it. Though her Facebook community is not particularly large (about 1300 people), the people in Nawaz's network would have some kind of connection with her, and would be more likely to click, like, or share. We also used the @mention option in the top two performing tweets on Twitter. The post about women in hijab constantly hearing "you don't have to wear that in Canada" was originally posted on a Muslim blog called Sound Vision, so we @mentioned the blog in our tweet (@soundvisionusa). We also @mentioned Rafia Khader (@ruffspuffs on Twitter), the blogger who wrote about how exhausting it is to be considered a spokesperson for Islam because she wears a hijab. Both tweets were retweeted so that increased our audience, and likely clicks and shares. People also access Facebook and Twitter differently. Facebook users access the platform from home and work, on mobile and other devices, several times a day, whereas Twitter users tend to access the platform during downtime, while on a work break, or on the commute home. This may explain why blog posts were the most consumed content on Twitter, as opposed to videos, which can be lengthy and noisy media.

Chapter 4: Research Study Results

  Though 39 people completed the first survey (in person and online), only 12 of those participants participated in the second survey, and of those, only ten surveys were usable. One participant failed to provide an email, so there was no way to correspond these responses with data provided in the first survey. Another participant only answered one question on the second survey, which did not provide enough data to be useful. Ten participants completed both surveys satisfactorily, so 10 became the final research study sample size. Here is a summary of the findings: (full responses of all ten participants for both surveys provided in Appendix I).

4.1. Survey 1 Responses

In your opinion, what can a head covering tell you about a person?

Participants said one or more of these things:

- Their religious beliefs

- Whether they are a sports fan, their favourite team

- That they are seeking protection from the sun, or in winter, the cold

- That they are covering up bad hair or no hair (they are bald)

- That they are conveying a sense of style

When you see a person in a baseball cap, what do you think?

Participants said one or more of these things:

- They are sports fans, they are seeking sun/weather protection, they are hiding bad hair or bald heads, or it's part of their casual, sporty "look".

- One participant said baseball caps were part of "Western culture".

- One participant said, "If they are over twenty and not professional baseball players, I think they look ridiculous and should know better."

- One participant said that baseball caps are so common, one can't assume the person is a baseball fan. He or she may just be seeking sun protection, or hiding a bald spot.

- One participant said, "I don't really make a judgment about a hat like that, it's just a standard sort of garb, a standard clothing item. You can't really deduce much."

When you see a person in a hijab, what do you think?

- Eight participants said they are religious and/or Muslim; two participants referred to "a "religious conviction" and "a devout Muslim woman".

- One participant said, "If I see a woman on TV reporting in one I assume she is in a country where women are expected to cover their heads."

- One participant said hijab "stands out in a western culture and creates an air of mystery," and hoped "the female is not bullied or forced to observe something they do not agree with."

- One participant said, "damn, they don't have to worry about bad hair days!"

- One participant said, "I see it as somebody who might not be as thoughtful as somebody else, as logical. As an atheist I don't believe in a spiritual being to guide your philosophy on life. I think that should come from different types of philosophies rather than a more rigid philosophy that requires you to wear a clothing item." This same participant said you couldn't make judgments about people in baseball caps, as they are standard garb (see response above).

- One participant called wearing hijab an "outdated misogynistic cultural practice" that demands women cover up "because men can't control themselves."

What experience or knowledge has informed your thinking about head coverings?

Participants said one or more of the following:

- Reading books. One participant specifically mentioned the late Christopher Hitchens' book *God is Not Great*.

- Wearing head coverings, or knowing people who wear them

- Engaging in, or following, debates about head coverings

- Experience with family, friends and the general public

- Exposure to media and pop culture

How much does social media influence the way you think?

Participants were given options to choose, ranging from none, to it's a major influence.

- Six participants said they used social media moderately and were influenced by it a bit

- Two participants said it was a major influence, one said it was hardly an influence, and one did not respond to this question

Do you think a social media campaign can change some of your ideas? Why or why not?

- Seven participants said yes. Here are some of the reasons:

  o "I feel social media can have an impact, start conversations, and can assist in education."

  o "If people I follow / know / respect post items on social media, I tend to give the ideas more consideration."

  o "Increased awareness of issues can get one thinking. If it is persuasive and relevant it might change ideas."

- Three participants said no. Here is one reason:

  o "Most of what is on social media is incorrect or one sided."

4.2. Survey 2 Responses

Did the social media campaign have any effect on your perceptions of women who wear head coverings?

- Five participants said the campaign influenced their ideas about women who wear head coverings

If yes, what effect did it have? (Pick all that apply)

Participants were given options to choose from, including: broadened my perceptions, offered new ideas and interpretations, helped me identify some of the assumptions informing my perceptions, made me aware of some common public assumptions about this group, and changed what I thought before the campaign started.

- Three participants said it "broadened my perceptions."
- Three participants said it "helped me identify some of the assumptions informing my perceptions."
- One participant said it "offered new ideas and interpretations."
- One participant said it "made me aware of some common public assumptions about this group."

What campaign content did you find most engaging and/or effective?

Participants were given options that included: profiles of successful women who wear hijab, stories that challenged assumptions about women in hijab, and funny or irreverent content. As in all multiple choice options, participants could also provide their own answer.

- Five participants said "profiles of successful women in hijab e.g. artists, athletes"
- Two participants said "funny and/or irreverent content e.g. Islamophobin gum ad"

- One participant said "challenging assumptions about women in hijab e.g. they're uneducated, oppressed"

Which campaign post was most effective and why?

- Three participants said Dalia Mogahed's TED Talk
- One participant said, "The post of Saudi women at the Dubai conference ('What Muslim Women Want You to Know') as we so rarely hear from women from the Kingdom."
- One participant said, "I genuinely enjoyed the Islamophobin gum ad. Highlighted the foolishness of people."

Which campaign post was least effective and why?

- One participant said the Islamophobin ad was least effective, as it was "not that funny."
- One participant "found the posting on Haute fashion hijabs silly."
- One participant, who identified as "agnostic", said a lot of the campaign content did not resonate and thus was not inspired to "click on to read more."

What do you think a head covering, baseball cap, or hijab can tell you about a person now?

- Three participants skipped these three questions.
- One participant said, "perceptions haven't changed" for all three questions
- With respect to hijab, two participants said it was a choice, not oppression.
  - "The head covering indicates the choice to observe religious practices, rather than oppression."
  - "I think it can be a symbol of oppression in some countries, but in Western countries (particularly North America) it will most likely be a choice."

- One participant said they could tell "nothing" from a baseball cap, but still thought, as they had indicated in survey 1, that head coverings were a "misogynistic cultural practice", and that people who wear hijab "belong to a cult-like religion."

Do you think this social media campaign was successful in challenging some negative public assumptions about women in hijab?

- Seven participants said the campaign had successfully challenged negative assumptions about Muslim women who wear hijab

Here are some of the stated reasons why:

- "Presented real people and personal experiences to counteract stereotypes."

- "Women make a choice to wear a hijab. It's not a sign of oppression."

- "I think it made me realize that wearing hijab is a choice. That it is a religious observance, as opposed to a moral obligation. Kind of parallels the yarmulke that observant Jewish men wear."

- "Because of the variety of smart, thoughtful women who are more than what is on their heads."

Three participants said the campaign was not effective in challenging stereotypes.

Here is what one participant said:

- "I do find the hair fetish in religion fascinating but a bit silly. However, I really doubt that the hardcore haters who get upset about what someone else is wearing will get much from the campaign."

Chapter 5: Observations, Interpretations, and Recommendations

5.1. Observations and Interpretations

It's interesting that while only half the participants (5/10) said the social media campaign had influenced their ideas about head coverings, the majority (7/10) said that the campaign had been successful in challenging assumptions about women in hijab. This could mean that many of the participants did not have negative assumptions at the start of the campaign that needed to be influenced. Or it could mean that, if they did have negative assumptions, they were reluctant to share them. While some participants did express some negative ideas in survey 1, from concerns that some women may have been bullied into wearing hijab, to the declaration that hijab is an "outdated misogynistic cultural practice," most participants simply said that a person wearing hijab was "religious" or "Muslim." Some suggested a heightened religiosity, through the use of words like "conviction" and "devout". As Reinsborough and Canning write in their book *Re:Imagining Change: How to Use Story-based Strategy to Win Campaigns, Build Movements, and Change the World,* one small word can make a big difference in interpretation or meaning. They cite the difference between saying "Columbus discovers America" and "Columbus invades America" (Reinsborough & Canning, 2010, p. 37). One word completely changes the story. When a person is referred to as "devout" most of us will infer that the person is demonstrably religious in belief and practices. Some of the women I interviewed balked at this interpretation, saying women in hijab are not necessarily any more religious than other Muslims. While some started wearing hijab to get more in touch with their spirituality, others resented expectations of "exemplary" behaviour, and a scholar's knowledge of Islam.

As the researcher, I certainly noticed reluctance from the participants I recruited in person. Though all who were surveyed had obviously consented to talk about head coverings,

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when I actually asked the questions, many participants looked visibly uncomfortable. I could see them trying to figure out what the right answer was, perhaps for fear of offending me, a brown woman who does not wear hijab, but who participants may have assumed (accurately) is Muslim, based on my research interest. Though I made it clear that there were no right or wrong answers, that I had no vested interest in the results, and that their identities would not be revealed in the study, most participants said the same two things about women in hijab: they are religious and/or they are Muslim. Some of the respondents in survey 1, who did not continue their participation in this study, said things like "It's a free country, they can wear what they like." Perhaps that is what some people think when they see a woman in a hijab. No one talked about "freedom" when sharing what they thought about people in baseball caps. This discomfort poses a problem in social change efforts. If we can't identify and confirm problematic assumptions, how do we come up with solutions?

Another observation is that participants who said their thinking was influenced by the campaign said it had broadened their perceptions, and made them aware of their own assumptions about women in hijab. This could mean that we were somewhat successful in reaching communities outside CCMW Toronto's reach. We distributed the campaign on CCMW Toronto's social media channels, and we were concerned we might often be "preaching to the converted". Having said that, it must be noted that there is no consensus in the Muslim community about wearing hijab, niqab, or other head coverings. In fact, there are Muslim women publicly advocating against wearing hijab, such as journalist and author Asra Nomani. In 2015, she co-wrote an article for *The Washington Post* called "As Muslim Women, We Actually Ask You Not to Wear the Hijab in the Name of Interfaith Solidarity" (Nomani & Arafa, 2015). The title says it all.

The point of this campaign was not to advocate for the wearing of hijab, or any other head covering. Indeed, CCMW National has spoken out against the laws in some Arab countries that demand women wear head coverings or face legal repercussions. The goal of this study was to raise awareness about the kinds of negative assumptions people make when a woman becomes "visibly Muslim" by wearing hijab, and to measure the effects of a social media campaign that challenges some of those assumptions on participant attitudes. It is interesting that though the post on "hijab as oppression" did not perform particularly well in terms of reach, post clicks, likes, and shares on either Facebook or Twitter, and was not mentioned as an influential piece of content in the survey responses, it was that assumption that was most positively influenced. Several participants mentioned that, after consuming the social media campaign, they now understood hijab to be a personal choice, not a form of oppression. On the other hand, the top performing content was not particularly influential on participant thinking. The posts on the winner of the "best brain" contest, and the Ramadan quote had the most clicks, likes and shares on Facebook, but were not identified as the content most effective in broadening perceptions and challenging assumptions.

Dalia Mogahed's TED Talk was identified as the most effective post in the campaign. Mogahed is the author, scholar, and adviser to U.S. President Barack Obama who wears hijab, and talks about what people think of her as a result. Her talk is extremely engaging and popular. As of July, 2016, it had been viewed 1,724,040 times on YouTube. Also, more participants may have consumed this content because it was the first item we ran in the campaign. Though we did not collect data on this, it is human nature to skip days, or lose interest as a campaign continues. We also discovered it was not always clear which posts were specific to this social media campaign. We did establish a hashtag #whatsonyourhead, to aggregate and tag all campaign

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content. But CCMW Toronto also ran other content, perhaps two or three other posts on any given day, and most of these stories also focused on Muslim women, so it's easy to see how participants may have become confused. We know this happened at least once, as one of the participants said the most effective content was the post on a Toronto Muslim woman who was verbally assaulted: "It touched on a topic that was familiar to me (living in Toronto) and how the global problem of Islamophobia is local as well." This article did run on CCMW Toronto's social media channels during our two-week social media campaign, but was not one of our 14 pieces of curated content. Though not a major problem in this instance, it points to a potential challenge for social change activists to create media that is identifiable with your organization's goals, mission and mandate.

As mentioned earlier, the content that demonstrated the lowest performance was the post on the controversy over the OCASI/City of Toronto anti-Islamophobia campaign. This campaign launched while we were running our social media campaign and, because it also featured an ad about discrimination faced by Muslim women who wear hijab, one would think it would have resonated with consumers of our campaign. But the literally black and white approach of that campaign backfired. News media reported on the launch of the campaign, and then the story disappeared. Our more positive approach, highlighting the accomplishments of women in hijab, from political adviser Dalia Mogahed, to Olympic fencer Ibtihaj Muhammad, and sharing stories about and by Muslim women, seemed to be more palatable than the sledgehammer approach of the OCASI/City of Toronto campaign, which also offered no calls to action, and no potential solutions.

5.2. Best Practices, Limitations and Recommendations

As is likely true in most research studies, we learned some things, but generated more questions than answers. Is social media the right tool to address some of our deepest social problems? Are we able to measure its effectiveness with accuracy, and sustain its impact? What are the limitations, and the recommended best practices in using social media in social change campaigns?

In *Shift and Reset: Strategies for Addressing Serious Issues in a Connected Society*, the authors conclude that while social media has allowed us to learn "a tremendous amount about how people interact, what they want, and how they will behave," we have also glommed onto social media "at the expense of other, more important improvements" (Reich & Case, 2011, p. 308). They quote Robert Kallen, a Professor of Economics at DePaul University in Chicago, on the success and failure of a hunger campaign. "We fed a million people, but made no forward progress toward addressing the issue of food access or insecurity as a whole." (Reich & Case, 2011, p. 221). As the philosopher Maimonides famously said, "Give a man a fish, and you feed him for a day. Teach a man to fish, and you feed him for a lifetime." There is ample proof that social media campaigns are effective in raising awareness, funds and support. But there are limits to what can be accomplished on social media, and strategies required to sustain interest when the social media campaign ends. How do activists keep the momentum going when the Arab Spring is over, and the last bucket of ice is dumped? One strategy may be to raise awareness globally and take action locally. In *Re:Imagining Change: How to Use Story-Based Strategy to Win Campaigns, Build Movements, and Change the World*, the authors suggest challenging assumptions by making the "invisible visible" (Reinsborough & Canning, 2010, p. 67). They

refer to a campaign they ran, where they asked U.S. veterans, in uniform, to patrol a number of American cities, simulating crowd control and civil arrests. They were protesting the U.S. military in Iraq, and wanted to demonstrate to Americans what occupation looks and feels like. They knew that simply educating people about the undemocratic nature of the occupation would not be enough. Protesters needed to give people the experience of occupation, to make the invisible visible (Reinsborough & Canning, 2010, p. 80-81).

As we've discussed, it's too easy to show support for a cause on social media. In what some call "slacktivism", all a person has to do is click or tap, and they can feel that they've made a contribution. All those clicks and taps may be a gauge of potential support, but not the kind that gets people out the door, working in their communities. Turning traction into action requires feet on the ground. We are seeing this with the expansion of the Black Lives Matter movement. It started as a hashtag campaign, a digital space where people could raise awareness and voice outrage over the shooting deaths of black men by white police. But it was the work of a local chapter on the ground, through sit-ins held outside a Toronto police station, and the media coverage those public events generated, that led the coroner to call a public inquest into the shooting death of Andrew Loku by Toronto police. This is a model that other activist groups may want to emulate.

As we know, nearly half of the people on earth are on social networks, which means social media must always be part of any social change strategy. But the key is to remember what social media does well, and to use it specifically for those purposes. We know, for example, that social media is useful in raising awareness and mobilizing support, as we have seen in the ALS Ice Bucket Challenge and the Arab Spring uprisings. What it does not do well is motivate people

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to participate offline, in their communities. As we have seen through movements like Black Lives Matter, it takes people on the ground, exerting pressure on public institutions, to achieve any change with respect to systemic racism and discrimination. These are not issues you can fundraise for; there is no one cure for racism. Changing public attitudes, political visions, and legislation is a slow and arduous process; progress is impeded by systemic barriers that need to be overcome, and thus is incremental. The tools to measure the impact of social media are also flawed. There is too much emphasis on the numeric metrics - how many people clicked, liked, shared, donated. Of course, these things are important, particularly when the goals are to raise awareness and raise monies for a cause. But how do we know if social media is having an impact on discriminatory attitudes and practices? There is currently no reliable way to measure these effects on social media. Perhaps measurement tools will become more sophisticated as the ways in which we use social media become increasingly more diverse and complex. In the meantime, more research is recommended on how social media can most effectively be used by social change activists. This study had a small number of research participants, and a limited time frame. It showed some progress in challenging negative assumptions about Muslim women who wear hijab, and in creating positive change in participant attitudes towards this cultural group. Further research studies that involve more participants, and that are run over a longer period of time can better demonstrate the effectiveness of a social media campaign on attitudes, expand on best practices and limitations of social media, and determine how to sustain any positive impacts achieved.

Based on research currently available, and the results of this study, the following social media strategies are recommended for social change activists:

- Work with the communities that are the focus of your social change campaign. Whether you are advocating for people who are LGBTQ, for people who have been sexually abused, or for people who have experienced systemic racism and discrimination, these communities are often marginalized, lacking power and voice. Their input needs to be included in the strategy, goals and outcomes of your social media campaign.

- Use social media as a global tool, to raise awareness and educate people about your social issue. Mobilize support by incorporating calls to action e.g. sign a petition, wear a hoodie or a hijab, donate money. Once you have built a community of supporters, create opportunities to have people participate in events on the ground, from public protests like the ones staged by local chapters of the Black Lives Matter movement, to celebratory events like the Pride Parade.

- Understand that some people may be uncomfortable discussing topics like racism. Acknowledge that fact, and use mitigating tactics, such as sharing stories of empowerment, pride, and employing humour to address touchy subjects e.g. an assumption that all Muslims are terrorists

- Remember that each social media platform is different. Consider who your target audience is, when you want to reach them, and what content will perform most effectively for your chosen platform. Facebook is the most widely used social media platform and is great for sharing personal stories and long-form media. Twitter is a better platform to share news and information that needs to be updated quickly.

- Curate content from the community. Whatever your content needs are, it is likely the media has already been created. From culturally-specific blogs to videos posted on YouTube, you will be able to find media that represents the diversity of opinions and concerns in marginalized communities, and bring their personal stories, often ignored in mainstream media, out into the open. Sharing these unique perspectives are the best way to challenge persistent, problematic, and negative assumptions.

- Be wary of metrics. You want to know that your campaign is reaching people, but remember it is very easy to like a post. It doesn't necessarily mean anything. Look for more robust acts of support, for example a comment with meaningful insights, frequent interactions, responses to calls to actions.

- Keep iterating. It's easy to adjust messaging and frequency of posts on social media. But remember the goal is to encourage two-way communication, not only to push out media, but to encourage responses, reactions, engagement, and ultimately, to build relationships with your online communities, especially on Facebook, where networks are made up of people we consider "friends". Building relationships builds trust, a factor that is necessary in challenging difficult social issues.

- Run a positive social media campaign. Though our sample size was small, it is encouraging that half of the participants experienced a positive change in their perceptions of Muslim women who wear hijab. Participants said they were most influenced by the profiles of successful women who wear hijab, which seems to indicate that positive stories might have more impact than negative ones in

creating social change. Indeed, our posts about a controversial anti-Islamophobia campaign that was launched during this study's social media campaign performed poorly in terms of views, likes and shares. Community activists advocating for social change on social platforms are advised to take a celebratory approach, and share positive stories about members of marginalized communities.

Appendices
Appendix A: Australian study pre-and-post urban renewal project (Jalaludin et al., 2012)

BMC
Public Health

A pre-and-post study of an urban renewal program in a socially disadvantaged neighbourhood in Sydney, Australia

Bin Jalaludin[1,2*], Michelle Maxwell[2,3], Basema Saddik[4], Elizabeth Lobb[1], Roy Byun[1], Rodrigo Gutierrez[5] and John Paszek[5]

Abstract

Background: Urban renewal programs aim to target both the physical and social environments to improve the social capital, social connectedness, sense of community and economic conditions of residents of the neighbourhoods. We evaluated the impact of an urban renewal program on the health and well-being of residents of a socially disadvantaged community in south-western Sydney, Australia.

Methods: Pre- and post-urban renewal program surveys were conducted with householders by trained interviewers. The urban renewal program was conducted over 16 months and consisted of internal upgrades (including internal painting; replacement of kitchens, bathrooms and carpets; general maintenance), external upgrades (including property painting; new fencing, carports, letterboxes, concrete driveways, drainage and landscaping), general external maintenance, and social interventions such as community engagement activities, employment initiatives, and building a community meeting place. The questionnaire asked about demographic characteristics, self-reported physical activity, psychological distress, self-rated health, and perceptions of aesthetics, safety and walkability in the neighbourhood. We used the paired chi-square test (McNemars test) to compare paired proportions. A Bonferroni corrected p-value of <0.0013 denoted statistical significance.

Results: Following the urban renewal program we did not find statistically significant changes in perceptions of aesthetics, safety and walkability in the neighbourhood. However, post-urban renewal, more householders reported there were attractive buildings and homes in their neighbourhood (18% vs 64%), felt that they belonged to the neighbourhood (48% vs 70%), that their area had a reputation for being a safe place (8% vs 27%), that they felt safe walking down their street after dark (52% vs 85%), and that people who came to live in the neighbourhood would be more likely to stay rather than move elsewhere (13% vs 54%). Changes in psychological distress and self-rated health were not statistically significant.

Conclusions: We found an increase, in the short-term, in the proportion of householders reporting improvements in some aspects of their immediate neighbourhood following the urban renewal program. It will be important to repeat the survey in the future to determine whether these positive changes are sustained.

Keywords: Urban renewal, Pre-and-post study design, Socio-economic disadvantage, Social housing, Evaluation

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BioMed Central

Appendix B: Consent Form

CONSENT FORM: SURVEY ON HEAD COVERINGS

Thank you for your interest in this research study. Before taking the survey, please take a minute to read this consent form.

This research study is being conducted by Ryerson University graduate student Zeelaf Majeed, and supervised by Jason Boyd, an Assistant Professor in the Department of English at Ryerson. This study will gather people's attitudes towards head coverings (ball caps and hijabs), and assess if a social media campaign has any effect on their attitudes. The social media campaign is being developed in partnership with the Canadian Council of Muslim Women – Toronto chapter.

Participation in this study requires you to be 18 years of age or older, have access to a computer and internet, be willing to follow a two-week social media campaign and take two surveys (6 questions each). You must also provide your email, so you can be sent campaign and survey links. Your information will not be shared.

As participants, your identities will remain anonymous, as well as your survey responses. You have the right to:

- Skip a survey question or questions, take a break from participation, or end participation in the study at any time.
- To end participation in the online survey, simply close the browser and no data will be collected.
- If you end participation anytime before the research is complete, any data collected will be withdrawn and destroyed.
- The survey data will be kept until August 2017, on a portable hard drive that is encrypted and password protected, and then destroyed.

There are no incentives for participation. By agreeing to participate, you are not waiving any legal rights in the event that you are harmed during the research.

If you have any questions about the research, please contact the researcher Zeelaf Majeed at zmajeed@ryerson.ca. This study has been approved by the Research Ethics Board at Ryerson University. You can reach the board at rebchair@ryerson.ca.

Participant Signature:

Participant Email:

*If you wish to take this survey online, here's the link: https://www.surveymonkey.com/r/T89NXT7
Please complete this survey by Sunday June 12th, as the social media campaign launches on June 13th.

Appendix C: Survey 1 – Pre-Campaign Survey Questions

Pre-Campaign Survey

If you have consented to participate, go ahead and take the survey. There are 6 questions. It should take between 5 and 10 minutes to complete. Please answer the questions as fully and honestly as you can. Remember, your identity is anonymous, as are your survey responses.

1. In your opinion, what can a head covering tell you about a person?

2. When you see a person in a baseball cap, what do you think?

3. When you see a person in a hijab, what do you think?

4. What experience or knowledge has informed your thinking about head coverings?

5. How much does social media influence the way you think?

   ○   It doesn't - I don't use social media.

   ○   A little bit - I use social media occasionally.

   ○   A moderate amount - I use social media regularly.

   ○   It's a major influence - I am on social media all the time.

   ○   Other (please specify)

6. Do you think a social media campaign can change some of your ideas? Why or why not?

Appendix D: Survey 2 – Post-Campaign Survey Questions

1. **Please provide your email again so your responses can be correlated with your responses in Survey 1.**

2. **Did the social media campaign have any effect on your perceptions of women who wear head coverings?**
   - Yes
   - No
   - Not sure

3. **If yes, what effect did it have? (*Pick all that apply*)**
   - Broadened my perceptions
   - Offered new ideas and interpretations
   - Helped me identify some of the assumptions informing my perceptions
   - Made me aware of some common public assumptions about this group
   - Changed what I thought before the campaign started
   - Other (please specify)

4. **What campaign content did you find most engaging and/or effective?**
   - Profiles of successful women in hijab e.g. artists, athletes
   - Challenging assumptions about women in hijab e.g. uneducated, oppressed
   - Funny and/or irreverent content e.g. Islamophobin gum ad
   - Other (please specify)

5. **Which campaign post was most effective and why?**

6. **Which campaign post was least effective and why?**

7. **What do you think a head covering can tell you about a person now?**

8. **What do you think a baseball cap can tell you about a person now?**

9. **What do you think a hijab can tell you about a person now?**

10. **Do you think this social media campaign was successful in challenging some negative public assumptions about women in hijab?**
    - Yes
    - No
    - Why or Why Not?

Appendix E: Postcard promoting social media campaign/research study

Curious about head coverings?

Check out our #whatsonyourhead campaign

When: June 13-26

facebook.com/CCMWToronto

@ccmwtoronto

You may also want to participate in our research study.
https://www.surveymonkey.com/r/T89NXT7

Ryerson University

Graduate Studies in partnership with the Canadian Council of Muslim Women Toronto

CCMW

Appendix F: Interviews with Six Women Who Wear/Have Worn Hijab

QUESTIONS	RESPONSES
Why do you/did you choose to wear hijab?	#1 ● I chose to wear hijab because I fell in love with it at the age of 11. I was inspired to wear it by friends and family who wore it with pride and were truly happy wearing it. #2 ● I was born and raised in Saudi Arabia where wearing hijab/niqab is the norm. I started at a very young age when my mother explained to me the meaning of hijab and why we wear it. I have been wearing it ever since. I wore niqab in Saudi, but here in Canada I only wear hijab. #3 ● I've been wearing 4/5 years, beginning of University. Coming out of high school, I had a mini-identity crisis trying to figure out who I am, what type of person I wanted to be. As an adult, I turned to religion, it's a big part of my journey. I really isolated myself in a healthy way, contemplating, I wanted to do this for myself. My parents/family never pressured me. All three of my sisters, and my mom eventually started wearing it too. I just had a feeling I wanted to do this. #4 ● When I was 9, my father started the first mosque in Mississauga. Before the mosque was fully built, women would meet once a month. My Aunty said you should wear hijab, you'll feel closer to God. Shortly thereafter I started wearing it, and then my mom and sister after me. #5 ● As a child, I used to feel afraid of my parents, stopped wearing as a teenager. Left my homeland as well. But when I matured, had a child of my own, I felt I had a duty to wear hijab - wanted to be a role model for my daughters. Wearing hijab is part of my Muslim

	identity. #6 I wore hijab for over 10 years (2005-2016). I wanted to get back in touch with spirituality, wanted to be stricter with myself. I wanted something visual to remind me that I am a Muslim. It made me feel closer to God, my spiritual side. I stopped because I felt I had achieved what I wanted to. Also, I did not always like the way I was perceived, particularly within the Muslim community - "good for you!", symbol of empowerment for other Muslim women. I had ended an abusive marriage, felt more mature. Didn't feel I needed to wear the scarf.
What have you experienced as a result?	#1 - I have experienced a sense of control over my own actions and the feeling of freedom over choosing what to wear. I have also experienced a sense of comfort being covered and not being undressed with peoples' eyes or spoken to in any negative way. #2 - I only experienced issues when I left Saudi - in Europe, and also here in Canada. What I mean is ugly judgmental stares, racist slurs such as "go back to your country". I also experienced people spitting on me the first month I was in Toronto. It happens every time there is a terrorist attack somewhere in the world. - Another thing I experienced is a huge struggle to find work in Canada. Although I worked as a successful manager for an international company in Saudi, and graduated from an Ivey business school here in Canada, I could not find work as a fundraiser in the nonprofit sector. I was told off the record "donors don't like to see a hijab." - I feel frustrated and sometimes scared for my life. I avoid going out after every attack. I stay at home until the story dies down. I have also lost hope in finding work in Canada and I am planning to return to Saudi next year. The discrimination is so subtle you

can't prove it.

#3

- From Muslim community, people are more accepting of me because I'm a "normative Muslim". I can fit in at mosque and other Muslim spaces. I felt more comfortable being Muslim in those spaces.
- Non-Muslim people do make assumptions. First year at University I didn't wear hijab, second year I did, and I noticed a difference. Non-Muslims approached me less. People were still nice, they just weren't as willing to be my friend. I think they took this as a sign that I had changed in a fundamental way - you're more Conservative now, so maybe we won't get along. Some people from high school stopped talking to me, stopped responding to messages. One friend took me out for coffee, she's a practicing Christian, and she didn't know I was a religious person. I always had been, just now it was visible.
- More negative than positive experiences. People stare on the bus, and I'm not sure why they are staring, but I assume it's the hijab. Two weeks ago, I was on the streetcar with friends and an Eastern European man mumbled under his breath something about Isis and "go back to Saudi". We didn't say anything at first, eventually we said "can you stop using profanity?" Eventually he got off.

#4

- Bullying in school, late 80's. I was the only kid in 500 who wore hijab. I didn't fit in. People were not sure what it was. Middle school felt it a lot more. Ignorance. Racist. "Oh are you being forced to wear it? Did your parents make you? Do you have hair under there?"
- After 9/11, people were hostile towards me. My boss suggested I take time off. "I'll call you to come back."
- Shortly after 9/11 I was attacked, in an apartment building in broad daylight, I was in abaya (robe, covers body). A man said "Muslims are being bad in the world and I'll show you what that means". He tried to sexually assault me in an elevator. I got away, and after that I decided hijab was more political for me. I wanted to challenge that narrative shown in the media. Wanted to be a voice, show that

	those extremists people don't represent us. Ran in last federal election (lost). ● Started blog (It's Muslims Actually) to counter negative stories about Muslims, platform for positive ideas. #5 ● Hijab can be a barrier. If you don't speak well, don't communicate well, people will put you down. Where I work, they know me now. I do speak up if I'm put down. I make sure other people hear it. Some people don't want to acknowledge what the Muslim woman is saying. I was the only Muslim woman on the staff wearing hijab. ● My kids have felt discrimination. My daughter wears hijab, people have said "go back to Afghanistan." #6 ● Strongest reactions came from family, close friends. My parents were really upset, thought I was under some imam's influence. My parents didn't know I was trying to increase my spirituality. I always admired women who did not worry about what they were wearing, what they looked like. Some relatives thought my marriage prospects would decrease – only really conservative types would be interested. My sister and friend knew I was the same person, that I just wanted to wear the scarf. ● I never had a bad reaction from the public, living in the US or Canada, or travelling, people were always respectful, friendly. When I walked down the street, no matter where I was in the world, people would greet me "Salaam sister". They knew I was Muslim. That doesn't happen anymore.
What are the most common assumptions people make about you because you wear a hijab?	#1 ● A few common assumptions are that I don't go out much (home girl/antisocial), that I can't talk to the opposite gender, and that I wear the hijab at home. #2 ● We are oppressed and pressured or forced to wear it. Also, I noticed that people think we (hijabis) are not smart or educated!

#3
- Internally, I get this a lot from other women who wear hijab, when they see a Muslim woman who is smoking or walking with a man, they say "how can she do that?" because she is wearing hijab. You are seen as this obedient, sinless person, you have to be this torch bearer because you are so visible.
- Externally, I hear things like you are very Conservative, you don't know what you're doing. When you are visibly Muslim and religious, there's no room to be a moderate Muslim and wear a hijab. You are a super Muslim, bordering on fundamentalism. I didn't know you could smoke sheesha and wear hijab.

#4
- That I'm oppressed and need to be liberated, that I don't have a voice, that I'm forced to wear it. That I represent that brand of Islam that extremists claim is the true Islam.

#5
- That the hijab represents extremist views. After 9/11 many Muslim women in hijab or niqab were afraid to go anywhere by themselves.

#6
- Women who wear hijab do experience discrimination, especially when it comes to jobs, because numbers don't lie. There are racist comments, women in hijab can sense hostility. Young women in particular have a tough time - trying to find themselves, and can feel like they don't belong.
- When I wore hijab I heard "oh, you speak English really well!" Sometimes I felt non-Muslims were being over-courteous to me - they didn't want me to excluded, but I felt they were treating me differently. Sometimes I was not invited to after school/work events where there would be wine or beer served because I am Muslim. But this is where everyone networked - I felt left out. People also thought I was a role model for Muslim women and that I must be an expert in Islam.

What assumptions would you like to see addressed in a social media campaign?	#1 ● I would love to see a campaign showing the life of a hijabi wearing the hijab outside of the home and then not wearing it at home so people have a better understanding of the hijab. I would also like to see a campaign showing the influential hijabis making a difference in the world. #2 ● Muslim Women especially hijabis are not celebrated for their accomplishments. I strongly believe that we need a campaign that represents hijabis as well-educated, accomplished women. We also need to empower Muslim girls to see that hijab is never an obstacle to accomplish anything in life, and we need to show women in hijab working in businesses in Canada, show that we can integrate and contribute. #3 ● There's a lot. The "where are you from?" You speak English really well. You won't understand, you're an immigrant. Or you're in Canada now, you don't have to wear that. You're safe. I actually chose to wear it. I often hear "you look prettier without it." Even at Service Canada, someone said that. The fact that people think they are entitled to ask questions. We need to shatter stereotypes. Muslim women are average and normal. We are like every other person. #4 ● Provocative stuff – challenge ideas that Muslims are terrorists e.g. CAIR campaign that targets Islamophobia (Islamophobin) ● Also, show women in hijab speaking up and out e.g. spoken word artist. #5 ● Show Muslim women participating - swimming, doing yoga, They can do these things and they do. I have advocated for "female only" time at Regent Park Community Centre, so Muslim women can swim. There are many of us who participate in sports, in arts and culture. Show that we lead balanced lives,

	that we are not restricted.
	#6
	- That the person is not different because she wears hijab. It's like a style, and different women have different styles. People may not like me calling it that. But how you dress doesn't change your life, your job, your relationships, your problems, your priorities. We've associated scarves with being more religious and more extremist, but this is not the case. It's simply a personal choice.

Appendix G: Top Three Performing Posts on Facebook

Canadian Council of Muslim Women - Toronto Chapter
Published by Hootsuite [?] · June 22 at 11:00am · ☀

#whatsonyourhead
A common assumption is that Muslim girls and women are not educated. Tell that to Nooran AbuMazen of Waterloo, Ontario, winner of the Canadian National Brain Bee. http://bit.ly/bestbrain

Waterloo, Ont. teen wins 'Best Brain' in Canada competition

17-year-old Nooran AbuMazen of Waterloo, Ont., wins CIHR Canadian National Brain Bee competition.

CTVNEWS.CA

Zeelaf Majeed
Just now ·

#whatsonyourhead

#Ramadan Mubarak to Muslims observing the fast, which #ZarqaNawaz says is as #Canadian as pancakes with maple syrup. as long as you eat them after sunset!

"Ramadan is as Canadian as maple syrup and pancakes, which we can't eat (until sunset). Be Canadian, be good, be giving. Most of all, support Give 30."

Zarqa Nawaz
Author & Creator of
Little Mosque on the Prairie

give30.ca   /give30   @give_30

👍 Like   💬 Comment

Canadian Council of Muslim Women - Toronto Chapter
Published by TED [?] · June 13 at 10:59am · ☀

#whatsonyourhead

By any societal measure, Dalia Mogahed is a successful woman. She is a renowned researcher, author, pollster, consultant, and political advisor to President Obama on faith-based and neighbourhood partnerships. Yet because she wears a hijab, people make other assumptions. Hear what she has to say in her Ted Talk. #whatsonyourhead

What do you think when you look at me?

When you look at Muslim scholar Dalia Mogahed, what do you see: a woman of faith? a scholar, a mom, a sister? or an oppressed, brainwashed, potential terrorist? In this personal, powerful talk, Mogahed asks us, in this polarizing time, to fight...

TED.COM I BY DALIA MOGAHED

Appendix H: Top two performing posts on Twitter:

CCMW Toronto @CCMWtoronto · Jun 25

Does wearing #hijab make you a spokesperson for #Islam? bit.ly/hijabalone #whatsonyourhead @ruffspuffs

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Appendix H: Survey 1 and Survey 2 (Pre and Post) Campaign Responses

Participant/Survey 1 Questions	Survey 1 Answers	Survey 2 Questions	Survey 2 Answers
Participant 1			
In your opinion, what can a head covering tell you about a person?	**Weather religion protection**	What do you think a head covering can tell you about a person now?	**No change. Mysoginistic, cultural practice.**
When you see a person in a baseball cap, what do you think?	**They like sports or need protection from the sun or the are bald**	What do you think a baseball cap can tell you about a person now?	**Nothing**
When you see a person in a hijab, what do you think?	**Outdated cultural practice that says women need to cover up because men can't control themselves. A mysoginistic practice.**	What do you think a hijab can tell you about a person now?	**Belong to a cult like religion.**
What experience or knowledge has informed your thinking about head coverings?	**Reading (My favourite non fiction books are God is not Great by Hitchins and Infidel by Ayaan Hirsi Ali) and education as well as talking with women who wear head coverings**	Did the social media campaign have any effect on your perceptions of women who wear head coverings?	**No**
How much does social media influence the way you think?	**Social media doesn't inform my thinking. It may, however inform me about what others think or feel. I make my decisions based on research.**	If yes, what effect did it have? (*Pick all that apply*)	**Skipped**
Do you think a social media campaign can change some of your ideas? Why or why not?	**No. Most of what is on social media is incorrect or one sided.**	What campaign content did you find most engaging and/or effective?	**Skipped**

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		Which campaign post was most effective and why?	**Skipped**
		Which campaign post was least effective and why?	**Skipped**
		Do you think this social media campaign was successful in challenging some negative public assumptions about women in hijab? Why or Why not?	**No**

Participant/Survey 1 Questions	Survey 1 Answers	Survey 2 Questions	Survey 2 Answers
Participant 2			
In your opinion, what can a head covering tell you about a person?	**Depending on what kind of covering, could tell you about their religious beliefs, favourite sports team, sense of style, what kind of climate they live in.**	What do you think a head covering can tell you about a person now?	**Religious conviction, personal choice, style choice**
When you see a person in a baseball cap, what do you think?	**Depends on the context and the kind of cap: If they are at a sporting event, if it is a team cap or a more "formal" looking cap, etc. Don't think I have any general preconceived notions**	What do you think a baseball cap can tell you about a person now?	**Favourite team**
When you see a person in a hijab, what do you	**That she is a Muslim woman with some**	What do you think a hijab can tell you about a	**Muslim, personal choice**

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think?	degree of religious conviction.	person now?	
What experience or knowledge has informed your thinking about head coverings?	**Wearing them, hearing other people's views about them, knowing people who wear them, reading about them, following debates about them**	Did the social media campaign have any effect on your perceptions of women who wear head coverings?	**No**
How much does social media influence the way you think?	**A moderate amount - I use social media regularly.**	If yes, what effect did it have? (*Pick all that apply*)	**Skipped**
Do you think a social media campaign can change some of your ideas? Why or why not?	**Yes - if people I follow / know / respect post items on social media, I tend to give the ideas more consideration**	What campaign content did you find most engaging and/or effective?	**Profiles of successful women in hijab e.g. artists, athletes**
		Which campaign post was most effective and why?	**Ted talk - interesting and engaging**
		Which campaign post was least effective and why?	**Islamophobia gum ad - not that funny**
		Do you think this social media campaign was successful in challenging some negative public assumptions about women in hijab? Why or Why not?	**Yes Presented real people and personal experiences to counteract stereotypes**

Participant/Survey 1 Questions	Survey 1 Answers	Survey 2 Questions	Survey 2 Answers
Participant 3			

In your opinion, what can a head covering tell you about a person?	**Religious observance**	What do you think a head covering can tell you about a person now?	**Skipped**
When you see a person in a baseball cap, what do you think?	**Sports fan, pop culture, western culture, lazy day, bad hair day**	What do you think a baseball cap can tell you about a person now?	**Skipped**
When you see a person in a hijab, what do you think?	**I think the hijab is very pretty. Though meant for modesty, it stands out in a western culture and creates an air of mystery. As a western person, I hope the female is not bullied or forced to observe something they do not agree with.**	What do you think a hijab can tell you about a person now?	**Skipped**
What experience or knowledge has informed your thinking about head coverings?	**Experience with friends who wear the hijab, students, the general public and media.**	Did the social media campaign have any effect on your perceptions of women who wear head coverings?	**Yes**
How much does social media influence the way you think?	**A little bit - I use social media occasionally.**	If yes, what effect did it have? (*Pick all that apply*)	**Broadened my perceptions** **Helped me identify some of the assumptions informing my perceptions** **Made me aware of some common public assumptions about this group**
Do you think a social media campaign can change some of your ideas? Why or why not?	**I feel social media can have an impact, start conversations and can assist in education.**	What campaign content did you find most engaging and/or effective?	**Profiles of successful women in hijab e.g. artists, athletes**

	Breaking barriers and sharing stories is good and social media can assist with this.		
		Which campaign post was most effective and why?	**Skipped**
		Which campaign post was least effective and why?	**Skipped**
		Do you think this social media campaign was successful in challenging some negative public assumptions about women in hijab? Why or Why not?	**Yes**

Participant/Survey 1 Questions	Survey 1 Answers	Survey 2 Questions	Survey 2 Answers
Participant 4			
In your opinion, what can a head covering tell you about a person?	**The temperature outside if it's winter. If summer, whether or not they have a god thing.**	What do you think a head covering can tell you about a person now?	**That they believe in sky ghosts.**
When you see a person in a baseball cap, what do you think?	**If they are over twenty and not professional baseball players, I think they look ridiculous and should know better.**	What do you think a baseball cap can tell you about a person now?	**If they're over twenty it's time for them to grow up.**
When you see a person in a hijab, what do you think?	**That the person self-identifies as a Muslim.**	What do you think a hijab can tell you about a person now?	**That they are believers in a religious system.**

What experience or knowledge has informed your thinking about head coverings?	**I grew up in Western Canada where Hutterite women and girls cover their hair for Jesus so I never gave them much thought - except that I do have a problem with the idea of a god of any stripe whose main function seems to be as fashion police.**	Did the social media campaign have any effect on your perceptions of women who wear head coverings?	**No**
How much does social media influence the way you think?	**I use social media all the time - however I think I am more sceptical of it and less influenced than I am by newspapers and books - of which I consume copious amounts.**	If yes, what effect did it have? (*Pick all that apply*)	**Skipped**
Do you think a social media campaign can change some of your ideas? Why or why not?	**I think it might introduce me to some new ideas, but I think it is just another platform with some in depth exploration of topics akin to books and a lot of skim info akin to 24hr. television.**	What campaign content did you find most engaging and/or effective?	**Funny and/or irreverent content e.g. Islamophobin gum ad**
		Which campaign post was most effective and why?	**The post of Saudi women at the Dubai conference as we so rarely hear from women from the Kingdom.**
		Which campaign post was least effective and why?	**I found the posting on Haute fashion hijabs silly. It states that they are really about religion and modesty and then coordinate them with shoes etc -**

		Do you think this social media campaign was successful in challenging some negative public assumptions about women in hijab? Why or Why not?	**denigrating both.** **No.** **It depends on the audience. I grew up in Western Canada where there a lots of Hutterite women who cover their hair for Jesus so never had a particular problem with hijabs. I do find the hair fetish in religion fascinating but a bit silly. However I really doubt that the hardcore haters who get upset about what someone else is wearing will get much from the campaign.**

Participant/Survey 1 Questions	Survey 1 Answers	Survey 2 Questions	Survey 2 Answers
Participant 5			
In your opinion, what can a head covering tell you about a person?	**Religion, style, hobbies, their desire for sun protection**	What do you think a head covering can tell you about a person now?	**Skipped.**
When you see a person in a baseball cap, what do you think?	**They want some sun protection, or it's part of their casual, sporty look. Some teens wear them as part of their style.**	What do you think a baseball cap can tell you about a person now?	**Skipped.**
When you see a person in a hijab, what do you	**They're committed to their faith.**	What do you think a hijab can tell you about a	**Skipped.**

think?		person now?	
What experience or knowledge has informed your thinking about head coverings?	**News, seeing people in public.**	Did the social media campaign have any effect on your perceptions of women who wear head coverings?	**No.**
How much does social media influence the way you think?	**A little bit - I use social media occasionally.**	If yes, what effect did it have? (*Pick all that apply*)	**Skipped.**
Do you think a social media campaign can change some of your ideas? Why or why not?	**Yes. If it's effective and powerful it can raise awareness.**	What campaign content did you find most engaging and/or effective?	**Profiles of successful women in hijab e.g. artists, athletes**
		Which campaign post was most effective and why?	**Ted talk**
		Which campaign post was least effective and why?	**Skipped.**
		Do you think this social media campaign was successful in challenging some negative public assumptions about women in hijab? Why or Why not?	**Yes.** **Women make a choice to wear a hijab. It's not a sign of oppression**

Participant/Survey 1 Questions	Survey 1 Answers	Survey 2 Questions	Survey 2 Answers
Participant 6			
In your opinion, what can a head covering tell you about a person?	**Not much**	What do you think a head covering can tell you about a person now?	**Skipped.**
When you see a person	**Is he bald?**	What do you think a	**Skipped.**

in a baseball cap, what do you think?		baseball cap can tell you about a person now?	
When you see a person in a hijab, what do you think?	**Are they muslim?**	What do you think a hijab can tell you about a person now?	**Skipped.**
What experience or knowledge has informed your thinking about head coverings?	**People are just people. Head covering or not.**	Did the social media campaign have any effect on your perceptions of women who wear head coverings?	**Yes.**
How much does social media influence the way you think?	**A little bit - I use social media occasionally.**	If yes, what effect did it have? (*Pick all that apply*)	**Offered new ideas and interpretations**
Do you think a social media campaign can change some of your ideas? Why or why not?	**Yes. The more exposure can change your thoughts.**	What campaign content did you find most engaging and/or effective?	**Challenging assumptions about women in hijab e.g. uneducated, oppressed**
		Which campaign post was most effective and why?	**Skipped.**
		Which campaign post was least effective and why?	**Skipped.**
		Do you think this social media campaign was successful in challenging some negative public assumptions about women in hijab? Why or Why not?	**Yes.**

Participant/Survey 1 Questions	**Survey 1 Answers**	**Survey 2 Questions**	**Survey 2 Answers**
Participant 7			

In your opinion, what can a head covering tell you about a person?	**That they feel the need to cover their head-- either as a disguise or for safety.**	What do you think a head covering can tell you about a person now?	**Head coverings serve many purposes-- religious symbol, team spirit, or both.**
When you see a person in a baseball cap, what do you think?	**Hoser. Depends which way they're wearing it. Backwards is a definite dress-down. Forwards could be a fashion statement or as a way to shade the eyes.**	What do you think a baseball cap can tell you about a person now?	**Many things--There are so many styles of baseball caps. They can't convey attitude, or team choice, or as in the women who wore it over her hijab, innovation. Can't generalize.**
When you see a person in a hijab, what do you think?	**It's a religious preference and fashionable headwear. And damn, they don't have to worry about bad hair days.**	What do you think a hijab can tell you about a person now?	**The head covering indicates the choice to observe religious practices, rather than oppression.**
What experience or knowledge has informed your thinking about head coverings?	**Not much, to be honest. Mostly media.**	Did the social media campaign have any effect on your perceptions of women who wear head coverings?	**Yes.**
How much does social media influence the way you think?	**I often find social media to be misinformed.**	If yes, what effect did it have? (*Pick all that apply*)	**Broadened my perceptions** **Helped me identify some of the assumptions informing my perceptions** **Changed what I thought before the campaign started**
Do you think a social media campaign can	**Not really. I have my own opinions.**	What campaign content did you find most	**Funny and/or irreverent content e.g.**

		engaging and/or effective?	**Islamophobin gum ad**
change some of your ideas? Why or why not?			
		Which campaign post was most effective and why?	**I genuinely enjoyed the Islamaphobin gum ad. Highlighted the foolishness of people.**
		Which campaign post was least effective and why?	**I can't honestly identify one that didn't enlighten.**
		Do you think this social media campaign was successful in challenging some negative public assumptions about women in hijab? Why or Why not?	**Yes. I think it made me realize that wearing hijab is a choice. That it is a religious observance, as opposed to a moral obligation. Kind of parallels the yarmulke that observant Jewish men wear.**

Participant/Survey 1 Questions	Survey 1 Answers	Survey 2 Questions	Survey 2 Answers
Participant 8			
In your opinion, what can a head covering tell you about a person?	**What they like, the temperature, their sense of style, their religion, the image they want to project, their job,**	What do you think a head covering can tell you about a person now?	**What they like, what they believe, the weather, the state of their hair, their fashion sense, their culture, their religion**
When you see a person in a baseball cap, what do you think?	**I think ball caps themselves are very common so I don't assume the person is a baseball player or fan(ie my father-in-law wears**	What do you think a baseball cap can tell you about a person now?	**Their fave team, where they are from, their fashion sense, the weather**

	them sometimes and he is neither). If the cap is branded, I think they are likely a fan. I also sometimes think (if it is a middle-aged man+) that he is likely bald/ing and either hiding it or protecting his scalp		
When you see a person in a hijab, what do you think?	**I think that person is most likely a devout Muslim woman. If I see a woman on TV reporting in one I assume she is in a country where women are expected to cover their heads.**	What do you think a hijab can tell you about a person now?	**That they are devout Muslims who want to follow their religion. I think it can be a symbol of oppression in some countries, but in Western countries (particularly North America) it will most likely be a choice**
What experience or knowledge has informed your thinking about head coverings?	**Personal experience, popular culture**	Did the social media campaign have any effect on your perceptions of women who wear head coverings?	**Yes.**
How much does social media influence the way you think?	**I use social media a lot but frankly am not sure how much it influences the way I think**	If yes, what effect did it have? (*Pick all that apply*)	**Broadened my perceptions** **Offered new ideas and interpretations**
Do you think a social media campaign can change some of your ideas? Why or why not?	**It might. Increased awareness of issues can get one thinking. If it is persuasive and relevant it might change ideas.**	What campaign content did you find most engaging and/or effective?	**Profiles of successful women in hijab e.g. artists, athletes**
		Which campaign post was most effective and why?	**TED talk - first, covered a lot of ground, she is very smart**

		Which campaign post was least effective and why?	
		Do you think this social media campaign was successful in challenging some negative public assumptions about women in hijab? Why or Why not?	**Yes.** **Because of the variety of smart, thoughtful women who are more than what is on their heads**

Participant/Survey 1 Questions	Survey 1 Answers	Survey 2 Questions	Survey 2 Answers
Participant 9			
In your opinion, what can a head covering tell you about a person?	**Affiliations & belief. They feel that they belong to a group of individuals that support a similar cause or belief.**	What do you think a head covering can tell you about a person now?	**My perceptions haven't changed.**
When you see a person in a baseball cap, what do you think?	**They most likely are a fan of the team, or they think it is cool looking. i.e. a fashion choice. They are a baseball fan.**	What do you think a baseball cap can tell you about a person now?	**My perceptions haven't changed.**
When you see a person in a hijab, what do you think?	**They are wearing it as part of their belief system. They are religious.**	What do you think a hijab can tell you about a person now?	**My perceptions haven't changed.**
What experience or knowledge has informed your thinking about head coverings?	**Not a lot. I see individuals wearing a head covering and I assume it is part of their religion or belief system.** **I do not know the history of said head**	Did the social media campaign have any effect on your perceptions of women who wear head coverings?	**No.**

	covering as to why they wear it.		
How much does social media influence the way you think?	**A little bit - I use social media occasionally.**	If yes, what effect did it have? (*Pick all that apply*)	**Skipped.**
Do you think a social media campaign can change some of your ideas? Why or why not?	**Sure; if the deployment and messaging is successful. I assume a woman wears a head covering because it is religious. That is an uninformed assumption made by me. For all I know, the woman is not religious and wears the head covering for different reasons.**	What campaign content did you find most engaging and/or effective?	**Articles about Toronto and Islamaphobia; were most relevant to me**
		Which campaign post was most effective and why?	**Article about woman being verbally assaulted for being a Muslim in Toronto. It touched on a topic that was familiar to me (living in Toronto) and how the global problem of islamophobia is local as well**
		Which campaign post was least effective and why?	**I found a lot did not resonate with me because of the subject matter and my background. I am a 34 year old white male agnostic living in Toronto. A lot of the articles did not spark my interest enough to click on to read more.**
		Do you think this social media campaign was	**No. I did not see any**

		successful in challenging some negative public assumptions about women in hijab? Why or Why not?	**content that really challenged my perceptions about wearing a head covering. I did not see a correlation between the baseball hat / hijab from the posts and how this was relevant to the content posted on the feeds.**

Participant/Survey 1 Questions	Survey 1 Answers	Survey 2 Questions	Survey 2 Answers
Participant 10			
In your opinion, what can a head covering tell you about a person?	**Depends on the type of head covering. If it's general, can't really determine much from that. But if it's rare, like a hijab or other religious garb, then you can make a judgment. I would say the judgment is this is somebody who is usually outside of society, somebody who believes in religion. Based on my personal beliefs about religion, I would deem this person as somebody who might not be as reasonable or as thoughtful as some people.**	What do you think a head covering can tell you about a person now?	**Made me less judgmental. It is difficult to have a strong opinion from only a piece of clothing.**

When you see a person in a baseball cap, what do you think?	**Not much. Especially certain events, I don't really make a judgment about a hat like that, it's just a standard sort of garb, a standard clothing item. You can't really deduce much.**	What do you think a baseball cap can tell you about a person now?	**Not much, never thought it could tell you much about a person.**
When you see a person in a hijab, what do you think?	**That they're religious. That they have certain beliefs, they believe in a religion, a certain type of belief system. And that they might be, personally as an atheist, I see it as somebody who might not be as thoughtful as somebody else. As logical. As an atheist I don't believe in a spiritual being to guide your philosophy on life. I think that should come from different types of philosophies rather than a more rigid philosophy that requires you to wear a clothing item.**	What do you think a hijab can tell you about a person now?	**Made me less judgmental. It is difficult to have a strong opinion from only a piece of clothing.**
What experience or knowledge has informed your thinking about head coverings?	**The books I've read, the things I've gone through in my life that have made me more of a spiritual person. I'm a pretty frequent reader so I've read a lot on philosophy. I've read Buddhism texts and I've read different enlightened authors, not really spiritual people, and I've found their work to be more grounded in reality than religious**	Did the social media campaign have any effect on your perceptions of women who wear head coverings?	**Yes.**

	books.		
How much does social media influence the way you think?	**I don't use it much, I will go on to gauge the zeitgeist of the moment, but I try not to let social media influence my opinion. A little bit - I am on it occasionally.**	If yes, what effect did it have? (*Pick all that apply*)	**Helped me identify some of the assumptions informing my perceptions**
Do you think a social media campaign can change some of your ideas? Why or why not?	**Absolutely. I think that anything can change some of your ideas. It's hard to have a pre-defined filter in your brain that doesn't allow you to be affected by some things and affected by other things. Anything that's around you, anything that you read affects you in some way. Most of the time you can't control it, it just appears in your thoughts. It just depends on how skeptical you are, and how much you accept certain things.**	What campaign content did you find most engaging and/or effective?	**Profiles of successful women in hijab e.g. artists, athletes**
		Which campaign post was most effective and why?	**Skipped.**
		Which campaign post was least effective and why?	**Skipped.**
		Do you think this social media campaign was successful in challenging negative public assumptions about women in hijab? Why or why not?	**Yes.**

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